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Window onto a Vanished World:  
Lahu texts from Thailand in the 1960's

James A. Matisoff

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Edited by  
John B. Lowe  
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*To the Lahu people and their beautiful language*



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## Foreword

The Computational Resource for South Asian Languages (CoRSAL) Occasional Publications is published by the University of North Texas (UNT) under the Aquiline Books imprint. CoRSAL Occasional Publications provides a venue for sharing further analysis of audio and video language documentation materials archived at the CoRSAL archive. These publications are freely available for download or viewing through the UNT Digital Library and the author has the option to print copies for distribution to interested readers.

This second volume in the CoRSAL Occasional Publications series is authored by James A. Matisoff, Professor Emeritus of Linguistics at the University of California, Berkeley. Professor Matisoff is a renowned expert on the languages of the Tibeto-Burman area. His influential work on Lahu, which has been widely read and often cited, includes numerous articles, a descriptive grammar of Lahu, a Lahu-English dictionary and English-Lahu Lexicon. We are honored to publish this Lahu text collection which brings to us an unprecedented variety and depth of analysis presented in the interlinear gloss format. As the title states, it also provides a window into a world that few of us could otherwise witness. This text collection, especially as complemented by the audio recordings in CoRSAL, will be of lasting interest to historical, comparative, and typological linguists, as well as speakers connecting or reconnecting with cultural and linguistic traditions.

We aim to publish at least two volumes per year. Digital versions of CoRSAL Occasional Publications will be housed in the University of North Texas Digital Library.<sup>1</sup> Please contact Shobhana Chelliah (or [corsalunt@gmail.com](mailto:corsalunt@gmail.com)) for information on publishing with CoRSAL Occasional Publications. The CoRSAL archive exists in large part due to the digital infrastructure and support of Mark Phillips, Associate Dean for the UNT Digital Libraries. As well, this series would not be possible without the continued encouragement and support of Kevin Hawkins, Assistant Dean for Scholarly Communication at University of North Texas Libraries. As director of the archive and series editor, I rely fully on the information science expertise of Mary Burke who plays many critical roles in the archive and publication.

Shobhana Chelliah  
New Delhi

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<sup>1</sup><https://digital.library.unt.edu/explore/collections/UNTEE/>





## Acknowledgments

It is a pleasure to thank the many people who have made the publication of these texts possible. First and foremost I shall always be grateful to the Lahu villagers in Northern Thailand who welcomed me and taught me their language in such imaginative ways during my fieldtrips in 1965–66, 1970, and 1977.

The texts I recorded during those trips were transcribed and partially translated back in the 1960's and '70's, but processing them for publication had to await the computer revolution. Fortunately there was a talented cadre of computer-seasoned graduate students and post-docs at Berkeley who were more than equal to the task. Our goals were twofold: to produce a print version (i.e. a publication-ready PDF) of the texts, as well as an online version (a set of static HTML pages including links to the recordings and other metadata). Once the transcriptions of the texts had been double-checked, Dr. J.B. Lowe installed and configured the FLeX interlinearization program on our Mac and imported the texts. Then we began the laborious process of providing interlinear glosses and translations, a process carried out over a period of several years (2013–2016), at first with the help of Virginia Dawson and Tyler Lau. (Following the axiom that “If you give a man a fish you help him for one day, but if you teach a man how to fish you help him for life”, Tyler whipped up a user’s manual for FLeX and taught me how to use it.)

Meanwhile, J.B., who had digitized the recordings from magnetic tape back in 2006, proceeded to develop the Python scripts that would render the FLeX XML exports into the LaTeX program, that could then generate the final PDF. (In this effort, J.B. was assisted by Chundra Cathcart.) The Python scripts also provided a means to match the texts with their free translations (which we had entered as separate documents and were not included in FLeX), to sequence the texts into sections and chapters according to the master catalog, and to inject the necessary LaTeX code to produce the front and back matter. My wholehearted gratitude to Dr. Lowe and the other members of the “team” for their inspired work!

Finally, starting in the fall of 2017, I benefitted from Berkeley’s Undergraduate Research Apprentice Program (URAP), which made it possible for me to retain Charles Zhang, a gifted freshman with a joint Linguistics and Mathematics major, to finalize the process of converting the texts and translations into LaTeX. Charles substantially amplified and improved the work, writing code to generate glossaries and tables of contents in all three transcriptions, updating the transducers that generated the Baptist and Chinese transcriptions, and correcting numerous blemishes small and large. Thank you Charles for all your clever programming and attention to details!

I’d like to thank my friend and colleague in Lahu studies, Dr. Anthony R. Walker, for permission to republish several of his Red Lahu religious texts.

I am most grateful to the National Science Foundation for awarding me a grant to finish up this project (Award #BCS1252226), which originally ran from 9/1/13 to 2/29/16, but which was continued via a “no-cost extension” until August 31, 2017. I particularly want to thank Prof. Joan M. Maling, program director for NSF’s Social, Behavioral, and Economic Sciences division, for her understanding and patience during this long drawn-out process!

My sincere thanks to Paula Floro, Manager of the Berkeley Linguistics Department, who skillfully handled the budgetary details of the NSF grant.

My deep gratitude to Shobhana Chelliah and Mary Burke of the CoRSAL archive at the University of North Texas for accepting this complex manuscript as an occasional publication of Aquiline Press, and for undertaking to ensure that the audio files associated with the interlinear text were properly archived.

Last but not least in love, my thanks to my wife of 60 years, Susan Kimball Matisoff, for her support every step of the way.



## Preface

I certainly seem to have absorbed the Berkeley Linguistics Department field worker's ethos (enunciated notably by Mary R. Haas), that if you really want to do justice to your language, you must produce a grammar, a dictionary, and a collection of texts. I have tried my best to do this for Lahu. My Lahu grammar (Matisoff, 1973/1982, abbreviated "GL"), appeared in 1973 (reprinted 1982); my Lahu-English dictionary (Matisoff, 1988, abbreviated "DL") came out in 1988; and my English-Lahu lexicon (Matisoff, 2006, abbreviated "ELL") was published in 2006. So this collection of texts constitutes the third leg of the "Boasian trifecta" (a term minted for collections of this type by Liberty Lidz). Although these texts are the last leg to appear, they actually have primacy, since they have formed the basis for my grammar and dictionaries.

My study of Lahu was carried out during three major fieldtrips in Northern Thailand (1965-66, 1970, 1977), with many shorter visits since then, including to Lahu villages in Yunnan and Shan State.<sup>1</sup> Almost all of my work was in Christian villages, although I was fortunate enough also to have access to the abundant material collected in animist villages by A.R. Walker (see below).

These texts, recorded for the most part in 1965-66, well over half a century ago, reflect a vanished world. It was a time when the forests of Burma and Thailand teemed with game; when "slash-and-burn" agricultural techniques were universal in the hills of Southeast Asia; when animist villages resisted the introduction of missionary Christianity, and religious syncretism was the order of the day; a time before electricity, when people used pine-torches to light their way at night; before young men left the villages to seek menial work in Thai towns; before trekking tourists came to gawk at staged "hill-tribe" song-and-dance shows in Chiang Mai — and, above all, from the linguist's point of view, a time when the Lahu language was still vibrant in all semantic areas and still relatively free of foreign influences.

These texts were elicited with the enthusiastic cooperation of Lahu villagers, for whom it was a great novelty to hear the words they had just said played back to them. Once it was made clear that I was interested in hearing Lahu spoken in all kinds of situational contexts, the villagers would talk over various subjects — building a house, the stages of cultivating a mountain field, boar-hunting, the New Year's celebrations, crab-gathering, killing a pig for a feast, the institution of the village headman, the government's land policy, etc. Then they would actually conduct rehearsals, assigning specific roles to various people, until they felt they could discuss the matter smoothly. When they were satisfied, they would signal me to turn on the tape recorder<sup>2</sup> and would proceed with gusto to act out little playlets on the desired topic, often embellished with sound effects for gunshots, animal noises, etc. Besides this kind of multi-speaker texts, many items were also collected from individuals, including stories, songs, lectures, and sermons. As a result of this process, which went on for many months, the corpus comprises a wide variety of genres and registers, including:

- discussions of serious topics (subsistence activities, village life and customs, relations between the Lahu and the Thai authorities);
- jokes and anecdotes, including a well-defined genre of *bilingual jokes* based on misunderstandings between a Black and a Yellow Lahu, or between a Lahu and a Shan;
- "just-so stories" (etiological tales that explain why things are as they are);
- trickster tales featuring lovable villains with quasi-supernatural powers;
- fairy-tales, fables and other stories with a moral;<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>See Matisoff (2008) "Back to my Lahu villages" (translated into Chinese).

<sup>2</sup>It must be admitted that I sometimes turned on the tape recorder before they realized it, in order to record still more natural conversation. See 6.2, 6.3, 6.4.

<sup>3</sup>These imaginative texts can be further classified to some extent in terms of the thematic motifs that they illustrate. See below.

- religious texts, including pre-Christian myths; animist prayers; Christian sermons, hymns, Bible readings;
- songs, including traditional love poetry (which present special difficulties); secular modern songs.

For a complete list of the texts, classified by genre, see the Table of Contents.

The true heroes of this whole enterprise were the remarkable inhabitants of a Christian village of some twenty households about 65 km north of Chiang Mai, where the population in the 1960's consisted of recent immigrants from Burma who had been encouraged by Baptist missionaries to leave that country to seek a better life in Thailand. After many adventures<sup>4</sup> they were given land in a *nikhom*, or Hill Tribe Resettlement Center near Chiang Dao, where they founded the village of Huey Tat. The two chief dignitaries of the village then were Cà-bo, the pastor or religious leader who conducted the church services every Sunday (abbreviated as “T” for ‘teacher’ in the texts); and the newly chosen village headman, Cà-bí (abbreviated as “H” in the texts).<sup>5</sup> Among the younger generation, three teenagers were particularly interested and helpful: Cà-mó, who became my chief consultant during the 1970 fieldtrip (“CM”); Thû-yì, a fun-loving youth who died mysteriously around 1969 (abbreviated as “T-y”);<sup>6</sup> and *Yâ-pā-é* (“YP”), who was my main consultant during the 1977 fieldtrip. In addition to the Huey Tat folks, my mainstay during the '65-'66 trip was a city-dwelling young man called Cà-lô, born to Lahu parents in Shan State, who died in an epidemic when he was nine. He was adopted into a Shan family, and stopped using Lahu regularly. At some point he was converted by Catholic missionaries, who gave him the name Paul (abbreviated to “P” in the texts). His Lahu had grown rusty, but he still had the native speaker's perfect ear and accent. Paul and I would go up to a Lahu village together for a few days, then return to Chiang Mai to transcribe and analyze the material. Inevitably the meanings of many words were obscure to Paul, and had to be clarified on a following visit. After a few months of this, Paul's Lahu was virtually indistinguishable from that of any other Lahu of his age. After about nine months, my own command of Lahu was such that I would feel comfortable going to a village by myself.<sup>7</sup>

It is safe to say that these texts constitute one of the largest corpora of recorded natural speech for any minority language of the Tibeto-Burman family. I recorded them on “primitive” reel-to-reel tape recorders in 1965-66, under noisy field conditions, transcribing them in longhand in some twenty field notebooks.<sup>8</sup> At the conclusion of this fieldtrip, I began my first teaching job, at Columbia, where I began the task of translating the texts, managing to complete drafts of 34 of them before other duties made me put the job on hold. Nevertheless, these texts, both translated and untranslated, formed the basis for my Lahu grammar (1973/1982), as well as a good part of the material for my Lahu dictionary (1988).

Meanwhile another research project which was to consume most of my attention for over a quarter century was getting under way: the *Sino-Tibetan Etymological Dictionary and Thesaurus* project (STEDT), funded jointly at Berkeley by the National Science Foundation and the National Endowment for the Humanities from 1987-2014. This of course was the era when computers were revolutionizing the academic world, and I was fortunate in having a brilliant computer-savvy staff of graduate students to help. Foremost

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<sup>4</sup>See 1.5 “How we came from Burma to Thailand”.

<sup>5</sup>Note that many traditional Lahu men's names begin with the prefix cà-.

<sup>6</sup>According to Cà-bo, Thu-yi's untimely death was due to black magic. A Northern Thai whom Thu-yi had beaten in a fencing match took revenge by making a leather mannikin which went magically into Thu-yi's belly, causing his death after three years of suffering.

<sup>7</sup>Photos of these consultants grace the frontispieces of both GL (1973) and DL (1988). In many cases (especially in villages other than Huey Tat) I did not note who the speakers were, either because I didn't know their names, or because I simply forgot. At the time of this writing, Cà-bo, Cà-mó, and Thû-yì have died, and I have lost touch with Cà-lô.

<sup>8</sup>Speaking of reel-to-reel tape recorders, I cannot resist telling the true story of how my recordings were nearly lost forever after I had returned safely to the U.S. after that first fieldtrip in 1965-66. My brother-in-law (also named Jim) picked us up from the SFO airport in his little Volkswagen bug. There were four people in the car, so some of our baggage (including my tapes and fieldnotes) had to be crammed into the roof rack. Jim had neglected to bring bungee cords or twine, so we headed onto the freeway hoping for the best. Unfortunately the suitcases soon flew off the roof onto the highway, spewing the reels of tape all over. Let us draw the curtain of charity over the rest of this scene, although there was a happy ending. The martyred tapes were wrapped in a quilt and rescued from oncoming traffic, and the magicians in the Berkeley Language Lab were able to restore almost all of them, although with some loss of their already not wonderful fidelity.

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among these was John B. Lowe (“J.B.”), who not only designed the structure of the STEDT database, but also contributed to liberating my Lahu texts from the back burner by digitizing the original magnetic tape recordings from 1965-66, a job he carried out at the Berkeley Language Center in 2006.<sup>9</sup>

There matters stood with the texts until 2009, when I made the acquaintance of a Burmese Lahu graduate student in linguistics at Payap University in Chiang Mai, Thailand, named Aaron “Maung Maung” Tun, who has both an impressive linguistic acumen and a strong desire to make the results of my work more accessible to the Lahu people. Maung Maung was able to spend two and a half months as a Visiting Scholar at Berkeley in the spring of 2011. During his stay he checked over all my transcriptions by comparing them to the sound-files, and also helped J.B. to segment the digitized files (which contained the contents of whole tapes) into separate files corresponding to the texts they represented. Maung Maung (a nickname meaning “younger brother” in Burmese) was also able to clarify certain incomprehensible passages, e.g. when several people talked at once.

These developments were so encouraging that I was motivated to apply for another NSF grant to prepare all the texts for publication. This application was happily successful, and the project was funded from Sept. 2013 until Feb. 2016, with a “no-cost extension” assuring its continuation until mid-2017.

The present volume includes only about 139 texts out of some 216 items recorded. Reasons for non-inclusion include the following:

- The item was musical, either instrumental (jewsharp, gourdflute) or choral (hymns sung in harmony in church). However, nine of the latter have been included as a sample.<sup>10</sup>
- The item was too badly recorded for comprehension, or so badly told that the point was unclear. A few borderline comprehensible but interesting texts have been included anyway (e.g. 3.6, 5.2, 9.1, 11.10, 12.5).
- The item was in non-standard Black Lahu (i.e. Red Lahu or Lahu Shehle), so that the meanings of many lexical items were not clear to me or my consultants. (Many texts in Yellow Lahu have been included, however, as have several of Walker’s animist texts in Red Lahu.)<sup>11</sup>
- The item was in archaic poetic language that consultants were unfamiliar with. This is the case with many of the lovesongs I recorded. Some of the more transparent ones are included in this collection.<sup>12</sup>

The presentation of the texts follows a certain format. Each one first appears as a three-line complex, with the top line containing the more or less verbatim Lahu, the middle line providing a form-class designation for each word,<sup>13</sup> and the bottom line giving a concise English gloss appropriate to the particular context. These interlinear glosses were generated by the tricky but ingenious FLEX program (see below). After the word-by-word translation comes the free translation, accompanied by explanatory footnotes.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>As a pilot project in the processing of the texts, we were able to invite Michel Jacobson, a computer specialist at the LACITO project in Paris (*Langues et Civilisations à Tradition Orale*, a branch of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique) to spend a month at Berkeley in 2011 to advance the art and science of time-aligned interlinear texts using the LACITO Archive tools. While only a single text (“How we came from Burma to Thailand”, 1.5.) was fully processed during Michel’s stay in Berkeley, it was valuable experience and preparation for the earnest effort to publish the texts and their recordings.

<sup>10</sup>See “Christian hymns and Bible readings”, Chapter 15 in the Table of Contents.

<sup>11</sup>Most of the Yellow Lahu texts appear in the section on *Bilingual humor*, Chapter 11. A number of Walker’s Red Lahu texts are to be found in Chapter 12, *Traditional “theo-animism”*.

<sup>12</sup>See “Traditional songs”, Chapter 13. These love-songs were already fading from use in the 1960’s. They were once elaborate antiphonal performances, men alternating with women, using a rich store of set expressions, with much repetition. The flavor of these beautiful texts can be gathered from the long translations in Young (2013, pp. 151-174).

<sup>13</sup>See Symbols and Abbreviations below for an alphabetical list. Similar lists appear in my Lahu Grammar (Matisoff, 1973/1982, pp. xxviii- xxxvii), and Dictionary (Matisoff, 1988, pp. xxi-xxiv). In Haudricourt’s otherwise highly positive review of the Grammar (Haudricourt, 1974), he ruefully referred to its form-class list as “hélas, de dix pages!”

<sup>14</sup>The attentive reader will notice certain slight discrepancies in the numbering of the items in the interlinear vs. the free translations. For example, “The Lahu agricultural cycle” (2.1) has 122 items in the interlinear, but only 109 in the free version. This is largely because it has occasionally seemed smoother to combine into a single item two (or rarely, three) grammatically separate sentences uttered by a speaker in a single conversational turn. This should hopefully not interfere with comprehension.

A great complication is the fact that several different transcriptions of Lahu have been in widespread use. The oldest of these was created by Baptist missionaries in the late 19th century, and is now nearly universal in Lahu communities in Burma and Thailand. Another system was developed in China, largely inspired by the *pinyin* system for romanizing Mandarin. My own orthography, used in all my publications on Lahu, is phonemically accurate but rather difficult to use for the Lahu themselves.<sup>15</sup>

Equivalency charts of these three systems (as well as the little-used Catholic one) are given in the introduction to DL (pp.14-28). My transcription of words in the divergent Yellow Lahu dialect is rather impressionistic.<sup>16</sup>

A few minor transcriptional points concerning my own orthographic system:

- *Vowel nasalization* in Lahu is always optional, occurring either (a) in loanwords where the donor language had a final nasal, or (b) in native syllables beginning with **h-** or zero-initial, by a phenomenon I have dubbed “rhinoglottophilia”.<sup>17</sup> In a dictionary this variability can be indicated by parentheses, e.g. **ḥ-bo(n)** ‘grace’, **ká(n)** ‘work’, **hó(n)** ‘fragrant’, **hə(n)** ‘elephant’, **ḥ(n)** ‘four’. In the texts I tried to respect the particular variant used by the speaker on that occasion. Writing the **-n** is sometimes useful in disambiguating homophones, e.g. **ḥ-yâ** ‘son/child’ / **ḥ-yân** ‘time’ (< Tai).
- *Interjections* are usually pronounced with exaggerated or drawled intonation. This is indicated by writing them with double vowels, e.g. **âa**, **ôo**, **pòthôo**, **alôo**.
- *Hyphenization* Compound constituents are written with hyphens between the syllables. In DL:51-52 I explained my system of multiple hyphens that indicate how polysyllabic compounds are to be segmented, e.g. **ḥ-qā** ‘water buffalo’, **ḥ-qā = qhê** ‘buffalo dung’, **ḥ-qā = qhê = phô?** ‘pile of buffalo dung’, **ḥ-qā = qhê = phô? = ló** ‘big pile of buffalo dung’.<sup>18</sup> As I bravely said, “I do not flinch from using triple or quadruple hyphens as necessary.” In the present volume, however, there is never any need to go beyond single hyphens.

At first I felt obliged to transcribe the texts verbatim, to the point where I was including all the hesitations, false starts, and repairs that the speakers made. However, this soon came to feel pedantic, so I mostly stopped doing it. In fact I have lightly edited many of the texts for clarity’s sake.<sup>19</sup>

In the free translations I have attempted to stick as closely as possible to the Lahu while coming up with readable and natural English versions. This has been no easy task in view of the vast differences in structure and information-packaging strategies between Lahu and English. The interlinear glossing has presented its own set of challenges,<sup>20</sup> largely due to the pervasive problems of polysemy and homophony.

In a phonologically eroded language like Lahu, with no syllable-final consonants or initial consonant clusters, homophonous morphemes abound, where the initials, vowels, and tones are all identical. This has made it impossible totally to automate the glossing process. A few examples:

**qḥ** ‘nine’; ‘coffin’; ‘to hoe’; ‘empty/hollow’; ‘loose’ (DL 251-253)

**qhə** ‘mountain’; ‘inside’; be open (of a wound); ‘coiled up’ (DL 299-304)

**thḥ** ‘touch’; ‘pine tree’; ‘also/even’; ‘calendrical animal’ (DL 691-692)

<sup>15</sup>For a threnody of belated regrets on this score see Matisoff (2014).

<sup>16</sup>See Matisoff (1969) for details.

<sup>17</sup>See Matisoff (1975).

<sup>18</sup>In DL I connected the bound nominal morpheme **ló(n)** ‘big; great’ to the preceding noun by a hyphen, but in the texts I have omitted the hyphen for convenience’s sake. To have left the hyphen in would have been to force new unitary glosses like ‘big X’, where X stands for any semantically appropriate noun.

<sup>19</sup>I accorded the same treatment to my own previously published texts illustrating the genre of bilingual humor (see Matisoff (1969) and Section 11, as well as the six animist religious texts recorded by Anthony Walker that have been included in Chapter 12). Needless to say I received Anthony’s permission before editing his translations. Walker’s numerous publications all use the Baptist orthography.

<sup>20</sup>As mentioned above, the interlinear glossing was done using the FLEX program developed by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), which, despite its many virtues, is rather buggy and delicate to use.

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**mâ** ‘many’; ‘not’ (DL 965-975)

**ši** ‘know’; ‘lead/conduct’; ‘choke’; ‘sharpen’; ‘round object’ (DL 1185-1188)

**šē** ‘smear on’; ‘cymbals’; ‘pay back money’; ‘liver’; ‘body’; ‘fingernail’; ‘three’ (DL 1214-1217)

**là** ‘tea’; ‘come’; ‘million’ (DL 1351-1352)

**lâ** ‘tiger’; ‘non-3p benefaction’; ‘yes/no question’ (DL 1345-1347)

In the early stages of interlinearization we dealt with polysemy by using alternative interlinear glosses, as in a dictionary, with the alternatives separated by a slash, e.g., ‘begin/start’, ‘flee/run away’, ‘persuasive/urging’, ‘delicious/tasty’, etc. This soon seemed messy, however, so I went through all the texts again, giving single glosses for each item as it appeared in its particular context. It was especially important to distinguish between the meaning a verb has when it functions as the main verb in its VP as opposed to the “bleached” or “grammaticalized” meaning it acquires when it appears as an auxiliary or “versatile” verb, e.g. **chê** ‘live/dwell’ (main verb) vs. ‘progressive/continuative’ (versatile verb); **gā** ‘get/obtain’ (main verb) vs. “manage to; able to; get to” (versatile verb); **tšʔ** ‘emerge’ (as main verb) vs. ‘outward’ (versatile verb).

Sometimes a whole phrase is glossed as a single word, even though no hyphen appears between its syllables, e.g. **tê yân thâ** ‘when’. At other times the identical phrase might be broken down into constituents, each glossed separately and with a separate form-class designation: **tê**(Num) ‘one/a’ + **yân**(Clf) ‘time’ + **thâ**(P<sub>univ</sub>) ‘time that’, lit. “at a time that”.

It is difficult but vital to give precise glosses to functors in particular contexts. Thus the thousands of occurrences of the most important particle in the language, **ve**, had to be glossed in three different ways, either as ‘nominalizer’ or ‘relativizer’ or ‘genitivizer’.<sup>21</sup> The particular context dictated whether the verb-particle **tā** was to be glossed as ‘durative’ or ‘perfective’; whether the verb-particle **ò** was better glossed as ‘completed action’ or ‘change of state’; whether the verb-particle **šē** functioned as ‘inchoative’ or as a ‘marker of regret’; whether the versatile verb **chê** should be called ‘progressive’ or ‘continuative’; whether the final unrestricted particle **mē** was ‘urging’ or ‘persuasive’ in a particular sentence.

Lahu is what has been quaintly called a “pro-drop” language,<sup>22</sup> i.e. a language where pronouns are often omitted when the situation seems clear to the speaker and listener. This often makes it hard to see what is happening to whom in connected narratives. Compounding the problem are the facts that Lahu has no gender distinction in third-person pronouns, no case-marking for pronouns (beyond a sparingly used accusative particle, **thàʔ**), and no honorific pronouns (unlike literary languages like Thai, Burmese, or Khmer).<sup>23</sup> Thus the 3rd person pronoun **yō** may be translated as *he, him, she, her, his, hers, He, Him, His*.<sup>24</sup> Similarly, the remote 3rd person pronoun **šu** has a large number of possible translations: *he, non-Lahu, other people, others, others’, she, somebody, somebody else, somebody else’s, somebody’s, the other guy, their, them, they*.

Equally challenging is the lack of a morphological plural marker in Lahu, so that a word like **cho** ‘person’ must be translated either as ‘person’ or ‘people’ according to context.

In several cases I recorded the same story as told by different people. Since it is useful to see individual variations in story-telling technique, both versions have been included. See “The smoker and the nonsmoker dispute a pipe” 7.10; “In unity there is strength” 7.7; “The three lazy men and the princess” 8.6; “The trader and the widow’s balls/daughter” 10.1.

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<sup>21</sup> See Matisoff (1972).

<sup>22</sup> I call this term “quaint” since it implies that the pronouns were once there but have been dropped. A better way to look at it is that the overt presence of pronouns is optional in the first place.

<sup>23</sup> A title rather than a pronoun may be used when talking to or about a respected person, e.g. **qhâʔ-se** ‘headman’, **šālàʔ-ló** ‘great teacher’, etc.

<sup>24</sup> Pronouns often occur directly before a noun with genitive meaning, hence the possible glosses ‘his’ or ‘her’. When the pronoun refers to a deity I spell the translation with a capital letter. Cf. the five different characters now used in Mandarin to differentiate the various possible referents of the same 3rd person pronoun **tā**: 他 ‘he/she’, 她 ‘she’, 它 ‘it’ (inanimate), 祂 ‘He (deity)’, 牠 ‘he/she (animal)’.

Many of the stories illustrate universal fairy-tale motifs (e.g. a wicked older sibling and a good younger one).<sup>25</sup> Widows and orphans frequently appear, as do fathers-in-law and their sons-in-law (a rather fraught relationship among the Lahu, since a new son-in-law traditionally had to work for several years in his father-in-law's fields before setting up his own household). Trickster stories are a well-established genre, with Chinese traders often serving as foils for the trickster's shenanigans. Often someone with a physical problem (especially being blind or crippled) is miraculously cured. Sometimes a physical deformity actually proves to be a saving grace (see "The fingerless lord", 7.12). Some of the stories seem to go back to Aesop ("The blind men and the elephant", 7.6; "In unity there is strength", 7.7; "The boastful cock and the hawk", 7.2). These were undoubtedly passed on to the Lahu via Baptist missionaries (I had previously entertained the possibility that these fables were transmitted via the Indian fabulist Pilpay (or Bidpai), but this seems quite implausible).<sup>26</sup>

The texts reflect a wide variety of styles, ranging from highly colloquial conversations to serious sermons in church. Despite the fact that most of the texts were recorded in Christian villages, there is nothing Christian about the content of many of them, e.g. the racy cycle of Trickster stories (10.3, 10.4, 10.5, 10.6, 10.7), or the anecdotes about farting contests (9.1). It should be said that the Lahu are anything but prudish about matters sexual or scatological. There are no "dirty words" in the language, but only one word for each body part and physical activity, usable matter-of-factly in any context.

A number of the texts have already been published elsewhere:

For the anecdotes involving bilingual humor, Chapter 11, see Matisoff 1969.

- "The little crabs who walked zigzag" (7.1) was translated in Matisoff 1973b.
- "Trickster and the village women" (10.7) appeared in Matisoff 1979.
- "Praying for game" (12.8) was published in Matisoff 1979.
- "The boastful cock and the hawk" (7.2) appeared in both English and Chinese in Matisoff 2002.
- For the references to Anthony Walker's six animist texts included in 12, see the *References*.

A few words about cultural change and linguistic endangerment might be appropriate here. It seems to me that the whole notion of endangerment requires some refinement. The Lahu language is not in immediate danger of extinction, largely due to the fact that Lahu villages are dispersed across several countries. The Lahu population has been increasing, and the language is still spoken by people of all ages. On the other hand, the language has been coming under ever-increasing pressure from the co-territorial prestige languages with which it is in contact: Mandarin in Yunnan, Shan and Burmese in Myanmar, Northern Thai, Standard Thai, Lao, and Vietnamese. Loanwords from these majority languages are flooding into the Lahu vocabulary. While some cultural practices remain more or less vital, such as the New Rice Festival in the autumn and the two-week long New Year's celebrations, the effects of globalization and homogenization are everywhere. There are now shortwave radios, TV's, and CD players in every village. Traditional storytelling around the fire is a thing of the past. Whole areas of the Lahu lexicon have virtually disappeared from the vocabularies of the last several generations of speakers: the endearments of traditional love poetry; animist prayers to the spirits; swidden (mountain-field) agricultural terms; flora and fauna names; weaving terminology; hunting terms, and so on.

In all the countries where Lahu is spoken, it is not a majority language, and is in fact only one of a large number of minority languages. It is still the first language of most Lahu children, but educational materials in Lahu hardly exist beyond the second or third grade level. After that the only available schooling is in the majority language. Intermarriage between Lahu and other Tibeto-Burman minority groups (e.g. Jingpho, Lisu), or between Lahu and majority-group members, is still relatively rare, but seems now to be on the

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<sup>25</sup>A classic index of motifs in folk literature is Thompson 1955-58.

<sup>26</sup>Pilpay was a collector of Sanskrit animal fables who flourished before A.D. 500, and whose work entered European literature through an Arabic version (ca. A.D. 750). The 17th century French fabulist La Fontaine seems to have been familiar with his work.



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increase. There are a certain number of CD's in Lahu produced in Burma or China, and available in some Lahu villages in Thailand.

Lahu traditional culture has been encroached upon from two directions: from co-territorial majority cultures (Chinese, Burmese, Tai, Vietnamese), and from the Western world via evangelical Christianity. Misguided strictures against swidden rice cultivation (which is frequently referred to as "slash-and-burn" agriculture, but actually has numerous ecological benefits when practiced correctly), along with governmental prohibitions against opium cultivation, have revolutionized traditional Lahu agriculture. Tea and coffee plantations and fruit orchards, owned by Thai or Chinese businessmen, now offer employment opportunities for young people, who have grown accustomed to the formerly alien notion of working for a salary.

Contact with the money economy has brought with it prostitution and AIDS, consumerism, and hard drug use, with amphetamines replacing the comparatively benign (and often medically useful) opium.

Virtually all the Lahu in Thailand have now been converted to Christianity by American, Australian, and European missionaries, both Baptist and Catholic. In the 1960's most of Thailand's 30,000 Lahu were still animistic in religion, with some Buddhist influences.

As mentioned above, my friend and colleague, the British anthropologist Dr. Anthony R. Walker, spent four consecutive years in an animist village in Northern Thailand in the late 1960's, and collected a prodigious number of Red Lahu animist religious texts, which he has gradually published in journals all over the world (although they have not yet been assembled in a single volume). The specialized, archaic vocabulary items in all these texts were incorporated into my dictionary in the 1970's. There have been other notable recordings of traditional religious texts in Loloish languages, notably Ma Xueliang (1949) for Luquan Lolo/Yi; and Inga-Lill Hansson (in prep.) for Akha, opening up a tempting field for future comparative work in this area.

It is my hope that these texts will bring pleasure to the Lahu people themselves, as well as to anyone interested in Southeast Asian languages and culture.



# **Symbols and Abbreviations**



## Form Class Abbreviations

**Adv** adverb

**Adv + V** adverb + verb

**Adv<sub>interrog</sub>** interrogative adverb

**Adv<sub>onomat</sub>** onomatopoetic adverbial

**AE** adverbial expression

**AE<sub>ext</sub>** extensive adverbial

**AE<sub>stat</sub>** stative adverbial

**B<sub>n</sub>** bound nominal morpheme

**B<sub>v</sub>** bound verbal morpheme

**C<sub>r</sub>** resultative complement

**Cl<sub>ext</sub>** extensive clause

**Cl<sub>f</sub>** final clause

**Cl<sub>nf</sub>** non-final clause

**Clf** classifier

**Conj** conjunction

**Dem** demonstrative

**Det** determiner

**Elab** elaborate expression (4 syllables; 1st and 3rd, or 2nd and 4th are the same)

**Elab<sub>adv</sub>** adverbial elaborate expression

**Elab<sub>adv</sub> + V** adverbial elaborate expression + verb

**Elab<sub>extd</sub>** extended elaborate expression (more than 4 syllables)

**Elab<sub>n</sub>** nominal elaborate expression

**Elab<sub>v</sub>** verbal elaborate expression

**Elab<sub>v</sub> + V** verbal elaborate expression + verb

**Eth** ethnonym

**Interj** interjection

**LRC** left relative clause (precedes head noun)

**LRC + N<sub>h</sub>** left relative clause plus head noun

**M<sub>px</sub>** prefixable morpheme (may be preceded by ð-)

## Form Class Abbreviations

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**N** noun

**N + P<sub>n</sub>** noun + noun-particle

**N<sub>dvb</sub>** deverbal noun (derived from a clause containing only a VP)

**N<sub>ext</sub>** extensive noun

**N<sub>ext</sub>** extensive noun phrase

**N<sub>intg</sub>** interrogative noun

**N<sub>lim</sub>** limited noun

**N<sub>loc</sub>** locative noun

**N<sub>pers</sub>** personal name

**N<sub>place</sub>** name of a place

**N<sub>poss</sub> + ve** genitive modifier

**N<sub>prop</sub>** proper noun

**N<sub>sd</sub>** spatial demonstrative noun

**N<sub>sd</sub> + P<sub>n</sub>** spatial demonstrative noun + noun particle

**N<sub>spec</sub> + V** specifying noun + verb

**N<sub>time</sub>** temporal noun

**NP** noun phrase

**NP<sub>ext</sub>** extensive noun phrase

**NP<sub>intg</sub>** interrogative noun phrase

**NP<sub>loc</sub>** locative noun phrase

**NP<sub>q</sub>** quantified noun phrase

**NP<sub>time</sub>** temporal noun phrase

**Num** numeral

**Num + Clf** numeral plus classifier; quantity expression (equivalent to “Q”)

**Onomat** onomatopoeia

**OV** object plus verb; object-verb construction

**P<sub>adv</sub>** adverbial particle

**P<sub>n</sub>** nominal particle

**P<sub>u</sub>** unrestricted particle (can follow either noun or verb)

**P<sub>uf</sub>** final unrestricted particle

**P<sub>unf</sub>** non-final unrestricted particle

**P<sub>univ</sub>** universal unrestricted particle

**P<sub>univ</sub> + P<sub>univ</sub>** universal unrestricted particle + universal unrestricted particle

**Pron** pronoun

**Pron<sub>intg</sub>** interrogative pronoun

**Prt** particle

**P<sub>v</sub>** verb particle

**P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>quot</sub>** verb particle + quotative particle

**P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub>** verb particle + verb particle

**P<sub>v</sub> + V<sub>v</sub>** verb particle + post-head versatile verb

**P<sub>v-nom</sub>** nominalizing verb particle

**Q** numeral plus classifier; quantity expression (equivalent to “Num + Clf”)

**Q<sub>time</sub>** temporal quantity expression

**Quasi-Elab** quasi-elaborate expression (4 syllables but none repeated)

**QUOT** quotative

**RC** relative clause

**RRC** right relative clause (follows head noun)

**S** sentence; subject

**S + VP** sentence + verb phrase

**SV** subject plus verb; subject-verb construction

**Temp Nom** temporal nominal

**V** verb

**V + P<sub>v</sub>** verb + verb particle

**V + V<sub>v</sub>** verb + post-head versatile verb

**V<sub>adj</sub>** adjectival verb; adjective

**V<sub>h</sub>** main verb; verb head

**V<sub>h</sub> + V<sub>v</sub>** main verb plus post-head versatile verb (post-head concatenation)

**V<sub>imp</sub>** imperative verb

**V<sub>Pv-nom</sub>** nominalizing verb particle

**V<sub>redup</sub>** reduplicated verb

**VP** verb phrase

**VV** versatile verb

**V<sub>v</sub>** post-head versatile verb

**<sub>v</sub>V** prehead versatile verb

**<sub>v</sub>V + V<sub>h</sub>** pre-head versatile verb + main verb (pre-head concatenation)

## Miscellaneous Abbreviations

**AW** Anthony R. Walker

**BL** Black Lahu

**CM** Cà-mó (chief consultant, 2nd fieldtrip)

**DL** *The Dictionary of Lahu* (Matisoff, 1988)

**ELL** *English-Lahu Lexicon* (Matisoff, 2006)

**GL** *The Grammar of Lahu* (Matisoff, 1973/1982)

**H** Headman of Huey Tat village (Cà-bí)

**JAM** James A. Matisoff

**Lh.** Lahu

**lit.** literally

**P** Paul (Cà-lô); urban informant, first fieldtrip

**PLB** Proto-Lolo-Burmese

**PTB** Proto-Tibeto-Burman

**RL** Red Lahu

**Si.** Siamese

**Skt.** Sanskrit

**smn** someone

**sthg** something

**T** Teacher (Cà-bo)

**T-y** Thû-yì (friend, 1st fieldtrip)

**URAP** Undergraduate Research Apprenticeship Program

**WB** Written Burmese

**YL** Yellow Lahu

**YP** Yâ-pā-é (chief consultant, 3rd fieldtrip)



## **Part I**

# **Lahu Daily Life in the 1960's**



## **1 Generalities**

## 1.1 Remarks on the Lahu

- (1) *Lâhû-yâ*      *â-lɔn*  
 noun (N)      N  
 Lahu people    about
- (2) *chi-bâ?*                      *Lâhû-yâ*      *ve*                                      *â-lɔn*    *a-cí*  
 temporal noun (N<sub>time</sub>)    N                      universal unrestricted particle (P<sub>univ</sub>)    N      adverb (Adv)  
 now                      Lahu people    genitivizer                                      story    a little  
*qô?* *mâ*                                      *lâ*                                      *gâ*                                      *ve*  
 verb + post-head versatile verb (V + V<sub>v</sub>)    verb particle (P<sub>v</sub>)                      P<sub>v</sub>                                      P<sub>univ</sub>  
 explain                                      benefactive (non-3p)    desiderative    nominalizer  
*yò*  
 final unrestricted particle (P<sub>uf</sub>)  
 declarative
- (3) *Lâhû-yâ*      *qô?*      *ve*                      *lê*                                      *ô-thâ*  
 N                      verb (V)    P<sub>univ</sub>                      non-final unrestricted particle (P<sub>unf</sub>)    N<sub>time</sub>  
 Lahu people    call                      nominalizer    topic                                      in the past  
*chò*                                      *kâ?*                                      *Thây-mû-mì*                      *̄*                      *chê*  
 spatial demonstrative noun (N<sub>sd</sub>)    nominal particle (P<sub>n</sub>)    name of a place (N<sub>place</sub>)    P<sub>n</sub>                      V  
 here                                      locative                                      Thailand                                      locative    live  
*ve*      *chɔ*      *mâ*      *hê?*  
 P<sub>univ</sub>      N      Adv      V  
 relativizer    people    negative    be the case
- (4) *Man-mû-mì*    *̄*                      *chê*    *ve*                      *chɔ*      *yò*  
 N<sub>place</sub>      P<sub>n</sub>                      V    P<sub>univ</sub>                      N                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 Burma      locative    live    relativizer    people    declarative
- (5) *qhe-kâ?*                      *â-thò?ma te*                                      *chò*    *Thây-mû-mì*    *̄*  
 conjunction (Conj)    interrogative adverb (Adv<sub>interrog</sub>)    N<sub>sd</sub>    N<sub>place</sub>                      P<sub>n</sub>  
 but                                      why                                      here    Thailand                      locative  
*ca*                                      *chê*    *la*                      *le*                                      *qô?* *qo*                      *nè-hi*  
 prehead versatile verb (V<sub>v</sub>)    V    P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>                                      P<sub>unf</sub>                                      pronoun (Pron)  
 go and do                                      live    come to V    substantive qst    topicalizer                      you (pl)  
*šĩ*    *ve*                      *qhe-lê*                                      *yò*  
 V    P<sub>univ</sub>                      extensive noun (N<sub>ext</sub>)    P<sub>uf</sub>  
 know    nominalizer    like                                      declarative
- (6) *Man-mû-mì*    *lê*      *chi-bâ?*    *chê-ša*                      *tù*                                      *ve*                      *mû-mì*  
 N<sub>place</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>    N<sub>time</sub>    V + V<sub>v</sub>                      nominalizing verb particle (P<sub>v-nom</sub>)    P<sub>univ</sub>                      N  
 Burma      topic    now    free from care    sthg that is cause for V'ing                      relativizer    country  
*mâ*      *hê?*                      *o*  
 Adv      V                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative    be the case    emphatic
- (7) *ô-thâ*      *qhe-lê*    *a-šu*                      *tê gâ le-le*                                      *yô*    *qha*    *dô*      *ve*  
 N<sub>time</sub>                      N<sub>ext</sub>    Pron                      quantified noun phrase (NP<sub>q</sub>)    Pron    Adv    V                      P<sub>univ</sub>  
 in the past    like      everybody    everybody                                      they    all    think    nominalizer  
*qhe-lê*    *qha*    *te*    *ve*                      *qhe-lê*    *te*    *gã*                                      *ve*                      *mâ*  
 N<sub>ext</sub>    Adv    V    P<sub>univ</sub>                      N<sub>ext</sub>    V    post-head versatile verb (V<sub>v</sub>)    P<sub>univ</sub>                      Adv  
 like    all    do    nominalizer    like    do    get to                                      nominalizer    negative

- hê?* o .  
V P<sub>uf</sub>  
true emphatic
- (8) *chi Hê?-pā-ni ve ð-lî ð-šĕ ca te tš?*  
determiner (Det) N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N N <sub>v</sub>V V + V<sub>v</sub>  
this communist China genitivizer doctrine new thing go and do put forth  
*la ve le cho tê gâ le-le yš qha te gâ ve*  
P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N NP<sub>q</sub> Pron Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
become nominalizer because people everybody they all do desiderative nominalizer  
*qhe-lê te mâ phê?* .  
N<sub>ext</sub> V Adv V<sub>v</sub>  
like do negative able to
- (9) *qhe yš te gâ ve qhe-lê mâ gâ te qo cho*  
Conj Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> N  
so they do desiderative nominalizer like negative get to do when people  
*qô? ve tê câ lè ni-ma ha-lê ve*  
relative clause (RC) P<sub>unf</sub> N adjectival verb; adjective (V<sub>adj</sub>) P<sub>univ</sub>  
those who are called topic heart happy nominalizer  
*mâ hê?*  
adverb + verb (Adv + V )  
not be the case
- (10) *qhe-te-le nò-hi kà? chò kà? gâ phò la ve hé* ,  
Conj Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
so you (pl) also here locative have to flee motion towards nominalizer probably  
*ŋà dš ve yò* .  
Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
I think nominalizer declarative
- (11) *chi Man-mû-mì š chê ve Lâhû-yâ*  
Det N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N  
this Burma locative live relativizer Lahu people  
*tê pa kà? ô-thâ*  
numeral plus classifier; quantity expression (equivalent to “Num + Cl<sub>f</sub>”) (Q) P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub>  
some also in the past  
*qo Man-mû-mì š chê ve cho*  
P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N  
topic Burma locative live relativizer people  
*tê-tê mâ hê?* .  
prefixable morpheme (may be preceded by ð-) (M<sub>prfx</sub>) Adv V  
real negative be the case
- (12) *Hê?-pā-mû-mì Yūnān-mû-mì qô? kî š chê ve yò* .  
N<sub>place</sub> N<sub>place</sub> V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
China Yunnan Province call locative locative live nominalizer declarative
- (13) *à-thò?-ma te le chi Man-mû-mì š chê la le qô? qo* ,  
non-final clause (Cl<sub>nf</sub>) Det N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
why this Burma locative live come to V substantive qst topicalizer  
*yš-hi kà? ô-thâ nî ha qhò? šĕ? ha qhò?*  
Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> numeral (Num) final clause (Cl<sub>f</sub>) Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Cl<sub>f</sub>  
they also in the past two hundred for years three hundred for years

Remarks on the Lahu

- qhe* *thâ* *Hê?-pā* *te-le* *yà?* *dâ?* *le* *Man-mû-mì* *̄* *pho*  
N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V  
about when China from come down mutual action suspensive Burma locative flee
- yà?* *la* *ve*  
V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
V downwards motion towards nominalizer
- (14) *Man-mû-mì* *̄* *pho* *yà?* *la* *thâ* *yô-hi* *kà?* *tù?-khān* *jâ*  
N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
Burma locative flee V downwards motion towards when they also suffer very
- tê-tê* *ve* *yò*  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
really nominalizer declarative
- (15) *qhe* *Man-mû-mì* *̄* *chê* *á* *le* *mâ mɔ-mɔ qo* *Man* *acúyà?* *chi*  
Conj N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub> N<sub>place</sub> N Det  
so Burma locative live perfective suspensive soon Burma government this
- Man* *lâthâbân* *chi* *Hê?-pā* *ve* *̄-lî* *qô?* *te tô?* *la* *le*  
N<sub>place</sub> N Det N P<sub>univ</sub> N V<sub>v</sub> V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
Burma government these China genitivizer rule V in turn develop come to V suspensive
- Lâhū* *chi* *kà?* *Pî-chô* *qhe-lê* *Thây-mû-mì* *̄* *pho* *yà?*  
N Det P<sub>unf</sub> ethnonym (Eth) N<sub>ext</sub> N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
Lahu this also Shan like Thailand locative flee V downwards
- la* *ve* *yò*  
P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
motion towards nominalizer declarative
- (16) *Thây-mû-mì* *̄* *kà?* *Lâhū* *Lîšô* *le* *Hê?-pā* *tê gî* *kà?* *pho* *yà?*  
N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Eth P<sub>unf</sub> N Q P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
Thailand locative also Lahu Lisu and Chinese pluralizer also flee V downwards
- la* *mâ* *à*  
P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
motion towards many asseverative
- (17) *à-thò?-ma* *te le* *yô-hi* *pho* *yà?* *la* *ve* *le* *qô? qo*  
Cl<sub>nf</sub> Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
why they flee V downwards come to V nominalizer substantive qst topicalizer
- tê gâ le-le* *qha sū* *yò*  
NP<sub>q</sub> adverbial expression (AE) P<sub>uf</sub>  
everybody the same declarative

**Translation**

[Cà-lâ]

1. About the Lahu.
2. I'd like to tell you something now about the Lahu people.
3. In the past the people called Lahu were not folks who lived here in Thailand.
4. They were people who lived in Burma.
5. But if one asks why they came here to Thailand to live, you all know [the answer] very well.
6. Burma right now is not a country where you can live comfortably.

- 
7. It's not like in the past when everybody could think what they wanted and do what they wanted!<sup>1</sup>
  8. It's because ever since the new policy of Red China has come out nobody can do what they want to do.
  9. So since you can't do as you like, the people are unhappy.
  10. So I think that's why you all had to come fleeing here.
  11. The thing is, even some of the Lahu living in Burma were not really people who used to live in Burma from times past.
  12. They used to live in China, in a place called Yunnan Province.
  13. As for why they came to live in Burma, two or three hundred years ago they came down from China, fleeing down into Burma.
  14. When they came fleeing down into Burma they also really suffered a lot.
  15. So then after living a while in Burma, soon the Burmese government, that Burmese regime,<sup>2</sup> came out with those Chinese-type rules, so the Lahu came fleeing down into Thailand, like the Shan.
  16. Lots of Lahu, Lisu, and Chinese have come fleeing down into Thailand.
  17. The reason why they've come fleeing down here is the same for everybody.

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<sup>1</sup>When the context is clear, as here, the general 3rd person pronoun **yǎ** can be used in a plural sense, like the more specific **yǎ-hi**.

<sup>2</sup>The speaker first uses **acúyà?**, the Burmese-derived word for 'government', then the Thai-derived synonym **lâthâbân**.





- (9) *qhà-qhe qô? qo* , ...  
 N<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 how? topicalizer
- (10) *Hê?-pā-mū-mì ̄ chē ve Lāhū lē Hê?-pā-chō phē? lē* ,  
 N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 China locative live relativizer Lahu topic Chinese person be sthg suspensive  
*Man-mū-mì ̄ chē ve Lāhū lē Man-chō phē? qay*  
 N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> proper noun (N<sub>prop</sub>) V V<sub>v</sub>  
 Burma locative live relativizer Lahu topic Burmese person be sthg end up V'ing  
*ve yò* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (11) *Thây-mū-mì ̄ chē ve chō kà? qhe yò* .  
 N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> Adv P<sub>uf</sub>  
 Thailand locative live relativizer people also just like that declarative
- (12) *Thây-mū-mì ̄ ca chē la lē , mâ mō-mō qo Thây-chō*  
 N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>n</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub> N  
 Thailand locative go and do live come to V suspensive soon Thai person  
*gā phē? qay tū yò* .  
 vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 get to be sthg end up V'ing future declarative
- (13) *qhe ve pa-tō lē , Lāhū ve mū-mì ò-tè-tè lē*  
 Adv P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 like this genitivizer because of suspensive Lahu genitivizer country real one topic  
*mā cò* .  
 Adv V  
 negative be there
- (14) *qhe ηà dō ve yò* .  
 Adv Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 like this I think nominalizer declarative

## Translation

1. Dispersal of the Lahu people.
2. Now I'd like to tell you a little bit about our Lahu customs and traditions.
3. We Lahu people live in the hills and earn our living by cultivating paddy fields, swiddens, and opium fields.<sup>1</sup>
4. Sometimes we also go hunting for food to eat.
5. So the Lahu people live in the hills and are not people who are idle.<sup>2</sup>
6. Sometimes we also go into the towns and do a little bit of trading.
7. In any case, there is not really a country for the Lahu people.
8. The so-called "Lahu people", whichever country they end up in, they become that country's citizens.

<sup>1</sup>Paddy fields are cultivated in the plains and are irrigated. Swiddens are in the hills and are non-irrigated.

<sup>2</sup>Lit. "people who do nothing".

## Dispersal of the Lahu people

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9. How?

10. For example, the Lahu who live in China become Chinese people, the Lahu people who live in Burma become Burmese people (from then on).

11. The people who live in Thailand are the same way.

12. Having come to live in Thailand, soon they will get to be Thai people.

13. So, there is not really a Lahu country.

14. That's what I think.

### 1.3 Lahu writing

- (1) *Lâhû-yâ*      *ve*              *lî?*      *ð-lɔn*  
 N                  P<sub>univ</sub>              N              N  
 Lahu people    genitivizer    writing    story
- (2) *chi*    *mì-gì-qhò?*              *ɔ̄*              *chɔ-yâ*              *láy-cà*              *chê*    *ā*              *ve*  
 Det    locative noun (N<sub>loc</sub>)    P<sub>n</sub>              N              Q              V    P<sub>v</sub>              P<sub>univ</sub>  
 this    on earth              locative    ethnic group    several kinds    live    durative    nominalizer  
*yò*              .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (3) *chɔ-yâ*              *láy-cà*              *ve*              *lî?*              *kà?*    *láy-cà*              *cò*              *ve*  
 N                  Q                  P<sub>univ</sub>              N              P<sub>unf</sub>    Q                  V                  P<sub>univ</sub>  
 ethnic group    several kinds    genitivizer    writing    also    several kinds    be there    nominalizer  
*yò*              .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (4) *tê pa-pa*    *qo*    *yô-hi*    *ve*                              *lî?*              *yô-hi*    *te tɔ?*              *ā*              *ve*  
 NP<sub>q</sub>          P<sub>unf</sub>          genitive modifier (N<sub>poss</sub> + **ve**)    N              Pron    V + V<sub>v</sub>    P<sub>v</sub>              P<sub>univ</sub>  
 some          topic    their                              writing    they    develop    perfective    nominalizer  
*yò*              .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (5) *tê pa-pa*    *qo*    *šu*    *ve*              *lî?*              *ð-mê?*                              *thà?*              *ni*  
 NP<sub>q</sub>          P<sub>unf</sub>          Pron    P<sub>univ</sub>              N              N                                      P<sub>n</sub>              V  
 some          topic    others    genitivizer    writing    letter (of writing)    accusative    look at  
*yù*                              *le*                              *yô-hi*    *ve*              *lî?*              *te tɔ?*              *tā*              *ve*              *yò*              .  
 V<sub>v</sub>                              P<sub>unf</sub>                              N<sub>poss</sub> + **ve**    N              V + V<sub>v</sub>    P<sub>v</sub>              P<sub>univ</sub>              P<sub>uf</sub>  
 V to good effect    suspensive    their              writing    develop    perfective    nominalizer    declarative
- (6) *Lâhû-yâ*              *ve*              *lî?*              *lê*    *Kâlâ-phu*              *ve*              *lî?*              *ð-mê?*  
 N                  P<sub>univ</sub>              N              P<sub>unf</sub>    N                  P<sub>univ</sub>              N              N  
 Lahu people    genitivizer    writing    topic    white people    genitivizer    writing    letter (of writing)  
*thà?*              *ni*              *le*                              *te tɔ?*              *ā*              *ve*              *yò*              .  
 P<sub>n</sub>                  V                  P<sub>unf</sub>                              V + V<sub>v</sub>    P<sub>v</sub>                  P<sub>univ</sub>                  P<sub>uf</sub>  
 accusative    look at    suspensive    develop    perfective    nominalizer    declarative

#### Translation

1. Lahu writing.
2. In this world there live several different kinds of people.
3. These various peoples have several kinds of writing.
4. Some of them have their own writing which they themselves developed.
5. Some of them have looked at other people's writing systems and developed their own writing.
6. The Lahu people's writing has been developed by looking at white foreigners' writing.

## 1.4 Welcome to Shatodo village

- (1) *qhâ?* *chi-ve* *lê* *Šá-to-dō* *qhâ?* *yò* .  
 N Det P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>place</sub> N P<sub>uf</sub>  
 village this topic village name village declarative
- (2) *Šá-to-dō* *qhâ?* *chi-ve* *chɔ* *tê phā* *tê gā le-le* *Khì?-yâ* *dê-dê* *yò* .  
 N<sub>place</sub> N Det N Q NP<sub>q</sub> N<sub>prop</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 village name village this people pluralizer everybody Christian all declarative
- (3) *lɛ* *hɛ* *te* *câ* *šɛ-phā* *yò* .  
 Conj N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 and swidden cultivate V for a living agentive nominalizer declarative
- (4) *qhâ?* *chi-ve* *ɔ-qhɔ* *lo* *chɔ* *qha-pə-è* ... *qhà-ma* *ná* ... *nî*  
 N Det N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N AE N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Num  
 village this in locative people all together how many? wonderment two  
*ha* *šɛ chi* *gā* *cɔ* *ve* *yò* .  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> Q Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 hundred seventy for people be there nominalizer declarative
- (5) *qhe-qo* *ɲà-hi* *tê gā le-le* *hɛ-ɲê* *mì* *câ* *pā* *dê-dê*  
 Conj Pron NP<sub>q</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> N<sub>ext</sub>  
 so we (pl) everybody swidden cultivate V for a living agentive nominalizer all  
*phê?* *ve* *yò* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be a certain way nominalizer declarative

### Translation

1. This village is the Village of Shatodo.<sup>1</sup>
2. In this Shatodu Village every single person<sup>2</sup> is Christian.
3. And [we are] people who cultivate swiddens for a living.
4. In this village altogether there are—how many now?<sup>3</sup>—er, two hundred and seventy people.
5. So then all of us are folks who cultivate swiddens<sup>4</sup> for a living.

<sup>1</sup>A big Christian village in Thailand, about 120 km north of Chiang Mai, on the River Kok on the Burmese border. The name *šá-to-dō* is from Thai *sāntōndiū* (*sān* ‘ridge’ and *tōndiū* *Pterocarpus macrocarpus*, a large beautiful timber tree).

<sup>2</sup>The notion of totality is emphatically conveyed by using three separate constructions: *Nqh + tê phā* ‘all the Nqh’; *tê gā lê-le* ‘every person’; *dê-dê* ‘all’. See DL: 631, 633, 709-10.

<sup>3</sup>*qhà-ma ná*: The particle *ná* expresses uncertainty. With this aside, the speaker is seeking confirmation of his population figure from the others present.

<sup>4</sup>Here the binome *hɛ-ɲê* is used instead of the simple noun *hɛ* ‘swidden’.

## 1.5 How we came from Burma to Thailand

- (1) *ηà-hi Man-mì-gì chē ve chò Thây-mù-mì ̄ pho la*  
 Pron N<sub>place</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 we (pl) Burma live nominalizer here Thailand locative flee motion towards  
*ve , yà?-qo-há-qá pho la ve tê yân , phò?-tu*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q N  
 nominalizer wayside flee motion towards relativizer the time that pith-root shoot  
*ca câ , ηâ t̄ câ là ve , chò ̄ gà*  
 vV V N V V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V  
 go and do eat fish dam a stream V for a living come nominalizer here locative reach  
*la ve .*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 motion towards nominalizer
- (2) *yâ kà? ò-mō ló [ g̃i ve ò-khō ] mâ*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> N bound nominal morpheme (B<sub>n</sub>) V P<sub>univ</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub>  
 children also group sthg big laugh relativizer sound many  
*ve ... tō ve ...*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer walk along nominalizer
- (3) *ηà-hi yà?-qo-qá kà? ġa chē mō jâ .*  
 Pron N P<sub>unf</sub> vV V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 we (pl) one's route also have to be there long time V'ing very
- (4) *kà? gà la ve , ha-pa tê mà phâ? gà*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> M<sub>px</sub> V  
 here reach motion towards nominalizer month one general classifier more than reach  
*la ve , Thā-yâ-qwē šī há la*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>place</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 come to V nominalizer village name up to (a place) spend the night come to V  
*ve .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer
- (5) *á-pô-ğō tê ġi phû? câ ve , lo-qa t̄*  
 N Q V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N V  
 banana tree creeper pluralizer look for V to eat nominalizer fork in stream dam a stream  
*câ ve , chò kà? gà*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> spatial demonstrative noun + noun particle (N<sub>sd</sub> + P<sub>n</sub>) V  
 V to eat nominalizer here reach  
*la ve .*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 motion towards nominalizer
- (6) *Thây mì-gì ġa chē la ve .*  
 N<sub>place</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 Thailand get to live motion towards nominalizer
- (7) *[ ò-chô t̄ šā lē ] qha-dê? dō ā*  
 N specifying noun + verb (N<sub>spec</sub> + V) P<sub>unf</sub> AE V P<sub>v</sub>  
 friend whisper suspensive properly think perfective



- (19) *ηâ t̄ câ ve*  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 fish dam a stream V to eat nominalizer
- (20) *l̄-l̄?l̄-câ là ve yò*  
 Elab<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 beg for food come nominalizer declarative
- (21) *ô kâ? tâ-vâ q̄? chē á l̄ ηâ-hi*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>time</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron  
 over there locative for a long time go on to V stay perfective suspensive we (pl)  
*Sá-ci-ê q̄? gà la ve yò*  
 N<sub>place</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 Shajieh (Chinese village) go on to V reach motion towards nominalizer declarative
- (22) *Sá-ci-ê q̄? gà la ve*  
 N<sub>place</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 Shajieh (Chinese village) go on to V reach motion towards relativizer  
*tê yân thâ , ηâ-hi Hê?-pā γε – Hê?-pā tê phā ηâ-hi*  
 temporal noun phrase (NP<sub>time</sub>) Pron N P<sub>n</sub> N Q Pron  
 when we (pl) Chinese with Chinese pluralizer us  
*thâ? ha-lê-ha-qa hâ?-yù lâ*  
 P<sub>n</sub> adverbial elaborate expression (Elab<sub>adv</sub>) V P<sub>v</sub>  
 accusative cheerfully welcome warmly benefactive (non-3p)  
*l̄ , ḡi-ho tê ḡi t̄ t̄ lâ ve*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N Q V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 suspensive Chinese tea things put down give to drink benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer
- (23) *̄ tê ḡi kâ? cā lâ ve yò*  
 N Q P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 cooked rice pluralizer also feed benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer declarative
- (24) *̄ câ á l̄ q̄? pho la ve l̄*  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 food eat perfective suspensive go on to V flee motion towards nominalizer suspensive  
*ô ̄ Pōmū qhâ? q̄? gà la l̄*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>place</sub> N vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 over there locative village name village V in turn reach motion towards suspensive  
*q̄? chē*  
 vV V  
 go on to V stay
- (25) *q̄? há l̄ , ηâ-hi Lâhū γε láy-cà-láy-yā pa*  
 vV V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N P<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> V  
 go on to V spend the night suspensive we (pl) Lahu with all kinds of things trade  
*câ ve*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 V to eat nominalizer
- (26) *t̄-qhâ?-š̄i kâ? q̄? pa , l̄?-š̄i thô q̄? pa l̄?*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> vV V N P<sub>unf</sub> vV V V<sub>v</sub>  
 silver button even V also trade bracelet (RL) even V also trade do for eating

- ve*  
P<sub>univ</sub>  
nominalizer
- (27) *tè?-chí kà? mâ cò*  
Adv P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
nothing even negative be there
- (28) *hā-ve-ğō-ve ð-qhɔ lo , nà-hi lè lè-câ-lò-lè? chē ve*  
Elab<sub>v</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
poor and wretched while locative we (pl) topic beg for food keep on nominalizer  
*yò*  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
declarative
- (29) *qhe-te-lē nà-hi ð-ví-ð-ni chò ɔ Hwè-tà? qhɔ chē á ve*  
Conj Pron Elab<sub>n</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>place</sub> M<sub>px</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
after that we (pl) brethren here locative Huey Tat in live durative nominalizer  
*ca qđ? šī la ve*  
vV vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
go and do V back lead along motion towards nominalizer
- (30) *qđ? šī la ve yò*  
vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
V back lead along motion towards nominalizer declarative
- (31) *ca qđ? šī la lē , ha-lè-ha-qa*  
vV vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>adv</sub>  
go and do go on to V lead along motion towards suspensive happily  
*ha-lè-ha-qa qđ? te lâ lē , chò Hwè-tà?*  
Elab<sub>adv</sub> vV verb + verb particle (V + P<sub>v</sub>) P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> N<sub>place</sub>  
in joy and gladness go on to V treat (non-3p) suspensive here Huey Tat
- (32) *qđ? gā la ve*  
vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
go on to V reach motion towards nominalizer
- (33) *nà-hi gā phɔ la ve tē yān thā tū?-khā jā*  
Pron vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
we (pl) have to escape motion towards relativizer when suffer very much  
*ve yò*  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer declarative
- (34) *tū?-khā ve ð-qhɔ lo nà-hi tē gā thà? tē gā kà? mâ*  
V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron Q P<sub>n</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> Adv  
suffer relativizer while locative we (pl) one person accusative one person even negative  
*gā mð dā?*  
pre-head versatile verb + main verb (pre-head concatenation) (vV + V<sub>h</sub>) P<sub>v</sub>  
find mutual action
- (35) *qhe-te-lē Ğī-ša bo à? pa-tɔ lē , gā qđ? mð dā?*  
Conj N N P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV vV V + P<sub>v</sub>  
after that God grace (X'n) object because of suspensive get to V again meet each other





16. We would chop down sticky rattan<sup>10</sup> to eat.
18. We'd go eat banana plants.
19. We'd dam for fish to eat.
20. We came here begging for something to eat.<sup>11</sup>
21. After<sup>12</sup> staying there for a long time<sup>13</sup> we continued on to Shajieh.<sup>14</sup>
22. When we arrived at Shajieh we and the Chinese – er, all the Chinese welcomed us gladly and cheerfully, and set down cups of tea<sup>15</sup> for us to drink.
23. And they fed everybody rice, too.
24. After we ate we took to the road<sup>16</sup> again, until we got to the village of Pomu<sup>17</sup> over there, where we stayed and spent the night, and we Lahu traded all sorts of things with them for food.
25. We traded away our silver buttons,<sup>18</sup> and even our bracelets we traded away to fill our bellies.<sup>19</sup>
26. We had nothing left.
27. In poverty and distress we kept on begging for our food.
28. Then our brethren who were already living here in Huey Tat<sup>20</sup> went to lead us back.
29. They came to lead us back.
30. They came to lead us here and they took care of us joyfully and gladly, and so we arrived back here at Huey Tat.
31. Having to flee here was a very distressing time for us.<sup>21</sup>
32. In the midst of our troubles we had been separated from one another.<sup>22</sup>
33. So inasmuch<sup>23</sup> as we have finally, by the grace of God, managed to see each other again, we now have great and abundant reason to praise God.
34. That's all there is to say.

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<sup>10</sup>**mé-ni-gō̃**: lit. “cat-rattan”, a small sticky kind of rattan only marginally edible at best.

<sup>11</sup>**l̄-l̄-l̄-câ**: lit. “beg-lick-beg-eat.”

<sup>12</sup>The many occurrences of the word **q̄l̄** as main verb or prehead versatile verb in this narrative serve as ‘narrative-lubricators’, indicating that the various events took place in an ordered sequence, and giving the speaker extra instants to think.

<sup>13</sup>**tâ-vâ**: lit. “all day long” (< Shan). Here used imprecisely to mean ‘for a long time.’

<sup>14</sup>A Chinese village.

<sup>15</sup>**ḡi-ho**: lit. “hot water”. This is the Lahu word for light-colored Chinese tea. The strong dark-orange variety that the Lahu themselves habitually drink is called **l̄-ḡi**.

<sup>16</sup>**q̄l̄ pho la ve**: lit. “again came fleeing”.

<sup>17</sup>A village near the town of Farng, about 115 km north of Chiang Mai.

<sup>18</sup>A traditional Black Lahu woman’s costume had some 500 silver buttons sewn on it.

<sup>19</sup>‘Fill our bellies’ translates **l̄l̄**, lit. “to lick”, more earthy than **câ** in the sense of ‘eat.’

<sup>20</sup>An advance party of Lahu had already settled in Huey Tat. When they got established they sent for their relatives and friends still in Burma.

<sup>21</sup>Lit: “The time that we had to flee here was very troublesome.”

<sup>22</sup>Lit: “one person hadn’t even gotten to see the other.”

<sup>23</sup>‘inasmuch as’ is very similar morphologically to Lahu VP + **ve ð-qh̄ lo**, lit. “inside VP.”

## **2 Subsistence activities: Agriculture**

## 2.1 The Lahu agricultural cycle

- (1) *Paul* : *chi-bà?* *̄* *ηà* *šĩ* *gâ* *ve* *lê* *lê* , *chi*  
 ? N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Conj  
 now topic I know desiderative nominalizer topic request for assent well  
*ηà-hi* *Lâhū* *chi* *̄* , *hε* *te* *ve* *qô?*  
 Pron N Det P<sub>unf</sub> object plus verb; object-verb construction (OV) P<sub>univ</sub> V  
 we (pl) Lahu these topic cultivate a swidden nominalizer call  
*ve* *hε* *tâ* *te* *ve* *tê* *ni* *lε* *cà*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 nominalizer swidden begin to V cultivate nominalizer one for days suspensive rice  
*ğà?* *thâ* *qha-gà* , *qhà-qhe* *te* *qay* *ve* *le* ?  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 harvest time until how go nominalizer substantive qst
- (2) *tê* *tɔ* *pà* *tê* *tɔ* *qô?* *ve*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> B<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 one for stages (in an activity) after one for stages (in an activity) tell nominalizer  
*lê*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 request for assent
- (3) *chi qhe* *ve* *šĩ* *gâ* *à* .  
 extensive adverbial (AE<sub>ext</sub>) P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 like this nominalizer know desiderative asseverative
- (4) *ɔ-lɔ-pâ* *thâ* *hε* *thu* *kì* *ɔ-ti* *ca* *ve* , *hε*  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 beginning when swidden clear land locative place look for nominalizer swidden  
*thu* *kì* *ɔ-ti* *ğa* *qo* *qhà-qhe* *šĩ?* *te* *thu* *ve*  
 V P<sub>v-nom</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 clear land locative place get when how? tree do and clear land nominalizer  
*le* , *qhà-nĩ* *ni* *ğa* *thu* *ve* *le* , *qhe*  
 P<sub>uf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>ext</sub>  
 substantive qst how many? for days must clear land nominalizer substantive qst like  
*ve* *lê* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer request for assent
- (5) *Cà-bo* : *ηà-hi* *Lâhū-yâ* *hε-ηâ* *mì cá* *ve*  
 personal name (N<sub>pers</sub>) Pron N N V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 male name we (pl) Lahu people swidden cultivate for a living nominalizer  
*tí qo* *chi qhe* *yò* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 topicalizer like this declarative
- (6) *ɔ-qɔ-pâ* *thâ* *lê* *hε* *ğa* *phô* *ve* *yò* .  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 first when topic swidden must hack away undergrowth nominalizer declarative
- (7) *hε* *phô* *pà* *qhò?-nó* *hε* *thu* *ve* .  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> M<sub>prfx</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 swidden hack away undergrowth finish V'ing after swidden clear land nominalizer

- (8) *hε thu ve tē yān lē à-là ha-pa nī mà*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> Adv N Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 swidden clear land nominalizer the time that topic approximately month two for things  
*qhe ġa thu ve yò*  
 N<sub>ext</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 about must clear land nominalizer declarative
- (9) *lε hε thu pà qhò?-nó , hε tí ve*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> M<sub>px</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 and swidden clear land finish V'ing after swidden burn off nominalizer
- (10) *hε tí ve ̄ , pà ò-qhò?-nó qo , hε*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 swidden burn off nominalizer topic finish afterwards when swidden  
*ji ve*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 clear by a second burning nominalizer
- (11) *hε ji ve tē yān tí qo qhà-mò-mò*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>univ</sub> AE  
 swidden clear by a second burning nominalizer the time that topicalizer for a long time  
*lē mà hē?*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Adv + V  
 topic not be the case
- (12) *tē ší nī ší cε tí yò*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> + P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 one for weeks two for weeks only declarative
- (13) *lε ġa qò? ti qay ve ò-yān ò-qhò lo qo ha-pa*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> vV vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 and must go on to V plant continue V'ing nominalizer time during locative topic month  
*tē mà lε tē qhən qhe ò-hi cà ġa ti ve*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> Pron N vV V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 one for things and one for halves about we (pl) rice must plant nominalizer  
*yò*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (14) *tí pà qo ġa mù? ve yò*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 plant finish V'ing when must weed nominalizer declarative
- (15) *mù? ve ò-yān thò-kà? chi qhe yò*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 weed relativizer time also like this declarative
- (16) *tē qhò?-qhò? qo , hε te cā ve qò? mù? ná jâ*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> OV V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> vV N V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 some years if cultivate a swidden V for a living nominalizer V also weeds deep very  
*ve pa-tò , là?-há mù? pà mâ phê?*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub> Adv V<sub>v</sub>  
 nominalizer because of immediately weed finish V'ing negative able to

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- (17) *ha-pa tē mà qhe kà? ġa mù? ve yò* .  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 month one for things about even must weed nominalizer declarative
- (18) *ha-pa nī mà qhe kà? ġa mù? ve yò* .  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 month two for things about even must weed nominalizer declarative
- (19) *ná já ve qo ġə? thā qha-gà kà? ġa mù? ve yò*  
 V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 deep very nominalizer if harvest time until also must weed nominalizer declarative
- (20) *le ġə? ve ð-yā tí qo qhà-mə-mə lè mâ hē?* .  
 Conj V P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> AE P<sub>unf</sub> Adv + V  
 but harvest nominalizer time topicalizer for a long time topic not be the case
- (21) *hε te ī pā qo ð-yān ha-pa tē mà qhe* ,  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>ext</sub>  
 swidden cultivate V a lot agentive nominalizer if time month one for things about  
*hε mâ ī pā qo nī ší le šé? ší*  
 N Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 swidden negative big agentive nominalizer if two for weeks or three for weeks  
*qhe cε tí ġə? , ġa ġə? ve yò* .  
 N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> + P<sub>univ</sub> V vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 about only harvest must harvest nominalizer declarative
- (22) *Paul : qhe-qo nð yà?-šɛ hε phô ve qô?*  
 ? Conj Pron Adv N V P<sub>univ</sub> V  
 well then you just now swidden hack away undergrowth nominalizer call  
*ve qhà-qhe te phô ve le ?*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer how hack away undergrowth nominalizer substantive qst
- (23) *le hε ji ve qô? ve qhà-qhe te*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub>  
 and swidden clear by a second burning nominalizer call nominalizer how  
*ji ve le* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 clear by a second burning nominalizer substantive qst
- (24) *ŋà a-cí mâ ší* .  
 Pron Adv Adv V  
 I just negative understand
- (25) *hε phô ve hε hε ji*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V  
 swidden hack away undergrowth nominalizer suspensive swidden clear by a second burning  
*ve chi ɔ̄* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub>  
 nominalizer these topic

- (26) *qhà-qhe te ji te phô ve*  
 N<sub>intg</sub> vV V vV V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 how? do and clear by a second burning do and hack away undergrowth nominalizer  
*le ?*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 substantive qst
- (27) *Cà-bo : hε phô ve qô? ve lè chi qhe*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub>  
 male name swidden hack away undergrowth nominalizer call nominalizer topic like this  
*yò .*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (28) *mû-ni ð-yâ thâ ġa phô ve yò .*  
 N P<sub>univ</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 hot season when must hack away undergrowth nominalizer declarative
- (29) *mù? chi phô-pē qo mù? yô mâ yò – mâ*  
 V Det V P<sub>unf</sub> V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Adv  
 weed these get rid of by slashing when weed decrease V greatly declarative negative  
*cò la ve pa-tɔ hε mâ ná – qô?*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N Adv V<sub>adj</sub> V  
 be there come to V nominalizer because of swidden negative overgrown say  
*ve , ηà-hi Lâhū .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N  
 nominalizer we (pl) Lahu
- (30) *chi thà? pa-tɔ tē nà? ġa phô ve .*  
 noun phrase (NP) NP<sub>time</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 because of this early must hack away undergrowth nominalizer
- (31) *hε ji ve qô? ve kà? chi qhe yò .*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 swidden clear by a second burning nominalizer call nominalizer also like this declarative
- (32) *hε tú pà ð-qhð?-nɔ mâ tò? ve ð-cà tē phā*  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> N<sub>time</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> N Q  
 swidden burn off finish V'ing after negative burn nominalizer thing pluralizer  
*qha-pà-è thà? tē ġε qô? yù phô?*  
 AE P<sub>n</sub> Q vV vV V  
 all accusative together V after doing sthg else take and V sthg gather together  
*le tú kə ve thà? hε*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N  
 suspensive burn sthg V thoroughly nominalizer accusative swidden  
*ji ve qô? ve yò .*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 clear by a second burning nominalizer call nominalizer declarative
- (33) *Paul : nð qô? ve hε phô ve qô?*  
 ? Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> V  
 you say nominalizer swidden hack away undergrowth nominalizer call

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- ve*      *̄*      *š̄l̄-c̄è* *ló*      *qhe* *ve*      *̄*      *m̄a*      *thu*      *bà*      *š̄è*  
P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>      N      B<sub>n</sub>      N<sub>ext</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>      Adv      V      V<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>v</sub>  
nominalizer      topic      tree      sthg big      like      nominalizer      topic      negative      clear land      away      yet  
*l̄è*      ?  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
request for assent
- (34) *m̄a*      *thu*      *bà*      *š̄è*      *th̄a*      *qhe*      *l̄è*      ,      *m̄u?*      *a-cí a-cí*      *te*  
Adv      V      V<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>      N<sub>ext</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>      N      AE      vV  
negative      clear land      away      yet      when      like      suspensive      weeds      little by little      do and  
*t̄ô?*      *bà*      *p̄à*      *ve*      *l̄è*      ,      *qhe*      *te*      *ve*      .  
V      V<sub>v</sub>      V<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>      Adv      V      P<sub>univ</sub>  
pull out      away      finish V'ing      nominalizer      request for assent      thus      do      nominalizer
- (35) *te*      *ph̄ô*      *bà*      *ve*      *qhe*      ,      *qhe*      *ve*      *à?*      *q̄ô?*  
vV      V      V<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>      N<sub>ext</sub>      Adv      P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>n</sub>      V  
do and      hack away      undergrowth      away      nominalizer      like      thus      nominalizer      accusative      say  
*ve*      *l̄è*      ?  
P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer      request for assent
- (36) *Cà-bo*      :      *yà-ò*      .  
N<sub>pers</sub>      V  
male name      yeah!
- (37) *ô qhe*      *ve*      *th̄a?*      *q̄ô?*      *ve*      *yò*      .  
extensive noun phrase (NP<sub>ext</sub>)      P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>n</sub>      V      P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>  
like that      nominalizer      accusative      mean      nominalizer      declarative
- (38) *t̄è p̄ô? tí*      *š̄l̄-c̄è* *ló*      *thu*      *bà*      *ve*      *th̄a?*      *q̄ô?*      *ve*  
NP<sub>q</sub>      N      B<sub>n</sub>      V      V<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>n</sub>      V      P<sub>univ</sub>  
at the same time      tree      sthg big      clear land      away      nominalizer      accusative      say      nominalizer  
*m̄a h̄è?*  
Adv + V  
not be the case
- (39) *š̄l̄-c̄è* *à-h̄ô*      *qha*      *c̄ò*      *ve*      *m̄u?*      *t̄è ph̄a*      *h̄e te*      *kì*      *à-qh̄o*  
N      N<sub>loc</sub>      Adv      V      P<sub>univ</sub>      N      Q      OV      P<sub>v-nom</sub>      N<sub>loc</sub>  
tree      under      all      be there      relativizer      weeds      pluralizer      cultivate a swidden      locative      within  
*lo*      *c̄ò*      *ve*      *m̄u?*      *t̄è ph̄a*      *qha-p̄à-è*      *th̄a?*      *ph̄ô-p̄ē*  
P<sub>n</sub>      V      P<sub>univ</sub>      N      Q      AE      P<sub>n</sub>      V  
locative      be there      relativizer      weeds      pluralizer      all      accusative      get rid of by slashing  
*ve*      .  
P<sub>univ</sub>  
nominalizer
- (40) *ô-ve*      *ph̄ô-p̄ē*      *ve*      *ô-ve*      *̄*      *qhe-l̄è*      *ph̄ô-p̄ē*      *ve*  
Det      V      P<sub>univ</sub>      Det      P<sub>unf</sub>      N<sub>ext</sub>      V      P<sub>univ</sub>  
that      get rid of by slashing      nominalizer      that      topic      simply      get rid of by slashing      relativizer  
*t̄è c̄à*      *m̄a h̄è?*  
Q      Adv + V  
one thing      not be the case



- (41) ð-khî phê? – yô kî qay qo ð-khî phê?  
 N V Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V  
 fertilizer become it rot become more and more V when fertilizer become  
 qay ve lɛ , cà tê phā kà? dà? jâ ve .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Q P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 end up V'ing nominalizer because rice pluralizer also good very nominalizer
- (42) Paul : qhe-qo nò-hi cà gò? thâ qhà-qhe te gò? ve  
 . Conj Pron N V P<sub>univ</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 well then you (pl) rice harvest when how harvest nominalizer  
 le , ga dà? ve lâ .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 substantive qst help mutual action nominalizer yes
- (43) mâ hê? qo , a-šũ yô-qhâ-yô te gò? ve lâ .  
 Cl<sub>nf</sub> Pron vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 or else each person by himself do and harvest nominalizer yes
- (44) Cà-bo : ñà-hi Lâhũ-yâ cà gò? ve tê yân thâ , mâ-qhɔ-cho  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Pron N N V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N  
 male name we (pl) Lahu people rice harvest nominalizer when townfolk  
 qha šũ-šũ ga dà? ve tê cà tí qo mâ hê?  
 AE V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>univ</sub> Adv + V  
 just like help mutual action relativizer same thing topicalizer not be the case
- (45) tê pô?-pô? cho tê gâ-gâ cà gò? mâ phê? , chê-hâ-cò-hâ  
 NP<sub>q</sub> N NP<sub>q</sub> N V Adv V<sub>v</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub>  
 sometimes person someone or other rice harvest negative able to suffer from illness  
 lɛ , nà-ve-gò-ve tê yân , ñà-hi gâ mò ve tê yân thâ ,  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> Q Pron vV + V<sub>h</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub>  
 suspensive sick and wretched when we (pl) find relativizer when  
 tê-qhâ?-tê-lò qha-pà-è qay lɛ yô ge gâ ga pî  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> AE V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> vV V V<sub>v</sub>  
 the whole village everybody go suspensive him with must help benefactive (3p)  
 ve yò .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (46) mâ-nà-mâ-gò ve qo , cho tê gâ le-le hɛ te  
 Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N NP<sub>q</sub> OV  
 healthy and free from suffering nominalizer if people everybody cultivate a swidden  
 ve thâ? pa-tɔ , hɛ tê pê? ð-qhɔ lo tí te  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V  
 nominalizer because swidden one for pieces of land within locative only do  
 ve mâ hê? ve pa-tɔ , chi tê gâ lɛ ô  
 P<sub>univ</sub> Adv + V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Det Q P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub>  
 nominalizer not be the case nominalizer because of this one person suspensive that  
 tê gâ ge qay ve ð-yân tí qo mâ cò .  
 Q P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V  
 one person to go relativizer time topicalizer negative be there
- (47) nà-ve-gò-ve tê cà lɛ ñà-hi qay lɛ yô-hi thà? ga  
 Elab<sub>v</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> V  
 sick and wretched one thing topic we (pl) go suspensive they accusative help

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- pī* *ve* *yò* .  
V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative
- (48) *Paul* : *chi-bà?* *ḡ-qhe* *cà* *ḡḡ?* *ve* *ḡ-l* *a-cí* *ṣī* *ḡā*  
. N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> N Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
now topicalizer rice harvest nominalizer matter please know desiderative  
*à* .  
P<sub>v</sub>  
asseverative
- (49) *cà* *ḡḡ?* , *cà* *qhà-qhe* *te* *la* *qo* *cà* *ḡḡ?* *ve* *ḡ-yá*  
N V , N N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> N  
rice harvest rice how? be a certain way come to V when rice harvest relativizer time  
*ḡā* *la* *ò* *tè* *ṣī* *ve* *le* ?  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> quotative (QUOT) V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
reach come to V completed action embedded quote know nominalizer substantive qst
- (50) *cà* *mε* *la* *ve* *qhà-qhe* *te* *ni* *le* *ṣī* *ve*  
N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
rice ripe come to V nominalizer how look at suspensive know nominalizer  
*le* ?  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
substantive qst
- (51) *ḡḡ?* *qo* *qhà-ní* *ni* *ḡā* *ḡḡ?* *ve* *le* , *qô?*  
V P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V  
harvest when how many? for days must harvest nominalizer substantive qst say  
*ve* ?  
P<sub>univ</sub>  
nominalizer
- (52) *ḡḡ?* *pà* *qo* *qhà-qhe* *te* *phô?* *ve* *le* ?  
V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
harvest finish V'ing when how pile up nominalizer substantive qst
- (53) *qhà-qhe* *te* *jḡ?* *ve* *le* , *qhe* *qô?* *ve* .  
Cl<sub>nf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub>  
how thresh nominalizer substantive qst thus say nominalizer
- (54) *Cà-bo* : *cà* *ḡḡ?* *ve* *tí qo* *chi qhe* *yò* .  
N<sub>pers</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
male name rice harvest nominalizer topicalizer like this declarative
- (55) *ḡà-hi* *ní* *ve* *tê yân thâ* *chi qhe* *ḡā* *ṣī* *ve* .  
Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub>  
we (pl) look at nominalizer when like this must know nominalizer
- (56) *cà* *tḡ?* *la* *pà* *qhḡ?-nó qo* , *yḡ* *ḡ-ṣī* *mā* *la*  
N V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Pron N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
rice come out come to V finish V'ing afterwards its grains hard come to V  
*ve* *tê yân thâ* *ḡà-hi* *ní* *le* *ṣī* *phê?* *ve* *yò* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Pron V P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer when we (pl) look at suspensive know able to nominalizer declarative

- (57) ò-šĩ lè hε la lε šĩ è phè? la ve  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> stative adverbial (AE<sub>stat</sub>) V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 grains topic hard come to V suspensive yellow become relativizer  
 tê yân thâ cà gǝ? yâ gà ò tè šĩ ve  
 NP<sub>time</sub> N V M<sub>px</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> QUOT V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 when rice harvest time reach completed action embedded quote know nominalizer  
 pa-tɔ ñà-hi gǝ gǝ? ve yò .  
 P<sub>n</sub> Pron vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 because of we (pl) get to harvest nominalizer declarative
- (58) gǝ? pà ò-ghǝ?-nɔ qo gǝ phò? ve yò .  
 V V<sub>v</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 harvest finish V'ing after when must pile up nominalizer declarative
- (59) phò? ve qô? ve cǝ-kì lè chi qhe cò ve  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 pile up nominalizer call nominalizer meaning topic like this be there nominalizer  
 yò :  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (60) cà mâ phò? qo cà-qa mâ dà? .  
 N Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv + V  
 rice negative pile up if hulled rice bad
- (61) lε cà jǝ? mâ pì .  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N V Adv V  
 suspensive rice thresh negative come loose
- (62) Paul : " cà jǝ? mâ pì " qô? ve qhà-qhe ve à?  
 . N V Adv V V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + ve P<sub>n</sub>  
 rice thresh negative come loose call nominalizer what kind of? accusative  
 qô? ve le .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 mean nominalizer substantive qst
- (63) Cà-bo : mâ pì - " mâ pì " qô? ve cǝ-kì  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Adv V Adv V V P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 male name negative come loose negative come loose call relativizer meaning  
 lè , jǝ? lε qha-pà-è mâ ce la .  
 P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> AE Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 topic thresh suspensive everything negative fall off come to V
- (64) Paul : mâ ce la .  
 . Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 negative fall off come to V
- (65) Cà-bo : êe , tê phā , qá tá ve .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> interjection (Interj) Q V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 male name yes pluralizer be still connected durative nominalizer
- (66) ô qhe ve thà? qô? ve yò .  
 NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 like that nominalizer accusative say nominalizer declarative

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- (67) *Paul* : *qhà-nî ni qhe ġa phô? tɛ á qo jð?*  
 . Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 how many? for days about get to pile up set aside to V perfective when thresh  
*ve le*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer substantive qst
- (68) *Cà-bo* : *qha-dê?-dê? ð-lí à? qô? ve qo , nî há šê?*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> AE N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num  
 male name properly custom accusative say nominalizer if two for nights three  
*há phô? ve thô-kà? jð? phè? ve yò*  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 for nights pile up nominalizer even thresh able to nominalizer declarative
- (69) *le mâ tân ve qo phô? tù mâ ve qo*  
 Conj Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v-nom</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 but negative have spare time nominalizer if pile up purposive V a lot nominalizer if  
*tê qhð?-qhð? qo ha-pa tê mà ġa phô? kî kà? cò*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> vV V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 some years when month one for things must pile up reason to V also be there
- (70) *tê qhð?-qhð? qo nî ší šê? ší ġa tɛ ā kî*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub>  
 some years when two for weeks three for weeks must put down perfective locative  
*kà? cò ve yò*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 also be there nominalizer declarative
- (71) *chi ve tɛ ā ve ġa phô? pə qhð?-nó mù-yè*  
 Det V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> vV V V<sub>v</sub> M<sub>prfx</sub> N  
 like this put down perfective nominalizer manage to pile up finish V'ing after rain  
*là ve , mù-cha cha ve kà? dš-hā tù mâ lō*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> Adv V  
 come nominalizer sunlight shine nominalizer even worry purposive negative need
- (72) *mā nê?*  
 Adv V<sub>adj</sub>  
 negative wet
- (73) *Paul* : *qhe-qo cà jð? ve thā jð? á ò qo*  
 ? Conj N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 so rice thresh nominalizer when thresh perfective completed action when  
*ḡ , á-qhɔ ḡ pū kə ve lâ ?*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 topic home topic carry on the back V into nominalizer yes
- (74) *qhà-qhe te pū kə ve le ?*  
 Cl<sub>inf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 how carry on the back V into nominalizer substantive qst
- (75) *Cà-bo* : *cà jð? ve tí qo chi qhe yò*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name rice thresh nominalizer topicalizer like this declarative

- (76) *hε* *vî* *ve* *qo* *hε* *qhɔ* *te* *ve* *yò* .  
 N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 swidden far nominalizer if swidden inside do nominalizer declarative
- (77) *hε* *qhɔ* *yè* *te* *lε* , *the-qō* *te* *lε* ,  
 N M<sub>px</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 swidden in house build suspensive huge basket for storing paddy make suspensive  
*hε* *qhɔ* *jò?* *kə* *ā* *ve* *yò* .  
 N M<sub>px</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 swidden within thresh V into perfective nominalizer declarative
- (78) *lε* *hε* *mā* *vî* *ve* *á-qà?-á-ki* *cò* *ve* *qo* ,  
 Conj N Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 but swidden negative far nominalizer a nearby place be there nominalizer if  
*tê pò?* *tí* *á-qhɔ* *pû* *kə* *tā* *ve* *yò* .  
 NP<sub>q</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 right away home carry on the back V into perfective nominalizer declarative
- (79) *Paul* : *chi qhe* *qo* *chi* *cà-šī* *pû* *kə* *pə* *qo*  
 ? AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Conj N V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 like this if you see unhusked rice carry on the back V into finish V'ing when  
*pə* *ve* *yò* *lê* ?  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be completed nominalizer declarative request for assent
- (80) *qhe-qo* *ô-ve* *qhà-qhe* *te* *ve* *le* ?  
 Conj Det N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 so that how? do nominalizer substantive qst
- (81) *cà* *jò?* *pə* *qo* *chi* *cà* - *à-thò?-ma* *èe* - *ò-cè* *qô?* *ve* ,  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Det N N<sub>intg</sub> Interj N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 rice thresh finish V'ing when these rice what er plant say nominalizer  
*qhà-qhe* *qô?* *ve* *le* , *chi* *Lâhū-khō* ?  
 N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Det N  
 how? say nominalizer substantive qst this Lahu language
- (82) *ô-ve* *qhà-qhe* *te* *tε* *ā* *ve* *le* ?  
 Det Cl<sub>nf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 that how lay down durative nominalizer substantive qst
- (83) *Cà-bo* : *jò?* *pə* *ve* *tê yân thā* *chi qhe* *Lâhū-yā* *lê* *vên*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 male name thresh finish V'ing nominalizer when like this Lahu people topic town  
*qhɔ* *chɔ* *qha šū-šū* *gu* *tā* *ve* *tê cà* *mā hê?* .  
 M<sub>px</sub> N AE V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q Adv + V  
 in people just like prepare durative nominalizer same thing not be the case
- (84) *cà-cè-cà-ğō* *ô-ve* *thà?* *lê* *qhe-lê* *jò?* *bà* *lε* , *ò-phô?* *ò-phô?* *qhe*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> Det P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N N<sub>ext</sub>  
 rice stalk that accusative topic simply thresh away suspensive pile pile like  
*te tε* *ā* *ve* *yò* .  
 V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 do so it stays the same durative nominalizer declarative

- (85) *lɛ hɛ-ǵɔ̌ lɛ̌ ǵa qɔ̌? ǵɔ̌? pʰ lɔ-qo cə-ǵɔ̌ ɔ̌-ve*  
P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> vV vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Det  
and old field topic must V again hold onto able to V emphatic conditional rice straw that  
*qha-pə̌ qɔ̌? tɑ̌? lɛ̌ ɔ̌-qɔ̌?-ɔ̌-le tɛ̌ kə̌ a-cí a-cí*  
AE vV V P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> AE  
everything go on to V carry on shoulder suspensive all around one for places little by little  
*tɛ̌ lɛ̌ tú kə̌ lɛ̌ tɛ̌ pɔ̌? cə̌ qɔ̌? ti cɑ̌*  
V P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Q N vV V V<sub>v</sub>  
put down suspensive burn sthg V into suspensive again rice V again plant V for a living  
*kə̌? dɑ̌? ve yò*  
P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
also good nominalizer declarative
- (86) *Paul : ɑ̌a , qhe-qo lɛ̌ tɛ̌ pɔ̌? lɛ̌ Lɑ̌hū-yɑ̌ qhe hɛ̌ thu*  
. Interj Conj P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> N Conj N V  
well! well then topic this time Lahu people then swidden clear land  
*cɑ̌ , hɛ̌-cɑ̌ tɛ̌ cɑ̌ ve chi , ɔ̌-lɔ̌*  
V<sub>v</sub> N V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Det N  
V for a living rice in the swidden cultivate for a living relativizer this matter matter  
*láy-cə̌ ʃĩ pə̌ ɔ̌ lɛ̌*  
Q V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
several kinds understand finish V'ing completed action request for assent
- (87) *qhe-qo hɛ̌-cɑ̌ tɛ̌ cɑ̌ ve ɔ̌-qhɔ̌ lo*  
Conj N V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
so rice in the swidden cultivate for a living nominalizer while locative  
*à-thò?-ma à-thò?-ma qɔ̌? tɛ̌ cɑ̌ ʃɔ̌ le ?*  
N<sub>intg</sub> vV V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
what kinds of things V also cultivate for a living still substantive qst
- (88) *láy-cə̌ ti ve , ʃa-ma-mì ti ve , à-thò?-ma mì*  
Q V P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> N  
several kinds plant nominalizer cornfield plant nominalizer whatever cultivated field  
*ti ve qhe ve ɛ̌?*  
V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
plant nominalizer such things nominalizer emphatic
- (89) *Cə̌-bo : hɛ̌ tí tɛ̌ ve tɛ̌ cə̌ lɛ̌ mɑ̌ hɛ̌?*  
N<sub>pers</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> Adv + V  
male name swidden only cultivate nominalizer one thing topic not be the case
- (90) *ŋɑ̌-hi Lɑ̌hū-yɑ̌ hɛ̌-ŋə̌ mì cɑ̌ ve qɔ̌? ve tɛ̌ yɑ̌n thɑ̌*  
Pron N N V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub>  
we (pl) Lahu people swidden cultivate for a living nominalizer say nominalizer when  
*hɛ̌ ɔ̌-qhɔ̌ lo nɔ̌?-ʃĩ tɛ̌ ǵĩ láy-cə̌ , á-pɔ̌ tɛ̌ ǵĩ , pɛ̌-ʃĩ*  
N N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N Q Q N Q N  
swidden in locative bean pluralizer several kinds banana pluralizer taro  
*tɛ̌ ǵĩ , qha cɑ̌ na ve ɔ̌-cə̌ tɛ̌ phɑ̌ , qha cɑ̌ phɛ̌? ve*  
Q Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Q Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
pluralizer all eat good to V relativizer thing pluralizer all eat able to relativizer  
*ɔ̌-cə̌ tɛ̌ phɑ̌ ti cɑ̌ ve yò*  
N Q V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
thing pluralizer plant V to eat nominalizer declarative

- (91) *pə̀-le ša-ma-mì kà? ti le , ša-ma-mì tí kà? tê pē?*  
 Conj N P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 besides cornfield also plant suspensive cornfield only also another for pieces of land  
*ğa te ve yò .*  
 vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 must cultivate nominalizer declarative
- (92) *ša-ma-mì mâ cò qo , ñà-hi Lâhū-yâ ̄ và? hu câ*  
 N Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N P<sub>unf</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub>  
 cornfield negative be there if we (pl) Lahu people topic pig raise V to eat  
*ve thà? pa-tɔ , và? cā tù mâ cò qo phu-ši ca ġa*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> N vV V  
 nominalizer because pig feed purposive negative be there if money go and do get  
*kì mâ cò .*  
 P<sub>v-nom</sub> Adv V  
 way to V negative be there
- (93) *Paul : âa , dà? jâ ve yò , qhe-qo lê .*  
 Interj V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Conj P<sub>unf</sub>  
 well! good very nominalizer declarative if so topic
- (94) *chi-bə̀? a-cí d̄-hā ve qo Thây-j̄-mô chi n̄-hi à? hε*  
 N<sub>time</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Det Pron P<sub>n</sub> N  
 now more worry nominalizer topic Thai official these you (pl) accusative swidden  
*mâ thu ci ġâ qô? ve chi tê*  
 Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Det Num  
 negative clear land let (permissive causative) desiderative say nominalizer this one  
*lɔ a-cí d̄-hā qô?-ma lê ?*  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 for matters more worrisome emphatic request for assent
- (95) *Lâhū-yâ chi ̄ hε mâ ġa thu qo ̄ t̄?-chí*  
 N Det P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv vV V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv  
 Lahu people these topic swidden negative get to clear land if topic nothing  
*câ-tù mâ cò qô?*  
 deverbal noun (derived from a clause containing only a VP) (N<sub>dvb</sub>) Adv V V  
 food negative be there say  
*ve lê ?*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer request for assent
- (96) *phu-ši à-thò?-ma mâ cò kà? , yà-pî-?*  
 N N<sub>intg</sub> Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> verb phrase (VP)  
 money any negative be there even never mind!
- (97) *câ-ši tê c̄ tí cò kà? ch̄ ph̄? ɔ , qô? ve*  
 N Q P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 unhusked rice one thing only be there even live able to affirmative say nominalizer  
*lê ?*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 request for assent

- (98) *chi*       $\bar{\sigma}$       *hε*       $\bar{\sigma}$       *mâ*      *gã*      *thu*      *qôʔ-qo*       $\bar{\sigma}$       *chi*  
 Det      P<sub>unf</sub>      N      P<sub>unf</sub>      Adv      vV      V      P<sub>unf</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>      Det  
 this matter    topic    swidden    topic    negative    get to    clear land    topicalizer    topic    these  
*ɔ̂-pī*      *àʔ*      *tí*      *cû*      *ve*      *lε*      *mì-khî*      *kə*      *lε*  
 N      P<sub>n</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>      V      P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>      N      V      P<sub>unf</sub>  
 old thing    accusative    only    rely on    nominalizer    suspensive    fertilizer    put into    suspensive  
*te câ*      *qôʔ-qo*       $\bar{\sigma}$       *chi*       $\bar{\sigma}$       *te*      *phêʔ*      *tù*       $\bar{\sigma}$       ,      *hã*  
 V + V<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>      Det      P<sub>unf</sub>      V      V<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>      V<sub>adj</sub>  
 cultivate for a living    topicalizer    topic    this matter    topic    do    able to    future    topic    difficult  
*jã* .  
 V<sub>v</sub>  
 very
- (99) *qhe-te-lε*    *ɔ̂-ti*      *ɔ̂-šf*      *ca*      *ni*      *a*      *qôʔ-qo*      *kàʔ*      ,      *nò*      *qôʔ*  
 Conj      N      N      vV      V      P<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>      Pron      V  
 so      place    new thing    go and do    look at    intentive    topicalizer    also    you    say  
*ve*      *qhe-lê*      *qhe*      ,      *qhò*      *tê*      *kà*      *kàʔ*      *ɔ̂-šf-phã*      *cò*  
 P<sub>univ</sub>      N<sub>ext</sub>      N<sub>ext</sub>      N<sub>intg</sub>      Num      Cl<sub>f</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>      N      V  
 nominalizer    like    such things    whichever    one    for places    even    owner    be there  
*ve*      *dê-dê*      *lε*      ,      *ɔ̂-šf-phã*      *cò*      *ve*      *qôʔ*      *ve*      *thò*      *šũ*  
 P<sub>univ</sub>      N<sub>ext</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>      N      V      P<sub>univ</sub>      V      P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>      Pron  
 nominalizer    all    suspensive    owner    be there    nominalizer    say    nominalizer    even    others  
*te*      *ve*      *mã*      *mò* .  
 V      P<sub>univ</sub>      Adv      V  
 cultivate    nominalizer    negative    see
- (100) *tê chi*    *qhòʔ*      *kàʔ*      *chi qhe*    *bà*      *á*      *ve*      ,      *nî chi*    *qhòʔ*      *kàʔ*  
 Num      Cl<sub>f</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>      AE<sub>ext</sub>      V      P<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>      Num      Cl<sub>f</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>  
 ten    for years    even    like this    abandon    perfective    nominalizer    twenty    for years    even  
*chi qhe*    *bà*      *á*      *ve*      *tí*      *mò*      *ve* .  
 AE<sub>ext</sub>      V      P<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>      V      P<sub>univ</sub>  
 like this    abandon    perfective    nominalizer    only    see    nominalizer
- (101) *qhe-te-lε*    *qhà-qhe*    *te*      *tù*      *nã*      *â*      *šf*      *ò*  
 Conj      N<sub>intg</sub>      V      P<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>      Adv      V      P<sub>v</sub>  
 so      how?    do    future    wonderment    negative    know    completed action  
*lê*      ,      *chi ve*       $\bar{\sigma}$  .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>      Det      P<sub>unf</sub>  
 request for assent    this thing    topic
- (102) *nò-hi*      *tê ge*      *phòʔ*      *lε*      ,      *šũ-khò*      *a-cí*      *šf*  
 Pron      Q      V      P<sub>unf</sub>      N      Adv      V  
 you (pl)    together    get together    suspensive    foreign language    a little    know  
*pã*      *qo*      ,      *mò*       $\bar{\sigma}$       *šáná*       $\bar{\sigma}$       *qay*      *lε*  
 P<sub>v-nom</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>      N<sub>sd</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>      N      P<sub>unf</sub>      V      P<sub>unf</sub>  
 agentive nominalizer    topic    down there    topic    government office    topic    go    suspensive  
*tô*      *ca*      *jè*      *ni*      *a*      *qo*      ,      *dàʔ*      *hé*      *qôʔ*      *ve*  
 N      vV      V      V<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>      V<sub>adj</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>      V      P<sub>univ</sub>  
 words    go and do    advise    try and V    intentive    if    good    probably    say    nominalizer  
*lê*      ,      *jô-mò*      *ge* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>      N      P<sub>n</sub>  
 request for assent    authority    with



- (103) *Cà-bo* : *yò* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name declarative
- (104) *ηà-hi qò? šu-khò-šu-šá* *šĩ le qò? qha-dè?-dè? tê gã le-le*  
 Pron Conj Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Conj AE NP<sub>q</sub>  
 we (pl) then others' languages and customs know suspensive then properly everybody  
*šũ-khò-šu-šá* *yɔ gã ve tê cò lè mâ hê?* .  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> Adv + V  
 others' languages and customs speak be able nominalizer one thing topic not be the case
- (105) *yà?-qhâ thò ηà-hi dš tã ve lè tê pò? pà tê pò? mâ gã*  
 Conj Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> Adv V  
 however we (pl) think perfective nominalizer topic time after time negative succeed  
*le mâ phê? thã qha-gà ηà-hi lò yù tù dš*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> Pron vV V P<sub>v</sub> V  
 suspensive negative able to time until we (pl) ask to V take in order to use future think  
*tã ve yò* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 durative nominalizer declarative
- (106) *mâ gã qo mâ gã thã è šĩ ve tí yò* .  
 Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative succeed if negative succeed time only know nominalizer only declarative
- (107) *le mì-gì jò-mô tí qo , ” mì tš kè à?*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 and government officials topicalizer land flat locative accusative  
*ca-? ,” qò? lâ ve yò* .  
 imperative verb (V<sub>imp</sub>) V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 seek! say benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer declarative
- (108) *yà?-qhâ ηà-hi ca le mâ gã* .  
 Conj Pron V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
 but we (pl) look for suspensive negative succeed
- (109) *chi à? pa-tɔ le-ɔ yò-hi acúyà? hà?-qá le ηà-hi*  
 Det P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron  
 this accusative because of suspensive they government take pity on suspensive we (pl)  
*à? ga lâ ve tê cò mâ hê? qo lè , ηà-hi*  
 P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q Cl<sub>nf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron  
 accusative help benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer one thing unless topic we (pl)  
*Lãhũ-yã ð-po tí qo lè hε kã? mâ gã thu qo ,*  
 N N P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> Adv vV V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 Lahu people for N's sake topicalizer topic swidden also negative get to clear land if  
*tĩ-mi kã? mâ cò qo , chi-bò? hã ve a-ké*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub>  
 paddy field (irrigated) also negative be there if now difficult nominalizer more than  
*, lã-le ð-gũ-šĩ kã? qò? hã qay tù*  
 AE N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 additionally in the future also V in addition difficult become more and more V future  
*yò* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative

- (110) *ĕ-la-mu-la mâ phê? ò tà hé .*  
 Elab<sub>v</sub> Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 advance in life negative able to completed action negative probability probably
- (111) *Paul : yĕ-hi nò à? qô? ve kâphî-mì , í-šî-kho , láy-cà*  
 ? Pron Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N N Q  
 they you accusative tell nominalizer coffee field fruit orchard several kinds  
*te câ ve qô? ve chi ̄ , ġa câ*  
 V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub> vV V  
 cultivate for a living nominalizer say nominalizer this matter topic get to earn a living  
*ɔ , qô? ve chi ve ̄ â phê? le-lâ ?*  
 P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 affirmative say nominalizer this topic negative able to yes
- (112) *qhâ-qhe te ve le , chi ve ð-l ̄ ?*  
 N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Det N P<sub>unf</sub>  
 how? do nominalizer substantive qst this matter topic
- (113) *Câ-bo : chi-ve yò .*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Det P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name like this declarative
- (114) *ġâ-hi Lâhū-yâ lê yĕ-hi qô? ve qhe te ġa tí qo , ġa*  
 Pron N P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> vV  
 we (pl) Lahu people topic they say nominalizer like do be able topicalizer get to  
*câ tù yò .*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 earn a living future declarative
- (115) *yâ?-qhâ í-šî-mì te ġâ thô , í-šî-cè vî mâ phê? .*  
 Conj N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V Adv V<sub>v</sub>  
 however fruit orchard cultivate desiderative even fruit tree buy negative able to
- (116) *vî tù phu mâ cð .*  
 V P<sub>v-nom</sub> N Adv V  
 buy purposive money negative be there
- (117) *te tù phu mâ cð .*  
 V P<sub>v-nom</sub> N Adv V  
 do purposive money negative be there
- (118) *ð-yâ mɔ jâ .*  
 N V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 time long (of time) very
- (119) *hâ?-hâ? mâ ġa câ .*  
 AE Adv vV V  
 quickly negative get to earn a living
- (120) *chi thâ? pa-tɔ chi mâ te ġa šē ð-kā ð-qhɔ lo , câ-tù*  
 NP Det Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> N N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub>  
 therefore this matter negative do be able yet interval during locative food  
*ġâ-hi Lâhū-yâ ð-po hā jâ ve tē cə yò .*  
 Pron N N V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>uf</sub>  
 we (pl) Lahu people for N's sake difficult very relativizer one thing declarative

- (121) *lɛ n̄ lɔ tɛ lɔ qo í-šĩ-cè v̄i t̄u phũ tɛ phā*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> N Q  
 and second for matters one for matters topic fruit tree buy purposive money pluralizer  
*thô-kà? , phũ mâ cò qo v̄i mâ ġa .*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> V Adv <sub>v</sub>V  
 also money negative be there if buy negative get to
- (122) *tɛ cə le-le phũ à? tĩ ġa yɛ ve pa-tɔ , chi qhe te*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V  
 every thing money accusative only get to use nominalizer because of like this do  
*lɛ ġa cā t̄u ve tɛ cə l̄è ñà-hĩ ò-po*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N  
 suspensive get to earn a living purposive nominalizer one thing topic we (pl) for N's sake  
*l̄è d̄ô-hā ve yò .*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 topic worrisome nominalizer declarative

### Translation

1. P: Now what I'd like to know is, how do we Lahu people cultivate our swiddens, from the day that we start to cultivate until we harvest, how does it go?
2. Tell me one stage at a time, okay? That's what I would like to know.
3. In the beginning you look for a place to clear a swidden, and when you find such a place, how do you clear it of trees, how many days do you have to spend clearing it, that sort of thing.
4. T: The way we Lahu cultivate our swiddens for a living is like this.
5. The first thing is we must clear away the undergrowth from the swidden.
6. After we finish clearing away the undergrowth, we clear away the big trees.
7. As far as the time it takes to clear away the big trees goes, we have to do it for about two months.
8. And after we've cleared away the big trees, we do the first burning of the swidden.
9. Once this first burning is over, we do a second burning.
10. As for the time it takes to do the second burning, it doesn't take very long.
11. It only takes one or two weeks.
12. So as for the amount of time it takes to go on to plant the fields, it takes about a month and a half for us to manage to plant the rice.
13. After the planting is done, we have to do the weeding.
14. And now for the amount of time it takes for weeding, it's this way.
15. Some years when we cultivate the fields the weeds are very high, so we can't do the weeding right away.
16. Sometimes it takes about a month to do the weeding.
17. Sometimes it takes about two months to do the weeding.
18. If they're very overgrown we must keep weeding right up until harvest time.
19. But the time it takes to harvest isn't very long.

## The Lahu agricultural cycle

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20. For those who have large swiddens to cultivate it takes about one month; for those who don't have a large swidden to cultivate, it just takes two or three weeks to do the harvesting, to be able to harvest.
21. P: Well then, what you were saying about clearing away the undergrowth just now, how do you actually do it?
22. And what you called doing a second burning, how do you do that?
23. I still don't understand. This clearing away undergrowth and doing a second burning. How do you do that burning, and how do you clear away the undergrowth?
24. T: So what we call clearing away the undergrowth is like this.
25. We must clear away the undergrowth in the hot season.
26. When we get rid of these overgrown weeds, the weeds decrease greatly — when they become fewer the swidden is not overgrown — so we Lahu say.
27. For this reason we have to clear the undergrowth as soon as possible.
28. And doing the second burning of the field is like this.
29. After we've done the first burning, we gather and pile up together all the stuff which didn't get burned and set fire to it — this is called doing the second burning.
30. P: So what you said was that clearing away the undergrowth still didn't clear away the big trees, right?
31. Before you've cleared away the big trees, you finish pulling out and getting rid of the weeds little by little, that's what you do.
32. Clearing away the undergrowth goes that way, you said, right?
33. T: Yep. We can say that's the way it goes.
34. You can't just clear away the big trees first.
35. You have to clear away and kill all the weeds under the trees in the field, all of them.
36. And it's not just a question of clearing away and killing those weeds.
37. It becomes fertilizer — as it rots it becomes fertilizer and it's very good for the rice plants.
38. P: So then when you harvest the rice, how do you harvest it, do you help each other out?
39. Or else does everybody do the harvesting by himself?
40. T: When we Lahu harvest the rice, it's not exactly like the way the plains folk help each other.
41. Sometimes a person is not able to harvest his own rice since he's unwell or miserably poor, and when we realize this the whole village goes and manages to help him out.
42. Unless a person is sick and ailing, everybody has his own swidden to cultivate; and sometimes the fields are not even in one area, so there wouldn't be time to go off to this person's place and that person's place [to help them out].
43. It's just in times of real need that we go and help them out.
44. P: Now I'd just like to know about harvesting the rice.
45. Harvesting the rice, how does the rice have to get to be so you know when the time has come to harvest it?
46. How does the rice have to look so that you know that it's ripe?
47. How many days does it take to do the harvesting, would you say?

48. When harvesting is done, how do you stack up [the rice]?
49. Tell me how you go about threshing it.
50. T: Harvesting the rice is like this.
51. When we look it over this is what we have to know.
52. After the rice has sprouted when we see that its grains have hardened, we know it's time.
53. When the grains have hardened and become yellow we know it's time to do the harvesting, so we must do the harvesting.
54. After the harvesting, we must stack up the rice.
55. This is why stacking up the rice is important:
56. If we don't stack up the rice plants, the rice is no good. Besides, it can't be threshed loose [so that the grains fall off the stalks easily].
57. P: When you say "can't be threshed loose" what do you mean?
58. T: Not come loose — the meaning of "not come loose" is that when you thresh it the grains don't fall completely off.
59. P: Don't come falling off.
60. T: Yes, some of it is still hanging on. That's what we mean.
61. P: How many days do you have to leave it stacked up before you do the threshing?
62. T: Properly speaking our custom is that you can do the threshing after it's been stacked up two or three nights.
63. But if you don't have a lot of time and you have a great deal stacked up, some years it has to be stacked up for a whole month.
64. Some years it happens that you have to leave it for two or three weeks.
65. When you've left it like this after you've finished stacking it up, even if it rains, even if it's very hot, there's nothing to worry about. It doesn't get wet.
66. P: So then when you've threshed the rice, when it's all threshed, do you carry it to store at home? How do you carry it to store?
67. T: Threshing the rice goes this way.
68. If the swidden is far away you do it right there in the field.
69. You make a house in the field, you make a huge storage basket, and you do the threshing right there in the field.
70. But if the field isn't far away, if it's right outside the village, you can bring it right back home directly.
71. P: So then after the rice grains have been carried and put away it's all over, right?
72. So how do you do this? When the threshing is done these — er, what do you call it? — the stalks<sup>1</sup>, how do you call them in Lahu?
73. How do you deal with them?
74. T: When the threshing is done we Lahu don't prepare [the stalks] [for other uses] the way the people in the towns do.

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<sup>1</sup>Paul is searching for the word cà-gǝ 'rice-stalk'.

75. We just take all those rice stalks that have been threshed away and stack them up into piles.
76. And if we have to recultivate an old field we carry all those rice stalks and scatter them all over the field, and set fire to them, and when we plant rice the next time it will be good for the crop.
77. P: Well, so then I have come to understand a lot about how we Lahu clear our swiddens for cultivation, how we cultivate the rice in the field, haven't I?
78. So then, at the same time you are cultivating the rice, what other things are you also growing besides?
79. Planting all kinds of things, planting cornfields, whatever fields you plant, things like that.
80. T: It's not that we only cultivate [rice in] our swiddens.
81. We Lahu at the same time we are cultivating [rice in] our swiddens we also plant all kinds of legumes, various kinds of bananas, kinds of taro, all kinds of things which are good to eat, all kinds of edible things.
82. Besides, we are also planting cornfields so we have to cultivate the cornfields in a separate plot of land.
83. If we didn't have cornfields, since we Lahu raise pigs to eat, if we didn't have anything to feed the pigs with, we'd have no way of earning money.
84. P: Well, that's great then.
85. Now the thing to worry about more is that the Thai authorities don't want to let you clear swiddens, this is the most worrisome thing, isn't it?
86. If the Lahu aren't allowed to clear swiddens, they wouldn't have anything to eat, would they?
87. Even if you don't have any money, it doesn't matter.
88. If you just have rice you can live, wouldn't you say?
89. This matter of not being able to clear [new] swiddens and having to rely on old ones by putting fertilizer on them, this is very hard to do.
90. So then going to find a new place, as you said already, every single place has an owner, but even though it's said that they have owners, you never see anybody actually cultivating [those places].
91. We even see places abandoned for ten years, or even twenty years.
92. So then I don't know what can be done in this situation, right?
93. If you all got together, some people who knew their language, if you could just go down there to the government office, to the officials, and have a discussion about this, it would probably be good.
94. T: Yes. It's not just that we have to be familiar with other people's languages and customs or that we all have to be able to speak their languages.
95. But we've never succeeded in getting what we've asked for, what we had planned to get by asking for it, as best we could.
96. We won't know whether we succeed or fail until we try.
97. And as for the authorities, what they tell us is, "Go find a place in the plains!".
98. But we can't find such a place, no matter how we look.
99. Because of this the government is not taking pity on us and is not helping us out, so that for us Lahu who can neither clear swiddens nor have paddy fields, even though it is already difficult now, in the future it will get even more and more difficult.
100. There is probably no way that we can come up in the world.

101. P: They tell you to plant coffee, fruit orchards, all kinds of things, so couldn't you earn a living that way?

102. How could you do that, things like that?

103. T: It's this way. If we Lahu succeeded in doing what they tell us, we'd be able to earn a living.

104. But even if we wanted to plant a fruit orchard, we can't buy the fruit trees.

105. We don't have the money to buy them. We don't have the money to do it.

106. It takes a very long time. It can't be done quickly.

107. For this reason, while we still haven't gotten anything [from the government], getting food to eat will be a very difficult thing for us Lahu.

108. The second thing is the matter of buying the fruit trees. If we don't have the money we can't buy them.

109. Since you just have to spend money for everything, being able to earn a living is very hard for us Lahu.

## 2.2 Agriculture and livelihood

- (1) *Teacher* : *âa* , *chì tê pô?* *ηà-hi Lâhū-yâ mì-câ-vâ-câ*  
 .  
 Interj Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Pron N Elab<sub>v</sub>  
 well! this one for times we (pl) Lahu people cultivate the land for a living  
*ve ð-lon nà?-ú te dâ?* *ve yò* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 relativizer matter conversation make mutual action nominalizer declarative
- (2) : *âa* , *cì-qhò?* *nà-hi tê qhâ?* *hε qhò-phò ð te*  
 Interj NP<sub>time</sub> Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N N<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V  
 well! this year you (pl) one for villages swidden whereabouts locative do  
*câ e tù ve le qô?-ma* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 V for a living motion away future nominalizer substantive qst emphatic
- (3) : *âa* , *ηà mô ð á-ni-qhò?* *ηà te kî ð Hwè-cà-táy*  
 Interj Pron N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Pron V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>place</sub>  
 well! I down there locative last year I cultivate locative locative Hwecatái  
*ð te hé* .  
 P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 locative do probably
- (4) : *âa* , *ηà tí qo ô ð Tháy-láy , Phá-dé*  
 Interj Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>place</sub> N<sub>place</sub>  
 well! I topicalizer over there topic place name rocky area near Huay Tat  
*phò ð te ve yò mē* .  
 M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 direction locative cultivate genitivizer declarative emphatic
- (5) *mô ð mâ yà?* *la o* .  
 N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 down there locative negative go down come to V emphatic
- (6) *hɔ câ qhε à* .  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 elephant eat to excess asseverative
- (7) : < *gî ve* >  
 V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 laugh nominalizer
- (8) : *âa* , *ð-ví-ð-ni tê gî ò , cho qô?-ve mâ-mâ-mâ-gî qo , tê gε*  
 Interj Elab<sub>n</sub> Q P<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Q  
 well! brethren pluralizer vocative people topicalizer few in number if together  
*te câ* .  
 V V<sub>v</sub>  
 do V for a living
- (9) *tê gâ tê kà tâ te* .  
 NP<sub>q</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Adv V  
 each person another for places negative imperative cultivate



- (10) *tê ni qo nà-la-gò-la qo mâ phê? , ó-qō há-pi kə ā*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V , N N V P<sub>v</sub>  
 one for days topic get sick if negative be possible head stone insert durative  
*ve mâ hê? lɛ .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> Adv + V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer not be the case because
- (11) : *âa , ñà lɛ tí qo ô ɔ̄ te ve yò .*  
 Interj Pron P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! I topic topicalizer over there locative cultivate nominalizer declarative
- (12) *mâ qay , mô ɔ̄ .*  
 Adv V N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 negative go down there locative
- (13) *ñà-qhâ-ñà te ve yò .*  
 Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 all by myself do nominalizer declarative
- (14) : < *g̃i ve* >  
 V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 laugh nominalizer
- (15) : *âa , qhe-qo ɔ̄ , chɔ-mô-pā qô? ve tɔ̄-khɔ ɔ̄ na cɔ̄*  
 Interj Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 well! well then topic elder say relativizer words topic heed ought to  
 ɔ̄ *nē .*  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 affirmative emphatic
- (16) *ni-hi mî-câ-vâ-câ ve qô?-ve ɔ̄ , tê pɔ̄? tí te*  
 Pron Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> V  
 we (pl) cultivate the land for a living nominalizer topicalizer topic at the same time do  
*ve qo ɔ̄ , nà-la-gò-la thɔ̄-kà? ni-dà?-ga-dà? te dà?*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 nominalizer if topic get sick even if care for and help each other do mutual action  
*ša à vâ qô?-ma .*  
 V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 pleasant asseverative emphatic emphatic
- (17) : *qhe te ve kà? â phê? ve lâ .*  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 just like that do nominalizer also negative able to nominalizer yes
- (18) *a-šú yô-qhâ-yô te ve lɛ-lâ .*  
 Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 each person by himself do nominalizer yes
- (19) : *cɔ̄ ve vâ , chi tê khɔ tí qo lɛ .*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 be right nominalizer emphatic this one for words topicalizer topic
- (20) *tê ge te cɔ̄ ve yò-a .*  
 Q V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 together do ought to nominalizer emphatic declarative

- (21) : *nà-la-gò-la qo ca chí ca tâ? mâ ġâ và*  
 Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV V vV V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 get sick if go and do lift up go and do carry on shoulder negative succeed emphatic  
 , *tê ġâ tí qo* .  
 Q P<sub>univ</sub>  
 one person topicalizer
- (22) : *âa , qhà-qhe phè? thô , qô? dà? ve qhe m̄a*  
 Interj Cl<sub>nf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> V  
 well! in any case discuss mutual action nominalizer like teach  
*lâ ā ve à? mâ na ò*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p) perfective relativizer accusative negative heed completed action  
*ve qô?-qo-pò? , nò-hi dô ā ve qhe*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub>  
 nominalizer topicalizer (lively) you (pl) think perfective nominalizer like  
*a-šū yô-qhâ-yô te câ ve thô , qhò-qhe te qo qha-dê?*  
 Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> AE  
 each person by himself do V for a living nominalizer even if however do topic properly  
*te mē* .  
 V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 do persuasive
- (23) *qha-dê? m̄i-câ-vâ-câ lē-š ġa-câ-ġa-dò ve*  
 AE Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 properly cultivate the land for a living suspensive get enough to eat and drink nominalizer  
*šū l šū tù ve à? te-? .*  
 OV P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V<sub>imp</sub>  
 be the same as others purposive nominalizer accusative do!
- (24) : *âa , âa , âa !*  
 Interj Interj Interj  
 well! well! well!
- (25) : *ḡà tí qo thu ve yò* .  
 Pron P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 I topicalizer clear land for cultivation nominalizer declarative
- (26) *yà-pî-ò?* .  
 VP  
 never mind!
- (27) *ḡà-qhâ-ḡà , ḡà tí thô ô š thô thu*  
 Pron Pron P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 all by myself I only even over there locative even if clear land for cultivation  
*ve yò* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (28) *thu qay ve yò , tê pò? lē* .  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub>  
 clear land end up V'ing nominalizer declarative this time

- (29) : *qhe te ve*  $\bar{5}$  *mâ phê?* *o nê-5* , *a-ví-a-ni ò*  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> , Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 thus do nominalizer topic negative able to emphatic suppositional brethren vocative
- (30) *qô?* *dâ?* *ve qhe chi-bà?* *mâ-mâ-mâ-ī ve-5* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> N<sub>time</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 discuss mutual action nominalizer like now few in number emphatic
- (31) *ha-lê-ha-qa hà?-hà?-pên-pên tê ge te câ cê ve*  
 Elab<sub>adv</sub> AE Q V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 cheerfully lovingly together do V for a living ought to nominalizer  
*yò-ê?*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic declarative
- (32) *ñà-hi 5-qhe Lâhū 5-qhe ð-mō-ð-cû mâ ve kâ? mâ*  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv  
 we (pl) topicalizer Lahu topicalizer multitude many nominalizer even negative  
*hê? ve-5 - a-cí tí ve-5* .  
 V P<sub>uf</sub> Adv P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be the case emphatic just a few only emphatic
- (33) *tê ni qo tê gâ nà qo tê gâ â mð qo ca šĭ*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Q V P<sub>unf</sub> Q Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> vV V  
 one for days when one person be ill if one person negative see if go and do die  
*ā qo 5-qhe â mð qo 5 â hê? o* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> VP  
 perfective if topicalizer negative see if topic should not happen
- (34) *mâ ve kâ? â hê? ve-5* .  
 V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 many nominalizer even negative be the case emphatic
- (35) : *ñà tí qo lê he-gô phô câ ve*  
 Pron P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 I topicalizer topic old field hack away undergrowth V for a living nominalizer  
*yò* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (36) : *nð he-gô phô câ ve lâ* .  
 Pron N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 you old field hack away undergrowth V for a living nominalizer yes
- (37) : *yò* .  
 Interj  
 yes!
- (38) : *âa , he-gô phô câ ve thô-kâ? gâ*  
 Interj N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV  
 well! old field hack away undergrowth V for a living nominalizer also get to

- câ*                    *ɔ*                    *và*                    .  
V                    P<sub>uf</sub>                    P<sub>uf</sub>  
earn a living    affirmative    emphatic
- (39) *mù?*    *a-cí*    *ná*    *ve*                    *cɛ tí*                    *ɔ*                    .  
V    Adv    V<sub>adj</sub>    P<sub>univ</sub>                    P<sub>univ</sub> + P<sub>univ</sub>    P<sub>uf</sub>  
weed   a little   deep   nominalizer   only                    affirmative
- (40) : *mù?*    *tí qo*                    *ná*    *à*                    .  
V    P<sub>univ</sub>                    V<sub>adj</sub>    P<sub>v</sub>  
weed   topicalizer   deep   asseverative
- (41) \* \* \*
- (42) : *qhe-qo*    *ɲà-hi*    *tê*    *qhâ?*                    *cì-qhò?*    *hɛ*                    *thu*                    *pə̀*                    .  
Conj    Pron    Num    Cl<sub>f</sub>                    NP<sub>time</sub>    N                    V                    V<sub>v</sub>  
well then   our   one   for villages   this year   swidden   clear land   finish V'ing  
*ò*                    *lâ*                    .  
P<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>uf</sub>  
completed action   yes
- (43) : *âa*    *hɛ*                    *thu*                    *ve*                    *ɔ̄*                    *mâ*                    *pə̀*                    *šɛ*    *qô?-ma*                    .  
Interj    N                    V                    P<sub>univ</sub>                    P<sub>unf</sub>    Adv                    V                    P<sub>v</sub>    P<sub>uf</sub>  
well!    swidden   clear land   nominalizer   topic   negative   be completed   yet   emphatic
- (44) *mâ*    *pə̀*    *thô*    *te*    *mâ*    *ğa*    *o*                    .  
Adv    V                    P<sub>unf</sub>    V                    Adv                    V<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>uf</sub>  
negative   finish   even   do   negative   be able   emphatic
- (45) *Kól*                    *ğò*                    *tú*                    *phê*                    *lâ*                    .  
N                    vV                    V                    V<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>v</sub>  
Northern Thai   act violently   burn sthg   launch violent action   benefactive (non-3p)  
*l*  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
emphatic declarative
- (46) *ji*                    *kà?*    *ji*                    *mâ*                    *ğa*                    *o*                    .  
V                    P<sub>unf</sub>    V                    Adv                    V<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>uf</sub>  
clear by a second burning   even   clear by a second burning   negative   be able   emphatic  
*nâ*                    *mâ*                    *š*                    .  
P<sub>uf</sub>                    Adv                    V  
indirect question marker   negative   know
- (47) : *âa*    ,    *ɲà ve*                    *thô*    *cí-cì*                    *mâ*                    *tò?*    *qô?-ma*                    .  
Interj    N<sub>poss</sub> + ve    P<sub>unf</sub>    Adv                    Adv                    V                    P<sub>uf</sub>  
well!    mine                    also   (not) very much   negative   burn   emphatic
- (48) *ní*    *ni*                    *šɛ*    *ni*                    *ğa*    *ji*                    *šɛ*    *hé*                    .  
Num    Cl<sub>f</sub>                    Num    Cl<sub>f</sub>                    vV                    V                    P<sub>v</sub>    P<sub>uf</sub>  
two   for days   three   for days   must   clear by a second burning   still   probably
- (49) : *ôo*    ,    *nò*    *ô-thâ*                    *tê*    *ni*                    *chɔ-mô-pā*    *qô?*    *khô*                    *mâ*                    *na*                    .  
Interj    Pron    N<sub>time</sub>                    Num    Cl<sub>f</sub>                    N                    V                    N                    Adv                    V  
oh!    you   in the past   one   for days   elders   say   advice   negative   heed

- qhe-qo* , *tê-mō-tê-cû* *tí* *tê ge* *te* *ā* *qhe-qo* , *šu* *kà?*  
P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub>  
since it is the case that the whole group only together do perfective if only others also
- mâ* *tú* *kə* – *ni-lō* *hà?-šá-lō* *ve* *qhe-qo* ...  
Adv V V<sub>v</sub> V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
negative burn sthg V into look after carefully look after carefully nominalizer if only
- (50) *yà?-ni* *ḡ* *nò-hi* *chə-mô-pā* *tô-khō* *mâ* *na* *le* , *a-šu-yô* *dô-qhâ* *te*  
N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N N Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N V  
today topic you (pl) elders words negative heed because one's own idea act as
- ve* *pa-tə* , *šu* *tú* *kə* *kà?* *nò-hi*  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron  
nominalizer because of others burn sthg V into topicalizer you (pl)
- ji* *mâ* *gā* *ve* *chi* *yò* .  
V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Det P<sub>uf</sub>  
clear by a second burning negative be able nominalizer this matter declarative
- (51) : *te* *mâ* *gā* *o* .  
V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
do negative be able emphatic
- (52) *ô-thâ* *qo* *mâ* *na* *le* ,  
N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub>  
that time when negative listen because
- (53) *nò-hi* *khô* *mâ* *na* *le* .  
Pron N Adv V P<sub>unf</sub>  
you (pl) advice negative listen suspensive
- (54) *chi-bà?* *qo* *chi qhe* *qay* *ve* *yò* *l* .  
N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
now topic like this go a certain way nominalizer declarative emphatic declarative
- (55) *qhà-qhe cē* *kà?* *chi qhe cē* *ji* *le*  
NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> extensive noun phrase (N<sub>ext</sub>) V P<sub>unf</sub>  
as much as possible even just this way clear by a second burning suspensive
- te* *câ* *ve* *cē tí* *yò* .  
V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> + P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
do V for a living nominalizer just declarative
- (56) *cì-qhò?* *he* *mâ* *tò?* , *ḡ* *gā* *câ* *nā* *mâ*  
NP<sub>time</sub> N Adv V N N<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> Adv  
this year swidden negative burn food get to eat indirect question marker negative
- gā* *câ* *nā* *mâ* *šī* *o* .  
<sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
get to eat indirect question marker negative know emphatic
- (57) : *âa* , *a-ví-a-ni* *tê gî* *ò* , *hà?-hà?-pên-pên* *ve*  
Interj Elab<sub>n</sub> Q P<sub>n</sub> AE P<sub>univ</sub>  
well! brothers and sisters pluralizer vocative lovingly relativizer
- ò-qhə* *lo* , *ô-thâ tê ni* *tê gā* *tê gā* *mâ* *na*  
limited noun (N<sub>lim</sub>) P<sub>n</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> Q Q Adv V  
with locative once in the past one person another person negative heed

- thô* *ga* *dà?* *mē* .  
P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
even though help mutual action persuasive
- (58) *chi qhe* *te dà?* *tù* *mâ hê?* .  
AE<sub>ext</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> Adv + V  
like this squabble cause for V'ing not be good
- (59) *tê gâ* *thà?* *tê gâ* *ga* *dà?* *lɛ-ɔ̄* *qhe* *te*  
Q P<sub>n</sub> Q V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
one person accusative another person help mutual action suspensive like this do  
*qay* *c̄* .  
V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
continue V'ing ought to
- (60) *chi qhe* *te* *qo* *gâ-câ-gâ-dê* *lɛ* *šũ lo šũ* *tù* ,  
AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> OV P<sub>v</sub>  
like this do if get enough to eat and drink suspensive be the same as others future  
*gâ-vâ?-gâ-de* *lɛ* *šũ lo šũ* *qo* , *Lâhũ* *tê* *yê*  
Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> OV P<sub>unf</sub> N Num N  
have enough to wear suspensive be the same as others if Lahu one household  
*pɔ-ša* *la* *tù* *ve* *yò* .  
V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
prosperous come to V future nominalizer declarative
- (61) *mâ* *hê?* *qo* *ɲà-hi* *chi qhe* *mâ* *te* *ve* *qo* , *tê gâ*  
Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron AE<sub>ext</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Q  
negative be the case if we (pl) like this negative do nominalizer if one person  
*hâ* *ve* *qo* , *nî gâ* *hâ* *ve* *qha šũ-šũ* *yò* *mē* .  
V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Q V P<sub>univ</sub> AE P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
suffer nominalizer if two people suffer nominalizer just like declarative emphatic
- (62) \*\*\*
- (63) *âa* , *tê gâ le-le* *hɛ* *ji* *pà* *ò*  
Interj NP<sub>q</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
well! everybody swidden clear by a second burning finish V'ing completed action  
*lê* *tê p̄?* .  
P<sub>uf</sub> Q  
request for assent by now
- (64) *pà* *qo* *pà* *ò* *qô?* *a* *nē* .  
V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
finish if finish completed action say hortatory emphatic
- (65) : *âa* , *pà-ò* *và* , *ɲà ve* *tí qo* *è* .  
Interj V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + ve P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
well! it's all done emphatic mine topicalizer topicalizer
- (66) : *âa* , *pà-ò* *lo-qo* , *chi-bà?* *ɔ̄* *cà* *tí* *ve* *ò-yân*  
Interj V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> N  
well! it's all done emphatic conditional now topic rice plant relativizer time

- yò* *qôʔ-ma* .  
P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
declarative emphatic
- (67) *cà ti a ni* *ò* *lâ* , *nò-hi* .  
N V verb particle + verb particle (P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub>) P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron  
rice plant try to completed action yes you (pl)
- (68) : *âa* , *a-cí* *è* *gã* *tàn* *ti* *a ni* *ò* *và*  
Interj Adv P<sub>n</sub> vV vV V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
well! a little only get to begin to V plant try to completed action completed action
- (69) *chi tê ší* *gã* *tàn* *te* *qay*  
Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> vV vV V V<sub>v</sub>  
this one for weeks get to begin to V do continue V'ing  
*a ni* *ve* *yò* .  
verb particle + post-head versatile verb (P<sub>v</sub> + V<sub>v</sub>) P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
try to nominalizer declarative
- (70) : *qhe-qo* , *Cà-lî* *nò* *qhà-nî* *tû* *pà* *ò*  
Conj N<sub>pers</sub> Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
well then male name you how many? for basketsful finish completed action  
*le* .  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
completed action
- (71) : *âa* , *tê* *tû* *è* *tí* *pà* *šē* *qôʔ-ma* .  
Interj Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
well! one for basketsful only only finish still emphatic
- (72) *ɲà tê tû* *è* *tí* *gã* *ti* *šē* *lɛ* .  
Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
I one for basketsful only only get to plant still suspensive
- (73) : *tê* *tû* *è* .  
Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
one for basketsful only
- (74) : *nò* *dô* *ā* *ve* *qhà-nî* *tû* *ti* *tù* *dô* *ā*  
Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
you plan perfective nominalizer how many? basketful plant future plan perfective  
*ve* *le* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer nominalizer
- (75) : *dô* *ā* *ve* *tí qo* *lè* *ɲà* *tû* *ti* *a* *dô*  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V  
plan perfective nominalizer as for topic five for basketsful plant tentative think  
*ā* *ve* *yò* .  
P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
perfective nominalizer declarative

- (76) : *ɲâ tû* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 five for basketsful
- (77) : *ɲ̄* .  
 Interj  
 murmur of assent
- (78) : *èè , chi qhe te qo lè , ġa-câ-ġa-dò ve*  
 Interj AE V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 yes like that do if topic get enough to eat and drink nominalizer  
*šū lɔ šū tû ve yò mē* .  
 OV P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be the same as others future nominalizer declarative emphatic
- (79) : *âa , Khê-kí nò qhà-nî tû ti tû ve*  
 Interj N<sub>pers</sub> Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 well! male name you how many? for basketsful plant future nominalizer  
*le* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 substantive qst
- (80) : *âa , ɲâ thô dô ā ve tí qo , ɲâ tû khò?*  
 Interj Pron P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num  
 well! I also plan perfective nominalizer topicalizer five for basketsful six  
*tû ti a dô ve yò* .  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 for basketsful plant tentative plan nominalizer declarative
- (81) *qhà-qhe cē ġa chi qhe cē te a ni tí yò* .  
 NP<sub>ext</sub> V N<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 as much as possible be possible just that much do try to only declarative
- (82) *chi-bà? ɔ tòn te ve lē ð-yân mâ lē šē lē* .  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 now topic begin to V do nominalizer because time negative be too late yet because
- (83) : *eeà? , ġâ-thè? !*  
 Interj Adv  
 right! with all one's might
- (84) *qhe-qo pū-côn nò qhà-nî tû ti tû ve le*  
 Conj N Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well then sexton you how many? for basketsful plant future nominalizer substantive qst
- (85) : *alôo , tê chi tû lè ti a dô ve yò* .  
 Interj Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 oh boy! ten for basketsful topic plant tentative think nominalizer declarative
- (86) *šālà? : ôo* .  
 N Interj  
 pastor wow!



- (87) : *yà?-qhâ* *chi tê khi* *̄* *á-po-qa* *tí* *ğâ* *te* *š̄* *qô?-ma* .  
 Conj NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 however right now topic field hut just must do still emphatic
- (88) : *ôo* , *ğâ-thè?* *te* *mē* .  
 Interj Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 oh! energetically do urging
- (89) " *mì-le-vâ-le* *qa* *fâ?* , *ca-le-ğâ?-le* *qa* *fâ?* ,  
 Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 tardy in cultivating one's fields if rodents be tardy in going hunting if rodents  
*šu-cè* *šu-cè-šu-phû?* , *mì-le-vâ-le* *qa-qò?* ,  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 a slave and thrall to others tardy in cultivating one's fields emphatic topic  
*fâ?-̄-ñâ?-̄* " *qô?* *ve* *yò* *mē* , *chə-mô-khô* *̄* .  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub>  
 food for rodents and birds say nominalizer declarative emphatic ancient lore topic
- (90) *tê* *ğâ le-le* *qha-dè?* *hâ?-hâ?* *ji* *le* *te* *câ* *c̄*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> AE AE V P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 everybody properly quickly clear by a second burning suspensive do V for a living ought to  
*ve* *yò* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (91) : *ñà* *̄* , *he* *ji* *kà?* *mâ* *pà* *š̄* *qô?-ma*  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 I topic swidden clear by a second burning even negative finish V'ing yet emphatic
- (92) \* \* \*
- (93) *š̄-p̄* *qa-qò?* *cô* *pá* *̄* , *à-šwè thâ* *šu* *chə-há*  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Pron N  
 tomorrow emphatic topic over there area locative long time ago others young man  
*ve* *nī-qhè?* *â?* *á-phè?* *š̄* *pî* *qô?* *kì* *̄* ,  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 genitivizer penis accusative chili peppers smear benefactive (3p) call locative topic  
*pē-nó-dī* *ca* *khâ?* *lè?* *e* *tè?* *d̄* .  
 N vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> QUOT V  
 honeycomb go and do scoop out do for eating motion away embedded quote plan
- (94) : *âa* , *ñà* *thô* *qay* *yò* *a* .  
 Interj Pron P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 well! I also go declarative intentive
- (95) *pē-nó-dī* *khâ?* *e* *tí qa* *ñà* *kà?* *tê* *qho*  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 honeycomb scoop out motion away topicalizer I also one for certain hollow objects

- mò à qôʔ-ma* .  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
see asseverative emphatic
- (96) *cô fâʔ-pé qhɔ̀ lè-qá-qhòʔ ̄* .  
N<sub>sd</sub> N N N P<sub>n</sub>  
over there brush-tailed porcupine mountain dry river bed locative
- (97) *âa , nè-há tē ge qay a lē* .  
Interj Pron Q V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
well! the two of us together go hortatory request for assent
- (98) : *eeàʔ , tē ge qay phēʔ ɔ* .  
Interj Q V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
right! together go able to affirmative
- (99) : *šó-nàʔ qay thâ qo ñà kàʔ a-cí kù a* .  
N<sub>time</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
tomorrow morning go time when me also please call hortatory
- (100) *nè-há tē nàʔ šá è te-le tē ge qay* .  
Pron NP<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Q V  
the two of us rather early in the morning from together go
- (101) *ñà kàʔ tē qhɔ̀ mò à* .  
Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
I also one for certain hollow objects see asseverative
- (102) : *eeàʔ , à-šwè thâ chɔ̀ te tã ve qhe ̄ tâ*  
Interj NP<sub>time</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv  
right! long time ago guy do perfective nominalizer like topic negative imperative
- te lâ mē* .  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
do benefactive (non-3p) urging
- (103) : *qay qo ̄ qay* .  
V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V  
go if topic go
- (104) *mâ hēʔ-hēʔ è tâ qôʔ lâ* .  
AE Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
wrongly negative imperative say benefactive (non-3p)
- (105) : *tē ge ha-lè-ha-qa qay a* .  
Q Elab<sub>adv</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
together happily go hortatory
- (106) : *nè-há tí qo ka-tiʔ tē pɔʔ è kàʔ mâ lù jɔ*  
Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N Q P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
the two of us topicalizer promise once even even negative break experiential
- ve le , a-šu kàʔ jè dàʔ le qôʔ ā ve*  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron V+P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
nominalizer because anybody discuss suspensive say perfective nominalizer
- qhe ce qay ni ve tí yò* .  
Adv P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
just like that just go try and V nominalizer only declarative

- (107) *šó-nà?*                      *è*    *qay* .  
 N<sub>time</sub>                              P<sub>n</sub>    V  
 tomorrow morning    just    go
- (108) : *eeà?*    , *pò la*            *tí qo*            *mâ*            *lù*            *jo*            *ve*            *yò* .  
 Interj    V + P<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>univ</sub>            Adv            V            P<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>univ</sub>            P<sub>uf</sub>  
 right!    in the past    topicalizer    negative    break    experiential    nominalizer    declarative
- (109) : *âa*    , *phî kâ?*    *šî*            *le*            *qay mē* .  
 Interj    N    P<sub>unf</sub>    V            P<sub>unf</sub>            V    P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well!    dog    also    lead along    suspensive    go    emphatic
- (110) *šālâ?*    *ò*            , *Khê-kí*            *ò*            , *Câ-lî*            *ò* .  
 N    P<sub>n</sub>            N<sub>pers</sub>            P<sub>n</sub>            N<sub>pers</sub>            P<sub>n</sub>  
 pastor    vocative    male name    vocative    male name    vocative
- (111) *mò?-ní-qwē*            , *mò?-ná?*    *é*            *ca*            *bô?-hâ?*            *e* .  
 N                              N            M<sub>prfx</sub>            <sub>v</sub>V            V                              P<sub>v</sub>  
 rhesus macaque    gibbon    little    go and do    shoot and hit    motion away
- (112) *fâ?-pu*            *fâ?-pé*                              *tê gî*            *ca*            *gâ?*            *há*                              *e* .  
 N                              N    Q            <sub>v</sub>V            V            V                              P<sub>v</sub>  
 porcupine    brush-tailed porcupine    pluralizer    go and do    hunt    spend the night    motion away
- (113) *šālâ?* : *qhe-qo*            , *Câ-lî*            , *nò*            *phî šî və*            *lá*                              *qo*  
 N                              Conj            N<sub>pers</sub>            Pron    N    V + P<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>v</sub>                              P<sub>unf</sub>  
 pastor    well then    male name    your    dog    accompany    benefactive (non-3p)    if  
*phê?*    *hé*            *qô?-ma* .  
 V            P<sub>uf</sub>            P<sub>uf</sub>  
 able to    probably    emphatic
- (114) : *âa*    , *šî*            *phê?*            *ɔ*            *và*            , *ŋà ve*            *tí qo*            *è* .  
 Interj    V            V<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>uf</sub>            P<sub>uf</sub>            N<sub>poss</sub> + **ve**    P<sub>univ</sub>            P<sub>unf</sub>  
 well!    lead along    able to    affirmative    affirmative    mine    topicalizer    topicalizer
- (115) *yô*    *ɔ*            *mò?*            *mâ*            *gâ?*            *pí*            *qô?-ma* .  
 Pron    P<sub>unf</sub>            N            Adv            V            V<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>uf</sub>  
 he    topic    monkey    negative    hunt    able to V    emphatic
- (116) : *chi-pí-qwè?*            *lè*            *gâ?*            *pí*            *à*            *nè-ɔ*            , *mò?*            *â*            *gâ?*  
 N                              P<sub>unf</sub>            V            V<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>uf</sub>            N            Adv            V  
 barking deer    topic    hunt    able to V    asseverative    suppositional    monkey    negative    hunt  
*pí*            *thô*  
 V<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>unf</sub>  
 able to V    even though
- (117) : *gâ?*            *pí*            *à* .  
 V            V<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>v</sub>  
 hunt    able to V    asseverative
- (118) *gâ?*            *pí*            *à*            , *chi-pí-qwè?*            *lè* .  
 V            V<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>v</sub>            N            P<sub>unf</sub>  
 hunt    able to V    asseverative    barking deer    topic
- (119) : *èe*    , *qhe-qo*    *ɔ*            , *qhe*            *te qay*                              *ve*            *yò-a* .  
 Interj    Conj    P<sub>unf</sub>            Adv            V    V<sub>v</sub>                              P<sub>univ</sub>            P<sub>uf</sub>  
 yes    then    topic    like this    do    continue V'ing    nominalizer    emphatic declarative

(120) : *âa* , *ğâ?-mû-ğâ?-kî* *há* *a* *qo* *phî* *mâ* *ğâ?* *pí* *kâ?*  
 Interj Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 well! hunting ground make noise intentive if dog negative hunt able to V even if  
*ô-ve* *mò?* *tí qo* *tî?* *la* *ve* *ma* .  
 Det N P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 those monkey topicalizer come out motion towards nominalizer exclamatory

(121) *chî* *tí qo* *phî* *mâ* *ğâ?* *qo* *mâ* *tî?* *la* .  
 N P<sub>univ</sub> N Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 barking-deer topicalizer dog negative chase if negative come out come to V

(122) *ğâ?-mû-ğâ?-dî?* *yù* *ğâ?-bî?* *yù*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 drive game by beating the bushes V to get sthg chase by shooting V to get sthg  
*şē* *le* *jâ?-bî?* *a* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 anticipated action suspensive shoot from ambush hortatory

(123) : *chî tê khi* *ş-qhe* , *mî-ti-vâ-ti* *kâ?* *ca* *ğa* *ò*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub>  
 right now topicalizer place to grow crops topicalizer go and do get completed action  
*le* , *câ* *ğa* *tî* *pə* *la* *ò* *le* ,  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 suspensive rice get to plant finish V'ing come to V completed action because  
*ca* *ğâ?* *ca* *ğâ?* *câ* *şē* *le* , *ha-lê-ha-qa*  
<sub>v</sub>V V <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>adv</sub>  
 go and do hunt go and do hunt V for a living anticipated action suspensive happily  
*te* *câ* *ve* *tí* *yò* .  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 do V for a living nominalizer only declarative

(124) \*\*\*

(125) : *âa* , *pû-cân* , *nò ve* *câ* *he-và?* *câ* *ve* *qô?* *ve* *mâ*  
 Interj N N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N N V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv  
 well! sexton your rice wild boar eat nominalizer say nominalizer negative  
*hê?* *lâ* .  
 V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be the case yes

(126) : *yò* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative

(127) : *âa* , *pû-cân* *ve* *he* *he-và?* *câ* *câ* *qo* , *şş-pş* *qo* *ğa*  
 Interj N P<sub>univ</sub> N N N V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V  
 well! sexton genitivizer swidden wild boar rice eat topic tomorrow when must  
*ga* *ğâ?* *dî?* *pə* *pî* *tí* *yò*  
<sub>v</sub>V V V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 help to hunt down kill set into vigorous motion benefactive (3p) only declarative

- lê*  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
request for assent
- (128) : *âa* , *gã ga gã?* *dô? pî* *ve* *tí yò* .  
Interj V<sub>v</sub> vV V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
well! must help to hunt down kill benefactive (3p) nominalizer only declarative
- (129) *cà tí qo* *dà?* *à* *qô?-ma* .  
N P<sub>univ</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
rice topicalizer good asseverative emphatic
- (130) : *à-mù* *mâ* *gã câ l* , *câ pè* *qo* .  
Conj Adv vV V P<sub>uf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
otherwise negative get to eat emphatic declarative eat finish V'ing if
- (131) : *gã â* *gã thô* *ca* *gã?* *qò* *pî* *a* .  
V Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> vV V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
get negative get whether go and do chase V away benefactive (3p) hortatory
- (132) *ca* *gã?* *qò* *a* *qo* , *má-má à?* *mâ*  
vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE Adv  
go and do chase V away vigorous action if for a long time negative  
*qò?* *là* *và* .  
vV V P<sub>uf</sub>  
V back (to starting point) come emphatic
- (133) *ca* *gã?* *qò* *pî* *a* *tí yò* .  
vV V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
go and do chase V away benefactive (3p) intentive only declarative
- (134) *gã â* *gã thô* *ca* *gã?* *qò* *a ni* , *šó-š* *qay lɛ* .  
V Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub> N<sub>time</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
get negative get whether go and do chase V away try to tomorrow go suspensive
- (135) : *eeà?* .  
Interj  
right!
- (136) \*\*\*
- (137) *âa* , *tê pô?* *cà gã?* *yân gâ-ò* *nē* *qô?-ma* .  
Interj Q N V M<sub>px</sub> V+P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
well! again rice harvest time reached (already) emphatic emphatic
- (138) : *âa* , *câ gã?* *yân tí qo* *gâ-ò* *ve* *yò* .  
Interj N V M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V+P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
well! rice harvest time topicalizer reached (already) nominalizer declarative
- (139) *šó-pō* *qo* *è* *ca* *tân* *gã?* *a ni*  
N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV vV V P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub>  
tomorrow when topicalizer go and do begin to V harvest try to  
*a-tè* *te ve* *yò* , *hɛ-và?* *è*  
verb particle + quotative particle (P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>quot</sub>) V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub>  
purposive do nominalizer declarative wild boar even

- hɛ-và?*    *è*    *câ*    *te-qo*    .  
 N            P<sub>unf</sub>    V    P<sub>unf</sub>  
 wild boar even eat because
- (140) : *Khê-kí*    *nò*    *gã*    *gò?*    *ni*    *ò*    *lâ*    .  
 N<sub>pers</sub>            Pron    vV    V    V<sub>v</sub>    P<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name you get to harvest try and V completed action yes
- (141) : *âa*    ,    *gò?*    *a ni*    *a-tê?*    *te ve*    *yò*    .  
 Interj        V            P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub>    P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>quot</sub>    V    P<sub>univ</sub>            P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well!        harvest try to intentive do nominalizer declarative
- (142) *ɲà*    *hɛ*            *thô*    *a-cí-cí*    *ca*            *tàn*            *mɛ*    *la*            *ò*  
 Pron N            P<sub>unf</sub>    Adv    vV            vV            V    P<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>v</sub>  
 my swidden also a little go and do begin to V ripen come to V completed action  
*qô?-ma*    .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (143) *šɔ-ɔ*            *lê*    *gò?*    *qay*            *yò*            *hɛ*            .  
 N<sub>time</sub>            P<sub>unf</sub>    V            V<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>uf</sub>            P<sub>uf</sub>  
 tomorrow topic harvest go off to V declarative probably
- (144) : *Cà-lî*            *nò*    *è?*            .  
 N<sub>pers</sub>            Pron    P<sub>n</sub>  
 male name you contrastive interrogative
- (145) : *âa*    ,    *ɲà ve*            *gò?*    *qay*            *ve*            *yò*            ,    *yà?-ni kà?*    .  
 Interj        N<sub>poss</sub> + ve    V            V<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>univ</sub>            P<sub>uf</sub>            N<sub>time</sub>    P<sub>unf</sub>  
 well!        mine        harvest go off to V nominalizer declarative today even
- (146) : *ɔ*    ...    *âa*    ,    *nò*    *cì-qhò?*    *cà*    *qhà-nî*            *pū*            *gã ve*  
 Interj        Interj        Pron    NP<sub>time</sub>    N    Num            Cl<sub>f</sub>            V    P<sub>univ</sub>  
 ah            well!        you this year rice how many? for paddy-mounds get nominalizer  
*le*            ,    *nò*    *à*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>            Pron    P<sub>n</sub>  
 substantive qst    you interrogative vocative
- (147) : *ɲâ*    *pū*  
 Num    Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 five for paddy-mounds
- (148) : *ɲâ*    *pū*  
 Num    Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 five for paddy-mounds
- (149) : *ɲ̃*  
 Interj  
 murmur of assent
- (150) : *ɲâ*    *pū*                            *è*    *lê*    *â*            *câ lò?*            *nè-ɔ*    .  
 Num    Cl<sub>f</sub>                            P<sub>n</sub>    P<sub>unf</sub>    Adv    V    V<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>uf</sub>  
 five for paddy-mounds only topic negative eat enough to V suppositional
- (151) : *ɲâ*    *pū*                            *è*    *mâ*            *hê?*            *šē*            .  
 Num    Cl<sub>f</sub>                            P<sub>n</sub>    Adv    V            P<sub>v</sub>  
 five for paddy-mounds even negative be the case regrettably

- (152) *ηà hε qo cì-qhò? lè cà è mâ dà?* .  
 Pron N P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> Adv V<sub>adj</sub>  
 my swidden topic this year topic rice even negative good
- (153) *šú ġò tú phê lâ te-ε* ,  
 Pron vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 others lively burn sthg launch violent action benefactive (non-3p) causal
- (154) *šê? pū è ġa lò lè? , šālâ? ò* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 three for paddy-mounds only get emphatic declarative emphatic pastor vocative
- (155) *qhò-qhe cε ġa câ nā mâ šī ò* .  
 N<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> vV V P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 how? just get to eat indirect question marker negative know completed action
- (156) : *ôo , dô â tî? o yâ-o* .  
 Interj VP P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 oh! cannot figure out emphatic emphatic
- (157) : *Câ-lî nò è?* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub>  
 male name you contrastive interrogative
- (158) : *âa , ηà tê chi pū è ġa lò , tê chi*  
 Interj Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> Num  
 well! I ten for paddy-mounds just get emphatic declarative ten  
*pū è* .  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 for paddy-mounds just
- (159) : *âa , nò tí qo , a-cí khê šē-ō* .  
 Interj Pron P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 well! you topicalizer a little less bad already
- (160) *Šólù? nò qhâ-nî pū è ġa ve*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 male name (Jingpho) you how many? for paddy-mounds topicalizer get nominalizer  
*le* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 substantive qst
- (161) : *chi-bà? tí lè , ηâ pū è tí ġa šē* .  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 now just topic five for paddy-mounds only only get still
- (162) *ġò? kâ? ġò? mâ pà šē* .  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 harvest topicalizer harvest negative finish V'ing yet
- (163) : *ò* .  
 Interj  
 I see
- (164) : *ηà qo è , ηâ pū è tí ġa qô?-ma , hε-vâ?*  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> N  
 I topic topicalizer five for paddy-mounds only only get emphatic wild boar

- kà?* *câ* *lâ* *lɛ* , *tê* *khô-bá* *ɔ̄* .  
P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
also eat benefactive (non-3p) because one for halves topic
- (165) : *m* ...  
Interj  
murmur of sympathy
- (166) *âa* ...  
Interj  
well!
- (167) : *á-šî?* *kà?* *nà-hi* *à?* *tê gɛ* *te-?* , *tê gɛ* *te-?* , *qô?* *ve*  
N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> Q V<sub>imp</sub> Q V<sub>imp</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
a while ago also you (pl) object together do! together do! say nominalizer  
*chi* *yò-ɔ* .  
Det P<sub>uf</sub>  
this matter emphatic declarative
- (168) *a-šu yô-qhâ-yô* *te* *ve* , *fâ?-câ-ŋâ?-câ* *ve* ,  
Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
each person by himself cultivate nominalizer rodents and birds eat nominalizer  
*hɛ-vâ?* *câ* *ve* , *chɔ* *qô?* *qo* *mâ* *na* *lɛ*  
N V P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub>  
wild boar eat nominalizer people speak when negative listen because  
*yò-è?* , *nà-hi* .  
P<sub>uf</sub> Pron  
emphatic declarative you (pl)
- (169) : *chɔ-mô-khô* *cò* *ve* , ” *câ* *a* *qo* *nù* – *câ* *a-tê?*  
N V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>quot</sub>  
words of wisdom be there nominalizer eat intentive if sniff eat intentive  
*te-qo* *nù* *a ni* ” *qô?* *ve* *mɛ* , *yâ* *tê gɛ* *ò* .  
P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N Q P<sub>n</sub>  
if sniff try to say nominalizer emphatic children pluralizer vocative
- (170) *mì-câ-vâ-câ* *ve* *thô* *qhe* *yò* .  
Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv P<sub>uf</sub>  
cultivate the land for a living nominalizer also just like that declarative
- (171) *te* *a-tê* *te-qo* *gã* *dô-ni* *ve* *yò* .  
V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>quot</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
do purposive if must think over carefully nominalizer declarative
- (172) *lɛ-ɔ* , *yɔ* *a-tê* *te-qo* *gã* *dô* *a ni* *qô?* *ve* *yò* .  
Conj V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>quot</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
furthermore speak purposive if must think try to say nominalizer declarative
- (173) *yɔ* *a-tê* *te* *thô* *ŋà-hi* *qha-dê?* *gã* *dô-ni* *ve* .  
V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>quot</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron AE vV V P<sub>univ</sub>  
speak purposive do also we (pl) properly must think over carefully nominalizer
- (174) *tê pô?-pô?* *ŋà-hi* *chɔ-khô* *mâ* *na* *pòn-lá* *qo* *chi qhe* *gã-hâ-gã-gô*  
NP<sub>q</sub> Pron N Adv V V P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub>  
sometimes we (pl) people’s advice negative heed disobey if like this must suffer



- ve* *chi pa-tə* *yò* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> Det P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer this because of declarative
- (175) \*\*\*
- (176) : *âa* , *cì-qhò?* *cà* *jò?* *a ni* *ò* *lâ* .  
 Interj NP<sub>time</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! this year rice thresh try to completed action yes
- (177) : *âa* , *jò?* *a ni* *ò* .  
 Interj V P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 well! thresh try to completed action
- (178) : *qhà-ma* *gã* *lɔ* *le* , *cà-ši* .  
 N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N  
 how much? get emphatic declarative emphatic declarative unhusked rice
- (179) : *tê* *pū* *è* *ve* *ɔ-qhe* , *tê chi* *pî?* *è* *gã*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V  
 one for paddy-mounds only genitivizer topicalizer ten for basketsful only get  
 ɔ  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 affirmative
- (180) : *nò* *hɛ* *lè* *tí qo* , *tê* *pū* *tê chi* *pî?* *gã*  
 Pron N P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V  
 your swidden topic topicalizer one for paddy-mounds ten for basketsful get  
*ve* *lè* *má* *hày* *šē* , *ŋá* *pū* *gã* *ā* *ve*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer topic negative bad still five for paddy-mounds get perfective nominalizer  
*lɛ* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 because
- (181) *ŋà ve* *lè* *khò?* *pî?* *è* *šī* *pî?* *è* *kà?* *gã* *ve*  
 N<sub>poss</sub>+ve P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 mine topic six for basketsful only seven basketful only also get nominalizer  
*qò?-lè?* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (182) *tê pɔ?-pɔ?* *qo* *nī* *pî?* *è* *tê* *pî?* *kān* *è* *qhe-cɛ* *gã*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> AE V  
 sometimes topic two for basketsful only one basketful half only just get  
*ve* *qò?-ma* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer emphatic
- (183) : *Cà-lí* , *nò* *ve* *è?* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 male name you genitivizer contrastive interrogative

- (184) : *âa* , *ηà ve* *lè* *tê pð?~pð?* *tê chi pî?* *è* , *tê pð?~pð?* *qo*  
 Interj N<sub>poss</sub> + **ve** P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 well! mine topic sometimes ten for basketsful only sometimes topic  
*tê chi ηà pî?* *è* *ğa* *lɔ* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 fifteen for basketsful only get to emphatic declarative
- (185) : *ôɔ* ... *âa* , *ηà* *nò-hi* *yâ* *à?* *tê* *khɔ* *mā*  
 Interj Interj Pron Pron N P<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V  
 mm well! I you (pl) guys accusative one for words teach  
*lâ* *a* *mē* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p) intentive emphatic
- (186) *cà-šĩ* *tê ġâ le-le* *a-šũ-yô* *ve* *yè* *qhɔ* *pû* *kə*  
 N NP<sub>q</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 unhusked rice everybody one's own genitivizer house inside carry on the back V into  
*mē* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 urging
- (187) *chi* *tê* *mû-mì* *Kɔ́lɔ́* *hày* *jâ* *lɛ* *tú* *kə*  
 Det Num N N V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 this one country Northern Thai vicious very because burn sthg V thoroughly  
*qhe* *à* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 all the time asseverative
- (188) *Kɔ́lɔ́* *tú* *kə* *qo* *mâ* *ğa* *câ* *pɛ̀-à* .  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V V V + P<sub>v</sub>  
 Northern Thai burn sthg V thoroughly if negative get to eat warning marker
- (189) : *mâ* *kà?* *mâ-mâ* *lè* *ηà ve* *tí qo* , *šɔ́-ɔ́* *tê*  
 V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> reduplicated verb (V<sub>redup</sub>) P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + **ve** P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> Num  
 much even very much topic mine topicalizer tomorrow the whole  
*ni* *pû* *a* *qo* *pà* *hé* .  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 for days carry on the back intentive if finish probably
- (190) *pû kə* *ā* *ve* *yò* .  
 V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 carry and put into for storage durative nominalizer declarative
- (191) *qha-pà-è* *ca* *te* *hā* .  
 N<sub>ext</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub>  
 everything go and do do difficult
- (192) *à-mù* *Kɔ́lɔ́* *qhe* *chɔ-khɔ* *šĩ* *ve* *mā*  
 Conj N N<sub>ext</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv  
 if worst comes to worst Northern Thai like human speech understand nominalizer negative  
*hê?* *lɛ* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 be the case because

- (193) : *tê gã le-le pû kə* *tù ve lâ* .  
 NP<sub>q</sub> V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 everybody carry and put into for storage future genitivizer yes
- (194) : *pû kə* *tù ve yò* .  
 V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 carry and put into for storage future nominalizer declarative
- (195) *pû kə* *lè ɔ̄ tê chi pĩ?* *lè gã-ò* .  
 V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub>  
 carry and put into for storage topic topic ten for basketsful topic reached (already)
- (196) *tê chi ñâ pĩ?* *qhe-ce lè gã-ò* , *qha-pà-è lè* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> AE P<sub>unf</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub> AE P<sub>unf</sub>  
 fifteen basketful as much as topic reached (already) all together topic
- (197) *qhe-te-le ɔ̄* , *ñâ pĩ?* *cò šē-ɔ̄* .  
 Conj P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 so topic five for basketsful be there still
- (198) *nò-hi chò-mô m̄ lâ khô m̄ na le* , *hò*  
 Pron N V P<sub>v</sub> N Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 you (pl) ancestors teach benefactive (non-3p) advice negative listen because elephant  
*ɔ̄-bà šē lò qô?-ma* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 trample regrettably emphatic declarative emphatic
- (199) : *ô-hô* , *ô-thâ tê ni qo chò m̄ qo chò-khô na* ,  
 Interj N<sub>time</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> N V  
 ah, me! in the past one for days when people teach when people's advice heed  
*chò-khô na qô? ve chi yò mē* .  
 N V V P<sub>univ</sub> Det P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 people's advice listen say nominalizer this matter declarative emphatic
- (200) " *m̄-câ-vâ-câ ve qo šu qhò-qhe te qo chò te-?* "  
 Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> V<sub>imp</sub>  
 cultivate the land for a living nominalizer topic others wherever do topic here do!  
*qô? ve* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 say genitivizer
- (201) *yâ?-ni qo hò kâ? qô? ɔ̄-bà šē ò*  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 today when elephant also V again trample regrettably completed action  
*lò yâ* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic declarative emphatic
- (202) *gã câ tù m̄ hê? o* .  
 vV V P<sub>v</sub> VP  
 get to eat future definitely not the case
- (203) *chò m̄ thâ qo chò-khô m̄ na* .  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv V  
 people teach when when people's advice negative heed

(204) \*\*\*

(205) : *tê gã le-le á-qhɔ-yè-qhɔ pû kə pə̀ ò*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> V + V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 everybody one's own home carry and put into for storage finish V'ing completed action  
*lâ , cà-šĩ* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> N  
 yes unhusked rice

(206) : *âa , ñà ve mâ gã pû kə šē* .  
 Interj N<sub>poss + ve</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 well! mine negative get to carry and put into for storage yet

(207) *šĩ-pə̀ Kɔ́lɔ́ à? cà tâ? a-tè?* .  
 N<sub>time</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>quot</sub>  
 weekend Northern Thai accusative rice carry on shoulder intentive

(208) : *êe , qha-pə̀-è cà tâ? kə lò mē , tê pɔ́? lē* .  
 Interj AE N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub>  
 yes all rice carry on shoulder V into urging urging right away

(209) : *âa , pə̀ kà? pə̀ ò mē , ñà ve*  
 Interj V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>poss + ve</sub>  
 well! be completed topicalizer be completed completed action emphatic mine  
*tí qo mâ mâ le* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> Adv + V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 topicalizer not much because

(210) : *né-qhə̀? qhə̀? câ pə̀ ò qo ò-šĩ tê pɔ́? è te*  
 N<sub>time</sub> OV V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> V  
 next year celebrate New Year's finish V'ing completed action when next time cultivate  
*thâ qə̀? dɔ́-ni le tê ge te qay ve*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> Q V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 when V for a change think over carefully suspensive together carry on doing nominalizer  
*tí yò* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 only declarative

(211) : *eeà?* .  
 Interj  
 right!

## Translation

1. So, this time we'll have a discussion about how we Lahu practice agriculture. Well, whereabouts will all of you in the village grow your crops this year?
2. Well, I'll be down below. Where I farmed last year. Probably I'll try Elephant's-Death-Valley.<sup>1</sup>
3. Mm, I'll be over *there* [gesture] . I'll work around Thai-lai.<sup>2</sup> I won't stay-er, I won't come down below. The elephants eat [the crops] up all the time down there.

<sup>1</sup>Hwei-cà-tái <No. Thai; lit. "valley-elephants-die".

<sup>2</sup>A rocky area near the village, also called by the Thai *phānāy-dēy* 'Red Wall.' *ò ɔ́* 'over there' (i.e., 'off to the side'), as distinct from *mô ɔ́* 'down below.'

4. Ha, ha!
5. Oh, my brothers! When human beings<sup>3</sup> are few and not numerous,<sup>4</sup> they should seek their livelihood together. Don't each work in a different place. If someday one of you should get sick or fall on bad times,<sup>5</sup> there would be nothing he could do . We mustn't have our heads full of stones, you know.<sup>6</sup>
6. Well, as far as I'm concerned, I'm going to work over *there*. Down below I will not go. I'll work all by myself.
7. Ha, ha!
8. Well, in that case you really ought to pay attention to the words of our forefathers: "When we cultivate the soil, if we work all together,<sup>7</sup> even if sickness or bad times should befall, to look after one another, to help one another, to do for one another is easy!"
9. Can't *you* work that way, too? Must everybody work all by himself?
10. Ah, me! Ah, me!
11. It's absolutely right, that saying! We ought to work together.
12. When you get sick and weak, you can't go lifting and carrying if you're all alone.
13. Well, whatever happens, even if you say "I won't listen!" to my words of advice as we talk to each other, even if you people each work the land by yourself, as you have been intending to—wherever you work, at least work well! Cultivate the soil properly, and try to gain your food and drink, so that you will not be inferior to others.<sup>8</sup>
14. For my part, I'm going to clear my land.<sup>9</sup> Even if it's all by myself, even if I'm the only one, I'll clear my land *over there*. I'll be [there] clearing it off, from now on.
15. But we can't act this way, brothers! As we have said, you know we are few and not numerous<sup>10</sup> ! We ought to earn our living together, happily and cheerfully,<sup>11</sup> and filled with love.<sup>12</sup> People like us, we Lahu, you know that there aren't masses and hordes<sup>13</sup> of us! There are only a few of us! If someday somebody gets sick, it should not be that no one sees it; if someone is about to die, it should not be that no one sees it. There aren't too many of us, and that's a fact!
16. As for me, I'm going to hack out an oldfield.<sup>14</sup>
17. You're hacking out an oldfield, are you?
18. Yes.
19. Well, even from an oldfield one can hack out a living.

<sup>3</sup>'Human beings' rather than 'people' is intended to convey the sense of **chə qô? ve lè** "what we call people" (cf. Japanese *ningen to yuu no wa*).

<sup>4</sup>**mâ-mâ-mâ-gî** (Elab-noun) lit. "not many not numerous."

<sup>5</sup>**nà-la-gô-la** (Elab-verb) "become sick become wretched."

<sup>6</sup>Proverb: **ô-qo há-pi kə a ve mâ hê?** "One shouldn't act stupidly." The 'you know' renders the non-final unrestricted particle **le** 'since; because.'

<sup>7</sup>**tê pō? tí** 'all together': lit. "at the same time."

<sup>8</sup>**šu lə šu tū te ve**: "do so as to be in the same situation as others." This phrase is often used to express the ambition of the Lahu as a people to become as well off as other groups. Another phrase for the same concept is **ī-la-mu-la tū te ve**, "to do so as to become big and high"—i.e., to make progress in the world's eyes.

<sup>9</sup>**he thu ve** 'to clear away the trees from a new field-site': one of the first steps in the Lahu agricultural cycle.

<sup>10</sup>See fn. 6. The 'you know' is intended to connive the sense of the the final unrestricted particle **ve-ə**.

<sup>11</sup>**ha-lè-ha-qa** (Elab-adv) 'in joy and gladness'.

<sup>12</sup>**hà?-hà?-pên-pên** 'lovingly': a reduplication of the verb **hà?-pên**.

<sup>13</sup>**ə-mo ə-cú** (Elab-noun) 'a large group'.

<sup>14</sup>**he-gō phō câ ve**: **he-gō** 'field-bones' - a field that has already yielded a crop the year before. **phō** 'to hack clear the undergrowth with a long sword.' The heavier work, **he thu ve** (fn.9), is of course not necessary in the case of an 'oldfield.'

20. It's just that it's kind of overgrown with weeds.

21. Yeah, the weeds *are* thick [in an oldfield] .

\* \* \*

22. Well, this year—has everybody in our village finished clearing the trees from his land this year?

23. Oh no, I haven't finished clearing yet. I haven't finished, but there's nothing I can do about it. Some Thais set my land the hell on fire for me!<sup>15</sup> I don't know now if I'll even be able to do my second-burning,<sup>16</sup> either.

24. Yeah, mine hasn't burned over thoroughly, either! I guess I'll still have to re-burn for two or three days now.

25. Ah, if only you had listened that day to the words your elders spoke, if only you had been working together today in one group, as a unit, they wouldn't have set fire [to your land] . If you had looked after it, if you had taken care of it...<sup>17</sup> But today, since you paid no attention to your elders' words, and each acted according to his own way of thinking, they set fire to you and here you are unable to do your second-burning.

26. There's nothing to be done. You didn't listen that time, you paid no attention to what was said, and now this is what happened! All you can do [at this point] is re-burn as much as possible<sup>18</sup> and try to live off that much. This year your fields aren't properly burned off, and who knows whether you'll get any rice to eat or not.

27. Ah, my brothers, all of you! When we live in loving harmony—even if someone once disregarded advice—we must help one another! We mustn't squabble with each other like this. By helping each other in the proper way—er, by doing this—we will earn our food and drink and will not be inferior to others. And if we can also clothe and garb<sup>19</sup> ourselves like the others, the Lahu community<sup>20</sup> will prosper.<sup>21</sup> Otherwise<sup>22</sup> if we don't act [properly] this way, when one person gets in trouble, others will suffer for it.<sup>23</sup> Well, has everybody finished reburning his field by now? If you've finished, say so now!<sup>24</sup>

28. Oh, it's all finished—mine, that is.

29. Well, if you're really finished, it's time now to plant the rice! Have you all tried planting your rice yet?

30. Well, I've only managed to begin trying to plant a little so far. This week I'll get to begin trying to do more and more.<sup>25</sup>

31. Well then, Jali, how many acres<sup>26</sup> have you finished [planting] already?

32. Oh, I've still only finished one acre. I've only managed to plant one acre so far...<sup>27</sup>

33. One acre, eh?

---

<sup>15</sup>As a malicious act or through carelessness. This greatly complicated the timing of the various slash-and-burn operations.

<sup>16</sup>**hɛ ji ve**. The reburial of the field to consume the material left over from the first burning (**hɛ tú ve**).

<sup>17</sup>The second element **lō** in the compounds **ni-lō** and **hàʔ-šá-lō** are apparently derived from Burmese **lou** 'be necessary; need sthg'; see to the needs of.

<sup>18</sup>**qhà-qhe cɛ ǵa chi qhe cɛ** V: 'to V as much as possible.'

<sup>19</sup>**ǵa-vəʔ-ǵa-de** (Elab-verb) 'have clothes to wear'.

<sup>20</sup>**Lāhū tē yē** "the Lahu house."

<sup>21</sup>**pɔ-ša la** 'come to be well-off (lit. "become easy-born").'

<sup>22</sup>**mā hēʔ qo** 'otherwise' (lit. "if it is not so").

<sup>23</sup>Lit. 'when one person is in trouble, it is the same as another person being in trouble.'

<sup>24</sup>Lit. 'if [you've] finished, say "finished".'

<sup>25</sup>Two splendid multiversatile concatenations in successive sentences! **ǵa tàn ti a-ni** 'manage to begin trying to plant'; **ǵa tàn te qay a-ni** 'get to begin trying to do more and more.'

<sup>26</sup>**tū** 'the area one can sow with the seeds from one basket.'

<sup>27</sup>The suspension marks '...' are meant to translate the suspensive non-final unrestricted particle **le**.

34. Your plans now—how many acres have you been thinking of planting?
35. According to my plans, I’ve been thinking of planting five acres.<sup>28</sup>
36. Five acres.
37. Hm-hm.
38. Yeah, if you do that you’ll certainly earn your food and drink and won’t be less well-off than anyone else.
39. Well, Kheh-ki, how many acres will *you* plant?
40. Well, I’ve been thinking of planting five or six acres, too. I’ll simply try to do as much as I can. I’m just beginning to work on it now—and the time still isn’t too late...<sup>29</sup>
41. Right. Go to it! Well, then, Sexton<sup>30</sup>, how many acres will *you* plant?
42. Oh, I think I’ll plant *ten* acres!
43. Wow!
44. But at this point, all I’ve gotten done is to make a field-hut.<sup>31</sup>
45. Well, do your best! As our forefathers used to say:  
 Slow to till and toil—rats!  
 Slow to drive away—rats!  
 Slaves, slaves and thralls of others!  
 If you’re slow to till and toil  
 Then it’s rat food, bird food.<sup>32</sup>  
 Everybody ought to hurry up and reburn his land properly, and cultivate it.
46. I haven’t even finished my reburning yet!
47. Tomorrow—for sure<sup>33</sup>, I’m planning to go way off over there, to the place where they say some people smeared hot peppers on a guy’s prick long ago,<sup>34</sup> so I can scoop out a honeycomb to eat.
48. Oh, I’m going too! As far as honey-scooping goes, I’ve seen a [bees’] -hollow too. Over there above the river-bed on Porcupine Mountain.<sup>35</sup> Say, let’s go together, shall we?
49. Yeah, we can certainly go together.

<sup>28</sup>Lahu quotative constructions are often both introduced and ended by the same citation marker: cf. *yǎ qǒ? ve* “X” *chi qhe qǒ? ve yǒ* Lit., “what he said was X, he said.” A less literal and more literate translation of this sentence would be simply “what I’ve been planning is to plant five acres.”

<sup>29</sup>Here the suspension marks translate the causal non-final unrestricted particle *le*, homophonous with the ordinary suspensive particle. See note 27.

<sup>30</sup>*Pǔ-cǎ* < Shan “church-person.” This person had the job of looking after the physical appearance of the hut used as a church by the village.

<sup>31</sup>A hut erected in the fields. During periods of intense work in the fields, the cultivator cooks, eats, and sleeps in his field-hut for days on end without returning to the village.

<sup>32</sup>A good example of an old poetic form: five lines, the first four with 6 syllables and the last with 4. A prose paraphrase: “If you’re slow in tilling your land, the rodents (rats, porcupines, squirrels, etc.) will ruin it for you; if you’re slow about driving the animals off your land, the rodents will ruin you. You will become the slaves of others. If you’re slow in your tilling, your land (and you) will become food for the rats and the birds.”

<sup>33</sup>The ‘for sure’ renders *qo-qǒ?*, more emphatic than plain *qo*.

<sup>34</sup>The incident in question involved a group of mischievous boys who played this trick on a man as he lay sleeping in the shade.

<sup>35</sup>*fǎ?-pé* is the ‘brush-tailed porcupine,’ (*Atherurus macrourus*) a large species that lives among the rocks.

50. Early tomorrow morning when it's time to go you just call me, too, okay? The two of us will go off together at the crack of dawn.<sup>36</sup> I've seen a [bees'] -hollow myself.
51. Okay, but don't do to me what somebody else did that time.<sup>37</sup>
52. If I [say I'll] go, I'll go. Don't talk nonsense to me.
53. Let's go together, happily and with good cheer!
54. Because we two have never yet broken a promise. Whenever anybody discusses something and decides on it, we just have a go at it.<sup>38</sup> We'll go early tomorrow morning.
55. Right, we've never broken [a promise] in the past.
56. Say, let's take the dogs along, too! Pastor! Kheh-ki! Jali! We'll go shoot ourselves some macaques<sup>39</sup> and little gibbons.<sup>40</sup> We'll go hunt ourselves all kinds of porcupines and spend the night out<sup>41</sup> !
57. Well, then, Jali, you can probably bring your dog along!
58. Yeah, sure I can take mine along. [But] he can't hunt monkeys, you know!
59. I bet he can hunt barking-deer, though. Even if he can't hunt monkeys.
60. Sure he can hunt, sure he can hunt barking-deer.
61. So, that's how we'll go then!
62. If you just shout and make noise at the hunting-grounds, even if the dogs don't know how to give chase, those monkeys will come out [all by themselves] . But as far as barking deer are concerned, if the dogs don't chase them, they won't come out. We'll beat the bushes and drive them, we'll chase them and shoot them and get them! We'll sneak up on them and shoot them!
63. This is the time when we've already gone and secured places to grow our crops, and almost managed to finish planting our rice and so let's just keep on going hunting [for game] to eat, and earn our living in joy and gladness.

\* \* \*

64. Well, Sexton, they say some wild boars have eaten your paddy, is that right?
65. Yes.
66. Well, since wild boars have eaten rice from the Sexton's field, tomorrow we've got to help hunt them down and beat them [dead] for him, right?
67. Sexton: Yeah, you've got to help me hunt them down and beat them dead.<sup>42</sup> The rice itself is very good [this year in my field] .
68. Otherwise you won't have anything to eat. If *they* eat it all up.
69. Whether we catch them or not, let's go drive them away for him. If we drive them away, they won't come back for a long time, at least. We'll just go and drive them away for him. Whether or not we catch them we'll go give them a chase. Tomorrow we'll go...

<sup>36</sup>tê nà? šá è te le: tê nà? 'early morning' + šá è 'intensitive.'

<sup>37</sup>That is, on a previous occasion somebody had made a similar arrangement with him, but ended up by not keeping the appointment.

<sup>38</sup>qay ni ve 'have a try at going; go and see what happens.' Lit: "To the extent that anybody discusses and decides, we just go and see."

<sup>39</sup>mō?-ní-qwē 'Rhesus macaque' (*Macaca rhesus rhesus*).

<sup>40</sup>mō?-nâ? 'white-headed gibbon' (*Hylobates lar*).

<sup>41</sup>fâ?-pu-fâ?-pé (Elab-noun) 'all kinds of porcupines' fâ?-pu 'Asiatic porcupine' (*Hystrix brachyura*). For fâ?-pé, see fn. 35.

<sup>42</sup>This sentence contains an impressive six-verb sequence: gâ (vV) 'must' + ga (vV) 'help' + gâ? (V<sub>h</sub>) 'hunt down' + dō? (V<sub>h</sub>) 'kill' + pā (Vv) 'set into vigorous motion' + pī (Vv) 'give/benefactive'.



70. Right!

\* \* \*

Well, now the time has come for harvesting our rice!

71. Yep, rice-harvest time has come. Tomorrow I plan to go start trying to reap. Since the wild pigs are eating away at it.

72. Kheh-ki, have you managed to try harvesting yet?

73. Yes, I plan to try to harvest. My field has just begun to ripen a little, too, now. Tomorrow I'll go reap,<sup>43</sup> I guess.

74. Jali, what about you?

75. Well, mine is being harvested. Even today.

76. I see. Well, how many bushels<sup>44</sup> have you gotten this year?

77. Five bushels.

78. Five bushels, eh.

79. Uh-huh.

80. Five bushels probably isn't enough to live on.

81. It doesn't even come to five bushels, unfortunately.<sup>45</sup> In my field this year the paddy is no good, since they set the damn thing on fire for me, so I'll really only get *three* bushels, Pastor. I have no idea how I'll ever be able to feed myself now.

82. Ah, you can't think your way out [of a situation like this]!<sup>46</sup>

83. How about you, Jali?

84. Well, I've got ten bushels, ten bushels for me.

85. Hm, you're a little better off, then.<sup>47</sup> Shaw-lu [the Kachin], how many bushels did you get?

86. At the moment, I've only got five bushels. But I haven't finished my reaping yet.

87. I see.

88. For my part, I've only got five bushels. Because the wild pigs were eating it, too. Half of it.

89. Hm... well....

90. And that's why we kept saying before "Work *together*, work *together*! If everybody works all by himself, the rats eat it, the birds eat it, the wild pigs eat it!" It's because you don't listen to what people tell you, you guys!

91. There's an old saying, "If you would eat, smell."<sup>48</sup> That is, if you're going to eat something, try smelling it first. Oh, my children!<sup>49</sup> Cultivating the land is also like that. If you plan to do it, you've got to think about it first. Furthermore, if you want to  *speak* , you have to think about it first, I tell you. Even if we just

<sup>43</sup> ḡə? qay 'go and reap'; but in sentence #75 ḡə? qay means 'is being reaped, is reaping, continues to (be) reap(ed)'. The post-head versatile verb qay means either 'go and V<sub>h</sub>' or 'continue to V<sub>h</sub>'.

<sup>44</sup> pū (Cl<sub>F</sub>) 'mound of paddy; rice-stoop', here translated 'bushel'.

<sup>45</sup> še (Pv): this particle here expresses regret at the verbal event.

<sup>46</sup> dš mā tš?: lit., "think not come out"

<sup>47</sup> The Pv šə 'still' conveys the nuance 'you're still in the realm of comfortable living.'

<sup>48</sup> I.e., "Look before you leap."

<sup>49</sup> The Pastor lapses into sermon-style at this point.

intend to speak, we must carefully think over [what we want to say] . When we don't listen to people's advice sometimes, and disobey, that's the reason why we have to suffer for it this way...

\* \* \*

Well, have you tried threshing your paddy already this year?

92. Yeah, I've threshed it out<sup>50</sup> already.

93. How much grain did you get?

94. I got ten baskets<sup>51</sup> per bushel [of paddy] .

95. If you really get ten baskets per bushel from your field, that's not bad at all. Since you've gotten five bushels. From mine I only<sup>52</sup> get six baskets or sometimes as much as seven. Sometimes I only get two basketsful, or one and a half!

96. Jali, what about yours?

97. Well, mine now, sometimes I get ten basketsful and sometimes fifteen.

98. I see. Well, now I'll teach you guys one thing! Let everybody carry back his grain and store it inside his house! In this country the Thais are very mean, and they're apt to set it on fire. If the Thais burn it up, we'll have nothing to eat.

99. No matter how much of it there is, even if I have to spend all day tomorrow carrying mine, I'll probably get [the job] finished. I'll get it all carried home and stored. It's hard to go and do. However, since these Thais are such irrational people<sup>53</sup> ....

100. Will everybody carry it back to store?

101. They'll carry it back to store [if they know what's good for them] . What [this fellow]<sup>54</sup> carried back came to ten basketsful. But all together [his crop] had come to fifteen baskets. So that there were still five basketsful [lying around in the fields] . And since you people don't listen to your elders' advice, some elephants came and trampled [the rest] ! You won't have enough to eat!

102. Ah, me! That's why we said on that day long ago: "When people instruct you, listen to what they say! Listen to what they say! When you cultivate the land, work where the others are working,"<sup>55</sup> we said. But today even the elephants have again trampled [on somebody's crop] ! That's no way to earn a living! When people instruct you, you don't heed their words.

\* \* \*

103. Has everybody finished carrying his grain back to store in his own hearth and home<sup>56</sup> ?

104. Well, I haven't managed to store mine yet. This weekend I plan to have some Thais carry the rice [to my home] [on their shoulders] .<sup>57</sup>

105. Yes, do [have them] carry it all up and store it away! Immediately.

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<sup>50</sup>It is misleading (and boring) invariably to translate the V + (a-)ni by 'try to V<sub>h</sub>.' It sometimes serves merely to 'round out' the verb ('have a go at V<sub>h</sub>ing'), and is best left untranslated.

<sup>51</sup>pî? (Cl<sub>f</sub>) 'basketful; container holding 4 imperial gallons'

<sup>52</sup>The P<sub>n</sub> ê, used with Num + Cl<sub>f</sub>, sometimes simply serves to 'round off' the quantity expression (much like Thai *sák* or Japanese *gurai*) and need not be translated. Sometimes however it retains its original nuance of 'only.'

<sup>53</sup>chə khô šī ve mâ hê?. lit., "they don't understand human words."

<sup>54</sup>The victim of the incident to be recounted never appears as the overt subject of a sentence.

<sup>55</sup>Lit., "wherever the others work, work there ("here") [too] ."

<sup>56</sup>á-qhə-yè-qhə (Elab-noun) á-qhə-yè-qhə 'hearth and home'.

<sup>57</sup>The Lahu carry things on their backs or heads (pû ve). The Thai prefer to carry baskets by attaching them to shoulder-poles (tâ? ve).

106. Well, I'm finished already, because mine didn't amount to very much. [But] I've thought it over, and next year, after we've celebrated New Year's, when it's time to work again, from then on I'll work together [with the others] .

107. Okay.

## 2.3 Visiting the village's fields

- (1) *Headman* : *Ahem* .  
 . Interj  
 clearing throat
- (2) *yàʔ-šʂ*      *ɲà-hi*    *hɛ*      *qhɔ*    *ɔ̄*      *ca*      *gɛ̄*    *e*      *lê*  
 N<sub>time</sub>      Pron    N      M<sub>prfx</sub> P<sub>n</sub>      <sub>v</sub>V      V    P<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 this morning we (pl) swidden into locative go and do visit motion away request for assent  
 .
- (3) *nò-hí-mà*    *kàʔ*    *qay*    *a*      *lâ* .  
 Pron      P<sub>unf</sub>    V    P<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 you (dual) also go intentive yes
- (4) *Cà-lɔ̄*      ?  
 N<sub>pers</sub>  
 male name
- (5) *Tcalo* : *qay*    *a*      .  
 .      V    P<sub>v</sub>  
 go intentive
- (6) *Headman* : *ḡ* .  
 . Interj  
 murmur of assent
- (7) *ôo* , *hɛ-qhôʔ*      *ɲà-hi*    *mì*      *câ*      *kì*      *ɔ̄-lɔ̄*    *tê cə le-le*  
 Interj    N      Pron    V      <sub>v</sub>V      P<sub>v-nom</sub>    N      NP<sub>q</sub>  
 okay    rice swidden we (pl) cultivate crops V for a living locative about every thing  
*ve*      *ɔ̄-ha*    *ca*      *thɔ̄*      *yù*      *a*      *lê* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub>      N      <sub>v</sub>V      V      <sub>v</sub>V      P<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 genitivizer picture go and do take a photo V lastingly intentive request for assent
- (8) *Tcalo* : *êe* , *dàʔ*    *ve*      *yò-èʔ* .  
 . Interj    V<sub>adj</sub>    P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 yes      good nominalizer emphatic declarative
- (9) *Headman* : *qay*    *šā*      *qhe-qo*    *ɲà-hi*    *chi tê khi* .  
 .      V    P<sub>v</sub>      Conj    Pron    NP<sub>q</sub>  
 go hortatory (1p) then we (pl) right now
- (10) *qay*    *tân*      *ve*      *yò*      *lê* .  
 V    V<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 go have time to V nominalizer declarative request for assent
- (11) *Tcalo* : *qay* .  
 . V  
 go
- (12) *âa* , *nò*    *qay*    *kì*      *yàʔ-qɔ̄*    *Kɔ̄lɔ̄*      *qhâʔ*    *cə*      *mâ*      *à*  
 Interj    Pron    V    P<sub>v-nom</sub>    N      N      N      V      V<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>v</sub>  
 well!    you go locative road Northern Thai village be there be many asseverative

- lâ* .  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
yes
- (13) *Headman* : *cò* *mâ* *ve* *yò* .  
V V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
be there many nominalizer declarative
- (14) *Kól* *lè* *pà-lâ?* *yò* .  
N P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>uf</sub>  
Northern Thai topic plenty of declarative
- (15) *tê* *qhâ?* *nî* *qhâ?* *cò* *ve* *yò* .  
Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
one for villages two for villages have nominalizer declarative
- (16) *le* *mətəkā* *yà?-qə* *thō* *cō* *hε* *ə-pā-nē* *qha-gà* *gà* *ve*  
P<sub>unf</sub> N N P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
and cars road also over there swidden nearby up to (a place) reach nominalizer  
*yò* .  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
declarative
- (17) *êe* , *kà?-kà?* *tê* *qhâ?* *Kól* *yò* .  
Interj N<sub>loc</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N P<sub>uf</sub>  
yes right here one for villages Northern Thai declarative
- (18) *chi* *tê gî* *yà?-qə-phî* *šî* *ve* *šî?* *pε* *jâ* *ve* *lè*  
Det Q N N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
these pluralizer roadside up to (a place) genitivizer tree plentiful very nominalizer topic  
*šathê-ló* *ve* *yò* .  
N P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
big boss genitivizer declarative
- (19) *le* *ô* *ə-gū-šî* *kà?* *Kól* *qhâ?* *cò* *šō* .  
P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N V P<sub>v</sub>  
and over there in front of also Northern Thai village be there still
- (20) *lâ-kho* *chi* *tê gî* *kà?* *Kól-yâ* *ve* *yò* .  
N Det Q P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
tea plantation these pluralizer also Northern Thai people genitivizer declarative
- (21) *Thây-cho* *mâ* *hê?* .  
N Adv V  
Thai people negative be the case
- (22) *êe* , *í-kâ?* *ġa* *qho* *ve* *yò* .  
Interj N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
yes water must draw water nominalizer declarative
- (23) *kà?* .  
N<sub>sd</sub>  
here
- (24) *hε* *qhə* *dò* *tù* *ve* *í-kâ?* *mâ* *cò* *lâ* , *ə-na* *lè* .  
N M<sub>px</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
swidden in drink purposive relativizer water negative be there yes up there topic

Visiting the village's fields

- (25) *mâ cò* .  
Adv V  
negative be there
- (26) *ɲà-hi ô phô hɛ qha te ve tê kà le-le ve í-kâ?*  
Pron N<sub>sd</sub> M<sub>prfx</sub> N Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N  
we (pl) that direction swidden all cultivate relativizer every place genitivizer water  
*chò kà? qho-dò ve yò* .  
N<sub>sd</sub> + P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
here scoop out to drink nominalizer declarative
- (27) *šú-lè? te dò šā lê* .  
N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
cigar make sthg and V with it smoke (tobacco) hortatory (1p) request for assent
- (28) *tê gâ tê lè?* .  
Q Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
one person one for rolled objects
- (29) *Tcalo : êe , dà? ve yò nē* .  
Interj V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
okay fine nominalizer declarative emphatic
- (30) *Headman : âa , á-pô-phà? šú-lè? te dò qo*  
Interj N N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub>  
well! banana leaf cheroot make sthg and V with it smoke (tobacco) when  
*bû? jâ* .  
V V<sub>v</sub>  
harsh very
- (31) *hēe , ɲà-hi ve ša-ma-quí te dò ve*  
Interj Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub>  
take it! we (pl) genitivizer corn husk make sthg and V with it smoke (tobacco) relativizer  
*tê yân , hɔn mē jâ ve yò* .  
Q V V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
when smell good taste good very nominalizer declarative
- (32) *hēe , nò kà? tê lè? dò qha-? lê* .  
Interj Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
take it! you also one for rolled objects smoke (tobacco) lively request for assent
- (33) *phây-khì? , ô pá ɔ phây-khì? a-cí yù pĩ*  
N N<sub>sd</sub> M<sub>prfx</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N Adv <sub>v</sub>V V  
match (to strike fire) that side locative match (to strike fire) please take and V sthg give  
*qha-?* .  
P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub>  
lively action (imperative)
- (34) *šú chi tú mâ tò? pí qô?-ma* .  
N Det V Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
tobacco this set sthg on fire negative catch fire able to V emphatic
- (35) *cí-cí nē? lɛ* .  
AE V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
a little wet because

- (36) *šú chi a-šú ve le* .  
 N Det N<sub>poss</sub> + **ve** P<sub>uf</sub>  
 tobacco this whose substantive qst
- (37) *Cùn-phò? ve šú qô?-ma* .  
 Eth P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>uf</sub>  
 Jingpho genitivizer tobacco emphatic
- (38) *yà-ò , mâ vi dà? ve khô , šú chi* .  
 V Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N , N Det  
 yeah! negative dry out well nominalizer probable reason why tobacco this
- (39) *mâ tò? pí* .  
 Adv V V<sub>v</sub>  
 negative catch fire able to V
- (40) *èe , là-kho chi tê gĩ ñà-hi Lâhū-yâ phâ? câ ve*  
 Interj N Det Q Pron N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 yes tea plantation these pluralizer we (pl) Lahu people pick V for a living nominalizer  
*yò* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (41) *cô šĩ?-cè mû-phe chî tâ ve lè pè-há* .  
 N<sub>sd</sub> N N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 over there tree top part hang sthg up perfective nominalizer topic honeycomb
- (42) *ò-gĩ ñà-hi lè? jɔ lâ* .  
 N Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 liquid you (pl) snack on experiential yes
- (43) *ò-gĩ lè? jɔ ve yò* .  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 liquid snack on experiential nominalizer declarative
- (44) *mè jâ lâ* .  
 V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 taste good very yes
- (45) *mè à* .  
 V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 taste good asseverative
- (46) *tê chi nî phû chî ve* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 twelve for bee's nests hang sthg up nominalizer
- (47) *chi-bò? cì-ghò? a-cí mâ chî mâ lɔ* .  
 N<sub>time</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Adv Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 now this year at all negative be hanging be many emphatic declarative
- (48) *ñà-hi í-kâ? qho-dò la ve yà?-qɔ chi gà-tâ?*  
 Pron N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Det N  
 we (pl) water scoop out to drink come to V relativizer road this upward slope  
*ĩ jâ* .  
 V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 steep (of a slope) very

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- (49) *í-kâ? pú ve tê yâ ó-qō-šĩ kà? qò? è?*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>stat</sub>  
 water carry on the back relativizer one for periods of time head also bent  
*te lɛ , qò? e ve yò .*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be a certain way suspensive return motion away nominalizer declarative
- (50) *yà?-qɔ chi ve tê câ? ñà-hi te tō jɔ*  
 N Det P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Pron <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub>  
 road this genitivizer one for long objects we (pl) do and walk along do usually  
*ve yà?-qɔ yò .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>uf</sub>  
 relativizer road declarative
- (51) *lɛ hɛ qhɔ gà tù ve mâ vî ò .*  
 Conj N M<sub>prfx</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 and so swidden into reach purposive nominalizer negative far completed action
- (52) *nô kà? qā-lè? qhɔ qhō gà thā , hɛ ô pá-phô*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N N N<sub>loc</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N N<sub>sd</sub> M<sub>prfx</sub>  
 up there locative saddleback mountain up there reach when swidden that area  
*gā mò ve yò .*  
<sub>v</sub>V + V<sub>h</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 find nominalizer declarative
- (53) *cô ni-? .*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> V<sub>imp</sub>  
 over there look!
- (54) *šú hɛ qô chɛ ve , ñà-hi Lâhū-yâ .*  
 Pron N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N  
 they swidden till the soil progressive nominalizer our Lahu people
- (55) *hɛ qha-dê? qô a , hɛ qha-dê? qô a .*  
 N AE V P<sub>v</sub> N AE V P<sub>v</sub>  
 swidden properly cultivate hortatory swidden properly cultivate hortatory
- (56) *ð-qhð?-nó pá ð-ha thō yù a .*  
 N M<sub>prfx</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 backside area picture take a photo V lastingly tentative
- (57) *hɛ qô pā : à-thò?-ma ca le .*  
 N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 swidden till the soil agentive nominalizer what look for substantive qst
- (58) *ca gî la ve .*  
<sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 go and do visit come to V nominalizer
- (59) *âa , nà-hi hɛ qô ve .*  
 Interj Pron N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 well! you (pl) swidden cultivate nominalizer
- (60) *qhe-cà-cà tâ te nē .*  
 AE Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 so much negative imperative do emphatic



- (61) *ḥ-chī câ-tù-dò-tù mâ ġa câ qo ð-ġâ mâ cò* .  
 N Elab<sub>n</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv V  
 curry food and drink negative get to eat if strength negative be there
- (62) *ḥ-chī mē-mē , và?-šā , ġâ?-šā* .  
 N V<sub>adj</sub> N N  
 curry delicious pork chicken meat
- (63) *qha-dê? te phô? ā lε te* .  
 AE <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 properly do and collect for use perfective suspensive work
- (64) *ð-ġâ cò ve yò* .  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 strength be there nominalizer declarative
- (65) *ḥ-chī mâ ġa câ qo ð-ġâ mâ cò , hε qô*  
 N Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv V N V  
 curry negative get to eat if strength negative be there swidden till the soil  
*ve tē yân* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> Q  
 relativizer the time that
- (66) *šî?-mú-dò thâ? ġa thô?-hâ? ve tē yân thâ qhò?-nó-pá*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N  
 stump of tree accusative experience V'ing hook onto sth relativizer when backwards  
*pu la l mē* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 roll down come to V emphatic declarative emphatic
- (67) *ḥ-chī câ-tù dà?-dà? qha-dê? te-câ šē* .  
 N N<sub>dvb</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> AE V P<sub>v</sub>  
 curry food very good properly cook first
- (68) *ká chi cò-cò khà? mâ yò* .  
 N locative noun phrase (NP<sub>loc</sub>) V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 work around here difficult be much declarative
- (69) *nò-hi šī e qo ð-qhâ-šī ̄ là pí ve mâ*  
 Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv  
 you (pl) die motion away if one's trail locative come able to V nominalizer negative  
*hê?* .  
 V  
 be the case
- (70) *a-yé-yé te-?* .  
 Adv V<sub>imp</sub>  
 in a relaxed way do!
- (71) \* \* \*
- (72) *thô , mú-cha hɔ jâ qô?-yò-è?* .  
 Interj N V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 gee! sunlight hot very emphatic

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- (73) *jè?-məy nù ve kà? šī-e-la-yò* .  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> VP  
 dust stink nominalizer also so much you could die
- (74) *yà?-ni lè ò-to qha-pà-è thô nâ?-tɔ-nâ?-khà? jè? dē-dē phè?*  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N AE P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>adv</sub> N N<sub>ext</sub> V  
 today topic body completely also black as coal earth all over be a certain way  
*ve yò*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (75) *chôo , mû-cha hɔ jâ mē* .  
 Interj N V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 wow sunlight hot very emphatic
- (76) *yâ tê ġî ò , šā ca ġà? câ a vè , nâ-hi*  
 N Q P<sub>n</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> Pron  
 guys pluralizer vocative animal go and do hunt V to eat hortatory hortatory we (pl)
- (77) *âa , nò-hí-mà kà? qay a lâ ?*  
 Interj Pron P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! you (dual) also go intentive yes
- (78) *Tcalo : qay ġâ ve yò-è?* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 go desiderative nominalizer emphatic declarative
- (79) *Headman : âa , nâ? ca ni šā* .  
 Interj N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub>  
 well! guns seek to arrange for intentional (1p)
- (80) *tê ġâ tê qhô cò qo qay phè? ve yò* .  
 Q Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 one person one for long objects be there if go able to nominalizer declarative
- (81) *Tcalo : hâ? ca o mē , nî qhô* .  
 Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 quickly look for emphatic urging two for long objects
- (82) *Headman : cô pá ɔ ve tê ġâ cò cê* .  
 N<sub>sd</sub> M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 over there side locative genitivizer one person be there quotative
- (83) *qay nâ mâ qay nâ mâ šī*  
 V P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V  
 go indirect question marker negative go indirect question marker negative know  
 ò  
 P<sub>v</sub>  
 completed action
- (84) *Tcalo : yô qo tê pɔ? kà? mâ bô? jɔ cê , nâ? qô?*  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N V  
 he topic once even negative shoot experiential quotative gun call

- ve*      *tê cə̀*      *lê*      .  
P<sub>univ</sub>      Q      P<sub>unf</sub>  
relativizer one thing topic
- (85) *Headman* : *âa* , *ca*      *ni*      *šā*      *qhe-qa*      .  
.      Interj      vV      V      P<sub>v</sub>      Conj  
well! go and do look at hortatory (1p) if that's the way it is
- (86) *Cà-qā*      , *nə̀*      *pa*      *a-cí*      *ca*      *na-ni*      *nē*      .  
N<sub>pers</sub>      Pron      M<sub>px</sub>      Adv      vV      V      P<sub>uf</sub>  
male name your father please go and do ask emphatic
- (87) *nə̀*      *pa*      *â*      *qay*      *nā*      .  
Pron      M<sub>px</sub>      Adv      V      P<sub>uf</sub>  
your father negative go doubt
- (88) *Cà-qā*      : *âa*      , *á-ni*      *thā*      *qa*      *qay*      *ā*      *qô?ma*      , *yô-qhā-yô*  
N<sub>pers</sub>      Interj      NP<sub>time</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>      V      P<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>      AE  
male name well! yesterday when topic go perfective emphatic all by himself  
*nô*      *ə̀*      *qhə-qhə̀*      *há-phə̀*      *qhə̀*      *ə̀*      *lə̀*  
N<sub>sd</sub>      P<sub>n</sub>      N      N      N<sub>loc</sub>      P<sub>n</sub>      V  
up there locative the mountains rocky slope up there locative lie in wait (as for game)  
*à?*      *lə̀*      *qô?ma*      .  
P<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>  
durative emphatic declarative emphatic
- (89) *qay*      *ā*      *hé*      *chi-bə̀?* , *yô*      *thə̀*      .  
V      P<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>      N<sub>time</sub>      Pron      P<sub>unf</sub>  
go perfective probably now he also
- (90) *âa*      , *ηà-hi*      *ə̀-ha*      *thə̀*      *šā*      .  
Interj      Pron      N      V      P<sub>v</sub>  
well! we (pl) picture take a photo intentional (1p)
- (91) *ηà-hi*      *qha-pə̀-è*      *nā?*      *bə̀?*      *chē*      *ve*      , *nā?*      *tā?*  
Pron      AE      N      V      V<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>      N      V  
we (pl) everybody guns shoot progressive nominalizer guns carry on shoulder  
*ve*      , *šə̀?cə̀*      *mú-phe*      *ni*      *à?*      *lɛ*      *nā?*      *mə̀*      *ve*      *ə̀-ha*  
P<sub>univ</sub>      N      N      V      P<sub>n</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>      N      V      P<sub>univ</sub>      N  
nominalizer tree top part look at accusative suspensive guns aim at relativizer picture  
*tē*      *mà*      *thə̀*      *yù*      *šā*      .  
Num      Cl<sub>f</sub>      V      V<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>v</sub>  
one for things take a photo V lastingly intentional (1p)
- (92) *Tcalo* : *à-thə̀?ma*      *nā?*      *le*      .  
.      N<sub>intg</sub>      N      P<sub>uf</sub>  
what kind of guns substantive qst
- (93) *mà?-tē?-nā?*      *qô?-ma*      .  
N      P<sub>uf</sub>  
muzzle-loader emphatic
- (94) *lə̀-kà-tù*      *lô*      *yə̀*      .  
N      B<sub>n</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>  
musket sthg big declarative

Visiting the village's fields

- (95) : *chà*                    *à*                    *nè-ṣ* .  
           V                    P<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>uf</sub>  
           good for sthg    asseverative    suppositional
- (96) *Headman* : *chà*                    *jâ* .  
                           V                    V<sub>v</sub>  
                           be worth sthg    very
- (97) *pítalêi?*                    *qô?-ma* .  
           N                    P<sub>uf</sub>  
           gun of "Italian" type    emphatic
- (98) *pítalêi?*                    *mε*                    *ve* .  
           N                    V                    P<sub>univ</sub>  
           gun of "Italian" type    have a name    nominalizer
- (99) *Tcalo* : *pítalêi?*                    *qô?* *ve*                    *à-thò?-ma* *qô?* *ve*                    *le*  
                           N                    V    P<sub>univ</sub>                    N<sub>intg</sub>    V    P<sub>univ</sub>                    P<sub>uf</sub>  
                           gun of "Italian" type    call    nominalizer    what            mean    nominalizer    substantive qst
- (100) *Headman* : *pítalêi?*                    *qô?* *ve*                    *ṣ-qhe*                    *šán-phò?*                    *qô?*  
                           N                    V    P<sub>univ</sub>                    P<sub>unf</sub>                    N                    V  
                           gun of "Italian" type    call    nominalizer    topicalizer    kind of firearm (?)    mean  
           *ve*                    *qô?-ma* , *šán-phò?*                    *ve*  
           P<sub>univ</sub>                    P<sub>uf</sub>                    N                    P<sub>univ</sub>  
           nominalizer    emphatic            kind of firearm (?)    genitivizer
- (101) *Tcalo* : *šán-phò?*                    *qô?* *ve*                    *à-thò?-ma* *qô?* *ve*                    *nā* .  
                           N                    V    P<sub>univ</sub>                    N<sub>intg</sub>                    V    P<sub>univ</sub>                    P<sub>uf</sub>  
                           kind of firearm (?)    call    nominalizer    what            mean    nominalizer    wonderment
- (102) *Headman* : *pítalêi?*                    *qô?* *ve*                    *yò-è?*                    , *šán-phò?*  
                           N                    V    P<sub>univ</sub>                    P<sub>uf</sub>                    N  
                           gun of "Italian" type    call    nominalizer    emphatic declarative    kind of firearm (?)
- (103) *Cà-gâ?* : *pítalêi?*                    *qhò*                    *ṣ*                    *tṣ?*                    *la*                    *ve*  
           N<sub>pers</sub>                    N                    N<sub>intg</sub>                    P<sub>n</sub>                    V                    P<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>univ</sub>  
           male name            gun of "Italian" type    where?    locative    come from    come to V    nominalizer  
           *cê*                    *le*  
           P<sub>uf</sub>                    P<sub>uf</sub>  
           quotative    substantive qst
- (104) *Headman* : *à-šwè thâ*                    *Kâlâ-phu*                    *mì-gì*                    *tṣ?*                    *la*                    *ve* .  
                           NP<sub>time</sub>                    N<sub>prop</sub>                    N                    V                    P<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>univ</sub>  
                           long time ago    Caucasian    country    come from    come to V    nominalizer
- (105) *Cà-gâ?* : *Kâlâ-phu*                    *mì-gì*                    *qhò-qhe*                    *ṣ*                    *è* .  
           N<sub>pers</sub>                    N<sub>prop</sub>                    N                    N<sub>intg</sub>                    P<sub>n</sub>                    P<sub>uf</sub>  
           male name            Caucasian    country    which?    locative    substantive qst

- (106) *Headman* : *Kâlâ-phu* *mì-gì* *mô* *̄* *ò-hó* *mû-ni-qè* *ò-hó* *tê* *phô*  
 . <sub>N<sub>prop</sub></sub> <sub>N</sub> <sub>N<sub>sd</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>unf</sub></sub> <sub>N<sub>loc</sub></sub> <sub>N</sub> <sub>N<sub>loc</sub></sub> <sub>Num</sub> <sub>M<sub>px</sub></sub>  
 Caucasian country down there topic below west south one direction  
*̄* .  
<sub>P<sub>unf</sub></sub>  
 topic
- (107) *Cà-gâ?* : *chɔ-nâ?* *kâ?* *lâ* .  
<sub>N<sub>pers</sub></sub> <sub>N</sub> <sub>P<sub>n</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>uf</sub></sub>  
 male name black person locative yes
- (108) *Headman* : *chɔ-phu* *ve* , *chɔ-phu* *mì-gì* .  
 . <sub>N</sub> <sub>P<sub>univ</sub></sub> <sub>N</sub> <sub>N</sub>  
 white man genitivizer white man country
- (109) *chɔ-phu* *ve* .  
<sub>N</sub> <sub>P<sub>univ</sub></sub>  
 white man genitivizer
- (110) *Cà-gâ?* : *chɔ-phu* *â* *hê?* *nê-̄* , *chɔ-nâ?* *nê-̄* .  
<sub>N<sub>pers</sub></sub> <sub>N</sub> <sub>Adv</sub> <sub>V</sub> <sub>P<sub>uf</sub></sub> <sub>N</sub> <sub>P<sub>uf</sub></sub>  
 male name white man negative be the case suppositional black person suppositional
- (111) *Headman* : *chɔ-nâ?* *mì-gì* *ò-hó* *pá* *̄* *š̄* .  
 . <sub>N</sub> <sub>N</sub> <sub>N<sub>loc</sub></sub> <sub>M<sub>px</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>n</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>v</sub></sub>  
 black person earth south side locative still
- (112) < *ò-lɔ* *pa* *lɛ* >  
<sub>N</sub> <sub>V</sub> <sub>P<sub>unf</sub></sub>  
 subject change suspensive
- (113) *âa* *ɲà-hi* *ò-ha* *tê gâ* *tê gâ* *ve* *nâ?* *tâ?* *ā*  
 Interj Pron N NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub>  
 well! we (pl) picture one person each genitivizer guns carry on shoulder durative  
*ve* , *nâ?* *pû* *ā* *ve* *ò-ha* *th̄* *yù*  
<sub>P<sub>univ</sub></sub> <sub>N</sub> <sub>V</sub> <sub>P<sub>v</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>univ</sub></sub> <sub>N</sub> <sub>V</sub> <sub>V<sub>v</sub></sub>  
 relativizer guns carry on the back durative relativizer picture take a photo V lastingly  
*š̄ā* , *ɲà-hi* *chɔ* *tê gâ* *le-le* .  
<sub>P<sub>v</sub></sub> <sub>Pron</sub> <sub>N</sub> <sub>NP<sub>q</sub></sub>  
 intentional (1p) we (pl) people everybody
- (114) *hō* , *yà?-ni* *mû-cha* *hɔ* *jâ* .  
 Interj N<sub>time</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 ah! today sunlight hot very
- (115) *š̄ā* *ca* *gâ?* *ve* *hà* *jâ* .  
<sub>N</sub> <sub>vV</sub> <sub>V</sub> <sub>P<sub>univ</sub></sub> <sub>V<sub>adj</sub></sub> <sub>V<sub>v</sub></sub>  
 animals go and do hunt nominalizer tired very
- (116) *Woman* : *nò-hi* *hó-ghâ?-pā* *š̄ā* *ca* *gâ?* *e* , *ɲà-hi* *yâ-mî-qê?*  
 . <sub>Pron</sub> <sub>N</sub> <sub>N</sub> <sub>vV</sub> <sub>V</sub> <sub>P<sub>v</sub></sub> <sub>Pron</sub> <sub>N</sub>  
 you (pl) men animals go and do hunt motion away we (pl) women  
*pā-té-nê?* *khâ?* *e* .  
<sub>N</sub> <sub>V</sub> <sub>P<sub>v</sub></sub>  
 frog scoop up motion away

Visiting the village's fields

- (117) *Headman* : *šā tē khe kà? mâ ġa bš?* .  
 . N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V V  
 animal one for animals even negative get to shoot
- (118) *ηà ġε šā mâ ġà? la lâ ve* .  
 Pron P<sub>n</sub> N Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 I toward animals negative chase come to V benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer
- (119) *nò ð-hó šā-qhâ qha-dê? cɔ cô ā ve* .  
 Pron N<sub>loc</sub> N AE V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 you down there animal tracks properly follow a trail ought to perfective nominalizer
- (120) *chî-pí-qwè? khi cí-cí mâ hê?* .  
 N N AE Adv + V  
 barking deer tracks a little not be the case
- (121) *nò-hi šā ġà? e ve* .  
 Pron N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 you (pl) animals drive motion away nominalizer
- (122) *cô-pá qhɔ-mâ ɔ ð-hó ɔ yà? e ve* .  
 N<sub>loc</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 over there foothill locative down there locative descend motion away nominalizer
- (123) *cô lə-qá-qhō ġà?-hâ a lâ*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 over there high ground near a river drive by shouting vigorous action benefactive (non-3p)  
*qo , ηà chî-pí-qwè? tē khe ġa tù šš ā ve*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 if I barking deer one for animals get future figure out perfective nominalizer  
*yâ*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (124) *Headman* : *chî-pí-qwè? cō chē ā lɔ qô?-ma* .  
 . N N<sub>sd</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 barking deer over there stay durative emphatic declarative emphatic
- (125) *há-pi hó ɔ* .  
 N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 rocks under locative
- (126) *Woman* : *mî-yâ qo á-qhɔ ɔ lɔ-câ ā ve*  
 . N P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 wife and children topic home locative wait to be fed durative nominalizer  
*yâ*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (127) *Headman* : *âa , chî-pí-qwè? chi tē ġi !*  
 ! Interj N Det Q  
 oh! barking deer these pluralizer
- (128) *chɔ ġε ɔ mâ tš? la* .  
 N P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 people toward locative negative come out come to V

- (129) *nò-hi šā ġà? lâ ve chi qhe te le nò-hi*  
 Pron N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron  
 you (pl) animals drive benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer like this do because you (pl)  
*šā chi qhe te ġà? ve pa-to yà?-ni ñà-hi ca*  
 N AE<sub>ext</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>time</sub> Pron vV  
 animals like this do and drive nominalizer because of today we (pl) go and do  
*ġf tō la ve kà? ð-yâ qhe-lê šôn ve*  
 V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 wander around aimlessly come to V nominalizer also time in vain waste nominalizer  
*yò*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (130) *ð-qhð?-nó mâ mɔ-mɔ qo , ñà-hi tē ge hē?-pí-qhɔ ɔ̄ šā qha-dē? bɔ?*  
 N<sub>time</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub> Pron Q N P<sub>n</sub> N AE V  
 afterwards soon we (pl) together woods locative animals properly shoot  
*câ tū yò*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 V to eat future declarative
- (131) *Woman : chi qhe ve yò-è?*  
 AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 like this nominalizer emphatic declarative
- (132) *ġa câ pí tū â hē? o*  
 vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> VP  
 get to eat able to V future definitely not the case
- (133) *ñà-hi pā-té-nē? khâ? e qo lè ġa câ šɔ̄*  
 Pron N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub>  
 we (pl) frog scoop out motion away if topic get to eat still
- (134) *Headman : âa chɔ-mô-khɔ cð*  
 Interj N V  
 well! proverb be there
- (135) *qhe â hē?*  
 Adv Adv V  
 this way negative be the case
- (136) *” mâ ġa câ tí tâ tā , ġa câ tí*  
 Adv vV V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V vV V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 negative get to eat only negative imperative believe get to eat only  
*tâ dɔ̄*  
 Adv V  
 negative imperative think
- (137) *mâ ġa câ tí tâ dɔ̄-lâ? , ġa mâ ġa*  
 Adv vV V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V V Adv V  
 negative get to eat only negative imperative take for granted catch negative catch  
*thɔ̄ tē pɔ? le-le ñà-hi hē?-pí-qhɔ qay ve tâ bð*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> Pron N V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V<sub>adj</sub>  
 whether every time we (pl) jungle go nominalizer negative imperative be lazy

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g̃a	câ	tù	yò	’	tê?	d̃s	lɛ	ca	ò?	.’
<sub>v</sub> V	V	P <sub>v</sub>	P <sub>uf</sub>		QUOT	V	P <sub>unf</sub>	V	P <sub>v</sub>	
get to	eat	future	declarative		embedded quote	think	suspensive	look for	hortatory	

### Translation

1. H: [*clears throat*] This morning we're going to visit the fields, right? Are the two of you<sup>1</sup> going along? Cà-lô?
2. P: We'll go!
3. H: OK. Well, you're going to take pictures of all the things connected with our cultivating our swiddens, aren't you?
4. C: Yes, fine!
5. H: Let's go then, right now. You have enough time to go, right?
6. C: We'll go! Say, on the road you're taking are there many Northern Thai<sup>2</sup> villages?
7. H: There are lots of them. As for Northern Thai, there's no shortage<sup>3</sup> of them! There are one or two villages.
8. And a road for motor-cars reaches almost up to our fields over there.
9. Yeah, this village right here<sup>4</sup> is Northern Thai.
10. All of these many trees by the roadside here belong to the "Big Boss".<sup>5</sup>
11. And there ahead of us there's another Northern Thai village.
12. All these tea orchards are also Northern Thai.
13. Not Central Thai folks.
14. Yeah, and we have to draw water.<sup>6</sup> From right here. To drink in the fields.
15. C: Isn't there any water to drink up there?
16. H: No, there isn't. We scoop up all the water here that we use everywhere in the fields...
17. Hey, how about rolling ourselves a cigar, OK? One for each of us.
18. C: Yeah, that'd be great.
19. H: Oh, when you make a cigar to smoke in a banana leaf it's very harsh.
20. Here, take it, when we make them in corn-husks, they smell great.
21. Here, you smoke one too!
22. Just grab those matches over there!

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<sup>1</sup> Cà-lô and the author.

<sup>2</sup> The Lahu make a clear distinction between Kɔ̃lɔ̃ 'Northern Thai' and Thây 'Central Thai; Standard Thai; Siamese'.

<sup>3</sup> p̃h-lô? (N) 'plenty; abundance' < N. Thai.

<sup>4</sup> k̃a? k̃a? is colloquial for chò k̃a? 'here'.

<sup>5</sup> sathê-lô (< Tai): a wealthy Thai who owned the tea plantations near Huey Tat, and sometimes hired Lahu to help pick the crop. See Text #69 "Picking Tea".

<sup>6</sup> í-k̃a? qho ve (OV): a very laborious process, filling up gourds or bamboos from a water source and hauling them in tumpline baskets up the mountainside to the village or the fields.



23. This cigar is hard to light<sup>7</sup>! It's a little too wet.
24. C: Whose tobacco is it?
25. H: It's the Kachin's<sup>8</sup> tobacco! Yep, it must not have been well dried, this tobacco. You can't light it.
26. Hey, these plantations here are where we Lahu pick tea to earn money.<sup>9</sup>
27. What's hanging high up on that tree over there is a honeycomb.
28. Have you ever tasted the juice<sup>10</sup>?
29. C: We have tasted the bee-juice before.
30. H: Did it taste very good?
31. C: Delicious!
32. H: There are twelve nests hanging there. Now, this year there aren't that many of them hanging.
33. The path to where we draw water to drink is up a very steep slope.
34. When we carry the water we must go along bending our heads [forward to keep our balance].
35. This road here is the one that we usually walk on.
36. So it's not far now until we get to the fields.
37. When we reach that saddleback<sup>11</sup> up there in the mountains, we'll be able to see over to where the fields are.
38. Look over there! Those people tilling the fields, they're our Lahu folks.<sup>12</sup>
39. [*shouting to the workers*] Till the fields well, till 'em well now!
40. We'll take a picture of your backs!
41. Field-worker: What are you looking for?
42. We're just visiting. Well, you're tilling the field. Don't exert yourselves so much!
43. If you don't have anything to eat and drink you'll have no strength.
44. Really tasty food—pork, chicken.<sup>13</sup>
45. Prepare the food properly and *then* work.
46. Then you'll have the strength.
47. If you don't have food<sup>14</sup> to eat you'll have no strength when you're working in the fields.
48. If you should hook [your tool] onto a tree stump you could topple over backwards!

<sup>7</sup> **tú má tò? pì: tò?** 'burn' / **tú** 'kindle' are a simplex/causative verb pair, with the former often serving as the *resultative complement* of the latter. For the concept of resultative complement, see Y.R. Chao (1968) *A Grammar of Spoken Chinese* U.C.Press (Berkeley and Los Angeles), pp. 443-446; and GL 4.314.

<sup>8</sup> A Jingpho man was a long-term resident of Huey Tat, having migrated with them from Burma. He was very well liked by the Lahu villagers.

<sup>9</sup> **phô? câ** 'pick to eat'. **câ** 'eat' here functions as a versatile verb meaning 'V for a living'. For foods that are consumed for pleasure (e.g., honey, sugar-cane) rather than for mere sustenance, the verb used is often **lê?** 'lick', rather than **câ** 'eat'.

<sup>10</sup> **gâ-gâ** 'liquid', here used instead of **pê-gâ** 'honey' ("bee-juice")

<sup>11</sup> **qā-lê?**: 'a relatively flat or low part of a mountain; saddleback; high plateau'.

<sup>12</sup> **Lāhū-yā**: lit. "Lahu sons; Lahu children."

<sup>13</sup> The headman is gently teasing them. Meat was something eaten only on special occasions, certainly not to be found in the packets of food taken to the fields every day, and not usually eaten in a field-hut. See DL:87.

<sup>14</sup> **chî**: lit. "rice-lifter" (**chî** 'lift up'), i.e. that which is eaten with rice (cf. Thai *kàpkhāw*), conventionally translatable as 'curry', or simply 'food'.

49. So cook delicious curries to eat [before working].<sup>15</sup>
50. There's an awful lot of hard work to do around here.
51. If you guys drop dead, [your hard work] can't follow you [to the grave]. So take it easy!
- ...
52. H: Whew, the sun sure is hot!
53. And the dust stinks so bad you could die.<sup>16</sup>
54. Today our whole bodies will get pitch-black with dirt.<sup>17</sup>
55. Wow, the sun is so hot!
56. Hey, guys, why don't we just go hunting for something to eat!
57. Say, would the two of you like to go?
58. P: We'd love to!
59. H: Well, let's go see to the guns first. If there's one gun per person<sup>18</sup> we can go.
60. C: Hurry and look for them. Two of them.
61. H: There's a guy over there. I don't know whether or not he's going along.
62. C: If it's him, I hear he's never shot a gun in his life.<sup>19</sup>
63. H: Well, let's go see then. Cà-qā, please go and ask your father. Your father's probably not going [hunting with us].
64. Cà-qā: Oh, he actually left yesterday. He's lying in wait up there in the mountains all by himself, up on a rocky slope!
65. H: I guess he's gone then also.
66. So, let's take some pictures now.
67. Let's take a picture of all of us shooting guns, carrying guns on our shoulders, aiming our guns at the treetops.
68. P: What kind of guns are they?
69. H: They're flintlocks!<sup>20</sup> They're big muskets.<sup>21</sup>
70. Somebody: That'll be OK, I guess.
71. H: They're very fine. They're Pie-talian!<sup>22</sup> They're called Pie-talian.
72. P: What does "Pie-talian" mean?
73. H: "Pie-talian" means šán-phò?<sup>23</sup>—it's šán-phò?!
74. P: Well, what does šán-phò? mean then?

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<sup>15</sup>The sense of 'before' is conveyed by the verb-particle *šē* 'inchoative'

<sup>16</sup>*šī e la yò*: cf. the Thai intensifier *cə taaj*.

<sup>17</sup>This sentence contains two words meaning 'all,' each with a slightly different sense: *qha-pə-è* 'all [of a thing]; the whole thing' and *dē-dē* 'all (members of an aggregate)'.  
<sup>18</sup>*tē gā tē qhō*: *gā* 'classifier for people', *qhō* 'classifier for elongated objects, including guns'.

<sup>19</sup>Lit. "I hear he's never shot—as for the thing called a gun."

<sup>20</sup>*mā?-tê?-nâ?*: a muzzle-loading gun whose fuse must be lit manually, by hammer or match.

<sup>21</sup>*lō-kà-tù*: more or less synonymous with *mā?-tê?-nâ?*.

<sup>22</sup>*pítalēi?*: evidently a garbled version of 'Italian'. Perhaps a conflation of Thai *pyyn* 'gun' and *?iitaalii* 'Italian'.

<sup>23</sup>I have been unable to trace this word, which might well be a jocular invention of the headman.

75. H: It means Pie-talian, I told you. *šán-phò?*
76. *Cà-gâ?*: Where do they say that the Pie-talian guns came from?
77. H: A long time ago they came from a white man's country.
78. *Cà-gâ?*: Which white man's country?
79. H: A white man's country down there in the west, in the southern part.
80. *Cà-gâ?*: A place where black people live?
81. H: White people, a white person's country. White people.
82. *Cà-gâ?*: I bet they're not white, they're probably black.
83. H: The black people's country is still to the south.
- [*changing the subject*]
84. Well, let's take some pictures, one person in each picture, carrying guns on our shoulders, on our backs<sup>24</sup>—all of us.
85. Oh boy, today the sun is so hot! We went hunting—we're exhausted.
86. Woman: You men go hunting, we women catch frogs.
87. H: I didn't get to shoot a single animal. Nobody drove any animals towards me.
88. Down below there you should have followed the animals' trail properly. There were plenty<sup>25</sup> of barking-deer tracks.
89. You guys drove the animals *away*.<sup>26</sup> They went down to the foothills over there.
90. If you had only shouted and driven them over there towards me on the high ground above the river, I would have figured out how to catch a barking-deer!
91. The barking-deer are still over there. Under the rocks.
92. Woman: Your wife and children are waiting for something to eat at home.
93. H: Oh, those damned barking-deer! They don't show themselves where people are.
94. Since you guys drove [the animals] that way for me, today we just went wandering around wasting time.
95. Very soon now we'll go hunting together properly in the jungle.
96. Woman: That's the way it is! We're not going to get anything to eat.<sup>27</sup> If we [women] go catch some frogs we'll have something to eat.
97. H: Well, there's an old proverb [about this]. That's not the way it should be. "Think not that ye shall always fail, nor suppose that ye shall always succeed." Don't think you won't ever get anything to eat, whether you get anything or not [on any specific occasion].
98. Never get weary of making forays into the jungle. You should think "I'll catch something to eat," and go look for it!

<sup>24</sup>*tâ?* 'carry on shoulder'; *pú* 'carry on the back'.

<sup>25</sup>*cí-cí mâ hê?*: a pleonastic expression, lit. "not just a little bit," i.e., 'plenty of'.

<sup>26</sup>I.e., instead of towards me.

<sup>27</sup>From the hunting of you men.

## 2.4 Picking tea

- (1) *Cà-bo* : *âa* , *là phâ?* *ve* *ð-lɔn* *a-cí* *qāw* *dà?* *ni*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Interj N V P<sub>univ</sub> N Adv V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 male name well! tea pick relativizer matter a little tell mutual action try and V  
*šā*  
 P<sub>v</sub>  
 intentional (1p)
- (2) *cì-ghâ?* *A-kí* *nò* *là* *ğa* *phâ?* *ni* *ò* *lâ* , *nò*  
 NP<sub>time</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> Pron N <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron  
 this year Aki you tea get to pick try and V completed action yes you  
*à*  
 P<sub>n</sub>  
 interrogative vocative
- (3) *A-kí* : *âa* *tê* *ni* *è?* *ğa* *ca* *phâ?* *ni* *ò*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Interj Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 Aki well! one for days only get to go and do pick try and V completed action
- (4) *hɛ* *qô* *kì* *lɛ*  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 swidden cultivate be busy V'ing because
- (5) *là* *tí qo* *cà* *qô?-ma*  
 N P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 tea topicalizer flourish (of crops) emphatic
- (6) *mâ* *ğa* *phâ?* *šē*  
 Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub>  
 negative get to pick yet
- (7) *hɛ* *a-cí* *qô* *pà* *a* *šā*  
 N Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 swidden just cultivate finish V'ing intentive intentional (1p)
- (8) *Cà-bo* : *qhà-qhe* *è* , *Thû-yì* , *ğa* *phâ?* *ni*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub>  
 male name how? substantive qst male name get to pick try and V  
*ò* *ve* *lâ* , *là* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N  
 completed action nominalizer yes tea
- (9) *Thû-yì* : *ôo* , *nî* *ni* *phâ?* *á* *ò* *và*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Interj Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name oh! two for days pick perfective completed action emphatic
- (10) *Cà-bo* : *cà* *dà?* *à* *lâ* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name flourish (of crops) well asseverative yes
- (11) *Thû-yì* : *âa* , *a-cí-cí* *è?* *cà* *dà?* *à* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Interj Adv P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 male name well! a little just flourish (of crops) well asseverative

- (12) *tê pa šâ? pà ò l qô?-ma .*  
 Q V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 some roughen V already completed action emphatic declarative emphatic
- (13) *Cà-bo : ô ... qhe-qo là hê kî ca pû hê*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Interj Conj N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> vV vV V  
 male name oh! so tea sell locative go and do carry in order to V sell  
*ni á ò lâ .*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 try and V perfective completed action yes
- (14) *cô pá ̄ .*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 over there side locative
- (15) *Thû-yì : ca qay ni á ò và .*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name go and do go try and V perfective completed action emphatic
- (16) *Cà-bo : cì-qhò? tê kîlô ve qhâ-ma ġa cê le*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name this year one kilogram genitivizer how much? get quotative substantive qst  
 .
- (17) *Thû-yì : tê bà? kân qhe ġa cê .*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N N<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name one baht half about get quotative
- (18) *Cà-bo : tê bà? kân .*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N  
 male name one baht half
- (19) *ôo á-ni-qhò? qo tê bà? nî chi šatân tí ġa yâ-o .*  
 Interj NP<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 oh! last year when one baht twenty satang (Thai coin) only get emphatic
- (20) *cì-qhò? tê bà? kân ġa ve-̄ .*  
 NP<sub>time</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 this year one baht half get emphatic
- (21) *Thû-yì : ô-ve ̄ ð-phâ? , chi-bà? ð-câ .*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub> N N<sub>time</sub> N  
 male name that topic leaf now shoot (of plant)
- (22) *Cà-bo : cì-qhò? ð-câ qò? phâ? ve lâ-o .*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name this year sprout V also pick nominalizer yes
- (23) *ôo , ð-câ phâ? ve qhe ð-cê šî e la*  
 Interj N V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 oh! shoot (of plant) pick nominalizer topicalizer plant die motion away come to V  
*nê-̄ qô?-ma .*  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 suppositional emphatic

Picking tea

- (24) *Thû-yì* : *šu qô? ve* , *chi qhe te qô? ve* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 male name they say nominalizer like this do say nominalizer
- (25) *cì-qhà? ò-cā phâ? , né-qhà? qo ò-phà? ġa qò? phâ? ve*  
 NP<sub>time</sub> N V N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 this year shoot (of plant) pick next year when leaf get to V again pick nominalizer  
*yò* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (26) *Cà-bo* : *né-qhà? qo ò-phà? qò? phâ? qô? ve tē* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 male name next year when leaf V again pick say nominalizer really V
- (27) *Thû-yì* : *èe* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Interj  
 male name yes
- (28) *Cà-bo* : *a-ya* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Interj  
 male name aha!
- (29) *chà chà à ve yâ-o qhe-qo* , *chi ̄*  
 V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Conj Det P<sub>unf</sub>  
 be all right be all right asseverative nominalizer emphatic if that's the way it is this topic  
 .
- (30) *cì-qhà? Pā-é nò qhà-nî kîlô ġa ò le* , *là*  
 NP<sub>time</sub> N Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N  
 this year male name you how many? kilogram get completed action substantive qst tea  
*phâ? ve* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 pick nominalizer
- (31) *Yâ-pā-é* : *ηâ kîlô è?*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 man's name five kilogram only
- (32) *Cà-bo* : *ηâ kîlô è?* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 male name five kilogram only
- (33) *qhà-qhe qay le* , *là â cà l* , *lâ* ,  
 N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> N Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 how? go substantive qst tea negative flourish (of crops) emphatic declarative yes  
*nò ve tē kho ̄* .  
 N<sub>poss</sub> + ve Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 your one for gardens locative
- (34) : *bò lε* .  
 V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 be lazy because

- (35) *Cà-bo* : *b̀̀* *lɛ* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 male name be lazy because
- (36) *ôo* *chɔ-b̀̀* *tê c̀̀* *lè* *qhe* *qay* *ve* *ỳ̀* .  
 Interj N Q P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 oh! lazybones the type topic this way go a certain way nominalizer declarative
- (37) *qha-dè?dè?* *gã* *cã* *tù* *mã hê?* .  
 AE <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> Adv + V  
 properly get to earn a living purposive not be the case
- (38) *Yã-pã-é* : *Thũ-yì* *Kól-ma* *à?* *ca* *ni* *e*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub>  
 man's name male name Northern Thai woman accusative go and do visit motion away  
*tí* *qô?* *lã* *lɛ* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 only say benefactive (non-3p) because
- (39) *Kól-ma* *tí* *ca* *ni* *chê* *lɛ* .  
 N P<sub>univ</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 Northern Thai woman only go and do visit continuous because
- (40) *Thũ-yì* : *Kól-ma* *gã* *ca* *ni* *ve* *ỳ̀* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N V<sub>v</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name Northern Thai woman must go and do visit nominalizer declarative
- (41) *kán* *a-cí* *te* *qo* , *yã-mí* *kà?* *nè-á* *õ* *a-cí* *m̀̀* *gã* *lɛ*  
 N Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 work a little do when woman also the two of us topic just see desiderative because  
*lê*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 request for assent
- (42) *̀̀-mí-ma* *mã* *c̀̀* *šẽ* *ve-õ* .  
 N Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 wife negative be there yet emphatic
- (43) : *tã* *qay* *qô?* *ã* *na* *ve* *ỳ̀* , *chi* *tê g̀̀* .  
 Adv V V Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Det Q  
 negative imperative go say negative heed nominalizer declarative these pluralizer
- (44) *Cà-bo* : *qhà-ní* *gã* *chê* *á* *le* ,  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name how many? for people be there durative substantive qst  
*Kól-ma* .  
 N  
 Northern Thai woman
- (45) *Thũ-yì* : *tê gã* *è?* *chê* *á* *le* *phũ-mê?* *kà?* *mã*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> Adv  
 male name one person topic be there durative suspensive face (jocular) even negative  
*gã* *m̀̀* *á* *nẽ* , *mô* *qhɔ* *tí* *chê* *ã* *lɛ* .  
<sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 get to see durative emphatic down there inside only stay durative because

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- (46) *Cà-bo* : *nì à? šu â hâ? gâ lɛ*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> Pron Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 male name you (pl) accusative she negative want to get desiderative because  
*yò-è?*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic declarative
- (47) : *dà? jâ qô? ve , yô-hí-mà qô? ve , šwí?*  
 V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>lim</sub>  
 good-looking very say nominalizer they (dual) say nominalizer the most  
*yò lê*  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative request for assent
- (48) *Yâ-pā-é* : *Cà-có , Cà-gâ? , Cà-qā hí yò*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> B<sub>n</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 man's name male name male name male name pluralizer declarative
- (49) *yô-hí à? mâ kù-kù lɛ ca là ve*  
 Pron P<sub>n</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 them accusative without being invited go and do come nominalizer
- (50) *Thû-yì* : *qhe mâ hê? qo , nè-á tí qo chà*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Adv Cl<sub>nf</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> V  
 male name this way if not the two of us topicalizer succeed at  
*tù qô?-ma*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 counterfactual conditional emphatic
- (51) *Cà-bo* : *chi tê gî kâ? ð-ma-pā qhe ni yò*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Det Q P<sub>unf</sub> N N<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name these pluralizer topicalizer female like blush declarative
- (52) : " *qô? e vâ " qô? pî mâ na , " chi*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> Adv V Det  
 go home motion away hortatory say benefactive (3p) negative listen this  
*tí ō-qhe yâ?-tò à " qô? pî mâ na lɛ*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 as for topicalizer shameful asseverative say benefactive (3p) negative listen because
- (53) *Yâ-pā-é* : " *ηà nò à? mâ kù ve-ō nē*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Pron Pron P<sub>n</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 man's name I you accusative negative invite emphatic emphatic
- (54) *nò ca là ve* ."  
 Pron V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 you go and do come nominalizer
- (55) *Cà-bo* : *ôo , chi qhe là phâ? câ lɛ , chi qhe te*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Interj AE<sub>ext</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V  
 male name oh! like this tea pick V for a living suspensive like this do  
*ve lê ġa câ tù mâ hê? mē-ē-ε*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer topic get to eat future negative be the case emphatic



- (56) *Cà-cố* : *í-kâ?* *pū* *dà?* *chê* *ve* *chi* *tê g̃i*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Det Q  
 male name water squirt mutual action continuous nominalizer these pluralizer  
*qhe-ḡ*  
 Conj  
 topicalizer
- (57) *Cà-bo* : *mū-cha* *hɔ* *ɛ* *ca* *g̃i tō* *ca*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> vV V + V<sub>v</sub> vV  
 male name sunlight hot because go and do wander around aimlessly go and do  
*lē* *tō* *chê* *ve* *kh̃*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 play around V aimlessly continuous relativizer probable reason why
- (58) *Yā-pā-é* : *a-cí qo* , *yā-nè* *l̃* *pyḡ* *ɛ* ...  
 N<sub>pers</sub> AE N P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 man's name the fact is young man topic carefree suspensive
- (59) : *dà?* *jā* *cê* *qô?-ma* , *yḡ-hí-mà* *qô?* *dà?* *ve*  
 V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 good very quotative emphatic they (dual) say mutual action nominalizer
- (60) *Kól-ma* *cō* *ve* *tê g̃ā* *mā* *h̃?* *qo* *tê g̃ā*  
 N N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> Q  
 Northern Thai woman over there genitivizer one person negative get if the other one  
*h̃?* *a* *qô?* *ve* *cê* *qô?-ma*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 get intentive say nominalizer quotative emphatic
- (61) *Thū-yì* : *yḡ-hí* *mā* *là* *qo* *ηà-hí-mà* *tí* *ḡ* *qha-dè?* *ve*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Pron Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE P<sub>univ</sub>  
 male name they negative come if we two only topic fine and dandy nominalizer  
*yò* *nè-ḡ*  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative suppositional
- (62) *Yā-pā-é* : *qha-dè?* *ve* *yò*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> AE P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 man's name fine and dandy nominalizer declarative
- (63) *Cà-bo* : *pòthō* , *pòthō* , *qhe* *mì-cā-vā-cā* *là* *ph̃?* *ve*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Interj Interj Adv Elab<sub>v</sub> V V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 male name my God! my God! like this cultivate the land come pick nominalizer  
*chì qhe* *te* *ve* *ɛ-ē* , *g̃ā* *cā* *ɛ* *ḡu* *l̃*  
 AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron M<sub>px</sub>  
 like this do nominalizer suspensive get to earn a living suspensive others' situation  
*ḡu* *la* *tū* *mā* *cò* *ò* *vā*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be the same as come to V future negative be in accordance with completed action emphatic

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- (64) *chɔ mā qo chɔ khô lɔ ve , chi nî qhɔ?*  
 N V P<sub>unf</sub> N N V P<sub>univ</sub> Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 people teach when people advice fail to heed nominalizer these two for years  
*yâ-o , chi qhe tí ve tê mà tê mà ê? !*  
 P<sub>uf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic like this only genitivizer both people (informal) emphatic
- (65) *hɛ kà? qɔ pɔ ò lɛ-lâ .*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 swidden also cultivate finish V'ing completed action yes
- (66) *Yâ-pâ-é : â pɔ , â pɔ , hɛ kà? .*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Adv V Adv V N P<sub>unf</sub>  
 man's name negative finish negative finish swidden also
- (67) *Thû-yì : âa , hɛ qɔ ve tí qo lɛ tɛ*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Interj N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num  
 male name well! swidden cultivate nominalizer topicalizer topic one  
*tû lɛ nî chi hay qhe cɛ tí pɔ ʃɔ*  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> + P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 land measure (many rai) and twenty for Thai acres about only finish still  
*ma .*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 exclamatory
- (68) *Cà-bo : tɛ tû lɛ nî chi hay ê? .*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 male name one land measure (many rai) and twenty for Thai acres just
- (69) *Thû-yì : êe .*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Interj  
 male name yes
- (70) *Cà-bo : qhe-qo nî tû gâ e ve*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Conj Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 male name so two land measure (many rai) reach motion away nominalizer  
*yò qô?-ma , nò ve ɔ .*  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + ve P<sub>unf</sub>  
 declarative emphatic yours topic
- (71) *ôo , qhe-qo Mɛlè-pa ò nò qhà-thâ? qɔ? phâ? tû ve*  
 Interj Conj N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron N<sub>intg</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 oh! so Mary's father vocative you when? go on to V pick future nominalizer  
*le , lâ chi ɔ .*  
 P<sub>uf</sub> N Det P<sub>unf</sub>  
 substantive qst tea this topic
- (72) *Cà-má : âa , nâ ɔ mâ gâ phâ? ʃɔ hé .*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Interj Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Adv vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name well! I topic negative get to pick still probably
- (73) *hɛ qɔ pɔ a ʃâ .*  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 swidden cultivate finish V'ing intentive first

- (74) Cà-bo : hε qô pð phâ? a lâ o .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name swidden cultivate finish V'ing pick vivid action emphatic
- (75) Cà-má : hε chi ̄-qhe ηâ dô ā ve tí qhe-qo  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N Det P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 male name swidden this topicalizer I think perfective nominalizer as for if  
 nî ší ġa qô hé .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> vV V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 two for weeks must cultivate probably
- (76) nî ší ε ηâ ni .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 two for weeks and five for days
- (77) Cà-bo : nî ší ε ηâ ni .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 male name two for weeks and five for days
- (78) Cà-má : èe , nî ší ε ηâ ni qô pð qhò?-nó  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Interj Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> M<sub>prfx</sub>  
 male name yes two for weeks and five for days cultivate finish V'ing after  
 qo phâ? qay ve yò , mâ pð cε .  
 P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 when pick go and V nominalizer declarative negative finish to the extent that
- (79) là-mì ti tù ve mâ dú šē .  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 tea plantation plant purposive nominalizer negative dig yet
- (80) : šâ? pð nê-̄ , qhe-thâ gà qo ̄  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 lose tenderness (of tea-plant) V completely suppositional such a time reach when topic
- (81) Cà-bo : ηâ kâ? qhe dô ā ve yò qô?-ma .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name I also thus think perfective nominalizer declarative emphatic
- (82) ηâ ve kâ? mâ ġa phâ? a ni šē qô?-ma , là chi .  
 N<sub>poss</sub>+ve P<sub>unf</sub> Adv vV V P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N Det  
 mine also negative get to pick try to yet emphatic tea this
- (83) yâ?-qhâ qô? là mâ ġa phâ? ve a-ké , ηâ  
 Conj Conj N Adv vV V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> Pron  
 however on the other hand tea negative manage to pick nominalizer more than I  
 dô ve ̄ , chi qhe dô ε qô?-ma : là mâ cò  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N Adv V  
 think nominalizer topic like this think suspensive emphatic tea negative have  
 ve , là cò ve a-ké ε ̄ mâ cò  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv V  
 nominalizer tea have nominalizer more than suspensive cooked rice negative have

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- ve* *a-cí* *è?* *qò?* *dô-hā* *tù* *cò* *dô*  
P<sub>univ</sub> Adv P<sub>uf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v-nom</sub> V V  
nominalizer more emphatic still V worry sthg that is cause for V'ing be there think  
*le* .  
P<sub>univ</sub>  
because
- (84) *he* *qô* *pà* *le* *phâ?* *a-tê* *te* *ve* *yò* .  
N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>quot</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
swidden cultivate finish V'ing suspensive pick purposive do nominalizer declarative
- (85) *Cà-má* : *hà ve* *ha-pa* *tê* *mà* *le* *tê chi nâ* *ni* *gà* *qô*  
N<sub>pers</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + **ve** N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Cl<sub>f</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V  
male name mine month one for things and fifteen for days must till the soil  
*š* *hé* *qô?*-*ma* .  
P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
still probably emphatic
- (86) *qhe* *qô* *ā* *qo* , *pà* *qo* *phâ?* *a-tê* *dô* *ā*  
Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>quot</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
this way cultivate perfective when finish when pick purposive think perfective  
*ve* *yò* , *hà* *kà?* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub>  
nominalizer declarative I also
- (87) : *ô-thâ* *gà* *qo* *šâ?* *pà* *yò* , *nò ve*  
N<sub>time</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + **ve**  
that time reach when lose tenderness (of tea-plant) V completely declarative yours  
*š* .  
P<sub>unf</sub>  
topic
- (88) : *là-kho* *né* *š* *â* *phô-phô* *è?* *ve*  
N P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V<sub>redup</sub> particle (Prt) P<sub>univ</sub>  
tea plantation even topic negative clear land adverbializer nominalizer  
*qô?* *pî?*  
V + V<sub>v</sub>  
tell (imperative to 3rd person)
- (89) *Cà-bo* : *là-kho* *qô?* *ve* *kà?* *ná-ghâ-ná-bì* *ve* *qhe*  
N<sub>pers</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub>  
male name tea plantation speak nominalizer also densely overgrown nominalizer like  
*te tē* *ā* *ve* *yò* .  
V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
leave sthg in a certain state perfective nominalizer declarative
- (90) : *chò-bò* *le* *yò-è?* , *nò-hi* *tê mō* *š* .  
N P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron Q P<sub>unf</sub>  
lazybones because emphatic declarative you (pl) one group topic
- (91) : *šu* *gà* *mò* *e* *qo* , *mâ* *phê?* , *mâ*  
Pron <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V Adv  
he (the boss) get to see motion away if negative be acceptable negative

- phê?*  
V  
be acceptable
- (92) : *mâ šĩ ê?* *šũ* *mð e* *qo šũ* *qhð?* *e*  
AE Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub>  
maybe he (the boss) see motion away if he (the boss) take back motion away  
*ve* *yð* *nè-š*  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer declarative suppositional
- (93) *chi Cà-qé* *kà?* *tê* *mà* *cð* *šš* *qô?-lè?* , *là-kho*  
Det N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N  
this male name also one for people (informal) be there still emphatic tea plantation  
*mâ* *phš* *ve*  
Adv V P<sub>univ</sub>  
negative clear land nominalizer
- (94) *Cà-qé* : *âa* , *šathê* *à?* *ŋà* *qha-dê?* *qô?* *dà?* *pð*  
N<sub>pers</sub> Interj N P<sub>n</sub> Pron AE V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
male name well! Big Boss accusative I properly speak mutual action finish V'ing  
*ò* *ve* , *chi tí qo*  
P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Det P<sub>univ</sub>  
completed action nominalizer this topicalizer
- (95) *Cà-bo* : *qhà-qhe* *qô?* *lâ* *le* , *yš* *š*  
N<sub>pers</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub>  
male name how? say benefactive (non-3p) substantive qst he topic
- (96) *Cà-qé* : *yš* *qô?* *ve* *š-qhe le* , *kán* *tân* *ve* *qo*  
N<sub>pers</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
male name he say nominalizer topicalizer work have spare time nominalizer when  
*qhe-le* *qha-dê?* *a-cí* *phš* *ā* *le* *phâ?* *qô?* *ve*  
P<sub>unf</sub> AE Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V P<sub>univ</sub>  
topic properly just hack away undergrowth perfective suspensive pick say nominalizer
- (97) *mâ* *phš* *qo là* *mâ* *dà?* *qô?* *ve* *qô?-ma*  
Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv V<sub>adj</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
negative hack away undergrowth if tea negative good say nominalizer emphatic
- (98) *Cà-bo* : *ð-cā* *má-yê?* *má-yê?* *kà?* *qay* *qô?*  
N<sub>pers</sub> N V V P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>v</sub> V  
male name shoot (of plant) shrivelled up shrivelled up even end up V'ing say  
*ve* *lâ-o*  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer yes
- (99) *Cà-qé* : *yà-ð* *a*  
N<sub>pers</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
male name yeah! vigorous agreement
- (100) *Cà-bo* : *m̩*  
N<sub>pers</sub> Interj  
male name murmur of assent

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- (101) *Thû-yì* : *kán pà qo ...*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 male name work finish when
- (102) *Cà-bo* : *Cà-bí ò , qhâ?-šɛ nò qo cì-ghò? là á phâ?*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N Pron P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N Adv V  
 male name man's name vocative headman you topic this year tea negative pick  
*câ la ò le-lâ qô?-ma , nò mɛ*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub>  
 V to earn money come to V completed action yes emphatic you contrastive topicalizer
- (103) *HM* : *ôo , là phâ? câ ló-lâ? qô?-ma nē* .  
 Interj N V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 oh! tea pick V to earn money really emphatic emphatic
- (104) *Cà-bo* : *nò phâ? ɔ̄ ” phâ? a , phâ? a ” qô? ve*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Pron V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 male name you pick topic pick intentive pick intentive say nominalizer  
*qô?-ma* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (105) *là kà? mâ là mò qô?-ma* .  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 tea even negative come see or hear of emphatic
- (106) *HM* : *mâ tân šē* .  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 negative negative yet
- (107) *Cà-bo* : *mò?-qɔ̄ è? cɛ tí qô? ve yò qô?-ma , à-thò?-ma*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> + P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>intg</sub>  
 male name mouth only only say nominalizer declarative emphatic whatever  
*tê cə te kà?* .  
 Q V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 one thing do even
- (108) *thôo* : *bò ve khô qô?-ma lê* .  
 Interj V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 for God's sake! be lazy relativizer probable reason why emphatic request for assent
- (109) *Cà-qé* : *yò , á-šɛ? kà? tê pɔ̄? phâ? á*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Q V P<sub>v</sub>  
 male name declarative previously topicalizer for once pick perfective  
 ò  
 P<sub>v</sub>  
 completed action
- (110) *HM* : *á phô bò qô?-ma nē !*  
 ! Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative clear land tired of V'ing emphatic emphatic
- (111) *ηà qha phâ? kì qô?-ve pɔ̄-yì dà?*  
 Pron Adv V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>n</sub> subject plus verb; subject-verb construction (SV)  
 I all pick locative topicalizer spic-and-span

- ve*            *è?*            .  
 P<sub>univ</sub>        P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer emphatic
- (112) *šwí?*        *ò*                            *yâ*            *qô?*-*ma*        .  
 V            P<sub>v</sub>                            P<sub>uf</sub>            P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be the best completed action emphatic emphatic
- (113) *Cà-qé*        : *âa*        , *qhâ?*-*še*        *tí qo*        *yô*        *mâ*        *te ve*            *yâ*        .  
 N<sub>pers</sub>        Interj        N            P<sub>univ</sub>        Pron        Adv        V        P<sub>univ</sub>        P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name    well!        headman    topicalizer    he        negative    do    nominalizer    emphatic
- (114) *á-ni-qhò?*    *thâ*        *hà*        *ge*        *tê pô?*    *phâ?*    *á*            *ò*                            *le*            , *yô*  
 NP<sub>time</sub>        P<sub>univ</sub>        Pron        P<sub>n</sub>        Q        V        P<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>v</sub>                            P<sub>unf</sub>            Pron  
 last year    when    I        with    once    pick    perfective    completed action    suspensive    he  
*phâ?*    *dâ?*                            *jâ*        .  
 V        P<sub>v</sub>                            V<sub>v</sub>  
 pick    mutual action    very
- (115) *cì-qhò?*        *a-cí*        *mâ*        *câ*            *lo*                            *qô?*    *ve*            *qo*        ,  
 NP<sub>time</sub>        Adv        Adv        V<sub>adj</sub>        P<sub>uf</sub>                            V        P<sub>univ</sub>        P<sub>unf</sub>  
 this year    rather    negative    be diligent    emphatic declarative    say    nominalizer    topic  
*qhâ?*-*še*        .  
 N  
 headman
- (116) *HM* : *ô qhe*        *qha šwí*                            *yò*        .  
 .            NP<sub>ext</sub>        AE                            P<sub>uf</sub>  
           like that    in the same way    declarative
- (117) *hà*        *phâ?*        *kì*            *qo*        *là-cè*        *khí-pī*        *dà?*        *à*            *mē*        .  
 Pron        V        P<sub>v-nom</sub>        P<sub>unf</sub>        N            N            V<sub>adj</sub>        P<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>uf</sub>  
 I        pick    locative    topic    tea plant    bottom part    beautiful    asseverative    emphatic
- (118) *Cà-qé*        : *te*        *dà?*        *à*                            *mē*        .  
 N<sub>pers</sub>        V        V<sub>v</sub>        P<sub>v</sub>                            P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name    do    well    asseverative    emphatic
- (119) *yô*        *tí qo*        *kán tân*                            *le*            *ğa*            *te a lâ*        *qo*        .  
 Pron        P<sub>univ</sub>        N<sub>spec</sub> + V                            P<sub>unf</sub>            vV            V        P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub>        P<sub>unf</sub>  
 he        topicalizer    free from work    suspensive    manage to    do    vivid action    if
- (120) *mâ*        *ğa*            *te šē le*            , *yô*        *chi-bà?*        .  
 Adv        vV            V        P<sub>v</sub>        P<sub>univ</sub>                            Pron        N<sub>time</sub>  
 negative    manage to    do    yet    because    he        now
- (121) : *dâ?*        *à*                            *le*            *yô*        *là*        *phâ?*    *ve*            *mâ*  
           V<sub>adj</sub>        P<sub>v</sub>                            P<sub>unf</sub>            Pron        V        V        P<sub>univ</sub>        Adv  
           good    asseverative    suspensive    he        come    pick    nominalizer    negative  
*ğa*    *qô?*-*ma*        .  
 V    P<sub>uf</sub>  
 reach a certain amount    emphatic
- (122) *yô*        *dâ?*        *à*                            *tí*        *te*                            *chē*        *qo*        .  
 Pron        V<sub>adj</sub>        P<sub>v</sub>                            P<sub>univ</sub>        V                            V<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>unf</sub>  
 he        good    asseverative    only    be a certain way    continuous    if

Picking tea

- (123) : *gã tí qo cǎ-cǎ má gã pǎ ve , nè-á*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron  
 get topicalizer (not) very much negative get able to V nominalizer we  
*qhe-cǎ-cǎ , là phâ? ve tí qo , yǎ .*  
 AE N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron  
 to the extent that tea pick nominalizer topicalizer he
- (124) : *dâ? lɛ .*  
 V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 good because
- (125) *Cà-bo : šu šu ... ñà gã kâ qo šu ñâ kílô khò?*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Pron Pron ... Pron <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num  
 male name others others I get to hear topic others five kilogram six  
*kílô gã qo yǎ tê kílô kà è? , qô?-qha-pâ? qô?-ma .*  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 kilogram get when he one kilogram half only emphatic emphatic
- (126) : *ǎ-kí te chê ve è? , yǎ là phâ? qo qha-dê?*  
 OV V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron N V P<sub>unf</sub> AE  
 be all dressed up continuous nominalizer emphatic he tea pick when properly  
*phâ? má phê? ve è? .*  
 V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 pick negative able to nominalizer emphatic
- (127) : *qhâ-šǎ-šǎ gã cǎ má tù ve à? qha-dê?*  
 AE <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> AE  
 for a long time get to earn a living much purposive nominalizer accusative properly  
*dâ?-chwe hà?-šá ve è? nē .*  
 AE V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quite well take care of nominalizer emphatic emphatic
- (128) *nò-hi ǎ-cǎ tê thu tê thu è? tà*  
 Pron N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V  
 your (pl) sprout one handspan one handspan even begin to V  
*ǎ-chê?-nó-chê? ve .*  
 Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 bend and get knocked over nominalizer
- (129) *cì-qhò?-tê-qhò? kà? â ca tǎ? la ò*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 this whole year even negative go and do sprout (of plants) come to V completed action  
*yâ .*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (130) *ǎ-šǎ-kwî yâ .*  
 N P<sub>uf</sub>  
 dead plant emphatic
- (131) *Thû-yì : gã má ve à? te ve è? ô qhe*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub>  
 male name get be much nominalizer accusative do nominalizer emphatic like that



- ve*            *̄* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub>        P<sub>unf</sub>  
 genitivizer topic
- (132) *Cà-bo*        : *pòthôo* *Yâ-pā-é*    *qo*    *tê*    *tu*                    *tí*    *ve*                    *kà?*    *nî*  
 N<sub>pers</sub>            Interj    N                    P<sub>unf</sub>    Num    Cl<sub>f</sub>                    P<sub>univ</sub>    P<sub>univ</sub>                    P<sub>unf</sub>    Num  
 male name        wow!    male name    topic    one    for saplings    only    nominalizer    even    two  
*tɔn*            *nî*    *tɔn*            *né*    *te*            *ɔn*            *kə*            *ve*                    *lɔ*  
 Cl<sub>f</sub>            Num    Cl<sub>f</sub>                    P<sub>unf</sub>    <sub>v</sub>V        V                    V<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>univ</sub>                    P<sub>uf</sub>  
 for lengths    two    for lengths    even    do and    bend off    V into    nominalizer    emphatic declarative  
*ma*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 exclamatory
- (133) *šú*            *â*            *mò*    *lɛ*            *yò*                    .  
 Pron            Adv        V    P<sub>univ</sub>        P<sub>uf</sub>  
 he (the boss)    negative    see    because    declarative
- (134) *Thû-yì*        : *âa*        , *chi*    *lè*        *qhe*        *gã*    *te*    *ve*                    *yò*                    *mē*                    .  
 N<sub>pers</sub>            Interj    Det    P<sub>unf</sub>        Adv        <sub>v</sub>V        V    P<sub>univ</sub>                    P<sub>uf</sub>                    P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name        well!    this    topic    this way    must    do    nominalizer    declarative    emphatic
- (135) *Yâ-pā-é*        : *a-cí qo*        *gã*        *câ*                    *mâ*                    *ve*                    *à?*                    *te*  
 N<sub>pers</sub>            AE                    <sub>v</sub>V        V                    V<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>univ</sub>                    P<sub>n</sub>                    V  
 man's name        the fact is    get to    earn a living    be much    nominalizer    accusative    do  
*ve*  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer
- (136) *ɲà ve*        *thô*    *lè*        *là-cè*        *mâ*                    *ši*    *mē*                    .  
 N<sub>poss</sub> + **ve**    P<sub>unf</sub>    P<sub>unf</sub>        N                    Adv        V    P<sub>uf</sub>  
 mine            also    topic    tea plant    negative    die    emphatic
- (137) *ɲà*    *phâ?*    *ā*                    *ve*                    *chi*                    *kà?*                    ...  
 Pron    V        P<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>univ</sub>                    Det    P<sub>unf</sub>  
 I        pick    perfective    relativizer    these    topicalizer
- (138) : *chɔ*    *mâ*    *chɔ*    *mâ*    ...  
 N        V<sub>adj</sub>    N        V<sub>adj</sub>  
 people    many    person    many
- (139) *Yâ-pā-é*        : *tê*    *tu*                    *ve*                    *nî*    *tɔ*                    *nî*    *tɔ*                    *te*  
 N<sub>pers</sub>            Num    Cl<sub>f</sub>                    P<sub>univ</sub>                    Num    Cl<sub>f</sub>                    Num    Cl<sub>f</sub>                    V  
 man's name        one    for saplings    genitivizer    two    for sections    two    for sections    make  
*ve*                    *è?*  
 P<sub>univ</sub>                    P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer    emphatic
- (140) : *mâ*        *ši*    *ve*                    *tâ*                    *qô?*    *mē*                    , *ši*    *à*                    ...  
 Adv            V    P<sub>univ</sub>                    Adv                    V    P<sub>uf</sub>                    V    P<sub>v</sub>  
 negative    die    nominalizer    negative imperative    say    emphatic    die    asseverative
- (141) *Thû-yì*        : *qhà-qhe te qo*    *chi qhe*    *hâ?*        *te*                    *phâ?*    *cô*                    *ve*                    *è?*                    .  
 N<sub>pers</sub>            Cl<sub>nf</sub>                    AE<sub>ext</sub>                    Adv        <sub>v</sub>V        V    V<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>univ</sub>                    P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name        in any case    like this    quickly    do and    pick    ought to    nominalizer    emphatic

Picking tea

- (142) *à-mù* *šathê-lón* *qhà-thâ?* *tê ni* *qhò?* *və* *tù* *nā* .  
 Conj N NP<sub>q</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 otherwise big boss someday take back transportatory motion future wonderment
- (143) *Cà-bo* : *nò-hí-mà* *yâ-nê* *lɛ* *ni-ma* *tê* *šĩ* *è?* *tí*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Pron N P<sub>univ</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 male name you (dual) young men because heart one for round objects only only  
*tā* *lɛ* , *kán* *te* *ve* *̄-qhe* *gá* *cā* *tù*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub>  
 place suspensive work do nominalizer topicalizer get to earn a living future  
*ve* *à?* *lè* , *chi qhe* *ve* *à?* *tā* *lɛ* *te*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 nominalizer accusative topic like this genitivizer accusative do seriously suspensive do  
*pí* *qo* , *cā* *šĩ è* *yò* , *nò-hí-mà* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V AE<sub>stat</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron  
 able to V if earn a living plenty declarative you (dual)
- (144) *Thú-yì* : *âa* , *nò-hí-mà* ...  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Interj Pron  
 male name well! you (dual)
- (145) *Yâ-pā-é* : *yô-hí-nê* , *yô-hí-nê* *tê hó* *chà* *à* *ve-̄* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Pron Pron Q V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 they (dual) they (dual) one kind to be clever asseverative emphatic
- (146) *Cà-bo* : *Kól̄s-ma* *è?* *cê* , *fâ?-šwe* *cê*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name Northern Thai woman only quotative red-cheeked ground squirrel quotative  
 , *fâ?-gâ?* *è?* *cê* , *nâ?* *tâ?* *qo* *qhô* *mû-cha*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> N  
 striped squirrel just quotative guns carry on shoulder when up there sunshine  
*qhò* *bà* *qo* , *ô* *ca* *pho-và?* *chê* *ve* .  
 N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 wherever be shady if over there go and do run and hide continuous nominalizer
- (147) *qhe* *te* *ve* *gá-câ-gá-lè?* *tù* *mâ hê? o* .  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> VP  
 like this do nominalizer get to earn a living future definitely not the case
- (148) *chə* *mā* *qo* *chə-khə* *na-?* *yâ* , *chə* *̄* .  
 N V P<sub>unf</sub> N V<sub>imp</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub>  
 people teach when people's advice listen! emphatic people topic
- (149) *nā-qā-pi* *phì è?* *te* *lɛ* *t̄* *yɔ* *hā* *ve* *qo* ,  
 N AE<sub>stat</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 forehead misshapen make suspensive words speak difficult to V nominalizer topic  
*chə* *â* *mò* *jɔ* .  
 N Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 people negative see experiential
- (150) *Thú-yì* : *âa* , *nò* *mā* *lā* *thô* , *na* *lè* *na*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Interj Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 male name well! you teach benefactive (non-3p) also heed topic heed

- gâ*            *ve*            *yò*            .  
P<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>univ</sub>            P<sub>uf</sub>  
desiderative    nominalizer    declarative
- (151) *qha-dê?*    *mā*    *a ni*    *ê?*            *nē*            !  
AE            V            P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub>    P<sub>uf</sub>            P<sub>uf</sub>  
properly    teach    try to    emphatic    emphatic
- (152) *Cà-bo*            : *qhe*            *cε tí*            *mā*    *tā*            *yò*            , *chɔ*            *à?*            *lê*            .  
N<sub>pers</sub>            Adv            P<sub>univ</sub> + P<sub>univ</sub>    V            P<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>uf</sub>            N            P<sub>n</sub>            P<sub>unf</sub>  
male name    this way    only            teach    durative    declarative    people    accusative    topic
- (153) " *qha-dê?* "    *qò?*    *qô?*    *š̄*            !  
AE            <sub>v</sub>V            V            P<sub>v</sub>  
properly    still V    say    still
- (154) *Thú-yì*            : *š̄u*            *à-mí-a*    *â*            *cò*            *ve*            *nò-hi*    *qhe-lê*    *â*  
N<sub>pers</sub>            Pron            N            Adv            V            P<sub>univ</sub>            Pron            N<sub>ext</sub>            Adv  
male name    others    wife    negative    be there    nominalizer    you (pl)    like    negative  
*phê?*    *ò*                            *qô? pî-?*  
V<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>v</sub>                            V + V<sub>v</sub>  
able to    completed action    tell (imperative to 3rd person)
- (155) *Cà-bo*            : *ŋ̄*            , *tê*    *qhò?*            *ve*            *qhà-ma*    *ḡa*    *jɔ*  
N<sub>pers</sub>            Interj            Num    Cl<sub>f</sub>            P<sub>univ</sub>            N<sub>intg</sub>            V            P<sub>v</sub>  
male name    mmhm    one    for years    genitivizer    how much?    get    experiential  
*le*            , *qha-pà-è*    *phâ?*    *pà*            *qo*            , *Yâ-pā-é*    , *nò ve*    *tê*  
P<sub>uf</sub>            AE            V            V<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>unf</sub>            N<sub>pers</sub>            N<sub>poss</sub> + ve    Num  
substantive qst    all            pick    finish V'ing    when    man's name    your    one  
*kho*            *š̄*                            .  
Cl<sub>f</sub>            P<sub>n</sub>  
for gardens    locative
- (156) *Yâ-pā-é*            : *âa*            , *ŋà*            ...  
N<sub>pers</sub>            Interj            Pron  
man's name    well!    I
- (157) *Cà-bo*            : *qhe*    *nò*            *tê*    *qhò?*            *phâ?*    *ve*            *à-qhɔ*    *è?*            .  
N<sub>pers</sub>            N<sub>ext</sub>            Pron    Num    Cl<sub>f</sub>            V            P<sub>univ</sub>            N<sub>time</sub>            P<sub>uf</sub>  
male name    like    you    one    for years    pick    relativizer    during    emphatic
- (158) *Yâ-pā-é*            : *ŋà à-to*    *tí qo*            *lê*    *tê*            *qhò?*            *phâ?*    *ve*            *lê*            , ...  
N<sub>pers</sub>            Pron            P<sub>univ</sub>            P<sub>unf</sub>            Num    Cl<sub>f</sub>            V            P<sub>univ</sub>            P<sub>unf</sub>  
man's name    I myself    topicalizer    topic    one    for years    pick    nominalizer    topic
- (159) *Thú-yì*            : *lwè*                            *paj*                            *cε*    *lâ*            .  
N<sub>pers</sub>            Cl<sub>f</sub>                            V<sub>v</sub>                            P<sub>univ</sub>    P<sub>uf</sub>  
male name    hundred (Thai)    more than (Thai)    just    yes
- (160) *Yâ-pā-é*            : *lwè*                            *paj*                            *cε*    *â*            *chê*            *qô?-ma*  
N<sub>pers</sub>            Cl<sub>f</sub>                            V<sub>v</sub>                            P<sub>univ</sub>    Adv            V            P<sub>uf</sub>  
man's name    hundred (Thai)    more than (Thai)    only    negative    be there    emphatic  
*nē*            .  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
emphatic

Picking tea

- (161) *šân lwè qhe-ce qô?-ma* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> AE P<sub>uf</sub>  
 three (Thai) hundred (Thai) about emphatic
- (162) *Cà-bo : šân lwè lâ-o* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name three (Thai) hundred (Thai) yes
- (163) *ôo , šê? ha qhe gà ve cê , tê qhò? ve* ,  
 Interj Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 oh! three hundred about reach nominalizer quotative one for years genitivizer  
*yô ve š* .  
 N<sub>poss</sub> + ve P<sub>unf</sub>  
 his topic
- (164) *qhe-qa , A-kí , nò ve tê qhò? qhà-nî ha qhe ġa jô*  
 Conj N<sub>pers</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + ve Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 well then Aki yours one for years how many? hundred about get experiential  
*le , nò ê?*  
 P<sub>uf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub>  
 experiential you contrastive interrogative
- (165) *A-kí : áa , ñà tí qo qha-pà-è-pà-è mâ phâ? ġâ qô?-ma* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Interj Pron P<sub>univ</sub> AE Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 Aki well! I topicalizer everything negative pick succeed in emphatic
- (166) *tê qhò?-qhò? kâ? là šâ? e tí qay*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V  
 year after year even tea lose tenderness (of tea-plant) motion away only go a certain way  
*le , ñà tê ġâ tí ê? , cho è mâ mâ* .  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Q P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> Adv + V  
 suspensive I one person only just people even not many
- (167) *qhe thô kâ? , tê qhò? ve qhe tê ha ñâ chi kîlô*  
 Conj Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 however one for years genitivizer topicalizer one hundred fifty kilogram  
*qhe-ce ġa o qô?-ma* .  
 N<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 as much as get affirmative emphatic
- (168) *là tí qo cò ve yò* .  
 N P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 tea topicalizer have nominalizer declarative
- (169) *phâ? mâ ġâ* .  
 V Adv V<sub>v</sub>  
 pick negative succeed
- (170) *Cà-bo : m* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Interj  
 male name murmur of sympathy
- (171) *A-kí : kán pε le , chi à? tí ġa te ve mâ*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Det P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv  
 Aki work plentiful because this accusative only must do nominalizer negative

- hê?* *lɛ* .  
V P<sub>univ</sub>  
be the case because
- (172) *Cà-bo* : *eeà?* .  
N<sub>pers</sub> Interj  
male name right!
- (173) *qhe qay ve yò* .  
Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
just like that go a certain way nominalizer declarative
- (174) *nè-á qhe qhɔ-qhò?-lò-qhò? yâ yê-he câ ve*  
Pron N<sub>ext</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> N N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
us like in the mountains people high swidden earn a living relativizer  
*tì-mi hó-nâ cò ve mâ hê? lɛ* .  
N N V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub>  
paddy field (irrigated) paddy field (Tai) have nominalizer negative be the case because
- (175) *A-kí : ô-ve tí qo qð? te lɛ nè-á câ mâ lð?*  
N<sub>pers</sub> Det P<sub>univ</sub> vV V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V Adv V<sub>v</sub>  
Aki that topicalizer keep on V'ing do suspensive we eat negative enough to V  
*qô?-lè?* .  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
emphatic
- (176) *nè-á kán tân thâ , tê-khi-tê-yân phu ca yê ve cɛ*  
Pron N<sub>spec</sub>+V P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>adv</sub> N vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
we be free from work when from time to time money seek to use nominalizer just  
*yò* .  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
declarative
- (177) *Cà-bo* : *eeà?* !  
N<sub>pers</sub> Interj  
male name right!
- (178) *qhe-qo , qhâ?-šɛ nò ” gâ ca lð qđ ” a qô?*  
Conj N Pron N vV vV V P<sub>v</sub> V  
so headman you volunteer labor go and do ask to V cultivate tentative say  
*ve â hê? lâ , cì-qhò? ɔ* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
nominalizer negative be the case yes this year topic
- (179) *H : âa , ca lð a-tê te ve yò* .  
. Interj vV V P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>quot</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
well! go and do ask for purposive do nominalizer declarative
- (180) *nð-hi a-ví-a-ni chi ma gɛ ...*  
Pron Elab<sub>n</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
you (pl) relatives this many from
- (181) *Cà-bo* : *ca lð qđ a qo lè dâ? ve*  
N<sub>pers</sub> vV vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
male name go and do ask to V cultivate tentative if topic fine nominalizer

- yò*            *a*                            *nē*                            .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>            P<sub>v</sub>                            P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative vigorous agreement emphatic
- (182) *tê*    *yè*                            *ve*                            *qhà-ní*                            *ğâ*                            *là*    *thô*    ,    *nî ġâ*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub>                            P<sub>univ</sub>                            Num                            Cl<sub>f</sub>                            V                            P<sub>unf</sub>                            Q  
 one    for households    genitivizer    however many    for people    come    even    two people  
*šê? ġâ*                            *là*    *thô*    .  
 Q                            V                            P<sub>unf</sub>  
 three people    come    even
- (183) *Thû-yì*            :    *là*    *tù*    *mâ*    *hê?*                            .  
 N<sub>pers</sub>                            V                            P<sub>v</sub>                            Adv                            V  
 male name            come    future    negative    be the case
- (184) *tâ-łe*                            *lò*    *lò*    ,    *tâ-łe*                            *lò*    *lò*                            .  
 Adv                            V                            P<sub>v</sub>                            Adv                            V                            P<sub>v</sub>  
 negative imperative    request    urging            negative imperative    request    urging
- (185) *H* :    *âa*    ,    *chi*                            *ò-ğâ-phû*    *pî*    *a*                            *ve*                            *mâ*                            *hê?*                            *łe*                            ,  
                           Interj                            Conj                            N                            V                            P<sub>v</sub>                            P<sub>univ</sub>                            Adv                            V                            P<sub>univ</sub>  
                           well!                            you see    wages    give    tentative    nominalizer    negative    be the case    because  
*lò*    *kâ?*    *mâ*                            *lò*    *kâ?*    *ŋà*    *à?*                            *cò*                            .  
 V                            P<sub>unf</sub>                            Adv                            V                            P<sub>unf</sub>                            Pron                            P<sub>n</sub>                            V  
 ask for    also    negative    ask for    also    I                            accusative    be responsible for
- (186) *lò*                            *łe*                            *mâ*                            *là*    *ve*                            *qo*    ,    *šu*                            *à?*                            *tho*  
 V                            P<sub>unf</sub>                            Adv                            V                            P<sub>univ</sub>                            P<sub>unf</sub>                            Pron                            P<sub>n</sub>                            V  
 request    suspensive    negative    come    nominalizer    if                            others    accusative    tell  
*pî*                            *ò*                            *ve*                            *łe*                            ,    *kâ*    *ò*                            *qo*  
 V<sub>v</sub>                            P<sub>v</sub>                            P<sub>univ</sub>                            P<sub>unf</sub>                            V                            P<sub>v</sub>                            P<sub>unf</sub>  
 benefactive (3p)    change of state    nominalizer    suspensive            hear    completed action    when  
*mâ*                            *là*    *ve*                            *qo*    ,    *šu*                            *à?*                            *cò*                            *ve*  
 Adv                            V                            P<sub>univ</sub>                            P<sub>unf</sub>                            Pron                            P<sub>n</sub>                            V                            P<sub>univ</sub>  
 negative    come    nominalizer    if                            others    accusative    be responsible for    nominalizer  
*yò*                            .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (187) *Cà-bo*                            :    *eeà?*                            .  
 N<sub>pers</sub>                            Interj  
 male name            right!
- (188) *lò*                            *a nî*                            *è?*                            *nē*                            .  
 V                            P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub>                            P<sub>uf</sub>                            P<sub>uf</sub>  
 request    try to            emphatic    emphatic
- (189) *tê ġâ*                            *â*                            *là*    *thô*                            *tê ġâ*                            *lê*    *là*    *yò*                            *qô?-ma*                            ,  
 Q                            Adv                            V                            P<sub>unf</sub>                            Q                            P<sub>unf</sub>                            V                            P<sub>uf</sub>                            P<sub>uf</sub>  
 one person    negative    come    even if    another person    topic    come    declarative    emphatic  
*chò*                            *lê*                            .  
 N                            P<sub>unf</sub>  
 people    topic

- (190) *qhà-thâ? tē ni à? ca l̄ a-tē? te le , n̄*  
 N<sub>intg</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>quot</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> Pron  
 when? one for days accusative go and do request intentive do substantive qst you
- (191) *H : ší-pà-šē-ni à? ca l̄ a ni a-tē te ve*  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>quot</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 Wednesday accusative go and do request try to purposive do nominalizer  
*qô?-yò-è?*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (192) *Cà-bo : ší-pà-šē-ni à?*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 male name Wednesday accusative
- (193) *šē-ni à? tē tâ te nē*  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 Wednesday accusative really V negative imperative do emphatic
- (194) *cí-qô? tâ? qh̄? hā à*  
 N V <sub>v</sub>V <sub>v</sub>V P<sub>v</sub>  
 hoe carry on shoulder V back difficult to V asseverative
- (195) *ší pà thā te qo ší-pà-tē-ni à? te è?*  
 N<sub>time</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 week come to an end when do if Monday accusative do emphatic
- (196) *kh̄?-ni à? šu cí-qô? tâ? qh̄? la qo ̄*  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron N V <sub>v</sub>V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 Saturday accusative others hoe carry on shoulder V back motion towards if topic
- (197) *H : áa , qhe-qo ší-pà-ní-ni à? yò-è? nē*  
 Interj Conj N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! well then Tuesday accusative emphatic declarative emphatic
- (198) *Cà-bo : ḡ*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Interj  
 male name murmur of assent
- (199) *ší-pà-ní-ni à? te qo dà? yò nē*  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 Tuesday accusative do if fine declarative emphatic
- (200) *H : tē ni à? ḡa hε qh̄ ca ḡḡ?-tâ? qh̄?*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron N M<sub>px</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub>  
 one for days accusative I swidden in seek to pick up and carry V back  
*e è?*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 motion away emphatic
- (201) *hε qh̄ ̄ kán ca ḡâ?-te lε*  
 N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 swidden in locative work go and do do in a desultory way suspensive

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- (202) *Cà-bo* : *nò qo ̄ ô là phâ? ve ̄ tê ġâ*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Q  
 male name you topic topic over there tea pick nominalizer topic one person  
*qo-qò?* *tê bà? kàn ġa cê* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic topic one baht half get quotative
- (203) *ġà qo ̄ ní chi ġà šatân tí pè? lá qô?-ma*  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 I topic topic twenty-five satang (Thai coin) only give benefactive (non-3p) emphatic  
 , *šū ġà à?* , *tê kîlô ve kà?* .  
 Pron Pron P<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 others me accusative one kilogram genitivizer even
- (204) *H* : *ôo* .  
 Interj  
 wow!
- (205) *Thū-yì* : *nò â phâ? pí lε yò-è?* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Pron Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name you negative pick good at V'ing because emphatic declarative
- (206) *šū qhe â hê? lε* .  
 Pron N<sub>ext</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 others like negative be the case because
- (207) *Cà-bo* : *â hê? ɔ* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name negative be the case affirmative
- (208) *phâ? ve à? ní a qo qha šū yò* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE P<sub>uf</sub>  
 pick nominalizer accusative look at try to if the same declarative
- (209) *H* : *qhe lè â hê? nè-̄ , tê ġâ tê yān ̄* .  
 AE Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> Q Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 like that negative be the case suppositional one person one for ways topic
- (210) *Cà-bo* : *te ve ká qha šū kà? pî ve ð-phū mâ*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N AE P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N Adv  
 male name do relativizer work the same although give relativizer wages negative  
*šū* .  
 V  
 be the same as
- (211) *tê ġâ tê yān te ve khô qô?-yò-è?* .  
 Q Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>uf</sub>  
 one person one for ways do relativizer probable reason why emphatic
- (212) *tê ġâ à? hà? qo tê ġâ à? cân* .  
 Q P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Q P<sub>n</sub> V  
 one person accusative favor if another person accusative hate
- (213) *Yâ-pā-é* : *qha-dè?-dè? mâ qô? dâ? qo qhe*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> AE Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv  
 man's name in exactly the right way negative discuss mutual action if just like that



- qay* V go a certain way  
*ve* P<sub>univ</sub> nominalizer  
*yò* P<sub>uf</sub> declarative .
- (214) *H* : *ɔɔ* , *qha-dê?* *qò?* *qô?* *dà?* *a* .  
 . Interj AE vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 ah properly V again discuss mutual action intentive
- (215) *Cà-bo* : *nò-hi* *a-ví-a-ni* *šú-khô-šú-šá* *šĩ* *ve*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Pron Elab<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 male name you (pl) brothers and sisters others' languages and customs know nominalizer  
*qo* , *a-cí* *ğá* *ga* *qô?* *lá* *cô* *ve*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Adv vV vV V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 if please ought to help to discuss benefactive (non-3p) ought to nominalizer  
*yò* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> declarative
- (216) *Thû-yì* : *nò* *hú-câ?-kân* *ve* *â* *hê?* *lɛ*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Pron V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 male name you be acquainted (Tai) nominalizer negative be the case because  
*nê-5* *qô?-ma* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 suppositional emphatic
- (217) *Cà-bo* : *mâ* *šĩ* *dà?* *ve* *yò* *pò?* , *ηà*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron  
 male name negative know mutual action nominalizer declarative emphatic I  
*tí qo* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 topicalizer
- (218) *Thû-yì* : *ɔɔ* , *ηà-hi* *5* *hú-câ?-kân* *dê-dê* *yâ* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Interj Pron P<sub>unf</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name oh! we (pl) topic be acquainted (Tai) all emphatic
- (219) *Cà-bo* : *m* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Interj  
 male name hmm

### Translation

1. T: Well, let's talk a little bit about picking tea. A-kí, have you tried your hand at picking tea yet this year?
2. A-kí: Well, I've only managed to go picking for one day so far.<sup>1</sup> Since I'm so busy hoeing my rice-field. But my tea is doing fine! I just haven't managed to pick it yet. I'll just finish hoeing my field first.
3. T: So how is it, Thû-yì? Have you gotten any tea-picking done yet?
4. Ty: Oh, I've picked for two days already.
5. T: Is it good and thick?
6. Ty: Well, a little bit of it is doing nicely. Some of it has gotten rough though.

<sup>1</sup>Note the 4-verb concatenation: *ğá* 'get to V' + *ca* 'go and V' + *phê?* 'pick' + *ni* 'try and V'.

## Picking tea

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7. T: Oh, then have you already tried carrying it down to where they sell the tea<sup>2</sup> way over there?
8. Ty: I've already tried going there.
9. T: This year how much do they say you get for one kilo?
10. Ty: They say about a baht and a half.
11. T: A baht and a half. Wow, last year we only got one baht and 20 satang.<sup>3</sup> This year we get a baht and a half!
12. Ty: Those were the leaves, now we're talking about the shoots.<sup>4</sup>
13. T: This year you're going to pick the shoots too, are you! You know, when you do something like plucking the shoots the plant nearly dies!
14. Ty: They told us to do that. Pick the shoots this year, then next year you get to pick the leaves again.<sup>5</sup>
15. T: Next year you pick the leaves again, they say.
16. Ty: Yeah.
17. T: Well, well! That's all right, all right then, in that case! Pā-é,<sup>6</sup> this year how many kilo did you get when you picked your tea?
18. Pa-eh: Only five kilo.
19. T: Only five kilo. What happened, the tea wasn't growing thick, in your orchard?
20. [Whisper]: Because he's lazy!
21. T: Because he's lazy. Too bad, that's how it goes with lazy people. They can't earn a proper living.
22. Pa-eh: Because Thùyì keeps telling me to go visit Thai girls—because that's all *he* does!
23. Ty: We *have* to go visit Thai girls. After you work a little you just want to see a woman. We don't have wives yet!
24. Somebody: When you say "don't go," they don't listen, those guys.
25. T: How many of them are there, those Thai girls?
26. Ty: One of them there I've never even gotten to see the kisser<sup>7</sup> of! She just stayed down [in her house] all the time.
27. T: She probably didn't want either one of you.
28. Somebody: They're supposed to be very pretty, the two of them, the prettiest there are, they say.
29. Pa-eh: It's those guys Cà-có, Cà-gâ?, and Cà-qā. They went to them without being invited.
30. Ty: If it wasn't for them, it would have been great for us!
31. T: Those guys are blushing like girls!

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<sup>2</sup>A four-verb concatenation: **ca** 'go and V' + **pû** 'carry to V' + **hâ** 'sell' + **ni** 'try and V'. The place in question was actually a tea-factory owned by **šathê-lô**, the "Big Boss".

<sup>3</sup>There are 100 satang in one baht. In the 1960's the exchange rate was 20 baht to the dollar. The actual difference between one baht plus 20 satang vs. one baht plus fifty satang was minuscule.

<sup>4</sup>Ordinary tea-leaves went for 1.2 baht (one baht plus 20 satang) per kilo, while the tender shoots went for 1.5 baht (one baht plus 50 satang) per kilo.

<sup>5</sup>The same principle as pruning a tree.

<sup>6</sup>Pā-é (short for **Yâ-pā-é** "Sonny, Little Boy") was my chief consultant during my 1977 fieldtrip.

<sup>7</sup>By this slang word I translate Thuyi's jocular coinage **phû-mê?**, which is a reordering of the syllables of the ordinary word **mê?-phû**.

32. Somebody: Even though they [the girls] said “Go home!” they [the suitors] didn’t listen. When they said “You ought to be ashamed!” they didn’t listen, so...
33. Pa-eh: [imitating girl’s voice] “I didn’t invite you! And yet you came.”
34. T: Oh, here you are, picking tea to earn money. and you act this way. You’ll never earn a living that way!
35. Cà-có: It’s like these guys are just squirting water at each other!
36. T: Maybe it’s because the weather’s so hot that they just keep fooling around, playing around.
37. Pa-eh: The fact is, young men are carefree, and—
38. Somebody: It’s actually very good, what the two of them have been saying. If one of them doesn’t get the Thai girl, the other one will, they’re saying.
39. Ty: If they [the other group of suitors] hadn’t come, I bet everything would have been fine for the two of us.
40. Pa-eh: It would have been fine.
41. T: My God, my God, if this is how you tend your fields and pick your tea, there’s no way you’re going to come up in the world. When people teach you, you ignore what they say, for two years now! You’ve been acting this way, both of you. And have you finished hoeing your swiddens?
42. Pa-eh: I haven’t finished, haven’t finished—my field either.
43. Ty: Well, as for hoeing my fields, so far I’ve only finished one *tû* and 20 *rai*.<sup>8</sup>
44. T: Only one *tû* and 20 *rai*.
45. Ty: Yeah.
46. T: So you got about two *tû* from your field! Hey, Cà-má, Mary’s father,<sup>9</sup> when will you be picking your tea?
47. Cà-má: Well, I guess I can’t manage to pick mine yet. I have to finish hoeing my swidden first.
48. T: After you finish hoeing you’ll tackle the picking.
49. Cà-má: This field [of mine] I’ve been thinking I’ll probably have to hoe for two weeks. Two weeks and five days.
50. T: Two weeks and five days.
51. Cà-má: Yeah, two weeks and five days. After I’ve finished hoeing I’ll go picking, until I’ve finished the job. I haven’t dug [the holes] for planting my own tea-garden yet.
52. Somebody: It’ll all be dried up by that time!
53. T: That’s what I thought too! I haven’t been able to try picking that tea of mine yet either. But still, more than not being able to pick the tea, this is what I think: more than having tea or not having tea, I think not having *rice* is a cause for anxiety, so only after finishing hoeing the [rice] field do I intend to pick [the tea].
54. Cà-má: I still have to hoe my field for a month and fifteen days. Once I’ve finished hoeing I also plan to do the picking.
55. Somebody: By that time yours will be all rough.

<sup>8</sup>From the context here it looks as if one *tû* contains somewhat more than 20 *rai*. See *tê tû mî è* (DL 613).

<sup>9</sup>This name derives from the verb *má* ‘be lucky in hunting’. This man was also called *Mfêlè-pa* ‘Mary’s father’, by the nomenclatural phenomenon of teknonymy, ubiquitous in Southeast Asia.

56. Somebody else: And tell him that he still hasn't even cleared the land for his tea garden!
57. T: Speaking of his tea-garden, he leaves it all overgrown with weeds.
58. Somebody: It's because you're lazy, all you guys.
59. Somebody else: If *he*<sup>10</sup> catches sight of it, it will never do, it will never do.
60. T: Maybe when he sees it, he'll even take it back from you. There's also another guy, Cà-qé, who's like that, not taking care of his tea-garden!
59. Cà-qé: Well, I've had a good talk with the Boss about this.
60. T: What did he say to you then?
61. Cà-qé: What he said was, when you have free time for this work, just carefully slash away the undergrowth and then do the picking. If you don't do this, the tea won't be any good, he said.
62. T: Did he tell you that the shoots would get all shrivelled up?
63. Cà-qé: Yep, he did.
64. T: Hmm.
65. Ty: When I finish the work...
66. T: Hey, Cà-bí, Headman, what about you—haven't you picked your tea already this year yourself?
67. H: Oh, I'm a great tea-picker, you know!<sup>11</sup>
68. T: You and your picking! You keep saying "I'll pick, I'll pick!", but I don't see that any tea has come [from you]!
69. H: I haven't had time yet.
70. T: You're only saying that with your mouth! Whatever your do [it's like that]. Anyhow, maybe it's just because you're lazy, isn't it!
71. Cà-qé: Yes, a while ago for once he did pick.
72. H: I'm not too lazy to clear my land! Wherever I've picked it's spic-and-span!<sup>12</sup> It's the best it can be!
73. Cà-qé: Oh, the headman hasn't done any [tea-picking]! Last year he once picked with me, and he did pick very well. But this year, one has to say that he hasn't been so diligent, the headman.
74. H: It's just as I said. In the places where I've picked, the bottoms of the tea-plants are beautiful.
75. Cà-qé: He does it well, that guy, if he's free of other work and manages to do it. But he hasn't done it yet, as of now.
76. Somebody: So he's good at it—but he doesn't manage to pick much! If it's just that he's good at it...<sup>13</sup>
77. Somebody: As for how much he gets, unlike us he's not capable of getting very much, when it comes to tea-picking, that guy.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>šū : i.e. the Big Boss (šā-thê-ló) from whom the Huey Tat villagers rent the tea-orchards.

<sup>11</sup>In DL:1379, under ló-lâ?, this sentence is glossed "Well, I guess I'll really pick tea for a living" – an equally possible translation in a different context.

<sup>12</sup>The basic meaning of pō-yì, here translated 'spic-and-span' is 'a cleared-off area (as from cattle grazing a place clean)' (DL:861).

<sup>13</sup>I.e., we could do with less expertise and more actual work!

<sup>14</sup>The translation attempts to capture the multiple syntactic inversions in the Lahu: ġā tí qo, cî-cî mâ ġā pí ve, nè-á qhe ce-ce, là phô? ve tí qo, yô. The most straightforward ordering of these 5 syntactic elements would be: ġā tí qo, yô, nè-á qhe ce-ce, là phô? ve tí qo, cî-cî mâ ġā pí ve. [1-5-3-4-2]

78. Somebody: Because he's so good at it!<sup>15</sup>
79. T: Other people—I've heard that others have gotten five or six kilos, while he just got a kilo and a half, for heaven's sake!
80. Since he's all duded up, he can't pick tea properly!
81. Somebody else: In order to be able to live on it for a long time you've got to take care of [your crop] very well! Your shoots are starting to bend and get knocked over when they're only one span high. This whole year they won't sprout again! They'll all dry up!
82. It's just that they're trying to get a lot,<sup>16</sup> by doing it that way.
83. T: Wow, Yâ-pā-é breaks off each individual sapling into two sections and puts them in [the ground]. You're lucky the Boss didn't see you!
84. Ty: Well, that's just the way we have to do it!
85. Pā-é: The reason is, we do it to get a better crop. As for mine, the tea plants haven't died at all! The ones that I picked—
86. Somebody: There are lots of people—
87. Pā-é: We break each sapling into two sections.
88. Somebody: Don't tell me they didn't die! They did!
89. Ty: Anyway, we really ought to pick it fast! Otherwise the Boss might take them [the tea plantations] back some day.
90. T: Both of you [Pā-é and Thû-yì] are young men, so you should concentrate your minds, and if you do the work to earn a living, if you can settle down and do that, you'll get plenty<sup>17</sup> to eat, you two.
91. Ty: Well, you—
91. The likes of the two of them are really good at it.
92. T: They tell me [you've been running around after] Thai girls, eh? ground squirrels, eh? and striped squirrels, eh?<sup>18</sup> Taking your gun and hiding wherever you find a shady place<sup>19</sup>—you'll never make a living that way! When people teach you, listen to what they say, those people! You're so thick-skulled and stubborn<sup>20</sup>, hard to get through to—I've never seen the like.<sup>21</sup>
93. Ty: Well, what you teach I listen to, I want to listen to. So please try teaching me properly!
94. T: I just teach the best I can, to the people. And you add the word “properly”!<sup>22</sup>
95. Ty: Other people who don't have a wife can't act the way you do.
96. T: Well, how much have you usually gotten each year then, when you've finished picking? From your garden, Yâ-pā-é?

<sup>15</sup>A sarcastic remark.

<sup>16</sup>**gā mā ve à? te ve è?**: This sentence exemplifies the accusative of purpose (not recognized in GL). Later in the text a similar expression occurs: **gā cā mā à? te ve** ‘do it in order to get a lot to eat’. This use of the accusative particle **à?** or **thà?** is identical to that of the purposive particle **tù**.

<sup>17</sup>**ši è** ‘awfully much; plenty’, ult. < **ši** ‘die’. See DL:1232.

<sup>18</sup>**fā?-šwe**: ‘red-cheeked ground squirrel’ [*Dremomys sp.*]; **fā?-gà?** ‘striped ground squirrel’ [*Lariscus sp.*]. For slightly different identifications, see DL 1308, 1306.

<sup>19</sup>**mû-cha bà ve** (Nspec + V) ‘be shaded from the sun’.

<sup>20</sup>**nà-qā-pi phi è te ve** ‘be thick-skulled’, lit., “be flat in the forehead”. A less metaphorical meaning ‘have a fat and pudgy face’ is recognized in DL 742 and 890.

<sup>21</sup>**chō** (m)â **mō jō**. A formulaic expression expressing rather jocular disapproval.

<sup>22</sup>Cà-bo pretends to be a bit miffed at this impertinence.

## Picking tea

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97. Yâ-pā-é: Well, I—

98. T: Like what you pick in the course of one year.

99. Pā-é: I myself, what I pick in one year—

100. Ty: Is it more than a hundred?<sup>23</sup>

101. Pā-é: It wasn't only "more than a hundred"! It was about 300!<sup>24</sup>

102. T: Is it 300 then? So he says his [yield] is about 300<sup>25</sup>, in one year. Well then, A-kí, how many hundred have you usually gotten in one year, from yours?

103. A-kí: Well as for me, I'm not able to pick everything [I've got]! Since I have to do it all by myself, every year my tea goes rough.<sup>26</sup> I don't have a lot of people [to help]. But anyway, in one year I just get about 150 kilo! As for the tea, it's there. I just can't pick it all.

104. T: Hmm-

105. A-kí: I have a lot of work, it's not just this [tea-picking] that I have to do.

106. T: Yes indeed. That's the way it goes. We hillfolk cultivate mountain fields<sup>27</sup> for a living, since we don't have [irrigated] paddy-fields or hó-nâ.<sup>28</sup>

107. A-kí: As for that, if we keep fussing with our tea, we won't have enough to eat! When we're free [from other work], once in a while we just try to earn some pocket-money.<sup>29</sup>

108. T: Right! Well then, Headman, didn't you say that you were going to go ask for labor<sup>30</sup> to [help you] cultivate this year?

109. H: Well, I am trying to ask for help. From among you guys, my relatives—

110. T: If you are going to ask for help, that's very fine! No matter how many people respond from each household—even if it's only two or three people.

111. Ty: Nobody will come! Don't go asking them, don't go asking them!

112. H: Since I won't be giving them any wages, whether I ask for help or not is my business. If I ask them and they don't come, other people will be told, and when these others hear that they didn't come, it will be to their discredit.

113. T: Yes. Do try asking! Even if one person doesn't come, another person will—that's the way people are.<sup>31</sup> What day are you planning to go ask for help?

114. H: I'm planning to go try asking on Wednesday.<sup>32</sup>

115. T: On Wednesday. Please don't do it on Wednesday. It's [too] hard to carry the hoes back.<sup>33</sup> If you do it after the weekend, do it on Monday. As long as people have carried the hoes back on Saturday.

116. H: Well, then, I'll do it on Tuesday!

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<sup>23</sup>Thû-yì jocularly uses N. Thai lwè paj [Si. rǒj paj] for 'more than 100'. On the other hand, perhaps he was not being particularly jocular, since the Lahu had to use Thai when bargaining with the Boss and his staff at the tea-factory.

<sup>24</sup>This number is also given in Lahuized N. Thai: šàn lwè [Si: sām rǒj].

<sup>25</sup>This time Cà-bo gives the numeral in Lahu: šê? ha.

<sup>26</sup>If tea is left growing for too long, it becomes hard and unusable.

<sup>27</sup>Swiddens, unirrigated fields in the hills, require backbreaking labor to cultivate.

<sup>28</sup>Cà-bo uses both the Lahu (ti-mi) and Shan (hó-nâ; cf. Si. rāj-naa) words for "paddy-field."

<sup>29</sup>I.e., whatever money they earn from tea is just for little luxuries, not vital to survival like the rice crop.

<sup>30</sup>gâ ca lǒ qǒ ve: the custom of helping out a fellow villager in times of intense work in the fields, with the understanding that this kindness will eventually be reciprocated when the shoe is on the other foot

<sup>31</sup>Translating the afterthought topic chǒ lè 'as for people'.

<sup>32</sup>The headman and his interlocutors naturally use the Christian way of naming days of the week.

<sup>33</sup>The idea seems to be that as the work week goes on, it becomes more and more difficult to drag one's tools to the fields.

117. T: Mm-hm. If you do it on Tuesday, that'll be fine.
118. H: For one day I just want to go to my field and pick up [my tools] and carry them back. After doing a few licks of work in the field too.
119. T: I've heard that you guys now get one and a half baht [per kilo] per person for picking tea. Me now, I would only get 25 satang, that's what they gave me. Even for one kilo.
120. H: Wow.
121. Ty: It's because you're no good at picking! Because you're not like other people.
122. T: That's not so! If you look at what I pick, it's the same [as others].
123. H: I don't think it's like that—that it's "each person a different way."<sup>34</sup>
124. T: Maybe they *do* discriminate. They may favor one person and hate another one.
125. Pā-é: If you don't agree on the terms carefully, that's what happens.
126. H: Well, I'm going to discuss this carefully again.
127. T: You relatives, if you're friendly with him [the Boss]<sup>35</sup>, you just ought to help me speak.<sup>36</sup>
128. Ty: It's probably because you're not acquainted with each other.<sup>37</sup>
129. T: No, we're not acquainted, me anyway.
130. Ty: Well, we all are acquainted with him.
131. T: Hmm—

<sup>34</sup>tê gâ tê yān "one person one kind": yān < Shan (Siamese *jàaŋ*), i.e., treating each person differently.

<sup>35</sup>Lit. "if you know his words and his breath".

<sup>36</sup>Note the 4-verb concatenation: gâ 'must' + ga 'help' + qô? 'speak' + cš 'ought to'.

<sup>37</sup>TY uses the Thai expression *hū-câ?-kā* (Si. *rūcāk kan*) 'be acquainted with each other', instead of Lahu *ši dâ? ve*, probably because a Thai person is involved.

## 2.5 Problems of “slash-and-burn” agriculture

- (1) *P* : *âa* , *nò-hi* *Hwè-tà?* *̄* *chê* *ve* *Lâhū-yâ* *chi* *tê mō*  
 . Interj Pron N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N Det Q  
 well! you (pl) Huey Tat locative live relativizer Lahu people this one group  
*Thây-mû-mì* *̄* *gà* *la* *ve* *qhà-nî* *qhò?* *gà*  
 N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V  
 Thailand locative reach come to V nominalizer how many? for years reach  
*ò*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 completed action substantive qst
- (2) *Thū-yì* : *âa* , *cì-qhò?* *lê* *Thây-mû-mì* *̄* *gà* *la* *ve*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Interj NP<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 male name well! this year topic Thailand locative reach come to V nominalizer  
*tí qo* *tê chi nî* *qhò?* *qhe* *gà* *ò* *hế* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 topicalizer twelve for years about reach completed action probably
- (3) *P* : *yà?* *la* *thâ* *qhò* *tê* *ha-pa* *à?* *yà?* *la*  
 . V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> Num N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 come down come to V when which? one month accusative come down come to V  
*ve* *le* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer substantive qst
- (4) *kâ?-yân* *à?* *yà?* *la* *ve* *lâ* , *mû-cha-yân* *à?*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 cold season accusative come down come to V nominalizer yes hot season accusative  
*yà?* *la* *ve* *lâ* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 come down come to V nominalizer yes
- (5) *Ty* : *âa* , *chi* *ve* *à-yân* *tí qo* *hà* *qha-dê?-dê?* *mâ* *šĩ* *phê?* *qô?-ma* .  
 . Interj Det N P<sub>univ</sub> Pron AE Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! this time topicalizer I exactly negative know able to emphatic
- (6) *ô-thâ* *hà* *yâ-nê* *phê?* *ve* *pa-tò* .  
 N<sub>time</sub> Pron N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 that time I young man be sthg nominalizer because of
- (7) *P* : *ô-thâ* *nò* *a-šà?* *qhà-nî* *qhò?* *gà* *ò* *le* ,  
 . N<sub>time</sub> Pron N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 that time you age how many? for years reach completed action substantive qst  
*nò* *yà?* *la* *thâ* .  
 Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 you come down come to V when
- (8) *Ty* : *âa* , *tê chi* *qhò?* *è* *cε* *lê* *gà* *ò* *hế* .  
 . Interj Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! ten for years only only topic reach completed action probably



- (9) *P* : *chi qhe yà? la thâ , qhà-nî ni ġa há*  
 . AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> vV V  
 like this come down come to V when how many? for days must spend the night  
*ve le , yà?-qɔ-phî ̄*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 nominalizer substantive qst roadside locative
- (10) *Ty : àlòo , nô ̄ tàn phɔ la le là ve*  
 . Interj N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 well up there topic begin to V flee come to V suspensive come nominalizer  
*Thây-mì-ġi ̄ ġa la ve tí qo à-là-qhe*  
 N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv  
 Thailand locative reach come to V nominalizer topicalizer about  
*tê ha-pa-pa qhe ġa ve yò*  
 temporal quantity expression (Q<sub>time</sub>) N<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 about one month about reach nominalizer declarative
- (11) *P : Thây-mû-mì ̄ ġa la thâ à-thò?-ma te ... à-thò?-ma tàn*  
 . N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv<sub>interrog</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> vV  
 Thailand locative reach come to V when why whatever begin to V  
*te câ ve le , nò-hi ð-mî-ð-yâ hu tù*  
 V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v-nom</sub>  
 do for a living nominalizer substantive qst your (pl) wife and children support purposive
- (12) *le nò-hi hu tù*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub>  
 suspensive you (pl) support purposive
- (13) *ð-to hu tù*  
 N V P<sub>v</sub>  
 body nourish purposive
- (14) *T : ġa la ve tê qhò? thâ ñà-hi šathê lón ġe*  
 . V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N B<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 reach come to V relativizer the first for years when we (pl) rich man sthg big for  
*tha-ñâ câ ve yò*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 work for hire V for a living nominalizer declarative
- (15) *tê ni ve ñâ bà? kə̄n le câ-tù-dò-tù tê phā qha-pə̀-è*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> Q AE  
 one for days genitivizer five baht half suspensive food and drink pluralizer everything  
*̄ šathê lón ñà-hi thà? ġa lâ ve*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N B<sub>n</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 topic rich man sthg big we (pl) accusative help benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer  
*yò*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative

Problems of “slash-and-burn” agriculture

- (16) *P* : à-thò?-ma ð-cà tha-ηâ câ ve le , šathê  
 . N<sub>intg</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N  
 what kind of thing work for hire V for a living nominalizer substantive qst rich man  
 lón gε .  
 B<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 sthg big for
- (17) *Ty* : áa , láy-cà kán te ve yò .  
 . Interj Q N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! several kinds work do nominalizer declarative
- (18) là kho thô phô ð-khí-pī thô qô-gã? ve chi qhe  
 V N P<sub>unf</sub> V N P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub>  
 come garden also weed bottom part also loosen earth with a hoe nominalizer like this  
 thô te ve yò .  
 P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 also do nominalizer declarative
- (19) *P* : ô tê qhò? hε mâ tân te šē lâ .  
 . N<sub>sd</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N Adv vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 that one for years swidden negative begin to V cultivate yet yes
- (20) *Ty* : áa , ca chē la tê qhò? tí qo mâ te  
 . Interj vV V P<sub>v</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V  
 well! go and do stay come to V the first for years topicalizer negative cultivate  
 šē hē .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 yet probably
- (21) thâ cε ηâ câ ve yò .  
 N P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 hired work only work for hire V for a living nominalizer declarative
- (22) *T* : ô-ve tê qhò? thâ ̄ ηà-hi hε mâ te šē .  
 . Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 that one for years when topic we (pl) swidden negative cultivate yet
- (23) gà la ve tê qhò? thâ lè šathê gε tha-ηâ  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V  
 reach come to V relativizer the first for years when topic rich man for work for hire  
 le , tê ni pu tê ni tê qhò? qha yi ηà-hi chi qhe kán cε  
 P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> Pron AE<sub>ext</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub>  
 suspensive a day's worth at a time all year long we (pl) like this work only  
 te câ chē ve yò .  
 V + V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 do for a living keep on nominalizer declarative
- (24) *P* : chi qhe te câ lε šathê lón pè? lâ  
 . AE<sub>ext</sub> V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N B<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 like this do for a living suspensive rich man sthg big give benefactive (non-3p)  
 ve phu ̄ cà-qha vī câ ve lê .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 relativizer money topic hulled rice buy V to eat nominalizer request for assent

- (25) *Ty* : *âa* , *cà-qa* *tí* *qo* *ô-thâ* *vì* *câ* *tù* *mâ* *lô* .  
 . Interj N P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> Adv V  
 well! hulled rice only topic that time buy V to eat future negative need
- (26) *yô* *cā* *lā* *ve* *yò* .  
 Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 he feed benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer declarative
- (27) *ḡ-chî* *kà?* , *ḡ* *kà?* *qha-pà-è* *ve* *tí qo* .  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> AE P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 curry also cooked rice also everything nominalizer as for
- (28) *P* : *chi qhe* *te* *ṣathê* *lón* *ge* *te* *tha-ṅâ* *câ* *ve*  
 . AE<sub>ext</sub> V N B<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 like this do rich man sthg big for do work for hire V for a living nominalizer  
*qhà-nî* *qhò?* *gâ* *ò* *ve* *le* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 how many? for years reach completed action nominalizer substantive qst
- (29) *mâ hê?* *qo* *qhà-mḡ-mḡ* *ḡa* *te câ* *ve* *le* .  
 Cl<sub>nf</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> vV V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 or else how long? must do for a living nominalizer substantive qst
- (30) *T* : *chi-ve* *ḡ* *ṣathê* *ge* *tha-ṅâ* *ve* *tí qo* , *gâ* *là*  
 . Det P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V V  
 this thing topic rich man for work for hire nominalizer topicalizer reach come  
*ve* *tê qhò?* *qha yi* *le* , *nî qhò?* *tê qhò?* *thâ* , *ṅà-hi* *he* *te*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N V  
 relativizer the whole first year suspensive second year when we (pl) swidden make  
*le* *he-ṅâ* *mì* *câ* *ve* *yò* .  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 suspensive swidden cultivate V to eat nominalizer declarative
- (31) *le* *ḡa* *câ* *la* *pà* *ḡ-qhò?-nó* *thâ* , *tha-ṅâ*  
 Conj vV V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V  
 and manage to earn a living come to V finish V'ing after when work for hire  
*ve* *ḡ-cà* *thô* *ṅà-hi* *te* *qo* *ṅà-hi* *phu* *ḡa* *ve* *yò* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 relativizer thing also we (pl) do if we (pl) money get nominalizer declarative
- (32) *P* : *chi* *he-ṅâ* *te* *ve* *ḡ-cà* *chi* *ḡ-kā* *qo* *ḡ* , *à-thò?-ma* *ḡ-cà*  
 . Det N V P<sub>univ</sub> N Det N P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> N  
 this swidden cultivate relativizer thing this besides topic topic what thing  
*qò?* *te* *ve* *le* .  
 vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 V in addition do nominalizer substantive qst
- (33) *và?-hu-ḡâ?-hu* *ve* *láy-cà* *qò?* *cò* *ṣḡ* *lā* .  
 Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 raise pigs and chickens nominalizer several kinds V in addition be there still yes
- (34) *Ty* : *âa* , *láy-cà* *te* *ve* *yò* .  
 . Interj Q V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! several kinds do nominalizer declarative

- (35) *và?-hu-gâ?-hu* , *và?-gâ?* *hô ve* *thô* , *phu* *thô* *a-cí-cí*  
 Elab<sub>v</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> Adv  
 raise pigs and chickens pigs and chickens sell nominalizer also money also a little  
*qò?* *gá* *lé* , *ô qhe* *qò?* *te* *qay* *lé* ,  
 vV V P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub> vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 V in addition get suspensive like that keep on V'ing do continue V'ing suspensive  
*a-cí-cí* *cò* *ve* *yò* .  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 a little be there nominalizer declarative
- (36) *P* : *chi-bà?* *hà* *a-cí* *šī* *gâ* *ve* *̄* *nò-hi* *chò kà?*  
 . N<sub>time</sub> Pron Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N<sub>sd</sub> + P<sub>n</sub>  
 now I please know desiderative nominalizer topic you (pl) here  
*hε te* *câ* *ve* *hε* *thu* *câ*  
 OV V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub>  
 cultivate a swidden V for a living nominalizer swidden clear land for cultivation V for a living  
*ve* *qhe* *ve* , *Thây acúyà?* *ve* , *Thây lâthâbân*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> Adv P<sub>univ</sub> N N P<sub>univ</sub> N N  
 nominalizer like this nominalizer Thai government genitivizer Thai government  
*ve* *ò-lî-ò-qa* *qhà-qhe* *cò* *ve* *le* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 genitivizer rules and regulations what kind? be there nominalizer substantive qst
- (37) *qhà-qhe te* *te* *ā* *ve* *le* , *yô-hi* .  
 Cl<sub>nf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron  
 how set up perfective nominalizer substantive qst they
- (38) *T* : *chi-bà?* *Thây-mì-gì* *ò-qhɔ* *lo* *hà-hi* *chò kà?* *gá* *mì* *câ*  
 . N<sub>time</sub> N<sub>place</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron N<sub>sd</sub> + P<sub>n</sub> vV V V<sub>v</sub>  
 now Thailand inside locative we (pl) here get to cultivate crops V for a living  
*ve* *tí qo* *lè* , *Thây a-mî?* *jô-mô* *a-mî?* *te* *ā*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N N N V P<sub>v</sub>  
 nominalizer as for topic Thai command authority command make perfective  
*ve* *tí qo* , *hε* *mâ* *gá* *thu* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Adv vV V  
 nominalizer topicalizer swidden negative must clear land for cultivation
- (39) *yà?-qhâ thô* *hà-hi* *nî?khô* *mì-gì* *ò-qhɔ* *lo* *chê* *ve*  
 Conj Pron N N N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 however we (pl) hill tribe resettlement center land in locative live nominalizer  
*pa-tɔ* , *a-cí-cí* *qo* *lè* *gá* *te* *câ* *ɔ* .  
 P<sub>n</sub> Adv P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 because of a little topic topic get to cultivate V for a living affirmative
- (40) *gá* *te câ* *ve* *thô-qò?* *šù?-šà?* *jâ* *ve* *tê cò*  
 vV V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q  
 get to do for a living nominalizer even though be annoying very relativizer one thing  
*phê?* *ve* *yò* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be sthg nominalizer declarative
- (41) *ò-lɔn qo* , *tā-nò?* *tê phā* *tê-khi* *tê-khi* *tâ?* *la* *lé* , *hà-hi*  
 NP N Q AE V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron  
 the reason is police pluralizer again and again come up come to V suspensive we (pl)

- hε te kî lo ca ni la ve tê yên thâ ,*  
 OV P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>n</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub>  
 cultivate a swidden locative locative go and do inspect come to V relativizer when
- yô-hi ηâ-hi thâ? phε gâ ve yò .*  
 Pron Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 they we (pl) accusative arrest desiderative nominalizer declarative
- (42) *yà?-qhâ thô tê pô? kâ? ηâ-hi thâ? lù tù te mâ phê? .*  
 Conj Q P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V Adv V<sub>v</sub>  
 however once even we (pl) accusative ruin purposive do negative able to
- (43) *P : à-thò?-ma te le yô-hi hε mâ thu ci gâ ve*  
 . Cl<sub>nf</sub> Pron N Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 why they swidden negative clear land causative desiderative nominalizer  
*le qô? ve le , qhe-go .*  
 P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Conj  
 substantive qst say nominalizer substantive qst if so
- (44) *T : yô-hi qô? ve hε thu ve qo í-kâ? fî la*  
 . Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub>  
 they say nominalizer swidden clear land nominalizer if water dry up come to V  
*cê*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative
- (45) *qhô-qhò?-lâ-qhò? hε mâ-mâ thu ve qo vên qhò í-kâ?*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> N V<sub>redup</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> N  
 in the mountains swidden very much clear land nominalizer if town in water  
*mâ cò cê .*  
 Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative be there quotative
- (46) *yô-hi chi qhe qô? ve yò .*  
 Pron AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 they like this say nominalizer declarative
- (47) *yà?-qhâ thô ηâ-hi Lâhū-yâ ð-pon lè hε mâ ġa thu*  
 Conj Pron N N P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv vV V  
 however we (pl) Lahu people for N's sake topic swidden negative get to clear land  
*câ qo phê? kî mâ cò .*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v-nom</sub> Adv V  
 V for a living if exist locative negative be there
- (48) *le phu-ši ca ġa kî kâ? mâ cò .*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N vV V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
 and wealth go and do earn locative also negative be there
- (49) *tî-mi kâ? mâ cò ve pa-tô , ηâ-hi chi qhe ġa*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron AE<sub>ext</sub> vV  
 paddy field also negative be there nominalizer because of we (pl) like this must  
*tù?-khân chê ve yò .*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 suffer keep on nominalizer declarative

Problems of “slash-and-burn” agriculture

- (50) *P* : *nò-hi* *hɛ* *thu* *ve* *chi* *̄* , *hɛ* *tê* *kà*  
 . Pron N V P<sub>univ</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 you (pl) swidden clear land nominalizer this matter topic swidden one for places  
*̄* *qhà-ní* *qhò?* *gà* *te* *câ* *jɔ* *le*  
 P<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 locative how many? for years manage to cultivate V for a living experiential substantive qst  
 , *tê* *kà* *tê* *kà* *qo* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 the same for places the same for places topic
- (51) *qhà-ní* *qhò?* *pà* *qo* *̄-ší* *gà* *qò?* *tàn* *thu*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V <sub>v</sub>V <sub>v</sub>V V  
 how many? for years elapse when another one must V again begin to V clear land  
*ve* *le* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer substantive qst
- (52) *Ty* : *âa* , *hɛ* *tí qo* *tê* *pê?* *ve* *tí qo* , *tê*  
 . Interj N P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Num  
 well! swidden as for one for pieces of land nominalizer topicalizer one  
*qhò?* *thâ* *lê* *dà?* *à* .  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 for years when topic good asseverative
- (53) *ní qhò?* *tê qhò?* *lê* *a-ló* *tê* *qhò?* *qhe* *a-cí* *mâ* *gà* *ve*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> Adv Adv V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 second year topic first one for years like a little negative reach nominalizer  
*yò* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (54) *T* : *yò* .  
 . Interj  
 yes!
- (55) *hɛ-g̃ɔ* *g̃ɔ?* *câ* *ve* *̄-lɔn* *chi qhe* *yò* .  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 old field hold onto V for a living relativizer matter like this declarative
- (56) *tê p̄ɔ?-p̄ɔ?* *mì-gì* *mâ dà?* *kì* *gà* *qo* , *tê* *qhò?* *kà?* *tê* *qhò?* *tí*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> N Adv + V P<sub>v-nom</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 sometimes land bad locative get if one for years even one for years only  
*thâ* *kà?* *qha-dê?-dê?* *mâ* *dà?* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE Adv V<sub>adj</sub>  
 when even very well negative good
- (57) *ní qhò?* *tê qhò?* *thâ* *gà* *qo* , *̄-cê* *dà?* *thô* *̄-nu* *mâ* *cò*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv V  
 second year when reach when plant good even seedpod negative be there  
*ve* *yò* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative

- (58) *P : qhe-te-qo*  $\bar{5}$  ,  $\delta$ - $\check{s}$   $\check{g}$ a  $t\grave{a}n$  *thu*  $c\grave{a}$  *ve*  
 . Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 in that case topic another one must begin to V clear land V for a living nominalizer  
*l\grave{e}*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 request for assent
- (59) *qhe-qo*  $\eta\grave{a}$   $\check{g}$ a  $k\grave{a}$  *ve* *qhe*  $\bar{5}$ -*qhe* , *h\epsilon* *thu* *ve*  
 Conj Pron <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 so I get to hear nominalizer like topicalizer swidden clear land nominalizer  
*qo*  $\check{s}\check{i}l$ - $c\grave{e}$   $t\check{s}?$   $b\grave{a}$   $m\grave{a}$   $j\grave{a}$   $\grave{a}$   $q\acute{o}?$  *ve* , *chi* .  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Det  
 when tree cut down away many very asseverative say nominalizer this matter
- (60)  $\check{s}\check{i}l$ - $c\grave{e}$   $t\acute{e}$   $c\acute{e}$  *ve*  $a$ - $\check{s}\grave{a}?$   $ch\acute{o}$   $t\acute{e}$   $\check{g}\grave{a}$  *ve*  $a$ - $\check{s}\grave{a}?$  *qhe-ma-ma*  
 N Q P<sub>univ</sub> N N Q P<sub>univ</sub> N N<sub>ext</sub>  
 tree one tree genitivizer age people one person genitivizer age about as much  
*m\acute{o}* *ve*  $q\acute{o}?$  *ve* *ma* .  
 V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 long (of time) nominalizer say nominalizer exclamatory
- (61)  $\check{s}\check{i}l$ - $c\grave{e}$   $t\acute{e}$   $c\acute{e}$  *ve*  $\bar{5}$  ,  $\eta\grave{a}$  *chi*  $q\check{h}\grave{a}?$   $kh\grave{a}?$  *chi*  $q\check{h}\grave{a}?$  *qhe*  $ch\acute{e}$   
 N Q P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> V  
 tree one tree genitivizer topic fifty for years sixty for years about live  
*ve*  $q\acute{o}?$  *ve* *ma* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer say nominalizer exclamatory
- (62)  $\check{s}\check{i}l$ - $c\grave{e}$  *chi* *ve*  $k\grave{a}?$  *Th\grave{a}y-m\acute{u}-m\grave{i}  $\delta$ -*pon*  $\delta$ -*bon*  $c\grave{o}$   $j\grave{a}$   $q\acute{o}?$  *ve* .  
 N Det P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>place</sub> N N V V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 tree these also Thailand for N's sake value be there very say nominalizer*
- (63) *Th\grave{a}y-m\acute{u}-m\grave{i}* *phu*  $\check{g}$ a *ve*  $k\grave{a}?$  *chi*  $\check{s}\check{i}l$ - $c\grave{e}$   $\grave{a}?$   $t\acute{i}$   $c\grave{o}$   
 N<sub>place</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Det N P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V  
 Thailand money get nominalizer also this matter tree accusative only depend on  
*ve*  $q\acute{o}?$  *ve* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer say nominalizer
- (64) *qhe-te-l\epsilon*  $m\grave{a}$  *thu*  $b\grave{a}$   $c\acute{i}$   $\check{g}\grave{a}$   $q\acute{o}?$  *ve* .  
 Conj Adv V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 so negative clear land away causative desiderative say nominalizer
- (65) *qhe-te-qo*  $\bar{5}$  *L\grave{a}h\acute{u}-y\grave{a}*  $\delta$ -*pon*  $\bar{5}$   $h\epsilon$ - $\eta\grave{a}$   $m\grave{a}$   $\check{g}$ a *thu*  
 Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N N P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv <sub>v</sub>V V  
 in that case topic Lahu people for N's sake topic swidden negative get to clear land  
*qhe-qo*  $q\check{h}\grave{a}$ -*qhe te*  $\check{g}$ a  $c\grave{a}$   $t\grave{u}$   $l\epsilon$  ,  $q\acute{o}?$  *ve* ,  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 if how get to earn a living future substantive qst say nominalizer  
*chi*  $\bar{5}$  .  
 Det P<sub>unf</sub>  
 this matter topic





- (73) *tê lon qo ñà-hi Lâhū-yâ tê cò lè hε mâ*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv  
 another for matters topic we (pl) Lahu people one for races topic swidden negative  
*ğã te câ qo ti-mi kâ? mâ cò*  
<sub>v</sub>V V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
 get to cultivate for a living if paddy field also negative be there
- (74) *phu-ši kâ? mâ cò*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
 cash money also negative be there
- (75) *và?-ğâ? a-cí-cí cò qo qha-pà-è hî câ pà lε*  
 N Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> AE V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 pigs and chickens a little be there if all sell V for a living finish V'ing suspensive  
*ɔ̄ ġã vî câ tù yò*  
 N <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 food get to buy V to eat future declarative
- (76) *lε chi ð-qhô? kâ? vâ?-qâ tê phā kâ? mâ ġã vâ? lε , šu*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Det N P<sub>unf</sub> N Q P<sub>unf</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron  
 and this besides also clothes pluralizer also negative get to wear suspensive others  
*thâ? ġã yâ?-tɔ̄ qay tù ve tê cò yò*  
 P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>uf</sub>  
 accusative must be embarrassed continue V'ing future relativizer another thing declarative
- (77) *P : hε te lε tê qhò? ní qhò? ġã qo , hε chi mâ dà?*  
 . OV P<sub>unf</sub> AE V P<sub>unf</sub> N Det Adv + V  
 cultivate a swidden suspensive one or two years reach when swidden this bad  
*ò qo , bà ve lâ*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 completed action if abandon nominalizer yes
- (78) *qhe bà tε ā qo hε-šā phè? qay*  
 Adv V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub>  
 like this discard permanently perfective if abandoned field be a certain way end up V'ing  
*ve lē*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer request for assent
- (79) *hε-šā phè? ve lē qhà-nî qhò? ġã qo*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 abandoned field be a certain way nominalizer topic how many? for years reach when  
*qò? te câ phè? ve le , hε-šā chi*  
<sub>v</sub>V V + V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N Det  
 V again cultivate for a living able to nominalizer substantive qst abandoned field this  
*à?*  
 P<sub>n</sub>  
 accusative

- (80) *T* : *hɛ* *tê* *pê?* *te câ* *pə* *ð-qhə?*-*nó* , *tê*  
 . N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V + V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> N<sub>time</sub> Num  
 swidden one for pieces of land cultivate for a living finish V'ing after one  
*qhə?* *tí* *te câ* *ve* *qo* *ð-qhə?*-*nó* *ŋâ* *qhə?* *qhe-qo*  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 for years only cultivate for a living nominalizer if afterwards five for years if  
*hɛ* *qə?* *te câ* *phê?* *ve* *yò* .  
 N <sub>v</sub>V V + V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 swidden V again cultivate for a living able to nominalizer declarative
- (81) *lɛ* *hɛ-ğə* *ğə?* *ve* *qo* *hɛ-ğə* *lê* *tê qhə?* *ğə?* *ve*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> Q V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 and old field hold onto nominalizer if old field topic one year hold onto nominalizer  
*qo* , *ŋâ* *qhə?* *qhe* *qə?* *mɔ* , *tê chi* *qhə?* *qhe* *thâ*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V<sub>adj</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 if five for years about V in addition long (of time) ten for years about when  
*ŋâ-hi* *qə?* *te câ* *phê?* *ve* *yò* .  
 Pron <sub>v</sub>V V + V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 we (pl) V again cultivate for a living able to nominalizer declarative
- (82) *P* : *hɛ-ğə* *ğə?* *ve* *qə?* *ve* *ɔ* *chi* , *nî* *pə?*  
 . N V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 old field hold onto nominalizer call nominalizer topic this matter two for times  
*te* *ve* *qə?* *ve* *lâ* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 cultivate nominalizer say nominalizer yes
- (83) *ŋâ* *qha-dê?* *a-cí* *mâ* *šĩ* *qə?-ma* .  
 Pron AE Adv Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 I properly a little negative know emphatic
- (84) *qhâ-qhe te* *ğə?* *ve* *le* .  
 Cl<sub>nf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 how hold onto nominalizer substantive qst
- (85) *T* : *yò* .  
 . Interj  
 yes!
- (86) *hɛ-ğə* *ğə?* *ve* *qə?* *ve* *lê* , *nî* *pə?* *te*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V  
 old field hold onto nominalizer call nominalizer topic two for times cultivate  
*ve* , *hɛ* *tê* *pê?* *ð-qhə* *tí* *nî* *qhə?* *tí*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V  
 nominalizer swidden one for pieces of land within only two for years plant  
*câ* *ve* *thâ?* *qə?* *ve* *yò* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 V for a living nominalizer accusative mean nominalizer declarative
- (87) *hɛ-ğə* *ğə?* *ve* *qə?* *ve* *cí-kì* *lê* .  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub>  
 old field hold onto nominalizer call relativizer meaning topic

- (88) *qhe-qo he tê pê? ve ð-qhɔ lá-le nî qhò?*  
 Conj N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> AE Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 so swidden one for pieces of land genitivizer within additionally two for years  
*gò? ve qo tê chi qhò? qhe ġa l ve yò*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 hold onto nominalizer if ten for years about ought to wait nominalizer declarative
- (89) *tê chi qhò? l pà qhò?-nɔ , ñà-hi a-cí-cí ġa cá ɔ*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> M<sub>prfx</sub> Pron Adv vV V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 ten for years wait finish V'ing after we (pl) a little get to eat affirmative
- (90) *qha-dê?-dê? lè mâ dà? šē*  
 AE P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 really topic negative good yet
- (91) *P : chi-bà? Thây lâthâbân qô? ve ɔ lê , nð-hi he*  
 N<sub>time</sub> N N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron N  
 now Thai government say nominalizer topic request for assent you (pl) swidden  
*qhe láy kà ð-ti ð-šɛ mâ ġa thu cá*  
 Adv Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N N Adv vV V V<sub>v</sub>  
 like this several for places place another one negative get to clear land V for a living  
*tù , yð-hi qô? ve ɔ , tê kà tí ġa te cá*  
 P<sub>v-nom</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> vV V+V<sub>v</sub>  
 purposive they say nominalizer topic in the same place must cultivate for a living  
*tù qo ɔ chi , ð-khê he ð-pí chi à? kà? tê pò?*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Det N N N Det P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Q  
 purposive if topic this matter fertilizer swidden old thing this accusative also again  
*tê qhò? le-le ð-khê kə le te cá qô? ve chi*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> V+V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Det  
 every year fertilizer put into suspensive cultivate for a living say nominalizer this matter  
*ɔ , nð-hi qhà-qhe dš-ġa ve le*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 topic you (pl) how? have an opinion nominalizer substantive qst
- (92) *phê? tù lâ*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 able to future yes
- (93) *â phê? tù lâ*  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative able to future yes
- (94) *T : chi ve tí qo , ñà-hi dš-ni ve tê yân thâ lè , qhɔ-qhò?-lò-qhò?*  
 Det P<sub>univ</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub>  
 this thing as for we (pl) consider relativizer when topic in the mountains  
*lo ð-khê kə cá ve tê cà lè mâ-mâ hā*  
 P<sub>n</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>redup</sub> V<sub>adj</sub>  
 locative fertilizer put into V for a living relativizer one thing topic very much difficult  
*jà ve yò*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 very nominalizer declarative

- (95) *à-lɔn qo mî mâ t̄s ve thà? pa-tɔ , à-khî kə ve*  
 NP N Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 the reason is land negative flat nominalizer because fertilizer put into relativizer  
*tê yân , mû-yè là qo , tê p̄s? tí qha-p̄à-è à-khî thà? yù*  
 Q N V P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> AE N P<sub>n</sub> V  
 the time that rain come when all of a sudden all fertilizer accusative take  
*qay ve pa-tɔ , ñà-hi à-bon mâ c̄ò hé d̄s*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron N Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> V  
 V along nominalizer because of we (pl) value negative be there probably think  
*ve yò .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (96) *P : qhe-te-qo ɔ̄ à-l̄s? à-l̄s? te a qo , â phê? l̄-lâ .*  
 . Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 in that case topic terraces make intentive if negative able to yes
- (97) *T : à-l̄s? à-l̄s? te lɔ qô? qo , mî hā jā ve*  
 . N V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 terraces make emphatic declarative topicalizer land steep very nominalizer  
*thà? pa-tɔ te tí qo l̄ è ġa tù yò .*  
 P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 because make topicalizer topic succeed future declarative
- (98) *yà?-qhā à-yân l̄ è mâ-mâ š̄ò qay l̄ , à-yân mɔ-chwɛ*  
 Conj N P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>redup</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv  
 however time topic very much waste end up V'ing suspensive time rather a long time  
*ve à-qhɔ lo ġa-hā-ġa-ġò tù yò .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 relativizer during locative must suffer future declarative
- (99) *yà?-qhā th̄s à-lwɛ? te ve tê c̄à l̄ , l̄-l̄ d̄à? jā ve*  
 Conj N V P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> AE V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 however terrace make relativizer one thing topic exceedingly good very nominalizer  
*l̄ , à-t̄s mâ h̄ê? qo , ñà-hi L̄hū-yâ à-pon hā jā ve*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N Cl<sub>nf</sub> Pron N N V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 topic plain unless we (pl) Lahu people for N's sake difficult very relativizer  
*tê c̄à ph̄ê? ve yò .*  
 Q V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 one thing be a certain way nominalizer declarative
- (100) *à-lɔn qo , à-lwɛ? te k̄i mâ c̄ò .*  
 NP N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> Adv V  
 the reason is terrace make locative negative be there
- (101) *mî hā jā ve thà? pa-tɔ .*  
 N V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 land steep very nominalizer because
- (102) *à-lwɛ? te ġa thā ġa qo l̄ , qhà-mɔ-mɔ ġa te tù ve*  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 terrace make be able time reach when topic how long? must do future nominalizer

- kà?* *mâ* *šī* *ò* .  
P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
also negative know completed action
- (103) *P* : *nò-hi* *hɛ* *thu* *ā* *ve* *qhɔ* *tê* *qhɔ*  
. Pron N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
you (pl) swidden clear land perfective relativizer mountain one for mountains  
*ɔ̄-qhe* , *ò-lɔ?* *te* *qo* *ɔ̄* , *qhà-ní* *qhò?* *qhe* *gá* *te* *tù*  
P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub>  
topicalizer terrace make topic topic how many? for years about must do future  
*ve* *le* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer substantive qst
- (104) *ò-lɔ?* *qha-dê?* *phê?* *tù* .  
N AE V P<sub>v</sub>  
terrace properly be as it should purposive
- (105) *T* : *ɲà* *dɔ* *ve* *hɛ* *thu* *ā* *kì* *ò-qhɔ* *lo*  
. Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
I think nominalizer swidden clear land perfective locative within locative  
*ò-lɔ?* *qò?* *te* *ve* *tê cà* *lê* , *qhɔ-qhò?* *lê* , *hɛ*  
N vV V P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N  
terrace go on to V make relativizer one thing topic in the mountains topic swidden  
*ò-lɔ?* *te* *ve* *tí qo* *lê* , *hɛ* *tê* *pê?* *ve*  
N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
terrace make nominalizer topicalizer topic swidden one for pieces of land genitivizer  
*ò-qhɔ* *lo* , *ha-pa* *ní* *mà* *qô* *jɔ* *ve* *qo* ,  
N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
within locative month two general classifier cultivate experiential nominalizer if  
*ní* *qhò?* *šê?* *qhò?* *qhe* *mâ* *hê?* *qo* , *hɛ* *tê*  
Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> N Num  
two for years three for years about negative be the case if swidden one  
*pê?* *ve* *ò-qhɔ* *ò-lɔ?* *te* *mâ* *pà* .  
Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> N V Adv V<sub>v</sub>  
for pieces of land genitivizer within terrace do negative finish V'ing
- (106) *P* : *qhe-qo* *nò-hi* *chi* *hɛ* *ò-lɔ?* *tí* *te câ* *ve* *qo* *ɔ̄*  
. Conj Pron Det N N P<sub>univ</sub> V+V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
so you (pl) these swidden terrace only make for a living nominalizer if topic  
*ò-lɔ?* *tí* *te* *chê* *ve* *qo* *ɔ̄* , *chi* *ò-lɔ?* *te* *chê*  
N P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Det N V V<sub>v</sub>  
terrace only make continuous nominalizer if topic these terrace make keep on  
*ve* *tê* *qhò?* *ní* *qhò?* *ɔ̄-qhe* , *qhà-qhe* *te câ* *a-tê?* *te*  
P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num N<sub>intg</sub> V+V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>quot</sub> V  
relativizer one for years two for years topicalizer how? do for a living intensive do  
*tù* *ve* *le* .  
P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
future nominalizer substantive qst
- (107) *à-thò?-ma* *phû?* *câ* *tù* *ve* *le* .  
N<sub>intg</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
what look for V for a living future nominalizer substantive qst

Problems of “slash-and-burn” agriculture

- (108) *T* : *chi ve ð-yân ð-gho lo ñà-hi Lâhū-yâ qô? chê ve*  
 . Det N N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 this time during locative we (pl) Lahu people discuss continuous nominalizer  
*chi qhe yò* .  
 AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 like this declarative
- (109) *dô mâ tô?* .  
 V Adv V<sub>v</sub>  
 think negative V to a conclusion
- (110) *qhà ve tê cê thà? ñà-hi ġa câ tù ve*  
 N<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>n</sub> Pron <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 what kind of? genitivizer one thing accusative we (pl) get to eat future relativizer  
*tê cê lê , ñà-hi dô mâ tô?* .  
 Q P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V Adv V<sub>v</sub>  
 one thing topic we (pl) think negative V to a conclusion
- (111) *ð-lon qo , hε tí te lε câ tí ti thô , ð-lô?*  
 NP N P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 the thing is swidden only cultivate suspensive rice only plant even terrace  
*mâ te kâ? , tê ġâ-ġâ qo câ mâ lô?* .  
 Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V Adv V<sub>v</sub>  
 negative make even some people topic eat negative enough to V
- (112) *tê qhò?-qhò? qo lô? ve , tê qhò?-qhò? qo mâ lô?* .  
 NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
 some years topic be enough nominalizer some years topic negative be enough
- (113) *chi qhe ð-lô? ġa qò? te chê ve ð-yân ð-gho lo lê ,*  
 AE<sub>ext</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> ,  
 like this terrace must still V make keep on relativizer time during locative topic  
*và?-hu-ġâ?-hu ve mâ ġa o* .  
 Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 raise pigs and chickens nominalizer negative succeed emphatic
- (114) *mâ ġa hô câ o* .  
 Adv <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative manage to sell V for a living emphatic
- (115) *mâ tân o* .  
 Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative negative emphatic
- (116) *qhe-qo vâ?-hu-ġâ?-hu ā ve cā-cā lε ī*  
 Conj Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V<sub>redup</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub>  
 so raise pigs and chickens perfective nominalizer keep feeding suspensive big  
*la lε , ġa qò? hô câ tù ve cā*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V  
 come to V suspensive get to V finally sell V for a living purposive nominalizer feed  
*tù kâ? mâ cò* .  
 P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
 purposive even negative be there

- (117) *P* : *ôo* , *qhe-go lè* , *šālà?* *nò* *qô?* *ve* *qhe-lê lè* , *chi ð-lô?*  
 . Interj Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Det N  
 oh! if so topic pastor you say nominalizer like topic these terrace  
*te lè* *mì-khî* *kə* *te câ* *ve* *tí qo* *lè*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> N V V+V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 make suspensive fertilizer put into cultivate for a living nominalizer topicalizer topic  
*â* *phê?* *tà* *hé* .  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative able to negative probability probably
- (118) *phê?* *lè* *phê?* *ve* *yò* .  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 able to topic able to nominalizer declarative
- (119) *yô-hi* *te* *ga* *lâ* *tê-tê* *qo* *lè* *lê* .  
 Pron V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 they do help benefactive (non-3p) really if topic request for assent
- (120) *yô-hi* *qhe* *mì-gè* *gû?* *ve* *qhe câ?-qhən* , *yô-hi-qhâ-yô-hi* *ca* *te*  
 Pron N<sub>ext</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> N Pron <sub>v</sub>V V  
 they like earth bulldoze nominalizer like machinery they by themselves seek to do  
*lâ* *ca* *gû?* *lâ* *qo lè* , *phê?*  
 P<sub>v</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 benefactive (non-3p) go and do bulldoze benefactive (non-3p) if topic able to  
*ve* *yò* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (121) *yà?-qhâ* *qhâ?* *chi* *tê* *qhâ?* *nî* *qhâ?* *ð-pon* *qhe* *cho*  
 Conj N Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N N<sub>ext</sub> N  
 however village this one for villages two for villages for N's sake like people  
*chi ma-ma* *tí* *ð-pon* *gû?* *ve* *tí qo* *lè* , *yô-hi* *kâ?* *te*  
 N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 this many only for N's sake bulldoze nominalizer topicalizer topic they also do  
*bð* *à* *hé* *dô* *ve* *qô?-ma* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be tired of asseverative probably think nominalizer emphatic
- (122) *nò* *qhâ-qhe* *te* *dô* *ā* *ve* , *chi* *qhe* *ve* .  
 Pron Cl<sub>nf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 you how think perfective nominalizer like this genitivizer
- (123) *T* : *ηà* *thô-kà?* *chi* *qhe* *dô* *ve* *yò* .  
 . Pron P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 I also like this think nominalizer declarative
- (124) *yô-hi* *ηà-hi* *à?* *ga* *lâ* *ve* *tê câ* *lè* *a-cí*  
 Pron Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> Adv  
 they we (pl) accusative help benefactive (non-3p) relativizer one thing topic a little  
*ce tí* *ηà-hi* *thà?* *ga* *lâ* *phê?* *ve* *yò* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub>+P<sub>univ</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 only we (pl) accusative help benefactive (non-3p) able to nominalizer declarative

Problems of “slash-and-burn” agriculture

- (125) *ð-lɔn qôʔ qo* , *ɲà-hi ve* *chê-kì* *yè* *cì-khí* *gûʔ* *ci*  
 Cl<sub>nf</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> N N V V<sub>v</sub>  
 the thing is we (pl) genitivizer dwelling place house site for a house bulldoze causative  
*ve kàʔ qha-dêʔ-dêʔ mâ te gâ* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 nominalizer even properly negative do desiderative
- (126) *chi thàʔ pa-tɔ* , *yô-hi ašóyàʔ* *ve* *càʔ-qhən* *yù* *le* *ɲà-hi*  
 NP Pron N P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron  
 because of this they government genitivizer machinery take suspensive we (pl)  
*thàʔ gûʔ lâ* *ve* *tê cə* *lè* , *tê qhàʔ*  
 P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 accusative bulldoze benefactive (non-3p) relativizer one thing topic one for villages  
*le nî qhâʔ ð-pon te ġa thâ gâ qo lè yô-hi lè mâ te*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Num N N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
 or two village for N’s sake do must time reach when topic they topic negative do  
*lâ* *tà* *hé* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p) negative probability probably
- (127) *ɲà dɔ ve qo* , *tê qhâʔ* *ð-pon* *kàʔ te mâ ġa*  
 Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> V Adv V<sub>v</sub>  
 I think nominalizer topic one for villages for N’s sake even do negative be able  
*tà*  
 P<sub>v</sub>  
 negative probability
- (128) *ð-lɔn qôʔ qo* *yô-hi phu-ši tí qo* *cə* *mâ à* .  
 Cl<sub>nf</sub> Pron N P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 the thing is they money topicalizer be there do much asseverative
- (129) *càʔ-qhən* *thô-kàʔ* *láy qhən* *cə* *ve* *yò* .  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 machinery also several for instruments be there nominalizer declarative
- (130) *yàʔ-qhâ thô* *yô-hi qhɔ-qhòʔ-yâ thàʔ* *qha-dêʔ-dêʔ ga pî* *tù*  
 Conj Pron N P<sub>n</sub> AE V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 however they hill-folk accusative properly help benefactive (3p) purposive  
*ve ɔ yô-hi ve ni-ma ð-qhɔ lo mâ dɔ-ġa šē* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 nominalizer topic their genitivizer heart in locative negative think a certain way yet
- (131) *P : qhe-qo* *yàʔ-šɛ* *ɲà qôʔ ve* *qhe-lê lê* , *nò-hi qhe* ,  
 . Conj Adv Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron Conj  
 so just now I say nominalizer like request for assent you (pl) then  
*qhɔ-qhòʔ ɔ yô-hi hɛ mâ thu câ ci*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> Pron N Adv V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 in the mountains locative they swidden negative clear land V for a living causative  
*ġa qôʔ-qo ɔ , chi , mân láy mân cə ve*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Det Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 desiderative topicalizer topic this for towns several for towns be there relativizer  
*ð-tɔ láy kà cə ve qhe ve-ɔ , šu mù-mì*  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv P<sub>uf</sub> Pron N  
 plain several for places be there nominalizer just like that emphatic foreign country



- chɔ ca ni la thâ qo ɔ̄ , ” Thây-mû-mì chi ɔ̄ ð-t̄ɕ*  
 N vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>place</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 people go and do look at come to V when when topic Thailand this topic plain  
*pɛ jâ .*  
 V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 plentiful very
- (132) *te câ kî mî câ kî pɛ jâ lɛ , ɔ̄ tí qo*  
 N<sub>dvb</sub> V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub>  
 a place to cultivate cultivate for a living locative plentiful very because food topicalizer  
*mâ mà?-š̄i ,” qhe qô? â ve lê .*  
 Adv V Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative starve to death thus say perfective nominalizer request for assent
- (133) *qhe-qo ɔ̄ , chi qhe ve ð-t̄ɕ qhe thân-lón qhe ca l̄ qo*  
 Conj P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N N<sub>ext</sub> N N<sub>ext</sub> vV V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 if so topic like this genitivizer plain like great forest like go and do ask for if  
*mâ ġa lâ .*  
 Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative succeed yes
- (134) *T : yò .*  
 Interj  
 yes!
- (135) *ð-lón chi tí qo chi qhe yò .*  
 N Det P<sub>univ</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 matter this topicalizer like this declarative
- (136) *ηâ-hi nî?khô ð-hó c̄ ve .*  
 Pron N N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 our hill tribe resettlement center leader be there nominalizer
- (137) *ð-t̄ɕ ô ð-t̄ɕ tê kâ c̄ ve , ca l̄*  
 N N<sub>sd</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> vV V  
 plain over there plain one for places be there nominalizer go and do ask for  
*ve tê yân thâ ɔ̄ , yâ-hi qô? ve , ” š̄i?-c̄ ĩ jâ lɛ p̄è?*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 relativizer when topic they say nominalizer tree big very suspensive give  
*lâ mâ phê? ” c̄ .*  
 P<sub>v</sub> Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p) negative able to quotative
- (138) *lɛ nî lón tê lón qô?-qo , ð-kâ-ð-nu thân-mân th̄*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub>  
 and second for matters one for matters topicalizer other forested wilderness also  
*láy mân c̄ .*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V  
 several for regions be there
- (139) *ð-t̄ɕ láy kâ c̄ th̄-kâ? , tê kâ-kâ qo šathê ve ,*  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub>  
 plain several for places be there also in some places topic Big Boss genitivizer

- tê kà-kà* *qo acôyà?* *ve* , *tê kà-kà* *qo ko-pa-mây?*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 in some places topic government genitivizer in some places topic forestry department
- ve* , *chi qhe qô?* *ɛ* *ve* *tā* *ve* , *ŋà-hi*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron  
 nominalizer like this say suspensive stake out a claim establish nominalizer we (pl)
- Lâhū-yâ* *â-pon* *ca* *gã kî* *mâ* *cò* .  
 N N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v-nom</sub> Adv V  
 Lahu people for N’s sake go and do get way to V negative be there
- (140) *P* : *chi* , *yâ-hi qô?* *tā* *ve* *ko-pa-mây?* *qô?* *ve* ;  
 . Det Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 this one they say perfective nominalizer forestry department say relativizer
- chi* , *chi* *ve* *â-tō* *chi* *ve* *tê* *mâ* *qo* *ô-ve phâ*  
 Det Det P<sub>univ</sub> N Det P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Det N  
 this one this genitivizer plain this genitivizer one for things topic that buddy
- ve* , *ô* *tê* *mâ* *qo* *šathê* *ve* *qô?* *qo* , *yâ-hi*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron  
 genitivizer that one for things topic Big Boss genitivizer say topic they
- te câ* *ve* *qo* *tê?-chí* *kâ?* *te câ* *ve*  
 V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv P<sub>unf</sub> V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 cultivate for a living nominalizer topic nothing even cultivate for a living nominalizer
- â* *mò* .  
 Adv V  
 negative see
- (141) *chi qhe* *tí* *bâ* *á* *ve* *â* *hê?* *lá* .  
 AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 like this only abandon perfective nominalizer negative be the case yes
- (142) *T* : *yò* .  
 . Interj  
 that’s right!
- (143) *yâ-hi qhe-lê* *ve* *qhe* *te* *ve* *tē* *tā*  
 Pron N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V V V P<sub>v</sub>  
 they arbitrarily genitivizer just like that do and stake out a claim establish perfective
- ve* *yò* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (144) *ɛ* *yâ-hi* *tê?-chí* *te* *ve* *kâ?* *mâ* *mò* .  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
 and they nothing do nominalizer even negative see
- (145) *yâ?-qhâ* *yâ-hi* *ve* *tā* *ve* *qo* *ŋà-hi* *qhō-qhō?-yâ* *ō*  
 Conj Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N P<sub>unf</sub>  
 however they stake out a claim perfective nominalizer topic we (pl) hill-folk topic
- yâ-hi* *thâ?* *gã* *mâ* *phê?* .  
 Pron P<sub>n</sub> V Adv V<sub>v</sub>  
 them accusative overcome negative able to

## Translation

Conversation among Paul Tcalo (Cà-lô) “P”, Thû-yì (T-y), Pastor Cà-bo (T for “teacher”)

Répliques 1-48; 49-78 “The Lahu Agricultural Cycle”

1. P: Well, this group of Lahu of yours living in Huey Tat, how many years has it been since you arrived here in Thailand?
2. Ty: Well, this year makes about 12 years since we arrived here in Thailand, I guess.<sup>1</sup>
3. P: When you came down<sup>2</sup> here what month was it? Did you come down in the cold season or in the hot season?
4. Ty: Well, as for the time, I don’t really know! I was still a kid then, you know.
5. P: How old were you then? When you came down here.
6. Ty: Hmm, I must have been only about ten years old.
7. P: When you came down then, how many days did you have to spend the night on the road?
8. Ty: Wow, from when we started to flee from up there until we arrived here in Thailand, it took about a month, more or less.
9. P: When you arrived in Thailand, what did you do at first to earn a living? To support your wives and children? And to support yourselves? To keep body and soul together?<sup>3</sup>
10. T: The year that we got here, we worked for hire<sup>4</sup> for the “Big Boss.”<sup>5</sup> For one day’s work five and a half baht. And as for food and drink, the Big Boss helped us out with everything.
11. P: What sort of work did you do to earn a living with the Big Boss?
12. Ty: Oh, we did all kinds of work. We’d weed the tea gardens and loosen [the earth at] the base of the plants with a hoe.<sup>6</sup> We’d do all that kind of stuff.
13. P: That year you hadn’t yet begun to cultivate swiddens?
14. Ty: Ah, the year that we came here to live we didn’t cultivate yet. All we did was work for hire.
15. T: That year we didn’t cultivate swiddens yet. The year we got here we worked for the Big Boss, a day’s worth at a time<sup>7</sup>—for a whole year we only did that kind of work to survive.
16. P: So working for him that way, with the money the Big Boss gave you, you bought rice to eat?
17. Ty: Well, as far as rice goes, we didn’t have to buy it to eat then! He fed us. Both curries and rice, everything.
18. P: So how many years did you work that way for the Big Boss? In other words, how long did you have to earn your living that way?
19. T: We worked for the Big Boss like that for the whole year that we arrived. By the second year we had cleared fields, and were living by cultivating swiddens. Besides, even after we had managed to feed ourselves, working for hire was still a way for us to get some money.

<sup>1</sup>“I guess” translates the final unrestricted particle *hé* ‘possibility’.

<sup>2</sup>*yà? la ve*: the villagers’ previous home in Shan State was evidently at a higher elevation than Huey Tat.

<sup>3</sup>*ɔ-to hu tù*: “in order to nourish the body.”

<sup>4</sup>*tha-ŋâ ve* ‘work for hire’ [not a traditional Lahu activity] < Thai *tham ŋaan* (do work). Treated as an OV construction in Lahu, so that it is negated as *tha mâ ŋâ*.

<sup>5</sup>*šathê lô*: owner of a large tea plantation near Huey Tat. *šathê* ult. from Pali *saṭhi* ~ *sethi* < Skt. *śre(ṣṭha)* ‘most splendid; preminent’.

<sup>6</sup>*qô gâ? ve*: “hoe-scratch”, here translated “loosen with a hoe”.

<sup>7</sup>*tê ni pu tê ni*, i.e., from hand to mouth.

20. P: Besides cultivating the swiddens, what other things did you do? Were there all kinds of other things like raising pigs and chickens?

21. Ty: Oh, we did all kinds of things. By raising pigs and chickens, and selling the pigs and chickens, we got a little extra money, so we kept on doing it, and we earned a little bit for it.

22. P: Now what I'd just like to know, your cultivating swiddens, clearing land for swiddens—what rules and regulations are there by the Thai government, the Thai authorities,<sup>8</sup> how have they laid them down?

23. T: As for our cultivating fields here in Thailand nowadays, the Thai — the authorities have issued a command that land cannot be cleared for swiddens. However, since we live on *nikhom*<sup>9</sup> land, we are allowed to cultivate a little bit. But even though we can manage to earn a living that way, there are still very troublesome things. For example, the police come up here all the time, and when they come to inspect the places where we made our fields, they would like to arrest us. But so far they haven't been able to ruin us.

24. P: Why is it that they say they don't want you to clear fields then?

25. T: They say that clearing fields makes the water dry up. When hillfolk clear many swiddens, they say there is no water left for the towns. That's what they say anyway. But for us Lahu, if we can't clear fields to earn a living, there's no way we can exist. And there is no other way for us to be able to earn money either. Since we don't have [irrigated] paddy fields, we'd have to live in misery if it came to that.

26. P: When you clear a swidden, how many years are you usually able to keep cultivating a given one in the same place? After how many years do you have to begin clearing a new one?

27. Ty: Well, for swiddens one piece of land is good for a single year. The second year is not quite up to the first<sup>10</sup> year.

28. T: That's right. That's the way it is with “hanging onto old-fields.”<sup>11</sup> Sometimes if we get a place where the soil is no good, if it's not that good for one year, not even for a single year, and if we go on to a second year, even if the plants look good,<sup>12</sup> they don't have seedpods.

29. P: That means that you have to begin to clear new ones. So what I've heard is, when you clear land for swiddens you cut down and discard lots of trees, they say. The lifespan of a tree is about as long as a human being's, they say. A given tree lives about fifty or sixty years! These trees have a great value for Thailand, they say. The earning power of Thailand<sup>13</sup> depends only on those trees, they say. So they don't want to let you chop them down. So then, for the Lahu people, if — swiddens — trees — fields can't be cleared, how will they be able to survive, that's the problem. What have you been thinking about this? If they don't want to let you clear land.

30. T: This is what they say. In order for us to manage to cultivate any piece of land, they want to make us Lahu do it the way they say. What they say is, they want us to buy various kinds of fruit, tea, coffee to plant — and they say that if we want to cultivate mountain rice fields, we should make them terraced. So for this reason, for us Lahu, if that's what [we have to] do, there's no way for us to go on.<sup>14</sup> But in the future, how are we going to keep putting food in our mouths<sup>15</sup>, if the Thai authorities don't help us, for us it will cause a great deal of suffering. Another thing is, if we Lahu can't cultivate swiddens in the mountains, we

<sup>8</sup>The speaker uses both the Burmese-derived (*acúyà?*) and Thai-derived (*lâthâbân*) words for ‘government’.

<sup>9</sup>A Thai government hill-tribe resettlement center. Lahu *nî?kho* < Thai *nikhom* ‘settlement, colony’ < Skt./Pali *nigama* ‘market town’

<sup>10</sup>*ṅ-ṣí*, lit. ‘the new one’, i.e. when the field was fresh.

<sup>11</sup>*he-ḡṅ ḡṅ cá ve*: lit. ‘holding onto the field-bones’. *he-ḡṅ* ‘old field’, perhaps literally ‘swidden-bones’; *ḡṅ* ‘grasp, hold onto’; *cá* ‘eat; earn a living’. Contrast with *he-ṣā* ‘an old field reverting to jungle’.

<sup>12</sup>*dà?* ‘be good; look good, be pretty’.

<sup>13</sup>*Thây mû-mì phu ḡa ve kà?*: ‘Thailand's getting money.’

<sup>14</sup>*phè? la kà lè mâ cò*: ‘there's no way to become.’

<sup>15</sup>*ḡa-câ-ḡa-dò*: ‘get-eat-get-drink’

don't have paddy-fields<sup>16</sup> either. And we don't have money either. If you have a few pigs and chickens, and sell them all off, you'd be able to buy rice to eat. Besides all that, since we wouldn't have any clothes to wear, we'd be ashamed before other people.

31. P: When you've made a swidden, after a year or two, if the field is no good, do you abandon it? When you've abandoned it like that, it becomes a *hε-šā*<sup>17</sup>, right? Once it's become an oldfield how many years does it take before you can cultivate it again, that oldfield?

32. T: After cultivating a certain field, if we've only worked it for one year, we can cultivate it again after about five years. But if we "hold onto the field-bones," and cultivate it for another year, we should wait five more years, so after about ten years we can cultivate it again.

33. P: What you call "holding onto the field-bones," does it mean "cultivating twice [in the same place]"? I haven't understood very well. How do you "hold onto" it?

34. T: Yes. What we call "holding onto the field-bones" means cultivating twice, planting two years in a row in the same field. That's the meaning of "holding onto the field-bones." So if you hold onto a single field for two years, you have to wait about ten years. After you've waited for ten years, you can get a fair crop [out of it]. But it's still not really good yet.

35. P: Now what the Thai government is saying, is that you can't clear fields for cultivation in lots of new places, right? What they say is, that if you've got to cultivate in just one place you should just add fertilizer to the old field once every year. What do you think of that? Can you do it or not?<sup>18</sup>

36. T: As for that, when we think it over, this business of adding fertilizer up in the hills is extremely difficult. The thing is, since the ground isn't level, when you add fertilizer and it rains all of a sudden all the fertilizer is carried off, so it's probably of no use to us, we think.

37. P: In that case, can't you make terraces?

38. T: "Make terraces, terraces!" they say, "since the land is very steep, if you just make them you'll succeed." But it takes a huge amount of time, so for a very long time we would have to suffer and be miserable. Besides, even though making terraces is the best way, if the ground isn't flat it's a very tough problem for us Lahu. The thing is, there are no places to make terraces. Even if we did finally manage to make terraces, how long it would have taken us, we don't know.

39. P: If you were to make terraces on a mountain where you've cleared a field, about how many years would it take? In order to make terraces the right way.

40. T: I guess that to go on to make terraces in a field that we've already cleared in the mountains, making field-terraces, in a single stretch of field, if it would take two months to hoe, then unless [you work at it for] two or three years, you couldn't finish making a terrace for that one field.<sup>19</sup>

41. P: So then if you guys were just to make terraces, making them for one or two years, how would you plan to eat? What would you look for to eat?

42. T: Right now that's what we Lahu are talking about. We can't figure it out. We can't figure out what we'd be able to eat. The thing is, just cultivating our swiddens, just planting rice, even without making terraces, some people don't get enough to eat. Some years there's enough, other years it's not enough. So during the time that we would have to make terraces, we wouldn't be able to raise pigs and chickens. We wouldn't manage to sell them for a living. There wouldn't be enough time. So raising pigs and chickens,

<sup>16</sup>**ti-mi**: irrigated rice (paddy) field. These are only possible in the plains, or on terraced fields (like the Shan and Chinese have made).

<sup>17</sup>We could translate this conventionally as "oldfield." *šā* is a bound morpheme meaning 'old'.

<sup>18</sup>In these 2 sentences, **phē?** is functioning as a main verb, meaning 'be able to'.

<sup>19</sup>That is, a field of a size that it takes two months to plow would take two or three years to terrace.

feeding them until they get big, and then being able to sell them for money<sup>20</sup> — there’d be nothing to feed them with.

43. P: Oh, well then, according to what you, Teacher<sup>21</sup>, are saying, this making of terraces and adding fertilizer to cultivate is probably impossible. But maybe you actually could do it.<sup>22</sup> If they really do help you, right? They’ve got those bulldozers<sup>23</sup>, so if they themselves would come and do it for you, move the earth for you, it could be done. But moving the earth just for one or two of those villages, for such a small number of people, they probably couldn’t be bothered<sup>24</sup>, I think. What do you guys think about this?

44. T: I think so too. As for their<sup>25</sup> helping us, they can only help us a little bit. The thing is, they don’t even help us properly when we get them to bulldoze a place as a site for a house. So as far as their using the government’s machines to bulldoze for us, when the time to really do it comes, they probably wouldn’t do it just for one or two villages. What I think is, they wouldn’t do it even for a single village. But the thing is, they’ve got a lot of money. And they also have several machines. However, it has never yet entered their heads to properly help us hillfolk.

45. P: Well, it’s just like I was saying before, isn’t it, that if they’re not willing to let you clear land in the hills for a living, there are many stretches of flat land in several provinces<sup>26</sup>, so that when foreigners come to look things over they say “There are plenty of plains in this country of Thailand, there are lots and lots of places to till and cultivate, so people don’t starve.” So then couldn’t you manage to go ask for such a flat stretch, or a wooded plain<sup>27</sup>?

46. T: Yes. This is the way matters stand. Our *nikhom* has officials. When we go ask them for a certain stretch of flat land, they say that since the trees are very big, they can’t give it to us. And the second thing is, there are forested wildernesses in many districts, there are plains in several places, but they say that some of the places belong to the Big Boss, some are the government’s, others are the Forestry Department’s. They all have made their claims, so there’s no way for us Lahu to get anything.

47. P: So when they say, this is the Forestry Department’s, that plain is the other guy’s, this one belongs to the Big Boss — they say this, but you never see them using that land to cultivate, isn’t that right? They’ve just abandoned [that land], right?

48. T: Yes. Those guys have just laid their claims like that. And I don’t see them ever doing anything [with that land]. But since they’ve claimed it, we hillfolk can’t win over them.

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<sup>20</sup> *gā qə? hō cā*: a 4-verb concatenation, lit. “get to-again-sell-eat”.

<sup>21</sup> Paul addresses Pastor Cà-bo as *šālā* ‘teacher’ (ult. < Skt. *ācārya*).

<sup>22</sup> *phè? lè phè? ve yò*: lit. “as for being able, [you could] be able.” V\_1 + lè + V\_2 is a productive syntactic pattern. See DL 1392.

<sup>23</sup> *mì-gì gū? cà?*: “machine for butting earth.” *gā?* ‘collide; butt (as goats); crash (of cars)’.

<sup>24</sup> *te bō*: ‘tired of doing; lazy to do’.

<sup>25</sup> “They” here probably refers to the Thai officials of the *nikhom*.

<sup>26</sup> *mā* ‘country; district; province; town, city’ < Tai (Si. *myan*).

<sup>27</sup> *thā-ló*: large forested expanse of land

### **3 Subsistence activities: Hunting**

### 3.1 A Lahu hunting expedition

- (1) : *âa* , *yàʔ-ni qhò-phò* *šā* *gàʔ cá e* *tù le* .  
 Interj N<sub>time</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! today whereabouts game animal hunt V to eat motion away future future
- (2) : *âa* , *ô* , *Khí-yī-qō phò* *ḡ* .  
 Interj N<sub>sd</sub> N<sub>place</sub> M<sub>prfx</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 well! over there Deer Hollow direction locative
- (3) : *âa* , *yàʔ-ni ḡà-hi tē qhâʔ* *šā qhò-qhe phò* *gàʔ cá*  
 Interj N<sub>time</sub> Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N N<sub>intg</sub> M<sub>prfx</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 well! today we (pl) one for villages animals which? direction hunt V to eat  
*e* *tù le qôʔ-ma* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 motion away future future emphatic
- (4) : *âa* , *ô* , *Mē-thàʔ-lây ḡ* .  
 Interj N<sub>sd</sub> N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 well! over there Metalai locative
- (5) *Há-ni qhò te-lē Há-ni hó ḡ te-lē mō* *ḡ*  
 N<sub>place</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>place</sub> M<sub>prfx</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> demonstrative (Dem) P<sub>n</sub>  
 Red Rock above from Red Rock below locative from from locative  
*Mē-thàʔ-lây qhò te-lē L̄sco pūla* *Khí-yī-kwì ḡ L̄sco pūla*  
 N<sub>place</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N  
 Metalai above from Lawjo the postman Hognose Deer locative Lawjo the postman  
*hâ bôʔ kì ḡ gâʔ ce ve yò-a* .  
 N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 mountain goat shoot locative locative hunt V so it falls nominalizer emphatic declarative
- (6) : *ḡ* .  
 Interj  
 mm
- (7) : *a-šū a-šū qhò-qhe qhò-qhe nâʔ* *e* *tù le* .  
 Pron N<sub>intg</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 who all where? where? lie in wait motion away future future
- (8) : *ḡ qhe lē khí-yī-kwì l̄-qá-qhó ḡ nâʔ a* .  
 Pron N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 I topicalizer topic hog-nosed deer river valley locative lie in wait intentive
- (9) : *ḡ lē Hâ-bôʔ-kì nâʔ e* .  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 I topic Goat-Shoot lie in wait motion away
- (10) : *mō ḡ* .  
 N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 down there locative
- (11) *khí-yī-kwì l̄-qá-cē ð-qhâ-lón* *ḡ nâʔ e*  
 N N N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 hog-nosed deer fork in river place with many animal tracks locative lie in wait motion away



- ve* *yò* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer declarative
- (12) : *ô* .  
Interj  
mm
- (13) : *âa* , *ɲà tí qo* *Hâ-bɔʔ-kì nâʔ* *e* .  
Interj Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
well! I topicalizer Goat-Shoot lie in wait motion away
- (14) : *ô* , *qhe-qo nò-hi* *qha-dêʔ te* *gàʔ a* *mē* .  
Interj Conj Pron AE <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
uh-huh so you guys properly do and drive hortatory urging
- (15) : *ee* , *ee* , *yàʔ-ni lè* *ɲà gâʔ ve* *yò* .  
Interj Interj N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
hey! hey! today topic I hunt nominalizer declarative
- (16) *qha-dêʔ* *te* *nâʔ* *a* .  
AE <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub>  
in the right way do and lie in wait hortatory
- (17) *a-šú-yô* *nâʔ* *kì yô* *qha-dêʔ te* *nâʔ* *mē* .  
Pron V P<sub>v-nom</sub> Pron AE <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>uf</sub>  
each person lie in wait locative he properly do and lie in wait urging
- (18) : *eeàʔ* .  
Interj  
right!
- (19) : *chi tê pôʔ* *lè gâʔ qay* *ve* *yò* .  
Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
this one for times topic hunt go off to V nominalizer declarative
- (20) : *eeàʔ* : *eeàʔ*  
Interj Interj  
right! right!
- (21) : *êʔ êʔ êʔ êʔ êʔ êʔ êʔ êʔ* !  
Interj Interj Interj Interj Interj Interj Interj Interj Interj  
hey hey hey hey hey hey hey hey hey
- (22) *chôo* *chôo* *chôo* *chôo* *chôo*  
Interj Interj Interj Interj Interj  
cry to incite dogs cry to incite dogs cry to incite dogs cry to incite dogs cry to incite dogs  
*chôo* *chôo* !  
Interj Interj  
cry to incite dogs cry to incite dogs
- (23) *ôo* , *he-vàʔ* *tō* *àʔ* *mē* , *he-vàʔ*  
Interj N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N  
oh! wild boar be flushed out (of game) perfective emphatic wild boar  
*tō* *àʔ* *mē* , *he-vàʔ* *tō* *àʔ*  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub>  
be flushed out (of game) perfective emphatic wild boar be flushed out (of game) perfective

- mē* .  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
emphatic
- (24) *qha-dê?* *te* *nâ?* *mē* .  
AE <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>uf</sub>  
properly do and lie in wait urging
- (25) *a-šu-yô* *nâ?* *kî* *ō* *qha-dê?* *te* *nâ?* .  
Pron V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>n</sub> AE <sub>v</sub>V V  
one's own lie in wait locative locative in the right way do and lie in wait
- (26) *hε-và?* *tō* *à?* .  
N V P<sub>v</sub>  
wild boar be flushed out (of game) perfective
- (27) *ôo* , *phî* *kâ?* *ca* *là* *ò* *mē* .  
Interj N P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
oh! dog also look for come to V completed action emphatic
- (28) *qáy* , *qáy* , *qáy* , *qáy* , *qáy* , *qáy* , *qáy* , *qáy* , *qáy* !  
Interj Interj Interj Interj Interj Interj Interj Interj Interj  
woof! woof! woof! woof! woof! woof! woof! woof! woof!
- (29) *qay* *ò* *mēε* , *qay* *ò* *mēε* , *qay* *ò*  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
go completed action emphatic go completed action emphatic go completed action  
*mēε* , *châ?* *châ?* !  
P<sub>uf</sub> Interj Interj  
emphatic let's go! let's go!
- (30) < *nâ?* *tê* *qhe* *bô?* *tô?* *la* *ve* >  
N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
gunshot one for gunshots shoot V out come to V nominalizer
- (31) : *qhà-qhe* *qay* *le* .  
N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
how? go go
- (32) *šā* *bô?* *ve* *lā* ?  
N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
animal shoot nominalizer yes
- (33) : *qáy* , *qáy* , *qáy* , *qáy* , *qáy* , *qáy* ,  
onomatopoeia (Onomat) Onomat Onomat Onomat Onomat Onomat  
woof! woof! woof! woof! woof! woof!  
*qáy* , *qáy* , *qáy* , *qáy* !  
Onomat Onomat Onomat Onomat  
woof! woof! woof! woof!
- (34) : *âa* , *hâ?* *lè* *hâ?* *ve* *lé* .  
Interj V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
well! hit the mark topic hit the mark nominalizer probably
- (35) *nâ?-šī* *ō* *mâ* *ī* *qô?-ma* .  
N P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
bullet topic negative big emphatic

- (36) *yô* *̄* *nâ?* *chê?* *qha-pâ?-a* .  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub>  
 he topic gun jam intensifying particle
- (37) : *̀-šĩ* *̄* *̀-šĩ* *a-cí-cí* *t̄* *ā* .  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 bullet topic blood a little be visible perfective
- (38) *chôo* , *chôo* !  
 Interj Interj  
 cry to incite dogs cry to incite dogs
- (39) *qha-dê?* *ğâ?-chɔ* *a ni* , *qha-dê?* *ğâ?-chɔ* *a ni* .  
 AE V P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub> AE V P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub>  
 properly stick to the trail of try to properly stick to the trail of try to
- (40) *chôo* !  
 Interj  
 cry to incite dogs
- (41) : *nâ?* *šâ?* *â* *ĩ* *lɔ*  
 N V Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 gun prepare for use (as a muzzle-loading gun) negative big emphatic declarative  
*nê-̄* , *nò ve* *̄* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>poss</sub>+ve P<sub>unf</sub>  
 suppositional your topic
- (42) : *âa* , *nâ?* *šâ?* *ve* *̄* , *à-šô thâ*  
 Interj N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>time</sub>  
 well! gun prepare for use (as a muzzle-loading gun) nominalizer topic a while ago  
*fâ?* *bâ?* *tù* *šâ?* *ā* *ɛ*  
 N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 squirrels shoot purposive prepare for use (as a muzzle-loading gun) perfective because  
*qô?-yò-è?* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (43) : *ôo* .  
 Interj  
 oh!
- (44) *ğa* *lê?* *tù* *mâ* *hê?* *o* .  
 vV V P<sub>v-nom</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 get to eat sthg that is used for V'ing negative be the case emphatic
- (45) *yâ?-ni* *tê* *ni* *šā* *ğâ?* *kâ?* , *nò-hi* *è* *nâ?* *qhe* *chi híy*  
 N<sub>time</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv NP<sub>ext</sub>  
 today one for days animals hunt even you (pl) topicalizer guns like this only this big  
*te* *šâ?* *ā* *ve* , *yâ?-ni* *è*  
 vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 do and prepare for use (as a muzzle-loading gun) perfective nominalizer today topicalizer  
*khâ?* *dê* *yò* *mē* .  
 V N<sub>lim</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 suffer in vain declarative emphatic

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- (46) *gã lè? tù mâ hê? o* .  
<sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 get to eat future negative be the case emphatic
- (47) *qha-dè? gâ?-chɔ a ni* .  
 AE V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub>  
 properly stick to the trail of try to
- (48) *chà tù mâ hê?* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> Adv V  
 succeed at future negative be the case
- (49) : *gã lè? tù mâ hê? o* .  
<sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 get to eat future negative true emphatic
- (50) *gã lè? tù mâ hê? o* .  
<sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 get to eat future negative true emphatic
- (51) *chɔ-lù !*  
 N  
 wretch
- (52) *chɔ-phi !*  
 N  
 jackass
- (53) *chɔ-châ?-chɔ-chî? !*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub>  
 filthy swine!
- (54) : *ha-ha-ha* .  
 Interj  
 sound of laughter
- (55) : *nâ? šâ? ve chi qhe te ve !*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 gun prepare for use (as a muzzle-loading gun) nominalizer like this do nominalizer
- (56) : *mô ɔ̄ lɔ̄-qá-qhɔ ɔ̄ phî gɔ̄ è qha-pâ?*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> N AE<sub>stat</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 down there locative river valley locative dog quiet intensifying particle  
*và*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 intensifying particle
- (57) : *hâ? ca ni !*  
 Adv <sub>v</sub>V V  
 quickly go and do check on
- (58) *hâ? ca ni e !*  
 Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub>  
 quickly go and do check on motion away

- (59) : *phê gò è l* , *hâ? ca ni* .  
 N AE<sub>stat</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V V  
 dog quiet emphatic declarative quickly go and do look at
- (60) *hâ? ca ni* .  
 Adv <sub>v</sub>V V  
 quickly go and do look at
- (61) : *mô ̄ , hó ̄ phê gò è qha-pâ? qô?-ma* .  
 Dem P<sub>n</sub> M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N AE<sub>stat</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 locative below locative dog quiet intensifying particle emphatic
- (62) : *âa , ca ni yò-a* .  
 Interj <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! go and do look at emphatic declarative
- (63) : *qhò-qhe qay le* .  
 N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 how? go go
- (64) : *âa chò šĩ ā ò l ma* .  
 Interj N<sub>sd</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 oh! here die perfective completed action emphatic declarative emphatic declarative
- (65) *chò šĩ ā ò l* .  
 N<sub>sd</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 here die perfective completed action emphatic declarative
- (66) : *kù pî a , tê gâ le-le nô qhò qhò? chê ā*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 call out benefactive (3p) hortatory everybody up there hill on top of stay durative  
*ve à?* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 nominalizer accusative
- (67) : *ôo , là ò? cê !*  
 Interj V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 oh! come hortatory quotative
- (68) *chò gâ ò cê !*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 here catch completed action quotative
- (69) *hε-và? chò šĩ ā ò l !*  
 N N<sub>sd</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 wild boar here die perfective completed action emphatic declarative
- (70) *chò là ò? cê !*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 here come hortatory quotative
- (71) *hâ? là ò? lò !*  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 quickly come hortatory urging

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- (72) : *á-phà? chɔ , á-phà? chɔ .*  
 N V N V  
 leaf cut leaf cut
- (73) *pè dà? e , tē pō? lē .*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> NP<sub>q</sub>  
 divide up mutual action motion away right away
- (74) : *pè dà? ò? , pè dà? ò? , pè*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V  
 divide up mutual action hortatory divide up mutual action hortatory divide up  
*dà? ò? , pè dà? ò? mē .*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 mutual action hortatory divide up mutual action hortatory urging
- (75) : *pè dà? ò? , pè dà? ò? , pè dà?*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 share mutual action hortatory share mutual action hortatory share mutual action  
*ò?*  
 P<sub>v</sub>  
 hortatory
- (76) : *phī qha-dē? ni mē .*  
 N AE V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 dogs carefully watch urging
- (77) *šā cá lɔ .*  
 N V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 meat eat emphatic declarative
- (78) : *êe .*  
 Interj  
 okay
- (79) < *hɛ-và? phâ?-tô? ve khô >*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 wild boar butcher (a carcass) relativizer sound
- (80) : *nò phī šā cá pʻ-à .*  
 Pron N N V V+P<sub>v</sub>  
 your dog meat eat warning marker
- (81) : *éé? éé? !*  
 Interj Interj  
 sound to drive dogs away sound to drive dogs away
- (82) *pòthôo , phī chí tē ġī qo , yô-qhâ-yô-hi kâ? ġa cá*  
 Interj N Det Q P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 for God's sake! dogs these pluralizer topic they by themselves even catch V to eat  
*qhe ġâ-e qô?-ma .*  
 N<sub>ext</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 like reach the point of emphatic
- (83) : *phī qha-dē? ni šē a-? .*  
 N AE V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub>  
 dogs carefully watch watch hortatory

- (84) *chî ve yò* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 lift up nominalizer declarative
- (85) *chi ni-? !*  
 Det V<sub>imp</sub>  
 this look!
- (86) : *ée?*  
 Interj  
 sound to drive dogs away
- (87) : *chɔ qhà-nî ġâ le* .  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 people how many? for humans for humans
- (88) : *ġɔ a ni , chɔ* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> N  
 count try to people
- (89) : *hí ġâ* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 eight for people
- (90) : *hí ġâ qo hí pun* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 eight for people if eight for shares
- (91) *ḡ-šɛ kà? qha-dɛ? yù mē* .  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> AE V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 headman's portion of killed game also properly take urging
- (92) *qhâ?-šɛ à? pî tù ve ḡ-šɛ*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 headman accusative benefactive (3p) purposive relativizer headman's portion of killed game
- (93) : *ḡ-chi ɔ khi-ġō-qwè? tê pá tɔ? a* .  
 Det P<sub>unf</sub> N Num M<sub>px</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 this thing topic shank (of meat) one side cut off hortatory
- (94) : *à-thò?-ma te ve , nò* .  
 N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron  
 what do nominalizer you
- (95) : *cɔ lɛ? a* .  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 boil to mush do for eating hortatory
- (96) : *ḡ* .  
 Interj  
 oh!

- (97) *ha-ha-ha*  
Interj  
sound
- (98) : *khi-g̃ô-qwê?*    *tê*    *pá*    *tô?*                    *a*                    *cê*                    .  
N                    Num M<sub>prfx</sub> V                    P<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>uf</sub>  
shank (of meat) one side cut (with knife hortatory quotative
- (99) *cô*                    *lê?*                    *a*                    *cê*                    , *yô*                    .  
V                    V<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>uf</sub>                    Pron  
boil to mush do for eating hortatory quotative he
- (100) : *tô?*    *pî*                    *ò*                    , *tô?*    *pî*                    *ò*                    .  
V    V<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>v</sub>                    V    V<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>v</sub>  
cut off benefactive (3p) completed action cut off benefactive (3p) completed action
- (101) *âa*    , *pê*                    *ò*                    , *pê*                    *ò*                    , *pê*  
Interj V                    P<sub>v</sub>                    V                    P<sub>v</sub>                    V  
well! divide up completed action divide up completed action divide up  
*ò*                    , *tê pô?* *lê*                    .  
P<sub>v</sub>                    NP<sub>q</sub>  
completed action right now
- (102) : *chɔ*    *hí*    *g̃â*                    *lá*                    .  
N    Num Cl<sub>f</sub>                    P<sub>uf</sub>  
people eight for humans yes
- (103) : *êe*  
Interj  
yes
- (104) : *âa*    , *pê*                    *dà?*                    *pò*                    *ò*                    .  
Interj V                    P<sub>v</sub>                    V<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>v</sub>  
well! divide up mutual action finish V'ing completed action
- (105) *tê pô?* *lê*    *yù*    *lò*                    , *yù*    *lò*                    .  
NP<sub>q</sub> V    P<sub>v</sub>                    V    P<sub>v</sub>  
now take urging take urging
- (106) : *yù*    , *yù*    , *yù*    , *yù*    , *yù*    .  
V    V    V    V    V  
take take take take take
- (107) : *a-cí*    *jâ*    *ve*                    *tê*    *pun*                    *yù*                    .  
Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>                    Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V  
more big relativizer one for shares take
- (108) *yô*    *a-cí*    *jâ*    ...  
Pron Adv V<sub>adj</sub>  
he more big
- (109) : *êe*    , *ŋà*    *chi*                    *tê*    *mà*                    *hâ?*                    *a*                    .  
Interj Pron Det                    Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V                    P<sub>v</sub>  
yes I this one one for things want to get intentive



- (110) : *ɲà chi hâ? a* .  
 Pron Det V P<sub>v</sub>  
 I this one want to get intentive
- (111) : *ɲà chi tê pun yù e* .  
 Pron Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 I this one for shares take motion away
- (112) : *âa , ɲà chi yù a* .  
 Interj Pron Det V P<sub>v</sub>  
 well! I this one take intentive
- (113) : *â-chi â-šĩ phĩ à? qha-dê? tô? lé pí*  
 N N N P<sub>n</sub> AE V V V<sub>v</sub>  
 this blood dog accusative carefully scoop up in both hands feed to benefactive (3p)  
*a šē* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 hortatory first
- (114) : *tâ-le lé , tâ-le lé , phĩ chi qhe ve*  
 Adv V Adv V N AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 negative imperative feed to negative imperative feed to dogs like this genitivizer  
*chà ve mâ hê?* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V  
 be worth sthg nominalizer negative be the case
- (115) : *gã ò qo mâ câ? o l*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 get completed action topic negative have to do with emphatic emphatic declarative  
*le qô?-ma lê* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 because emphatic request for assent
- (116) : *êe* .  
 Interj  
 yes
- (117) : *âa , tê pô? lê gã qô? e tí yò lê* ,  
 Interj NP<sub>q</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! now ought to go home motion away only declarative request for assent  
*yà?-ni ...*  
 N<sub>time</sub>  
 today
- (118) : *eeà?* .  
 Interj  
 right!
- (119) *qô? e tí yò* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 go home motion away only declarative
- (120) *gã lê? mâ le* .  
<sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 get to eat much because

A Lahu hunting expedition

- (121) *thô* , *te* *qò?* *e* *ni* *ce* *yò* .  
 Conj <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 anyway do and go home motion away V and see just declarative
- (122) *te* *â* *ğă* *ve* *ò* *le* .  
 V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 do negative be able nominalizer completed action because
- (123) : *pà* *ò* *hé* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be completed completed action probably

**Translation**

1. Well, where shall we go hunting today?
2. Well, over there out by Deer Hollow.

\* \* \*

3. Well then, where shall all of us in the village go hunting today anyway?
4. Well, there at the Metalai [stream]. From above Red Rock to below Red Rock, then on down. We'll chase them down from above Metalai to Khí-yī-kwì<sup>1</sup>,  
 the place where Lawjo the Postman<sup>2</sup> shot the mountain-goat that time.
5. Mm.
6. Where shall each of us go to lie in ambush<sup>3</sup>?
7. Me, I'll go wait at the hill near Hognose Deer Valley.
8. I'll go wait at Goat-shoot.<sup>4</sup>
9. Down there, eh? I'm going to wait at the big stamping-ground right at the fork in the Hognose Deer River.
10. I see.
11. Well, as far as I'm concerned—I'll go wait at Goat-shoot.
12. Hm. Well, you guys drive them well now!
13. Hey, hey! Today I'm going hunting! Let's ambush 'em the right way! Everybody in his own ambush-point, lie in wait properly!
14. Right!
15. Well, now we're off to the hunt!
16. (Two voices) Right!

\* \* \*

17. Hey, hey, hey, hey, hey, hey, hey, hey, hey! Cho, cho, cho, cho, cho, cho, cho! Oh, we've flushed a wild pig! We've flushed a boar, we've flushed a boar!

<sup>1</sup>This place-name means 'Hognosed Deer' [*Cervus porcinus*]. It seems also to have been called **Khí-yì-qō** 'Deer Hollow'.

<sup>2</sup>This man was a friend of the Huey Tat villagers who used to be a postman in Shan State.

<sup>3</sup>**nâ? ve** 'to lie in wait in order to ambush the game.' One hunting party typically flushes the game while the others lie in ambush at various places, waiting for a chance to chase it (**ğă? ve**).

<sup>4</sup>**hâ b̄? k̄i**: the scene of Lawju's exploit.

Come on, let's track him right! Everybody at his ambush-point, track him down right! We've flushed a boar! Ah, here come the dogs to help us look, too!

18. Woof, woof, woof, woof, woof, woof, woof, woof!

19. Here he goes, there he goes, there he goes! Cho, cho!

[A shot rings out]

20. What happened? Did they get him?

21. Woof, woof, woof, woof, woof, woof, woof, woof, woof!

22. Well, I think we hit him at least. But the bullet wasn't big [enough]! And *his* gun jammed, damn it.

23. The bullet drew a little blood. Come on, you dogs! Try to stick right on his trail, try to stick right on his trail. Come on!

24. The gun-setting probably wasn't big [enough]—on *your* gun.

25. Er—about my gun-setting—it was set for the squirrel-shooting that I did a while back, that's why.

26. Oh, no! We won't get anything to eat then. Here we've been hunting all day long today, but you guys set your guns so small,

all the trouble we went to was for nothing! We won't get a thing to eat. Try to stick to his trail at least! It's a bad business.<sup>5</sup>

27. we won't get a thing to eat. We won't get a thing to eat! You failure! You ass! You slob!

28. Ha, ha, ha.

29. Setting his gun that way!

30. Hey, down there in the river valley the dogs are quiet all of a sudden!

31. Hurry, let's go look! Hurry up, let's go take a look!

32. The dogs are quiet! Hurry come look, hurry come look!

33. Down there, down below; the dogs are quiet all of a sudden!

34. Well, let's go have a look.

35. What's going on?

36. Oh! It dropped dead here! It died here!

37. Shout to them! To everybody who's still up there on the mountain.

38. Hey, come on! Get down there, they say! The boar dropped dead here! Call out to them, to everybody who's still up there on the hill! Come quick!

Here's where we got him, they say! Here's where the boar died! Hurry up and come! Get a move on!

39. Chop down some leaves, chop down some leaves! We'll divide him up right away.<sup>6</sup>

40. Divvy up, divvy up, divvy up—let's divide him up!

41. Divvy up, divvy up, divvy up!

42. Keep an eye on the dogs. They'll eat the meat.

43. O.K.

<sup>5</sup>chə ve 'to be all right; to work; be O.K.' chə tù mâ hê? 'it's no good'.

<sup>6</sup>The meat will be cut up and divided, each portion being wrapped up in a large banana-leaf.

[*Sounds of slicing up the boar*]

44. That dog of yours might get at the meat.<sup>7</sup>
45. Scram, scram! For God's sakes, this bunch of dogs—they're acting like they caught him all by themselves!
46. Keep watching the dogs! They're taking up pieces [in their mouths]. Look here!
47. Scra-a-m!
48. How many of us are there?
49. Count us and see.
50. Eight people.
51. Eight people, eight shares. And take out the "chief-slices" carefully, the pieces we have to give to the headman.<sup>8</sup>
52. This one here—cut me one of the shank-joints.<sup>9</sup>
53. What are you going to do with it?
54. Boil the life out of it and eat it.<sup>10</sup>
55. Oh. Ha, ha, ha.
56. He says to cut him one of the shanks. He says he'll boil it to death and eat it.
57. I cut it for him already. I cut it already.
58. Well, it's divided, it's divided, it's divided now.
59. There are eight people?
60. Yes.
61. Well, he's finished dividing it up into shares. Now take yours, take yours!
62. Take 'em, take 'em, take 'em, take 'em!
63. Take the biggest share, why don't you! He took the biggest—.
64. Yes, I want this piece.
65. I want this one.
66. I'll take out this share.
67. Well, I'll take this.
68. Scoop up this blood carefully and feed it to the dogs first.
69. Don't go feeding them, don't go feeding them, dogs like this aren't worth a damn.
70. Because it was no thanks to them<sup>11</sup> that we caught anything, was it?
71. Yeah.
72. Well, now we should head back towards home, shall we? Today—.

---

<sup>7</sup> *pí-à* is used in warnings, rather like older English *lest*.

<sup>8</sup> *ǎ-ǎe* "chief-slices." Part of every large animal killed in the hunt belongs by right to the headman, whether or not he was along on the hunting expedition. Among the Lahu the piece of meat in question is taken from the shoulder-blades.

<sup>9</sup> A bony cut, consisting of the shin, knee, and part of the lower thigh.

<sup>10</sup> *cǎ ve*: 'to boil something tough for hours until very soft'. Not the same as *cǎ ve* 'to boil'.

<sup>11</sup> *câ? ve* 'to be connected with; be due to.'

73. Right!

74. We'll just head back. Since we've had good hunting.<sup>12</sup> But we'll just head back and see what we can see. Since there's nothing [else] we can do now.

75. I guess that's the end.

---

<sup>12</sup>ga lɛʔ m̩a le: "since we have gotten a lot to eat."

### 3.2 When we go hunting

- (1) *chi-bəʔ tē khi ŋà-hi šā gəʔ ve qa-mì-khō é tē mà a-cí*  
 N<sub>time</sub> Q Pron N V P<sub>univ</sub> N M<sub>prfx</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Adv  
 now now we (pl) animals hunt relativizer song little one general classifier just  
*qa mā lâ šā mē*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 sing show by V'ing benefactive (non-3p) intentional (1p) emphatic
- (2) *na tā šē*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 listen durative still
- (3) *khəʔ-ni tē ni lē , ŋà-hi Lāhū-yā ð-po šā gəʔ ni*  
 N<sub>time</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N N N V M<sub>prfx</sub>  
 Saturday one for days topic we (pl) Lahu people for N's sake animals hunt day  
*yò*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (4) *Lāhū-yā ha-lē tū ē ve lē , šā gəʔ*  
 N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V  
 Lahu people happy sth that is cause for V'ing great nominalizer topic animals hunt  
*ni yò mē*  
 M<sub>prfx</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 day declarative emphatic
- (5) *hó-qhəʔ-yā qhà-gā-chi-gā a-šū-yō ve khāʔ-nāʔ tāt?*  
 N Elab<sub>n</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N V  
 men every last person one's own genitivizer crossbows and guns carry on shoulder  
*le , phē šī və le hēʔ-pí-qhə lo qay*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V  
 suspensive dogs lead along transportatory motion suspensive jungle locative go  
*ve*  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer
- (6) *qhə qhà-ma mu qhà-ma ná thō ha-lē-ha-qa le qay*  
 N N<sub>ext</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> AE V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>adv</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 mountain however much high no matter how overgrown even happily suspensive go  
*ve yò*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (7) *hēʔ-pí-qhə lo gā thā šā-gəʔ-pā phē šī le fāʔ-pu-fāʔ-pé*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub>  
 wilderness locative reach when hunter dogs lead along suspensive porcupines  
*khí-yē chi-pí-qwēʔ hi qhā-ši hēʔ-tē gəʔ qay ve*  
 N N B<sub>n</sub> M<sub>prfx</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 deer (great sambhur) barking deer pluralizer trail diligently hunt go and V nominalizer
- (8) *ð-gā-ð-šā qhà-ma pə thō yō-hi ð-po ha-lē-tù hi phēʔ*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N N<sub>dvb</sub> B<sub>n</sub> V  
 strength however much spend even their for N's sake joy pluralizer be a certain way

- ve*                      *yò*                      .  
 P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer    declarative
- (9) *na-ʔ*                      , *na-ʔ*                      !  
 V<sub>imp</sub>                      V<sub>imp</sub>  
 listen!                      listen!
- (10) *phî*                      *šā*                      *gàʔ*                      *qha-pâʔ*                      !  
 N                      N                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>  
 dogs    animals    hunt    with a loud sound
- (11) *chôo*                      , *chôo*                      , *chôo*                      , *chôo*                      !  
 Interj                      Interj                      Interj                      Interj  
 cry to incite dogs    cry to incite dogs    cry to incite dogs    cry to incite dogs
- (12) *cà-ši*                      , *cà-nâʔ*                      !  
 N                      N  
 Yellow Guy (name for a yellow dog)    Blackie (name for a black dog)
- (13) *chôo*                      , *chôo*                      , *chôo*                      , *chôo*                      !  
 Interj                      Interj                      Interj                      Interj  
 cry to incite dogs    cry to incite dogs    cry to incite dogs    cry to incite dogs
- (14) *na-ši*                      , *na-nâʔ*                      !  
 N                      N  
 Goldie (name for yellow female dog)    Black Girl (name for female black dog)
- (15) *chôo*                      , *chôo*                      , *chôo*                      , *chôo*                      !  
 Interj                      Interj                      Interj                      Interj  
 cry to incite dogs    cry to incite dogs    cry to incite dogs    cry to incite dogs
- (16) *šā-bôʔ-pā*                      *hi*                      *ò*                      , *phî*                      *šā*                      *gàʔ*                      *qha-pâʔ*                      , *qha-dêʔ*  
 N<sub>dvb</sub>                      B<sub>n</sub>                      P<sub>n</sub>                      N                      N                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      AE  
 hunter    pluralizer    vocative    dogs    animals    hunt    with a loud sound    properly  
*l*                      *tā*                      !  
 V                      P<sub>v</sub>  
 lie in wait (as for game)    durative

## Translation

- Now I would like to sing a little song about how we go hunting. Please listen well.
- Saturday is the day for us Lahu to go hunting.
- The biggest joy for us Lahu is hunting day.
- Each and every man carries his crossbow and gun, and leading his dogs he goes into the jungle.
- No matter how high the mountain, no matter how overgrown, he goes off in joy and gladness.
- When he arrives in the jungle the hunter, leading his dogs, diligently chases after all kinds of porcupines<sup>1</sup>, sambar deer, and barking deer.
- No matter how much strength he has to expend, for him it is a pleasure.

<sup>1</sup> *fâʔ-pu-fâʔ-pé*: *fâʔ-pu* ‘Asiatic porcupine’ [*Hystrix brachyura*]; *fâʔ-pé* ‘brush-tailed porcupine’ [*Atherurus macrourus*].

When we go hunting

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8. Listen, listen! The dogs are making a racket as they chase.<sup>2</sup>
9. Let's go, let's go! Yellow Guy, Black Guy!<sup>3</sup> Let's go, let's go! Goldie, Blackie! Let's go, let's go!
10. O hunters, the dogs are making a lot of noise, let's keep our eyes peeled!

---

<sup>2</sup>**qha-pâ?** is an intensifying verb particle used in situations where non-visual perception (esp. hearing or not hearing) is at issue.

<sup>3</sup>These male dogs' names begin with the prefix **cà-**, while the female dogs' names begin with the prefix **na-**. Cf. **ši** 'yellow' and **nâ?** 'black'.



### 3.3 Hunting jungle fowl

- (1) *ηà-hi Lâhū-yâ lè , qhɔ-qhô?-lè-qhô? hɛ-gâ? tɛ ve ð-yân*  
 Pron N P<sub>unf</sub> , Elab<sub>n</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 we (pl) Lahu people topic in the mountains jungle chicken trap (animal) relativizer time  
*gâ qo , hɛ-gâ? tɛ ve tɛ cə hâ jâ*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> Q V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 reach when jungle chicken trap (animal) relativizer one thing enjoyable very  
*ve yò .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (2) *te gâ jâ .*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 do desiderative very
- (3) *mû-šɔ-nà? tɛ nà? hɛ-gâ? pû lɛ , qhɔ-qhô? tâ?*  
 N<sub>time</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> N V  
 early morning early jungle chicken carry on the back suspensive in the mountains go up  
*e lɛ , hɛ-gâ? kù khô gâ kâ qo ha-lè jâ tɛ-tɛ*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V N vV V P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 motion away suspensive jungle chicken call sound get to hear when happy very really  
*yò .*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (4) *ð-khô gâ kâ thâ , phê qha lɛ , là ve tɛ yân thâ ,*  
 N vV V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub>  
 sound get to hear when release vivid action suspensive come relativizer when  
*tân dâ? a lâ ve thâ? qha-dê? gâ mð lɛ ,*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> AE vV+V<sub>h</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 fight with mutual action vivid action nominalizer accusative clearly find suspensive  
*nâ? qha-dê? thɔ lɛ , phê pî*  
 N AE V P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 rifle properly cock (a weapon) suspensive fire off (weapon) benefactive (3p)  
*ha lɛ , šĩ e ve thâ? gâ mð*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> vV V  
 vigorous action suspensive die motion away nominalizer accusative get to see  
*ve qo , ha-lè jâ tɛ yò .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer when happy very really V declarative
- (5) *mí-chɔ qhɔ hâ? gǝ? dô? ve , ð-šɛ-phâ kà?*  
 N M<sub>px</sub> Adv V V P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub>  
 shoulder bag inside quickly pick up stuff into nominalizer performer of an action also  
*nê è qay ve yò .*  
 AE<sub>stat</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 near go nominalizer declarative
- (6) *chi lè Lâhū-yâ ha-lè jâ ve tɛ cə phê? ve yò .*  
 Det P<sub>unf</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 this topic Lahu people happy very relativizer one thing be sthg nominalizer declarative

Hunting jungle fowl

- (7) *chi nî ni ̄-qhe le hé-ġâ? ca tɛ ve t̄e yân thá*  
 Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub>  
 this two for days topicalizer jungle chicken go and do trap (animal) relativizer when  
 , *gô jâ ve pa-tɔ , hé-ġâ? mɔ̄ lɛ , bô? a-t̄ɛ?*  
 V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>quot</sub>  
 dried up very nominalizer because of jungle chicken see suspensive shoot intentive  
*te lɛ nâ? qha-d̄ɛ? thɔ kə a kà? , l̄ɛ? -kôn*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> N AE V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 do suspensive rifle properly cock (a weapon) V into intentive although slip and fall  
*e ̄š̄e ve pa-tɔ , mâ ġa bô? .*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V V  
 motion away regrettably nominalizer because of negative get to shoot
- (8) *chi t̄e š̄ɔ , ni-ma qha-d̄ɛ? mâ š̄a-dà? .*  
 Det Q N AE Adv V  
 this one morning heart properly negative happy
- (9) *̄ kà? qha-d̄ɛ? mâ câ m̄e ve yò .*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> AE Adv V V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 food also properly negative eat taste good nominalizer declarative

**Translation**

1. When the time comes to trap wild fowl<sup>1</sup> in the mountains, we Lahu just love to trap them.
2. [We] really want to do it!
3. Early in the morning we carry a [decoy] jungle-fowl and climb up into the mountains, and when we hear the sound of jungle-fowl calling we're really happy.
4. When we hear the sound, we release [the decoy], and when [the other birds] come they fight viciously [with the decoy], and when we get a good look at this we carefully cock our rifles and fire them off, and if we see them die we're very happy.
5. We quickly pick them up and stuff them in our shoulder-bags, and the hunters who killed them<sup>2</sup> come close [to receive our congratulations].
6. This is one thing that makes the Lahu very happy.
7. This last couple of days when we went to trap jungle fowl, [the fallen leaves] were very dry and crinkly, so when I saw a jungle chicken and tried to shoot it, even though I had my rifle cocked right I slipped and couldn't get the shot off.
8. This morning I'm not in a very good mood.
9. I can't even enjoy my food.

<sup>1</sup>*hé-ġâ?*: the first syllable is a sandhi form of *he* 'swidden; mountain ricefield'. This animal [*Gallus gallus*].is called *kàj pàa* in Thai, and *tô c̄ɛ?* in Burmese (Written Burmese *tâw-kra-k*)..

<sup>2</sup>*̄š̄e-phâ*: lit. "owner", here used in the figurative sense of 'one who is responsible for an action'.

### 3.4 Going hunting

- (1) *yà?-ni* *ηà tē gā* *nā?* *tē* *qhō* , *khā?* *tē* *mā* , *í-thì?*  
 N<sub>time</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N  
 today I myself gun one for long objects crossbow one general classifier knife (RL)  
*tē* *mā* , *mí-cho* *pū* *ve* *ε* , *šā*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 one general classifier shoulder bag carry on the back nominalizer suspensive animals  
*ca* *bō?* *qay* *ε* , *hε-và?-pā* *tē* *khε* *mō*  
 vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V  
 go and do shoot go off to V suspensive wild boar (male) one for animals see  
*lō*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic declarative
- (2) *hε-và?-pā* *mō* *ε* , *gō* *bō?* *kə* *ε* , *là?-pē-ni*  
 N V P<sub>unf</sub> vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 wild boar (male) see suspensive lively action shoot V into suspensive armpit (RL)  
*à?* *hā?* *e*  
 P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 accusative hit the mark motion away
- (3) *là?-pē-ni* *à?* *hā?* *ε* *gā* *ve* *ā*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 armpit (RL) accusative hit the mark suspensive catch nominalizer perfective  
*lō*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 affirmative (RL)
- (4) *gā* *ε* *qō?* *ε* *lε-qō?-š* *ηà* *khā?* *chi* *qō?* *mō*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N Pron N Det vV V  
 catch suspensive return suspensive roadside (RL) I crossbow this V again aim at  
*gā* *ε* *fā?* *tē pō?* *nā?* *bō?* *o*  
 vV P<sub>unf</sub> N NP<sub>q</sub> N V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 get to suspensive squirrels this time gun shoot emphatic
- (5) *fā?-cō?* *gā* *e* *ε* , *fā?* *kā?* *nī* *khε* *šē?*  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num  
 squirrel-path (RL) reach motion away because squirrels also two for animals three  
*khε* *gā* *ε* , *a-ví-a-ni* *ò-mí-ò-yā* *tē pa* *pē* *cā*  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> Q V V<sub>v</sub>  
 for animals catch suspensive relatives wife and children group share V to eat  
*ve* *yō*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (6) *hε-và?-šā* *chi* *pū* *mā* *gā* *ε* , *lε-qō?-š*  
 N Det V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 wild boar meat this carry on the back negative manage to because roadside (RL)  
*ca* *tε* *á* *ε* , *šō-nā?* *mū-cha* *là*  
 vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> N V  
 go and do leave sthg where it is perfective suspensive the next morning sunlight come

## Going hunting

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<i>lɛ</i>	,	<i>yâ-nɛ̀</i>	<i>hi</i>	<i>šĩ</i>	<i>və</i>	<i>lɛ</i>	,
P <sub>unf</sub>		N	B <sub>n</sub>	V	P <sub>v</sub>	P <sub>unf</sub>	
suspensive		young men	pluralizer	lead along	transportatory motion	suspensive	
<i>qɔ̀?</i>			<i>pû</i>	<i>ve</i>	.		
<sub>v</sub> V			V	P <sub>univ</sub>			
V back (to starting point)			carry on the back	nominalizer			

### Translation

1. Today I took a gun, a crossbow, and a knife and, carrying my shoulder-bag, I went off hunting and I saw a male wild boar!
2. When I saw the wild boar I took a shot at him and hit him in the armpit.
3. When I hit him in the armpit I caught him.
4. When I caught him I headed for home, and by the roadside I aimed my crossbow and I shot my gun at some squirrels.
5. I had happened to arrive at a “squirrel-path”<sup>1</sup> and caught two or three squirrels, which I shared with my relatives, my wife and kids.
6. Since I couldn’t carry the wild boar meat, I had left it by the roadside, and the next morning when the sun came out I took a bunch of young men with me and we carried it back.

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<sup>1</sup> **fâʔ-côʔ**: This refers to the paths that squirrels take when traveling from tree to tree, availing themselves of creepers and vines.

### 3.5 Monkey hunting

- (1) *qho-qhò?-lò-qhò?* *yâ* *Lâhû-yâ* *tê phâ* *mò?* *ca* *bò?*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> N N Q N <sub>v</sub>V V  
 in the mountains human being Lahu people pluralizer monkey go and do shoot  
*e* *ve* *ò-lon* *chi* *te* *khi* *qâw* *šâ* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Det V Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 motion away relativizer matter this do for times tell intentional (1p)
- (2) : " *âa* , *phâ* *ò* , *šó-pô* *ŋâ-ni* *qo* *mò?* *ca* *bò?*  
 Interj N P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>time</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V  
 well! buddy vocative tomorrow Friday topic monkey go and do shoot  
*há* *e* *a* *lé* ."  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 spend the night motion away intentive request for assent
- (3) : " *âa* , *qhò-qhe* *ô* *há* *e* *tù* *le* ."  
 Interj N<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well then where? locative spend the night motion away future substantive qst
- (4) : " *Pû-pò* *ô* *há* *e* *ve* *tí* *yò* ."  
 N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 place name locative spend the night motion away nominalizer just declarative
- (5) : " *mò?* *pε* *à* *lá* ."  
 N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 monkey plentiful asseverative yes
- (6) : " *šu* *qô?* *ve* *pε* *à* *cê* ."  
 Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 others say nominalizer plentiful asseverative quotative
- (7) : " *Pû-pò* *lò-qhò?* *ô* *chê* *o* *lá* ."  
 N<sub>place</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 place name narrow dry riverbed locative be there affirmative yes
- (8) : " *chê* *o* *cê* ."  
 V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be there affirmative quotative
- (9) : " *khà-?* !  
 V<sub>imp</sub>  
 let's go!
- (10) *qay* *và* !  
 V P<sub>v</sub>  
 go imperative
- (11) : " *nò* *qay* *qo* *qay* *ve* *yò* "  
 Pron V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 you go if go nominalizer declarative
- (12) : " *Kwè* *ò* !  
 N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 male name vocative

Monkey hunting

- (13) *mò?* *chò* *chê* *ɔ* *ma* .”  
 N N<sub>sd</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 monkey here be there affirmative exclamatory
- (14) : ” *qhò-qhe* *le* .”  
 N<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 where? substantive qst
- (15) : ” *ò-chi* *nò* *na* *̄* *ni* *è?* .  
 Det Pron M<sub>prfx</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 that thing you above and in front of locative look at emphatic
- (16) *hâ?* *là* *ò?* , *hâ?* *là* *ò?* !  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 quickly come urging imperative quickly come urging imperative
- (17) *ca* *bò?* *la-?* .”  
 vV V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub>  
 go and do shoot motion toward (imperative)
- (18) : *qhà-pé* ?  
 Interj  
 where is it?
- (19) : *cò* , *šĩ?-qá* *qhò?* *̄* *ni* *è?* !  
 N<sub>sd</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 way over there branch of tree on top of locative look at emphatic
- (20) *hâ?* *bò?* *la-?* .  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub>  
 quickly shoot motion toward (imperative)
- (21) : *tâ?-í* *ni* *è?* .  
 Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quietly look at emphatic
- (22) *bò?* *ce* *a-lâ* *a* .  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 shoot V so it falls lively action intentive
- (23) : *ce* *ò* , *ce* *ò* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 fall (from a height) completed action fall (from a height) completed action
- (24) : *vâ-dé-qō* *tò?* *e* .  
 N V P<sub>v</sub>  
 bamboo tube cut off motion away
- (25) *̄* *te-câ* *a* .  
 N V P<sub>v</sub>  
 meal cook intentive
- (26) : *nò* *mò?-šā* *lá-?* .  
 Pron N V<sub>imp</sub>  
 you monkey meat roast in bamboo tube!

- (27) *hâ?* *te-?* .  
 Adv V<sub>imp</sub>  
 quickly do!
- (28) *mû phâ?* *la* *yò* .  
 SV P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 get dark nearly V declarative
- (29) *mε* *ò* .  
 V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 be cooked completed action
- (30) *hâ?* *là* *ò?* .  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 quickly come urging imperative
- (31) *câ* *a* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub>  
 eat hortatory
- (32) : *èe* .  
 Interj  
 right!
- (33) : *Kwè* *ò* , *mò?-šā* *câ* *ve* *lè* *mè* *jâ*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 male name vocative monkey meat eat nominalizer topic delicious very  
*lê*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 request for assent
- (34) : *mè* *jâ* *à* .  
 V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 taste good very asseverative
- (35) *mè* *ve* *šwî?* *yò* *mē* .  
 V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>lim</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 taste good nominalizer the most declarative emphatic
- (36) : *khà-?* .  
 V<sub>imp</sub>  
 let's go!
- (37) *qò?* *e* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub>  
 go home motion away
- (38) : *èe* , *khà-?* .  
 Interj V<sub>imp</sub>  
 yes let's go!
- (39) : *qa-mì-khō* *chi šť-è* *tê* *mà* *qa* *šā* , *mò?-šā* *câ*  
 N NP<sub>ext</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> N V  
 song such a short one one for things sing intentional (1p) monkey meat eat  
*ve* *ò-lon* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 relativizer matter

Monkey hunting

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(40) ( *qa-mì-khô* )  
 N  
 song

(41) *mòʔ-šā*      *câ* *ve*                      *mè*              *jâ*      ,      *mè*              *jâ*  
 N                      V    P<sub>univ</sub>                      V<sub>adj</sub>              V<sub>v</sub>              ,              V<sub>adj</sub>              V<sub>v</sub>  
 monkey meat eat nominalizer taste good very      taste good very

(42) *mòʔ-šā*      *câ* *ve*                      *khi*              *jâ*      ,      *khi*              *jâ*  
 N                      V    P<sub>univ</sub>                      V<sub>adj</sub>              V<sub>v</sub>              ,              V<sub>adj</sub>              V<sub>v</sub>  
 monkey meat eat nominalizer delicious very      delicious very

(43) *mòʔ-šā*              *mè*              *jâ*      *cì-àʔ*  
 N                      V<sub>adj</sub>              V<sub>v</sub>      V<sub>v</sub>  
 monkey meat delicious very very

**Translation**

1. Let me tell you now about how we hill-dwelling Lahu go hunting monkeys.

(Scene 1)

2. A: Hey, buddy! Since tomorrow is Friday, let's go hunt monkeys and spend the night [someplace], OK?

3. B: Ah, where shall we go to spend the night?

4. A: We'll just spend the night at Pù-pɔ.

5. B: Are there lots of monkeys [there]?

6. A: They say there are lots of them.

7. B: Is Pù-pɔ in a river valley?

8. A: I hear that it is.

9. B: Let's go, come on!

10. A: If you're going, I'll go.

(Scene 2)

11. A: Hey Kwei! There are monkeys here!

12. B: (Kwei) Where?

13. A: There, look up there in front of you! Come here quick!—Come here quick! Come and shoot!

14. B: Where?

15. A: Look way over there in that branch! Hurry up and shoot!

16. B: Look at it quietly! I'll shoot it down for you.

17. A: It fell, it fell!

18. B: I'll cut off a tube of bamboo and we'll cook it up.

19. A: You go roast it in a tube.<sup>1</sup> Hurry up! It's getting dark. It's done, come quick, let's eat!

20. B: Yeah.

21. A: Kwei, eating monkey meat is really delicious, eh?

<sup>1</sup>lá: to roast in a bamboo tube ( < Shan *laam* )



22. B: It's delicious! The best tasting thing there is!

23. A: Come on, let's go back.

24. B: OK, let's go.

25. A: I'll just sing a little song first. About eating monkey meat.

26. **Song:**

Monkey-meat is great to eat, great to eat!

Delicious to eat, monkey meat!

Monkey meat is scrumptious!

### 3.6 The hornbills are munching hog-plums, but I'd rather catch fish

- (1) *tê pô? thâ cho nî ġâ , tê mà lè Cà-ġû mε*  
 NP<sub>time</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> , Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> V  
 once people two for humans one general classifier topic male name have a name  
*ve yò , tê mà lè Fí-lâ-qō mε*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> V  
 nominalizer declarative the other general classifier topic male name have a name  
*ve yò .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (2) *yô nî ġâ hε thu lε šu thà? qô?*  
 Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> V  
 they two for humans swidden clear land suspensive the other guy accusative say  
*pî ve : " và?-lâ-gò , mà?-chu-šī khò? ve*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 benefactive (3p) nominalizer hornbill hog-plum munch nominalizer  
*cè mâ hê? ."*  
 VP  
 in great abundance
- (3) " *qhà-qhe ̄ le ."*  
 N<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 where? locative substantive qst
- (4) " *mô ̄ , ð-t̄ Nà-kû?-ġî pū ̄ .*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N<sub>place</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 down there topic plain River Kok riverbank locative
- (5) *chō-ġû-chō-ġô?* , *chō né â kâ jō , chi qhe và?-lâ-gò .*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> N  
 crazy piece of trash people even negative hear experiential like this hornbill
- (6) *ð-tè yò .*  
 N P<sub>uf</sub>  
 truth declarative
- (7) *và?-lâ-gò mà?-chu-šī khò? ve ̄ ð-tè yò .*  
 N N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>uf</sub>  
 hornbill hog-plum munch nominalizer topic truth declarative
- (8) *chō tê ġâ kà? mâ qô? qha-pá .*  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 person one for humans even negative say intensifying particle
- (9) *nâ? kōn-pê? yù lε ca bô? e la*  
 N N V P<sub>unf</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 gun muzzle-loading rifle take suspensive go and do shoot motion away come to V  
*mē .*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic

- (10) *pɛ jâ* .  
 V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 plentiful very
- (11) *chɔ mâ khà* .  
 N Adv V  
 person negative go along
- (12) *hē ve yâ* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 tell a lie nominalizer emphatic
- (13) *chɔ-ǵû ò* .  
 N P<sub>n</sub>  
 crazy guy vocative
- (14) *l̄-pū ò , l̄-pū ò , vâ?-lâ-gò mà?-chu-šī khò? ve* .  
 N P<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> N N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 old man vocative old man vocative hornbill hog-plum munch nominalizer
- (15) *b̄š? la e , b̄š? la , b̄š? la* ,  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 shoot motion towards motion away shoot motion towards shoot motion towards  
*b̄š? la – b̄š? la* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 shoot motion towards shoot motion towards
- (16) *vâ?-lâ-gò mà?-chu-šī khò? ve* .  
 N N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 hornbill hog-plum munch nominalizer
- (17) *qhò-pé qhò-pé , â mò a* .  
 Interj Interj Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 where is it? where is it? negative see emphatic
- (18) *ô ɔ̄ , hē?-p̄-ǵhɔ ɔ̄* .  
 N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 over there locative woods locative
- (19) \*\*\*
- (20) *khà-?* .  
 V<sub>imp</sub>  
 let's go!
- (21) *ŋâ ca phē a* .  
 N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub>  
 fish go and do catch with a bell-net intensive
- (22) *mô Nâ-kû?-ǵi qhɔ ɔ̄* .  
 N<sub>sd</sub> N<sub>place</sub> M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 down there River Kok in locative

The hornbills are munching hog-plums, but I'd rather catch fish

- (23) *khà èʔ , khà èʔ , khà èʔ , qay ve*  
 V P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 go (vivid) emphatic go (vivid) emphatic go (vivid) emphatic go nominalizer  
*yò , qôʔ-ɔ̄ .*  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative emphatic
- (24) *âa , ŋâ chi yàʔ-pí phi qha-lâ ve ð-khô kàʔ*  
 Interj N Det N<sub>time</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub>  
 hey! fish these tonight splash around lively action relativizer sound also  
*ðíʔ-è-ô-è .*  
 Elab<sub>adv</sub>  
 with a blurry noise
- (25) *hē nē-ɔ̄ .*  
 V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 tell a lie suppositional
- (26) *ŋà né â kâ .*  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
 I even negative hear
- (27) *pí-cá-qô ð-khô te ve qhe yò .*  
 N N V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 helicopter sound make nominalizer like declarative
- (28) *yò .*  
 Interj  
 yes!
- (29) *pò ve ô pē-pâ šī kàʔ yàʔ šē .*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> N N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 fly nominalizer over there net bird-trap place locative descend still
- (30) *ŋà né mâ kâ .*  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
 I even negative hear
- (31) *ŋâ chi í-kâʔ qhɔ̄ ɔ̄ .*  
 N Det N M<sub>prfx</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 fish these water inside locative
- (32) *mâ mò .*  
 Adv V  
 negative see
- (33) *yò .*  
 V  
 be true
- (34) *khâʔ e ve .*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 scoop out motion away nominalizer
- (35) *ŋà tê qhe tí phê a ve .*  
 Pron AE V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 I right away release (as a net) intentive nominalizer

(36)	<i>ô-thâ</i>	<i>qhe-lê</i>	<i>tê</i>	<i>mí-chɔ</i>		<i>tê</i>	<i>hā-thɔ</i>	<i>lɛ</i>	<i>tê</i>	<i>tá-pô?</i>	<i>gã</i>	.
	N <sub>time</sub>	N <sub>ext</sub>	Num	Cl <sub>f</sub>		Num	Cl <sub>f</sub>	P <sub>unf</sub>	Num	Cl <sub>f</sub>	V	
	in the past	like	one	for	shoulder bags	one	for pants	and	one	for rucksacks	get	
(37)	<i>ɦ̣</i>											.
	Interj											
	murmur of assent											
(38)	<i>ɦ̣</i>	<i>à?</i>	<i>né</i>	<i>â</i>	<i>pè</i>	<i>lá</i>		<i>mɔ</i>		<i>ve-ɔ</i>		.
	Pron	P <sub>n</sub>	P <sub>unf</sub>	Adv	V	P <sub>v</sub>		V <sub>v</sub>		P <sub>uf</sub>		
	I	accusative	even	negative	share	benefactive (non-3p)		see or hear of		emphatic		
(39)	<i>tâ-khê</i>	<i>tâ-khê</i>		<i>mô</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>ló</i>	<i>qhɔ</i>	<i>ɔ</i>	<i>vâ</i>	<i>qɔ?</i>		.
	N <sub>time</sub>	N <sub>time</sub>		N <sub>sd</sub>	N	B <sub>n</sub>	M <sub>prfx</sub>	P <sub>n</sub>	V	V		
	all night long	all night long		down there	plain	sthg big	in	locative	go at it	come back		
	<i>la</i>	<i>lɛ</i>	,	<i>chò</i>	<i>á-qhɔ</i>	<i>qɔ?</i>	<i>gâ</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>yò</i>		.
	P <sub>v</sub>	P <sub>unf</sub>		N <sub>sd</sub>	N	vV	V	P <sub>v</sub>	P <sub>univ</sub>	P <sub>uf</sub>		
	come to V	suspensive		here	home	V again	reach	come to V	nominalizer	declarative		

## Translation

- Once there were two guys, one was named Crazy Man<sup>1</sup> and the other was named Weasel.<sup>2</sup>
- The two of them<sup>3</sup> were clearing a swidden when one [Crazy Man] said to the other, “There are hornbills, lots of them, munching on hog-plums.”<sup>4</sup>
- Weasel: “Whereabouts?”
- Crazy Man: “Down there, in the plains, on the banks of the Kok River.”
- Weasel: “You crazy piece of trash, nobody has each heard of such a thing, hornbills like that!”
- Crazy Man: “It’s true! It’s true that there are hornbills munching hog-plums.”
- Weasel: “Nobody has ever said such a thing!”
- Crazy Man: “I’m going to take my musket and go shoot them and come back. There are lots and lots of them!”
- Weasel: “Nobody will go with you. You’re lying. You crazy fool!”
- Crazy Man [talking to somebody else]: “Grandpa, grandpa<sup>5</sup>, there are hornbills munching on the hog-plums. Come and shoot them, come shoot, come shoot, come shoot! The hornbills are munching the hog-plums.”
- Old man: “Where, where? I don’t see them!”
- Crazy Man: “Over there, in the jungle.”
- \*\*\*
- Crazy Man: “Let’s go! I’m going to catch fish with a bell-net.<sup>6</sup> Down there in the Kok River.”
- “Let’s go, let’s go, let’s go, we’re heading out!”

<sup>1</sup>Cà-gũ: cà- ‘prefix to male names’, gũ ‘be crazy’.

<sup>2</sup>fí-lâ-qō: glossed variously as ‘golden marten; yellow-throated marten’ or ‘yellow weasel.’ See DL:1314.

<sup>3</sup>yô nî gâ: this is a colloquial variant of yô-hî nî gâ, which is possible to use when the plurality is clear from the context, in this case the numeral + classifier nî gâ ‘two people’.

<sup>4</sup>mà?-chu-ši: *Spondias pinnata*, a tree with edible bark and fruits. See DL:980.

<sup>5</sup>lâ-pū: (1) old man (2) jocular form of address to any man. See DL:1400.

<sup>6</sup>ňâ phê ve (OV)

The hornbills are munching hog-plums, but I'd rather catch fish

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15. "Wow, these fish are really making noise splashing around tonight!"
16. "You're lying! I don't hear anything."
17. "They're making noise like a helicopter!"
18. "Yes. As they're flying, they're landing over there where the net bird-trap<sup>7</sup> is."
19. "I still can't hear!"
20. "Those fish in the water."
21. " I can't see them."
22. "It's true! I'm going to scoop them out. I'm going to release my net right away. Like I did once before, I'm going to get a whole shoulder bag full, my pants <sup>8</sup> full, my rucksack full!"
23. "Hmm. I didn't see that you shared them with me that time!"
24. "I was out doing it so late at night down there in the plains before I came back home here again."

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<sup>7</sup> **pē-pâ**: A net set up in a narrow mountain pass, so that when a bird hits it, it rolls up and entraps the bird.

<sup>8</sup> If a fisherman runs out of receptacles he might take off his trousers and stuff them full of fish, tying the ends to make a bundle.

### 3.7 Fantastical hunting tales

- (1) *tê pô? thâ šā ca bô? e lɛ hê?-pɛ-qhɔ hɛ-nû tê*  
 NP<sub>time</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N Num  
 once game animal go and do shoot motion away suspensive woods gaur one  
*khɛ mð lɛ bô? qha-lâ ɔ-qhe , ô pô? qay*  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 for animals see suspensive shoot lively action topicalizer over there jump V along  
*lɛ-ɔ , pɛ-bo-lo tê khɛ yâ-phî dð chê*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub>  
 suspensive locust one for animals opium smoke (tobacco) progressive  
*lɔ*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic declarative
- (2) ” *ya-phî nû à nû à ” tɛ? dð*  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> QUOT V  
 opium have a smell asseverative have a smell asseverative embedded quote think  
*lɛ , qhe-te-lɛ ɔ , ca ni tê pô? qð? qay ha*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Conj P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V Q <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub>  
 suspensive then topic go and do look at again V again go vigorous action  
*ve ɔ-qhe , hɛ-và?-pâ ló tê khɛ chê ā*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N B<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 nominalizer topicalizer wild boar (male) sthg big one for animals be there perfective  
*lɛ bô? qha-lɛ-ɔ , pâ-chû-qð? ya-phî dð chê*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> N N V V<sub>v</sub>  
 suspensive shoot lively suspensive spiny toad opium smoke (tobacco) progressive  
*kì lð? e lɔ*  
 P<sub>v-nom</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 locative enter motion away emphatic declarative
- (3) ” *ya-phî nû à ” dð lɛ , ô tê qhâ* .  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 opium have a smell asseverative think suspensive that one for ways
- (4) *qhe-te-lɛ ɔ hɛ-và? ô tê khɛ ġa lɛ-ɔ , ġð*  
 Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N N<sub>sd</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V  
 so then topic wild boar that one for animals catch suspensive lively action  
*phâ? a ni ve ɔ-qhe , ġâ kîlô è cð*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V  
 butcher (carcass) try to nominalizer topicalizer five kilogram only be there  
*lɔ , ġâ kîlô è* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 emphatic declarative five kilogram only
- (5) *tê pô? qð? qay ve ɔ , chi-pɛ-qwè? tê khɛ mð lɛ* ,  
 Q <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 again V again go nominalizer topic barking deer one for animals see suspensive  
*bô? ha ve ɔ , ġð ġà?-yù qay*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub>  
 shoot vigorous action nominalizer topic lively action chase to capture go and V

- le* *ɔ̄-qhe* , *pā-té-né?* *g̊ə* *hɛʔ-dò* *šɛ* *lɔ* .  
P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
suspensive topicalizer frog lively action swallow up first emphatic declarative
- (6) *ŋà* *kà?* *mâ* *mò* *ʝɔ* , *a-šũ* *kà?* *mâ* *mò* *ʝɔ* *cê* .  
Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> Pron Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
I also negative see experiential anybody negative see experiential quotative
- (7) *qhe-te-le* *ɔ̄* , *ŋà* *qə?* *dô* *a ni* *ve* *tê yân thá* *ɔ̄* , ” *chi-ve*  
Conj P<sub>unf</sub> Pron <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Det  
so topic I V again think try to relativizer when topic this thing  
*lê* , *chɔ-yâ* *ca* *te* *ve* *mâ hê?* ” *tê* , *chi qhe*  
P<sub>unf</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv+V QUOT AE<sub>ext</sub>  
topic human go and do do nominalizer not be the case embedded quote like this  
*dô* *ve* *yò* .  
V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
think nominalizer declarative
- (8) *qhe-te-le* *ɔ̄* *ŋà* *qə?* *qay* *le* *šã* *ca* *bɔ?* *thá* , *šã*  
Conj P<sub>unf</sub> Pron <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> N  
well then topic I V again go suspensive animals go and do shoot when animals  
*ca* *bɔ?* *qay* *ve* *tê yân thá* *hɛ-và?-pā* *ló* *cò*  
<sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N B<sub>n</sub> V  
go and do shoot go off to V relativizer when wild boar (male) sthg big be there  
*le* , *lâ* *chê?* *dà?* *chê* *a-lâ* *ve* *à?*  
P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
suspensive tiger bite mutual action progressive lively action nominalizer accusative  
*ŋà* *gã mò* *le* *g̊ə* *bɔ?* *pî* *qha-le-ɔ̄* , *lâ*  
Pron <sub>v</sub>V+V<sub>h</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> N  
I catch sight of suspensive lively action shoot benefactive (3p) lively suspensive tiger  
*hà?* *bɔ?* *ha* *le* , *hɛ-và?* *g̊ə* *chê?-pɛ* *šɛ* .  
P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub>  
accusative shoot vigorous action suspensive wild boar act violently bite to death still
- (9) *qhe-te-le* *ɔ̄* , *tê pɔ?* *qə?* *qay* *thá* *ɔ̄-qhe* , *tê pɔ?* *qə?* *ca* *bɔ?*  
Conj P<sub>unf</sub> Q <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Q <sub>v</sub>V <sub>v</sub>V V  
so then topic again V again go when topicalizer again V again go and do shoot  
*qay* *ve* *ɔ̄* , *hɛ-nũ* *nĩ* *khe* *g̊ə* *gũ?*  
V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V  
go off to V nominalizer topic gaur two for animals act violently butt against  
*dà?* *ha-lâ* *ve* *ɔ̄* , *nĩ* *mâ* *nĩ*  
P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num  
mutual action lively action nominalizer topic two general classifier two  
*mâ* *qɔ̄* *à-lâ-qhe* *the* *qay* *gè?-e* *tê yân thá* , *pɔ?-phɔ*  
Cl<sub>f</sub> N Adv V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> V  
general classifier neck almost break end up V'ing intensifier when flee by jumping  
*gè?-e* .  
V<sub>v</sub>  
intensifier
- (10) *pɔ?-phɔ* *šɛ* *le* *tê pɔ?* *qə?* *pê* *dà?*  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Q <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub>  
flee by jumping first suspensive again V again measure against each other mutual action



- |                   |                  |               |            |               |                |                  |                      |                 |
|-------------------|------------------|---------------|------------|---------------|----------------|------------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| <i>ve</i>         | <i>ṣ-qhe</i>     | ,             | <i>ηà</i>  | <i>ğö</i>     | <i>bṣ?</i>     | <i>pî</i>        |                      | <i>ha</i>       |
| P <sub>univ</sub> | P <sub>unf</sub> |               | Pron       | vV            | V              | V <sub>v</sub>   |                      | P <sub>v</sub>  |
| nominalizer       | topicalizer      |               | I          | lively action | shoot          | benefactive (3p) |                      | vigorous action |
| <i>le</i>         | ,                | <i>ğö</i>     | <i>qḍ?</i> | <i>gû?</i>    | <i>dà?</i>     |                  | <i>chî-ṣi</i>        | <i>ve-ṣ</i>     |
| P <sub>unf</sub>  |                  | vV            | vV         | V             | P <sub>v</sub> |                  | V                    | P <sub>uf</sub> |
| suspensive        |                  | lively action | V again    | butt against  | mutual action  |                  | lift up and stick in | emphatic        |
- .
- (11) *ô* *qho-bà* *pá* *gà* *le* , *tê* *mà*  
N<sub>sd</sub> N M<sub>prfx</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
over there other side of a mountain side reach suspensive one general classifier
- |                         |  |                      |                  |                |           |           |                |
|-------------------------|--|----------------------|------------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|
| <i>mε</i>               |  | <i>qhε-qho cṣ ε?</i> | <i>lò-qhâ-qô</i> | <i>ṣ</i>       | <i>pu</i> | <i>ṣi</i> | <i>ā</i>       |
| P <sub>n</sub>          |  | AE <sub>stat</sub>   | N                | P <sub>n</sub> | V         | V         | P <sub>v</sub> |
| contrastive topicalizer |  | head over heels      | ravine           | locative       | roll down | die       | perfective     |
- lo* *qô?-ma* .  
P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
emphatic declarative emphatic
- (12) *qhe-te-le* *ηà* *ḍ-chṣ* *à?* *ca* *qḍ?* *kù* *le* , *gà*  
Conj Pron N P<sub>n</sub> vV vV V P<sub>unf</sub> V  
so then I friend accusative go and do go on to V call suspensive reach
- |                |                  |   |   |           |   |           |              |            |                  |            |                |                 |
|----------------|------------------|---|---|-----------|---|-----------|--------------|------------|------------------|------------|----------------|-----------------|
| <i>la</i>      | <i>le</i>        | , | " | <i>ôo</i> | , | <i>ηà</i> | <i>he-nû</i> | <i>chi</i> | <i>ṣ</i>         | <i>bṣ?</i> | <i>ā</i>       | <i>ve-ṣ</i>     |
| P <sub>v</sub> | P <sub>unf</sub> |   |   | Interj    |   | Pron      | N            | Det        | P <sub>unf</sub> | V          | P <sub>v</sub> | P <sub>uf</sub> |
| motion towards | suspensive       |   |   | hey!      |   | I         | gaur         | this       | topic            | shoot      | perfective     | emphatic        |
- , *qhε-qho* *kà?* *kî* *ṣ* *lo* , " *qhe qô?* *lâ*  
N P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
back part also rot affirmative emphatic declarative thus say benefactive (non-3p)
- ve* *yò* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer declarative
- (13) *qhe-te-le* *à-ṣwè thâ* *tê-ğâ-phâ* *ṣâ-bṣ?-pâ* *yḥ* *ṣâ* *ca* *bṣ?*  
Conj AE N N<sub>dvb</sub> Pron N vV V  
well then once upon a time a certain fellow hunter he animals go and do shoot
- |                |                   |                    |   |                  |                |           |                 |                  |
|----------------|-------------------|--------------------|---|------------------|----------------|-----------|-----------------|------------------|
| <i>qay</i>     | <i>ve</i>         | <i>tê yân thâ</i>  | , | <i>he-và?-pâ</i> | <i>ló</i>      | <i>tê</i> | <i>khe</i>      | <i>ṣ-qhe</i>     |
| V <sub>v</sub> | P <sub>univ</sub> | NP <sub>time</sub> |   | N                | B <sub>n</sub> | Num       | Cl <sub>f</sub> | P <sub>unf</sub> |
| go off to V    | relativizer       | when               |   | wild boar (male) | sthg big       | one       | for animals     | topicalizer      |
- |                 |               |             |                  |   |           |           |                |                   |           |                |                 |
|-----------------|---------------|-------------|------------------|---|-----------|-----------|----------------|-------------------|-----------|----------------|-----------------|
| <i>mε-câ-lâ</i> | <i>ğö</i>     | <i>chê?</i> | <i>le-ṣ</i>      | , | <i>mâ</i> | <i>ṣi</i> | <i>ṣê</i>      | <i>thâ</i>        | <i>mò</i> | <i>ṣê</i>      | <i>cê</i>       |
| N               | vV            | V           | P <sub>unf</sub> |   | Adv       | V         | P <sub>v</sub> | P <sub>univ</sub> | V         | P <sub>v</sub> | P <sub>uf</sub> |
| centipede       | act violently | bite        | suspensive       |   | negative  | die       | yet            | when              | see       | first          | quotative       |
- (14) *mò* *ṣê* *le* *ğö* *bṣ?* *ha* *le-ṣ* *qḍ?* *ni* *a*  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub>  
see first suspensive act violently shoot vigorous action suspensive V again look at try to
- |                  |                 |                  |            |                |                      |
|------------------|-----------------|------------------|------------|----------------|----------------------|
| <i>le</i>        | <i>mε-câ-lâ</i> | <i>kà?</i>       | <i>chê</i> | <i>ā</i>       | <i>lâ</i>            |
| P <sub>unf</sub> | N               | P <sub>unf</sub> | V          | P <sub>v</sub> | P <sub>v</sub>       |
| suspensive       | centipede       | even             | be alive   | durative       | benefactive (non-3p) |
- (15) *qhe-te-le* *ṣ* *ṣi* *ṣê* .  
Conj P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
so then topic die right away

- (16) *šī šē lɛ-ṽ yṣ ḡà-hí-nè tí phâ? mâ ġa*  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Pron P<sub>univ</sub> V Adv V<sub>v</sub>  
die right away suspensive he the two of us just butcher (carcass) negative be able  
*lɛ , ḡà ḡ-chṣ ô-ve ṽ-qhe Lɛ-gê? mɛ ve qô?-ma*  
P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N Det P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
because I friend that topicalizer male name have a name nominalizer emphatic
- (17) *ca bṣ? ġa lɛ-ṽ yṣ ḡà-hí-nè ġṣ pè dà?*  
<sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Pron <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub>  
go and do shoot be able suspensive he us two lively action divide up mutual action  
*ve ṽ-qhe , tē ġâ tē mí-cho è ġa qô?-ma*  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer topicalizer one for humans one for shoulder bags even get emphatic  
*hɛ-và?-šā ṽ*  
N P<sub>unf</sub>  
wild boar meat topic
- (18) *á-qhṣ qṣ? e lɛ-ṽ , qṣ? phâ?-phô? ā*  
N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub>  
home return home motion away suspensive V again cut up and pile together perfective  
*ve ṽ , tē qhâ-pū-lu mâ do o*  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num N Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer topic one deep carrying-basket with head-strap negative fit into emphatic
- (19) *ḡà qṣ? qay thâ ṽ , tē pṣ? qhṣ?-nṣ tē pṣ? ḡà ḡ-chṣ à?*  
Pron <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Q M<sub>px</sub> Q Pron N P<sub>n</sub>  
I V again go when topic again afterwards again my friend accusative  
*šī dà? lɛ qṣ? qay , šā ca bṣ? qay*  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V N <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub>  
lead along mutual action suspensive V again go animals go and do shoot go off to V  
*ôo , Mɛ-cṣ? qṣ? kī ṽ šā ca bṣ? e*  
N<sub>sd</sub> N<sub>place</sub> V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub>  
way over there Meh-tcaw call locative locative animals go and do shoot motion away  
*lɛ ṽ-qhe , hɛ-và? tē khe ġa lɛ , ġṣ*  
P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V  
suspensive topicalizer wild boar one for animals catch suspensive lively action  
*pè dà? lɛ , ġṣ pè cā lɛ-ṽ ,*  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
divide up mutual action suspensive lively action divide up V to eat suspensive  
*pè mâ hi dà? á lɛ ġṣ , dē*  
V Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V  
divide up negative agree mutual action perfective suspensive lively action scold  
*dà? á lɛ phṣ-qṣ? e pṣ cē qô?-ma*  
P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
mutual action perfective suspensive flee home motion away finish V'ing quotative emphatic
- (20) *qhe-te-lɛ á-qhṣ qṣ? ġà lɛ ġṣ dē , ġṣ*  
Conj N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V <sub>v</sub>V  
so then home V back (to starting point) reach suspensive lively action scold lively action

- qò?* *qò? dà?* *a* *ve-̄* , *ô-phâ* , *Câ-gê* *qò?* *ve* *phâ*  
<sub>vV</sub> <sub>V+P<sub>v</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>v</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>uf</sub></sub> <sub>N</sub> <sub>N</sub> <sub>V</sub> <sub>P<sub>univ</sub></sub> <sub>N</sub>  
 V again quarrel vigorous action emphatic that guy male name call relativizer guy  
*à?* *cha* *le-̄* *yô* *à?* *qhâ?-̄* *qò?* *má*  
<sub>P<sub>n</sub></sub> <sub>V</sub> <sub>P<sub>unf</sub></sub> <sub>Pron</sub> <sub>P<sub>n</sub></sub> <sub>N</sub> <sub>vV</sub> <sub>V</sub>  
 accusative be at fault causal him accusative headman go on to V fine smn  
*pî* *ve* *cê* , *tê pò?* .  
<sub>V<sub>v</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>univ</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>uf</sub></sub> <sub>Q</sub>  
 benefactive (3p) nominalizer quotative immediately
- (21) *qhe-te-le* *̄* *hà* *tí qo* " *tâ* *má* *pî* " *qò?*  
<sub>Conj</sub> <sub>P<sub>unf</sub></sub> <sub>Pron</sub> <sub>P<sub>univ</sub></sub> <sub>Adv</sub> <sub>V</sub> <sub>V<sub>v</sub></sub> <sub>V</sub>  
 then topic I topicalizer negative imperative fine smn benefactive (3p) say  
*pî* *le* , *qhâ?-̄* *gò* *má* *le* , *̄*  
<sub>V<sub>v</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>unf</sub></sub> <sub>N</sub> <sub>vV</sub> <sub>V</sub> <sub>P<sub>unf</sub></sub> <sub>Num</sub>  
 benefactive (3p) suspensive headman lively action fine smn suspensive four  
*pè?* *pà* *cê* *qò?-ma* , *chi-phâ* *̄* .  
<sub>Cl<sub>f</sub></sub> <sub>V</sub> <sub>P<sub>uf</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>uf</sub></sub> <sub>N</sub> <sub>P<sub>unf</sub></sub>  
 for small Burmese coins pay quotative emphatic this fellow topic
- (22) *qhe-te-le* *tê pò?* *šā* *ca* *bò?* *qay* *thâ* , *šā* *ca* *bò?*  
<sub>Conj</sub> <sub>Q</sub> <sub>N</sub> <sub>vV</sub> <sub>V</sub> <sub>V<sub>v</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>univ</sub></sub> <sub>N</sub> <sub>vV</sub> <sub>V</sub>  
 then once animals go and do shoot go off to V when animals go and do shoot  
*qay* *le-̄* *chi-pí-qwè?* *nî* *khe* *gā* *le-̄* , *yô*  
<sub>V<sub>v</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>unf</sub></sub> <sub>N</sub> <sub>Num</sub> <sub>Cl<sub>f</sub></sub> <sub>V</sub> <sub>P<sub>unf</sub></sub> <sub>Pron</sub>  
 go off to V suspensive barking deer two for animals catch suspensive them  
*tê gā tí* *pû* *mā* *gā* , *ò-chô* *à?* *ca* *qò?*  
<sub>NP<sub>q</sub></sub> <sub>V</sub> <sub>Adv</sub> <sub>V<sub>v</sub></sub> <sub>N</sub> <sub>P<sub>n</sub></sub> <sub>vV</sub> <sub>vV</sub>  
 all by oneself carry on the back negative manage to friend accusative go and do V back  
*šī* .  
<sub>V</sub>  
 lead along
- (23) *ò-chô* *à?* *ca* *qò?* *šī* *le-̄* , *gò* *qò?*  
<sub>N</sub> <sub>P<sub>n</sub></sub> <sub>vV</sub> <sub>vV</sub> <sub>V</sub> <sub>P<sub>unf</sub></sub> <sub>vV</sub> <sub>vV</sub>  
 friend accusative go and do V again lead along suspensive lively action V back  
*pû* *lā* , *pè* *dà?* *á-qhō* *gā* *la*  
<sub>V</sub> <sub>P<sub>v</sub></sub> <sub>V</sub> <sub>P<sub>v</sub></sub> <sub>N</sub> <sub>V</sub> <sub>P<sub>v</sub></sub>  
 carry on the back benefactive (non-3p) share mutual action home reach motion towards  
*le-̄* , *chō* *tê* *qhâ?* *ve* *à?* *qò?*  
<sub>P<sub>unf</sub></sub> <sub>N</sub> <sub>Num</sub> <sub>Cl<sub>f</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>univ</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>n</sub></sub> <sub>vV</sub>  
 suspensive people the whole for villages genitivizer accusative V in turn  
*pè-cā* *pî* *ve* , *yô-ηà-hí-nè* *tê* *gā* *tê*  
<sub>V</sub> <sub>V<sub>v</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>univ</sub></sub> <sub>Pron</sub> <sub>Num</sub> <sub>Cl<sub>f</sub></sub> <sub>Num</sub>  
 share and give to eat benefactive (3p) nominalizer he and I both one for humans one  
*là?-qá* *tí* *qò?* *hâ?* *ve* *yò* .  
<sub>Cl<sub>f</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>univ</sub></sub> <sub>vV</sub> <sub>V</sub> <sub>P<sub>univ</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>uf</sub></sub>  
 for shoulder areas only V instead get nominalizer declarative
- (24) *qhe-te-le* *qhâ?-̄* *yô* *qò?* *ve* *̄* , *yô* *ò-̄*  
<sub>Conj</sub> <sub>N</sub> <sub>Pron</sub> <sub>V</sub> <sub>P<sub>univ</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>unf</sub></sub> <sub>Pron</sub> <sub>N</sub>  
 then headman he say nominalizer topic his headman's portion of killed game

- yô à? mâ pè? lâ mð , qhe qô? cê*  
 Pron P<sub>n</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 him accusative negative give benefactive (non-3p) see or hear of thus say quotative  
*qô?-ma* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (25) *qhe-te-le ã qhâ?-šë ô-ve à? ã-qhe qhâ?-yâ qð? má*  
 Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N Det P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V  
 so then topic headman that accusative topicalizer villager V instead fine smn  
*pî ve cê* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (3p) nominalizer quotative
- (26) *qhâ?-yâ qð? má le ã-qhe , qhâ? ô cê ve ô*  
 N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Num M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Num  
 villager V instead fine smn suspensive topicalizer village four corner genitivizer four  
*thê? qð? gu á le , qhâ?-šë chi*  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Det  
 for Burmese rupees V in return pay compensation perfective suspensive headman this  
*pho gè?-e cê qô?-ma* .  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 run away intensifier quotative emphatic
- (27) " *Lâhû qhâ?-šë " qô? ve ð-mε cð ve chø chi qhe*  
 N N V P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> N AE<sub>ext</sub>  
 Lahu headman call relativizer title be there relativizer people like this  
*phè? šë ve yð* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be a certain way regrettably nominalizer declarative
- (28) *qhe-te-le yô-ŋà-hí-nè šã ca bð? qay thâ , yô-ŋà-hí-nè tê pð?*  
 Conj Pron N <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron Q  
 so then he and I both animals go and do shoot go off to V when he and I both again  
*šã ca qð? bð? e ve , ð-chð qð? te*  
 N <sub>v</sub>V <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V  
 animals go and do V again shoot motion away nominalizer friend V again make  
*le šã ca bð? e le lâ tê khe là*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V  
 suspensive animals go and do shoot motion away suspensive tiger one for animals come  
*le , yô ŋà-hí-nè à? chè? a-tè te thâ , ŋà-hí-nè*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>quot</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron  
 suspensive it the two of us accusative bite purposive do when the two of us  
*nô šë le , lâ chi gö pð?-pho e le* ,  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Det <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 realize first suspensive tiger this lively action jump to safety motion away suspensive  
*ôo , lð-qhâ-qô gà le-š qð? dð-ni ve ã , "*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 way over there ravine reach suspensive V again consider nominalizer topic  
*âa , chi-ve ã ŋà câ mâ cš l* .  
 Interj Det P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! these things topic I eat negative ought to emphatic declarative

- (29) *ηà câ a-tè te qo , yô-hí-nè ηà hà? dô? tù ve*  
 Pron V P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>quot</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 I eat purposive do if they (dual) me accusative kill future nominalizer  
*l*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic declarative
- (30) *yô chi qhe qô? ve cê qô?-ma .*  
 Pron AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 it like this say nominalizer quotative emphatic
- (31) *qhe-te-le ô ηà šā ca qô? bô? qay , tê pô? qô?*  
 Conj P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N <sub>v</sub>V <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> , Q <sub>v</sub>V  
 well then topic I animals go and do V again shoot go off to V again V again  
*ca há kî ô-qhɔ lo ô , ca há*  
<sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v-nom</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> , <sub>v</sub>V V  
 go and do spend the night locative in locative locative go and do spend the night  
*kî ô-qhɔ chi ô ni a ve tê yân thâ ô , lâ pɛ*  
 P<sub>v-nom</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub>  
 locative in this topic look at intensive relativizer when topic tiger numerous  
*le , ηà-hí-nè mâ há phè? á le , í-kâ?*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 suspensive we two negative spend the night able to perfective suspensive water  
*khān le , pɛ ġô? tɔ? le , cô pá ca*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> M<sub>px</sub> <sub>v</sub>V  
 cross over suspensive raft row V out suspensive way over there side go and do  
*qô? há le , mû-phâ?-há lâ nî khe qô?*  
<sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> N N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V  
 V instead spend the night suspensive during the night tiger two for animals return  
*la .*  
 P<sub>v</sub>  
 motion towards
- (32) *qhe-te-le ô chɔ-mô-pā tê mà nō pî*  
 Conj N<sub>sd</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 so then over there old man one general classifier wake smn up benefactive (3p)  
*ha le , nō ha le-ô , à-mi ġô*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V  
 vigorous action suspensive awaken vigorous action suspensive fire lively action  
*ce pî a le phɔ šē cê*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 build up a fire benefactive (3p) vigorous action suspensive run away right away quotative  
*qô?-ma .*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic

## Translation

1. Once when I went hunting I saw a wild gaur<sup>1</sup> and I shot him, and when I went jumping [to have a look] there was a locust smoking opium!

<sup>1</sup> **he-nû** can refer either to the gaur (more specifically, **he-nû-nâ?**) or the banting (more specifically, **he-nû-nî**).

2. “I smell opium!” I thought, and then, when I went again to have a look, there was a great big wild boar, so I shot him, and I ended up in a place where a spiny toad was smoking opium!
3. I thought it smelled of opium, that place.
4. So I caught the boar, but when I tried butchering it, there were only five kilos [of meat], only five kilos!
5. Another time I went [hunting] and I saw a barking deer, so I shot it, and when I went to chase it down, there was a frog that swallowed it all up first!
6. I had never seen such a thing, and nobody else has ever seen such a thing either!
7. So when I think this over again, I believe that this was not anything a human being could do.
8. Well, then, when I went off again hunting, this time when I went hunting, I saw this big male boar that a tiger was chomping down on<sup>2</sup>, so I let off a shot and I hit the tiger who was still biting the boar to death.
9. Then once when I went off again, a time I went hunting again, two wild gaurs were butting away at each other, and when the two of them were about to break each other’s neck they ran the hell away [from each other].
10. After they had jumped away, as they once again were comparing each other’s strength, I took a shot at them, and they were still butting away at each other, raising and sticking in [their horns].
11. They got to the other side of the hill, and one of them went rolling head over asshole down a ravine and died!
12. So I went and called my friend, and when he got there he said “Hey, *I’m* the one who shot that gaur, and his rear end is rotten too!”
13. Well then, once upon a time there was a guy, a hunter, and once when he went hunting he saw a big male wild pig that was biting a red centipede<sup>3</sup>; he saw this before it [the centipede] died.
14. When he saw this, he took a shot at it [the boar], and when he checked it out the centipede was still alive for him.<sup>4</sup>
15. At this point it [the boar] died.
16. After it died, he [the centipede] said, “Since the two of us can’t cut it up by ourselves, I have a friend named Leh-geh.
17. What we got from our shooting he will divide up for us, and each one of us will get a shoulder bag full of boar-meat.”
18. When he [the hunter] returned home, what had been cut up and piled together wouldn’t fit into a big tumpline basket!
19. One time when I went off again, one time afterwards I took a friend with me and went off hunting, over there, at a place called Metcaw we were hunting, and we got a wild pig, but when we divided it up, when we divided it up to eat, we didn’t agree on it, so we scolded each other violently and ran off home.
20. So then we got home, and were still abusing and quarreling with each other, and that guy, a guy named Jageh, was found to be to blame, so the headman levied a fine on him right away.

<sup>2</sup>The use of the P<sub>v</sub> *dâ?* ‘mutual/reciprocal action’ seems somewhat anomalous here, since this particle usually implies agents performing the same action on each other. In this context it seems rather to indicate that two parties are involved in the action, one the agent and one the patient.

<sup>3</sup>*me-câ-lâ*: a kind of red centipede [*Chilopoda* sp.], as poisonous as a scorpion.

<sup>4</sup>“For him” translates the benefactive verb-particle *lâ*, usually used for non-3rd person benefaction, but used here for greater vividness.

21. Then I said, “Don’t fine him!”, but the headman went and fined that guy, I hear it was four Burmese pya?<sup>5</sup>
22. Then once when I went hunting, I went hunting and got two barking deer, but since I couldn’t carry them all by myself, I went and got a friend to go back there with me.
23. So I went and got a friend, to [help] carry it for me and we divided it up [i.e. one barking-deer per person] and got back home, and we shared it to feed the whole village, but the two of us only got one shoulder-portion each.
24. Then the headman said that nobody gave him the special headman’s portion!<sup>6</sup>
25. So then all the villagers<sup>7</sup> went on to levy a fine against that headman.
26. After the villagers had fined him, so he had to pay a reparation of four rupees to the whole village, and this headman got the hell out of there.
27. That’s what happens to somebody who has the title of a “Lahu headman”.
28. So, when the two of us went hunting, when the two of us went hunting again, when we had made friends again and gone hunting, a tiger came, and when it was trying to bite us we realized this first, and so the tiger ran away fast, and when he reached a ravine way over there he thought things over, and said, “Well, I shouldn’t eat these ones!
29. If I try eating them, the two of them will kill me,” he said. That’s what he said.
30. Well then, I went off hunting again, this time at the place [we] were going to spend the night, in this place which [we] were looking over to spend the night, there were lots of tigers, so the two of us couldn’t spend the night there, so we crossed the river, rowing out of there, and went to spend the night on the other side, but when it got dark two tigers came again.
31. So then an old man there woke us up, and when we woke up we built up the fire and they ran away.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup>A trifling sum. It take 100 pya to make one Burmese *kyat*.

<sup>6</sup>ḡ-ḡe: the neck or shoulder-blade portion of the carcass, given traditionally to the headman. This is roughly the same area of the animal (lâ?-qá) that the two hunters had been awarded.

<sup>7</sup>qhâ? ḡ cē ve: lit. “the four corners of the village”.

<sup>8</sup>This sentence illustrates both the simplex nḡ ‘wake up’ and the causative nḡ ‘awaken someone’, from the same verbal root.

### 3.8 A day hunting and talking

- (1) *H* : *âa* , *yâ?-ni* *ɔ-qhe* *le* *à-thò?-ma* *te* *tù* *le* *nē* , *Cà-gâ?*  
 . Interj N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>pers</sub>  
 well! today topicalizer what do future substantive qst emphatic male name  
*à*  
 P<sub>n</sub>  
 interrogative vocative
- (2) *Ĝ* : *alôo* *qhâ-qhe* *te* *thô* *te* *ve* *yò* *nē* .  
 . Interj N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well whatever do even do nominalizer declarative emphatic
- (3) *H* : *âa* , *ɲâ-hi* *šā* *ca* *gâ?* *câ* *a* *lê* ,  
 . Interj Pron N <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! we (pl) animals go and do hunt V to eat intentive request for assent  
*qhe-qo* .  
 Conj  
 if so
- (4) *Ĝ* : *gâ?* *e* *nē* .  
 . V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 hunt motion away emphatic
- (5) *H* : *ô* , *Kê-pa-tâw?* *lò* *qhô* *ɔ* , *Pù-pî* *lò-qá-qhò*  
 . Interj N<sub>place</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>place</sub> N<sub>loc</sub>  
 oh! Kehpatau valley above locative river name high ground near a river  
*ɔ* *tâ?* *gâ?* *e* *lê* .  
 P<sub>n</sub> V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 locative climb up hunt motion away request for assent
- (6) *Ĝ* : *qay* *gâ* *ve* *yò* , *ô* *tí qo* *è* .  
 . V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 go desiderative nominalizer declarative over there topicalizer topicalizer
- (7) *fâ?* *pε* *à* .  
 N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 rodents plentiful asseverative
- (8) *chi-pí-qwè?* *kâ?* *pε* *jâ* .  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 barking deer also plentiful very
- (9) *H* : *chi-pí-qwè?* *gâ* *qo* *nò* *ɔ-šā* *hô* *a* *lâ* , *nò* *è?* .  
 . N V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub>  
 barking deer get if you meat sell intentive yes you topicalizer
- (10) *Ĝ* : *thôo* , *ɲâ* *lè* *hô* *tè* *yò* .  
 . Interj Pron P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 gee! I topic sell really V declarative
- (11) *H* : *tê* *kîlô* *qhò-nî* *bâ?* *hô* *è* .  
 . Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 one kilogram how many? baht sell substantive qst



- (12) *Ĝ* : *thôo* , *tê kîlô* *tê chi nî bâ?* *â hê?* *qo* , *â hô*  
 . Interj Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
 my God! one kilogram twelve baht negative be the case if negative sell  
*tá* *o* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative probability emphatic
- (13) *H* : *ôo* — *chi-pí-qwè?* *tê khε* *ġa qo* , *nò ná?* *vì ve*  
 . Interj N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 oh! barking deer one for animals get if you gun buy relativizer  
*a-lâ* *khî* *yò* *ma* *lê* .  
 N V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 investment get back declarative exclamatory request for assent
- (14) *Ĝ* : *thôo khî* *e* *tê* *ma* *yò* .  
 . Interj V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 hey! get back motion away really V exclamatory declarative
- (15) *H* : *ġà?* *a* *nē* , *ġà?* *a* .  
 . V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 hunt hortatory emphatic hunt hortatory
- (16) *cô* *ò-nu* *ō* *ò-bà?-le* *cɔ* *e* *lε*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 over there another place locative steep slope follow a trail motion away suspensive  
*è* *cô* *mè-šâ-de* *tē* *ce*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub>  
 topicalizer over there grove of meh-sha bamboo force to V V so sthg goes down  
*a* .  
 P<sub>v</sub>  
 vigorous action
- (17) *ŋà* *mô* *hó* *l* *e* .  
 Pron N<sub>sd</sub> M<sub>prfx</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 I down there under wait motion away
- (18) *Ĝ* : *eeà?* *qô?-a* .  
 . Interj P<sub>uf</sub>  
 right! emphatic
- (19) *ġà?* *lâ* *yò* *qô?-a* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 hunt benefactive (non-3p) declarative emphatic
- (20) *êe* *Câ-nâ?* , *?êe?* , *?êe?* .  
 Interj N<sub>prop</sub> Interj Interj  
 okay Blackie (animal's name) cry to incite hunting dog cry to incite hunting dog
- (21) *H* : *ô* *kà?* *mâ* *ġà* *šē* .  
 . N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 over there locative negative reach yet
- (22) *tâ* *te* *a lâ* *šē* .  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 negative imperative do vivid action yet

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- (23) ð-hś            cɔ                    e                    šā .  
 N<sub>loc</sub>            V                    P<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>v</sub>  
 down there follow a trail motion away intentional (1p)
- (24) Ğ̈ : qha-dê?    te    mē .  
 .            AE            V    P<sub>uf</sub>  
 carefully do persuasive
- (25) thôo    ,    šā-khi            t̄                    já    mē            !  
 Interj    N                    V                    V<sub>v</sub>    P<sub>uf</sub>  
 wow!    animal tracks be visible very emphatic
- (26) H : ôo            ,    ð-hś            ̄                    cɔ                    e                    ,    ð-hś            ̄ .  
 .            Interj    N<sub>loc</sub>                    P<sub>n</sub>                    V                    P<sub>v</sub>                    N<sub>loc</sub>                    P<sub>n</sub>  
 oh!            downward locative follow a trail motion away downward locative
- (27) Ğ̈ : qha-dê?    chɔ-nâ?                                    cō                    šā-qhâ            ̄ .  
 .            AE            V    N<sub>sd</sub>                    N                    P<sub>n</sub>  
 carefully follow a trail (hunting) over there animal tracks locative
- (28) H : ġà?    a                    lō                    ,    ġà?    a                    lō .  
 .            V    P<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>v</sub>                    V    P<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>v</sub>  
 hunt hortatory urging hunt hortatory urging
- (29) Ğ̈ : chôo                                    ,    chôo                                    !  
 !            Interj                                    Interj  
 cry used to incite dogs cry used to incite dogs
- (30) chôo                                    ,    Cā-nâ?                                    Cā-nâ?                                    !  
 Interj                                    N<sub>prop</sub>                                    N<sub>prop</sub>  
 cry used to incite dogs Blackie (animal's name) Blackie (animal's name)
- (31) cō                    ̄                    hś                    ̄                    qay    mē .  
 N<sub>sd</sub>                    P<sub>n</sub>                    M<sub>prfx</sub>                    P<sub>n</sub>                    V    P<sub>uf</sub>  
 over there locative below locative move emphatic
- (32) qha-dê?    te    mē .  
 AE            V    P<sub>uf</sub>  
 carefully do urging
- (33) H : tà?-í            chē    a                    ,    tà?-í            chē    a                    ,    chí-pí-qwê?    tē    khē  
 .            Adv    V    P<sub>v</sub>                    Adv    V    P<sub>v</sub>                    N                    Num    Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 quietly stay hortatory quietly stay hortatory barking deer one for animals  
 yà?                    la                    ò  
 V                    P<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>v</sub>  
 come down come to V completed action
- (34) Ğ̈ : qay                    ò                    ,    qay                    ò .  
 .            V                    P<sub>v</sub>                    V                    P<sub>v</sub>  
 leave a place completed action leave a place completed action
- (35) ?éé?                    ?éé?                    ?éé?  
 Interj                    Interj                    Interj  
 noise of deer noise of deer noise of deer

- (36) *H* : *baun* !  
 ! Interj  
 bang! (noise of gun)
- (37) *mô* *lâ-qá* *ḡ* *lò?* *e* *ò* *mē* , *lâ-qá* *ḡ*  
*N<sub>sd</sub>* *N* *P<sub>n</sub>* *V* *P<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>* , *N* *P<sub>n</sub>*  
 down there river locative enter motion away completed action emphatic river locative  
 .
- (38) *Ĝ* : *à-tho-a* *le* .  
 . interrogative pronoun (Pron<sub>intg</sub>) *P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 what what
- (39) *H* : *chi-phu-qā* *ló* *qô?-mā* , *chi-phu-qā* .  
 . *N* *B<sub>n</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>* *N*  
 barking deer buck sthg big emphatic barking deer buck
- (40) *Ĝ* : *thôo* *yà?-ni* *è* *mè* *tāy* *yò* .  
 . Interj *N<sub>time</sub>* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *V<sub>adj</sub>* *V<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 wow! today topicalizer taste good really Vadj declarative
- (41) *gā* *cá* *vâ* *qo* *è* .  
*vV* *V* *V* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *P<sub>unf</sub>*  
 get to boil eat enthusiastically when topicalizer
- (42) *H* : *ôo* , *ôo* , *lâ-qá-qō* *qhê-qho cō è* *dô?* *ā*  
 . *N<sub>sd</sub>* *N<sub>sd</sub>* *N* *AE<sub>stat</sub>* *V* *P<sub>v</sub>*  
 way over there way over there river-bed head over heels get stuck perfective  
*lō*  
*P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 emphatic declarative
- (43) *yà?* *la* *ò?* , *yà?* *la* *ò?* .  
*V* *P<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>v</sub>* , *V* *P<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>v</sub>*  
 come down come to V urging imperative come down come to V urging imperative
- (44) *nâ?* *ga* *šī* *la-?* *tê gâ tí* *chī* *mā*  
*N* *vV* *V* *P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub>* *NP<sub>q</sub>* *V* *Adv*  
 gun help to carry in the hand motion toward (imperative) all by oneself lift up negative  
*gâ* .  
*V<sub>v</sub>*  
 succeed
- (45) *Ĝ* : *ālōo* , *nò* *tí* *šī* *a* *lò* , *ḡā* *mā*  
 . Interj Pron *P<sub>univ</sub>* *V* *P<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>v</sub>* , Pron Adv  
 aw, come on! you only carry in the hand hortatory urging I negative  
*lâ* *ò* .  
*V<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>v</sub>*  
 succeed in completed action
- (46) *hâ* *jâ* *ò* .  
*V<sub>adj</sub>* *V<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>v</sub>*  
 tired very completed action

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- (47) *H* : ð-*hó*      *yà?*      *la*      *šē* , ð-*hó*      *ō* .  
 .      N<sub>loc</sub>      V      P<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>v</sub>      N<sub>loc</sub>      P<sub>n</sub> .  
 down there    come down    come to V    first    down there    locative
- (48) *Ĝ* : *qhò-qhe* *ō*      *le* .  
 .      N<sub>intg</sub>      P<sub>n</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 where?    locative    substantive qst
- (49) *H* : *chi*      *nò*      *hó*      *pá*      *ō*      *mè-šâ-pu*      *hó*      *lò-qhâ-qō*  
 .      Det      Pron      M<sub>prfx</sub>      M<sub>prfx</sub>      P<sub>n</sub>      N      M<sub>prfx</sub>      N  
 this one    you    below    side    locative    clump of meh-sha bamboo    below    ravine  
*qō?*-*ma* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (50) *Ĝ* : *chi*      *hó*      *ō*      *lâ-o* .  
 .      Det      M<sub>prfx</sub>      P<sub>n</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 this    below    locative    yes
- (51) *H* : *êe* , ð-*hó* , ð-*hó* .  
 .      Interj      N<sub>loc</sub>      N<sub>loc</sub>  
 yes      down there    down there
- (52) *Ĝ* : *lò-qhâ-qō*      *ná*      *à*      *nē* .  
 .      N      V<sub>adj</sub>      P<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 ravine    deep    asseverative    emphatic
- (53) *qay*      *â*      *gà*      *nē* .  
 V      Adv      V<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 go    negative    manage to    emphatic
- (54) *H* : *cô*      *pá-phô*      *qhò-cu-ni*      *à?*      *cò-cò*      *yà?*  
 .      N<sub>sd</sub>      M<sub>prfx</sub>      N      P<sub>n</sub>      V<sub>redup</sub>      V  
 over there    area    hill      accusative    round and round    come down  
*la?*  
 P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub>  
 motion toward (imperative)
- (55) *Ĝ* : *qhò-cu-ni*      *à?*      *lâ-o* .  
 .      N      P<sub>n</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 hill      object    yes
- (56) *H* : *êe* , *cô*      *qhò-cu-ni*      *à?*      *qhò-cu*      *nâ?*      *è*      *à?* .  
 .      Interj      N<sub>sd</sub>      N      P<sub>n</sub>      N      AE<sub>stat</sub>      P<sub>n</sub>  
 yes      over there    peak      accusative    peak    dark colored    accusative
- (57) *Ĝ* : *cô*      *ve*      *qhò-gô-lô*      *yà?*      *la*      *â*      *gà*  
 .      N<sub>sd</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>      N      V      P<sub>v</sub>      Adv      V<sub>v</sub>  
 over there    genitivizer    mountain ridge    come down    come to V    negative    manage to  
*nē*      –      *mì*      *hâ*      *ve-ō* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>      N      V<sub>adj</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic    ground    steep (of terrain)    emphatic
- (58) *H* : ð-*qhè?*      ð-*qhè?*      *tò-tò-nô?*      *hò-qhâ*      *cò* .  
 .      N      N      M<sub>prfx</sub>      N      V  
 foothold    foothold    step-like formation    elephant tracks    be there

- (59)  $\ddot{G}$  :  $\dot{g}a$   $n\dot{a}?\text{-}g\dot{i}$   $qo$   $\dot{\epsilon}$   $m\dot{o}$   $l\dot{o}\text{-}q\dot{a}$   $ce$   $y\dot{o}$  .  
 .  $vV$   $V$   $P_{unf}$   $P_{unf}$   $N_{sd}$   $N$   $P_{univ}$   $P_{uf}$   
 happen to stumble if topicalizer down there river only declarative
- (60)  $H$  :  $qha\text{-}d\dot{\epsilon}?$   $ni$   $qay$   $n\bar{e}$  .  
 . AE  $V$   $V_v$   $P_{uf}$   
 properly pay attention to continue V'ing emphatic
- (61)  $m\dot{\epsilon}?\text{-}\dot{s}\dot{i}$   $c\dot{o}$   $ve\text{-}\bar{5}$  .  
 N  $V$   $P_{uf}$   
 eyes be there emphatic
- (62)  $\ddot{G}$  :  $m\dot{\epsilon}?\text{-}\dot{s}\dot{i}$   $c\dot{o}$   $k\dot{a}?$   $ce$   $t\dot{\epsilon}$   $ma$   $y\dot{o}$  .  
 . N  $V$   $P_{unf}$   $V$   $P_{univ}$   $P_{uf}$   $P_{uf}$   
 eyes be there although fall (from a height) really V exclamatory declarative
- (63)  $m\dot{i}$   $h\bar{a}$   $j\dot{a}$  .  
 N  $V_{adj}$   $V_v$   
 ground steep (of terrain) very
- (64)  $H$  :  $m\dot{a}$   $ce$   $m\dot{a}$   $ce$  .  
 . Adv  $V$  Adv  $V$   
 negative fall (from a height) negative fall (from a height)
- (65)  $c\dot{o}$   $\dot{s}\dot{i}?\text{-}pu$   $\dot{a}?$   $a\text{-}y\dot{\epsilon}\text{-}y\dot{\epsilon}$   $\dot{g}a$  ...  
 $N_{sd}$  N  $P_n$  Adv  $V$   
 over there clump of suckers accusative slowly reach
- (66)  $\ddot{G}$  :  $n\dot{o}$   $\dot{s}\dot{i}$   $\dot{a}$   $l\dot{\epsilon}\text{-}\bar{a}$  .  
 . Pron  $V$   $P_v$   $P_{uf}$   
 you be sure of asseverative yes
- (67)  $\dot{a}$   $ce$   $ve$  .  
 Adv  $V$   $P_{univ}$   
 negative fall (from a height) nominalizer
- (68)  $H$  :  $\dot{s}\dot{i}$   $\dot{a}$   $\dot{s}\dot{i}$   $\dot{a}$  .  
 .  $V$   $P_v$   $V$   $P_v$   
 be sure of asseverative be sure of asseverative
- (69)  $\ddot{G}$  :  $\dot{s}\dot{i}$   $t\dot{u}$   $m\dot{a} h\dot{\epsilon}?\text{-}o$  .  
 .  $V$   $P_{v\text{-}nom}$  VP  
 be sure of sthg that is cause for V'ing definitely not the case
- (70)  $n\dot{o}$   $\dot{s}\dot{u}$   $\dot{a}?$   $\dot{s}\dot{i}$   $t\dot{u}$   $te$   $ve$   $y\dot{a}$  .  
 Pron Pron  $P_n$   $V$   $P_v$   $V$   $P_{univ}$   $P_{uf}$   
 you a person accusative die purposive do nominalizer emphatic
- (71)  $H$  :  $m\dot{a}$   $\dot{s}\dot{i}$  .  
 . Adv  $V$   
 negative die
- (72)  $\ddot{G}$  :  $\dot{a}\text{-}m\dot{u}$   $n\dot{o}$   $\dot{s}\bar{a}$   $\dot{g}a$   $t\bar{a}$   $k\dot{a}?$   $\dot{g}a$   $c\dot{a}$   
 . Conj Pron N  $V$   $P_v$   $P_{unf}$   $vV$   $V$   
 if worst comes to worst you animal get perfective even if get to eat

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- â hê? o* , *â-mù* .  
 VP Conj  
 definitely not the case if worst comes to worst
- (73) *H : nô lo qhɔ-qhô chê ā lɔ-ʔ* .  
 . N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>imp</sub>  
 up there locative in the mountains stay perfective wait!
- (74) *ηà pû tâ? lâ a , qhe-qo lɛ* .  
 Pron V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> Conj P<sub>unf</sub>  
 I carry up benefactive (non-3p) intentive if that's the way it is topic
- (75) *Ĝ : êe , qhe-qo è ηà tí qo nô ɔ̄ qha-dê? mi à?*  
 . Interj Conj P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> AE V P<sub>v</sub>  
 okay then topicalizer I topicalizer up there locative nicely sit durative  
*lâ ve yò-a-ʔ* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer emphatic declarative
- (76) *qha-dê? pû tâ? la mē , ð-chi ð-hɔ ɔ̄* .  
 AE V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Det N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 carefully carry up come to V come to V that thing down there locative
- (77) *ηà nô tâ? e lɛ-lâ* .  
 Pron N<sub>sd</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 I up there go up motion away yes
- (78) *H : mi ā lɔ-ʔ , mi ā lɔ-ʔ* .  
 . V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>imp</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>imp</sub>  
 sit durative wait! sit durative wait!
- (79) *pû lâ , tâ? lâ* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 carry on the back benefactive (non-3p) carry on shoulder benefactive (non-3p)
- (80) *Ĝ : alôo , chi-pí-qwè? chi tê khe cà-šĩ tê khó*  
 . Interj N Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 oh boy! barking deer this one for animals unhusked rice one measure of weight  
*ηâ qhɔ-lɔ hɔ cò qôʔ-ma* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> M<sub>px</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 five basketful weight be there emphatic
- (81) *pû hɔ ve* .  
 V V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 carry on the back heavy nominalizer
- (82) *ð-tè lɛ-ā* .  
 N P<sub>uf</sub>  
 truth yes
- (83) *H : yò* .  
 . P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (84) *tê khó ηâ qhɔ-lɔ yò* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 one measure of weight five basketful declarative

- (85) *qô?* *kì* *â* *cò* *yò* .  
V P<sub>v-nom</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
discuss reason to V negative be there declarative
- (86) *Ĝ* : *nò* *qhà-nî* *khe* *ġa* *jɔ* *le* .  
. Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
you how many? for animals get experiential substantive qst
- (87) *chi qhe ve* .  
AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
like this genitivizer
- (88) *H* : *chi qhe tí bô?* *câ* *ve* *cì* *né* *pô* *ši*  
. AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V  
like this as for shoot V to eat nominalizer teeth even even turn yellow  
*ò* *ve* *vâ* .  
P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
completed action nominalizer emphatic
- (89) *Ĝ* : *šú* *dò* *ši* *ve* *le* *nè-š* .  
. N V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
tobacco smoke (tobacco) turn yellow nominalizer because suppositional
- (90) *H* : *šú-lè?* *Kle-thô?* *lón* *dò* *a ni* *ve*  
. N N B<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
cigarette Gold Flake (brand name) sthg big smoke (tobacco) try to nominalizer  
*qô?-yò-è?* .  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
emphatic
- (91) *Ĝ* : *nò* *cì* *ši* *ve* *šú-lè?* *dò* *ši* *le-hé*  
. Pron N V P<sub>univ</sub> N V V P<sub>uf</sub>  
you teeth turn yellow nominalizer cigar smoke (tobacco) turn yellow possible  
*qô?-lè?* .  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
emphatic
- (92) *H* : *chi-pí-qwè?* *šā* *kà?* *câ* *cì* *kà?* *khá* *šē* ,  
. N N P<sub>unf</sub> V N P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
barking deer meat topicalizer eat teeth also get stuck regrettably  
*cì-mâ-qhê* *phú è* .  
N AE<sub>stat</sub>  
particles stuck in tips of teeth white
- (93) *Ĝ* : *yà-ò* *tù* *â hê? o* .  
. V P<sub>v-nom</sub> VP  
be true cause for V'ing definitely not the case
- (94) *yà?-ni* *š* *mò?* *cì-à?* *mē* .  
N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
today topic hungry very emphatic
- (95) *qhò-qhe* *ca* *câ* *tù* *le* .  
N<sub>intg</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
where? go and do eat future substantive qst

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- (96) *šā hâ? phâ? ô?* .  
 N Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 meat quickly butcher (carcass) urging imperative
- (97) *H : thî? pû ā vâ* .  
 V V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 wrap and tie up carry on the back perfective emphatic
- (98) *câ-nê-5 tê thî? ló* .  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> B<sub>n</sub>  
 cooked sticky rice one for packages sthg big
- (99) *Ĝ : yù la-?* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub>  
 bring to be used motion toward (imperative)
- (100) *hî?-vâ a vâ ê?* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 mix together and eat hortatory imperative emphatic
- (101) *H : hî?-vâ , hî?-vâ , Na-šĭ ð-pa*  
 V V N<sub>pers</sub> N  
 mix together and eat mix together and eat female name father  
*phâ-qā* .  
 N  
 space between the legs
- (102) < *laughter* >
- (103) *Ĝ : mē tù â hê? nê-5* .  
 V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 taste good cause for V'ing negative be the case suppositional
- (104) *nê ve ð-qhe , qô? ve-5* .  
 Pron P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 you genitivizer topicalizer call emphatic
- (105) *H : mē à* .  
 V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 taste good asseverative
- (106) *Na-šĭ ð-pa phâ-qā khò-nú pà?-cí qô? ve chi*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N N N N V P<sub>univ</sub> Det  
 female name father space between the legs cake big hunk mean nominalizer this  
*yò-ê?* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic declarative
- (107) *Ĝ : à-mù tê khi chi šā ġa phâ? lē šā*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> Det N vV V P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 a short time from now this meat manage to butcher (carcass) suspensive animal  
*ð-šē te-câ ve , chē?-câ ve yò*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 headman's portion of killed game cook nominalizer bit into and eat nominalizer declarative



- nē* .  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
emphatic
- (108) *H* : à-mī ci è? .  
. N V P<sub>uf</sub>  
fire kindle emphatic
- (109) *qhe* à-mī ci è? .  
Conj N V P<sub>uf</sub>  
then fire kindle emphatic
- (110) *Woman* : ð-šɛ nɛ ɕw-mô ve qô? ve  
. N P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
headman's portion of killed game also elders genitivizer say nominalizer
- yâ* .  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
emphatic
- (111) *Ĝ* : à-mī ci lâ-o .  
. N V P<sub>uf</sub>  
fire kindle yes
- (112) *H* : ṁ .  
. Interj  
murmur of assent
- (113) *Ĝ* : alôo , a-kɛ â cò lɛ .  
. Interj N Adv V P<sub>univ</sub>  
oh boy! pine splinters negative be there because
- (114) *ci* hâ jâ qô?-ma lê .  
V V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
light a fire difficult very emphatic request for assent
- (115) *H* : vâ-ku gâ?-phô? ha lâ .  
. N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
dried bamboo scratch together into a pile try to benefactive (non-3p)
- (116) *bî-phu* te a lɛ fây-khî? thè? tú a-?  
N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub>  
big fire make vigorous action suspensive match (to strike fire) scrape burn sthg hortatory
- (117) *Ĝ* : vâ-ku tɛ qo ɓ-qhe lɛ , câ cì mâ mɛ qô?-lè?  
. N P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V Adv Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
dried bamboo really V if topicalizer eat not very negative taste good emphatic
- (118) *H* : à-mī-šá tâ mó qhê hî? lɔ .  
. N Adv V SV P<sub>uf</sub>  
hot air from a fire negative imperative scorch have diarrhea emphatic declarative



- lê* , *qhe-qo* .  
P<sub>uf</sub> Conj  
request for assent then
- (132) *H* : *ḡ* .  
. Interj  
murmur of assent
- (133) *Ĝ* : *à-mù tê khi* *nè-á* *chi cá á* *qo qhð-qhe*  
. NP<sub>q</sub> Pron Det V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>intg</sub>  
a short time from now the two of us this eat perfective when where?  
*qð?* *qò?* *e* *tù* *le* .  
<sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
V back (to starting point) go home motion away future substantive qst
- (134) *šā* *qð?* *ğā?* *qò?* *e* *tù* *â* *hê?* *o* *lá* .  
N <sub>v</sub>V V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
animals V again hunt go home motion away future negative be the case emphatic yes
- (135) *H* : *cô* *ṡ* *Pa-hô?* *bà* *ṡ* *lò-qá* *lò-cò?-nê?* *cô*  
. N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>place</sub> M<sub>prfx</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N N N<sub>sd</sub>  
there locative village name the other side of locative river narrow valley over there  
*ğā?* *qð?* *la* *ve* ; *ğṡ-pī-ğṡ-tâ?* *ṡ* *cô* *ṡ* .  
V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
hunt return come to V nominalizer rattan thicket locative over there locative
- (136) *Ĝ* : *qhe* *šā* *kà?* *pû* *qo* , *qhe* *ğṡ-pī-ğṡ-tâ?* *ṡ*  
. Adv N P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
like this meat also carry on the back topic like this rattan thicket locative  
*qay* *â* *ğā* *nē* , *qhe-ṡ* .  
V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Conj  
go through not manage to emphatic in that case
- (137) *H* : *nô* *qhɔ* *qhâ-šī* *yâ?-qɔ* *qhâ-šī* *tâ?* *e* , *mô* *ŋà*  
. N<sub>sd</sub> N M<sub>prfx</sub> N M<sub>prfx</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> Pron  
up there mountain along way along go up motion away down there I  
*a-yé* *ca* *jâ?-bɔ?* , *ca* *ğṡ?-pû* *le* *tâ?*  
Adv <sub>v</sub>V V <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> V  
quietly go and do shoot from ambush go and do pick up and carry suspensive come up  
*la* *ve* *a* .  
P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
come to V nominalizer intentive
- (138) *Ĝ* : *qhe-ṡ* *ŋâ?* *â* *hê?* *qo* *â* *ğā* *câ*  
. Conj N Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub>  
in that case bird negative be the case if negative catch V to eat  
*lɔ* *nè-ṡ* , *nò* *ve* *ṡ* .  
P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
emphatic declarative suppositional you genitivizer topic
- (139) *H* : *ğā* .  
. V  
get something done

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- (140) *mô*            *lò-qá* *̄*            *yì?*    *à?*            .  
          N<sub>sd</sub>            N        P<sub>n</sub>            V        P<sub>v</sub>  
          down there river locative sleep durative
- (141) *ô*            *nì-qhè?* *pé è?*            !  
          N<sub>sd</sub>            N            AE<sub>stat</sub>  
          over there penis sticking up
- (142) *Ĝ* : *jâ*            *à*            *nē*            , *nò* *ve*            *̄*            .  
          .            V<sub>adj</sub>            P<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>uf</sub>            , Pron P<sub>univ</sub>            P<sub>unf</sub>  
          excessive asseverative emphatic you genitivizer topic
- (143) *H* : *yà-ò*    *nē*            .  
          .            V        P<sub>uf</sub>  
          yeah! emphatic
- (144) *Ĝ* : *šā*            *̄*            *kâ*    *pí*            *ve*            .  
          .            N            P<sub>unf</sub>    V        V<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>univ</sub>  
          animals topic hear good at V'ing nominalizer
- (145) *chì-pí-qwè?*    *qhe* *̄*            , *yô*    *ò-ki*            *mâ*            *cò*            *le*            .  
          N            N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>            Pron N            Adv        V            P<sub>univ</sub>  
          barking deer like topic they gall-bladder negative be there because
- (146) *H* : *ô-pá*            *tê qhò bà*            *šē-̄*            .  
          .            N<sub>loc</sub>            NP<sub>q</sub>            P<sub>v</sub>  
          that side the hill after next still
- (147) *vê*            *à*            *š̄*            .  
          V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>v</sub>  
          far asseverative still
- (148) *mâ*            *kâ*            *tà*            *hé*            .  
          Adv        V        P<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>uf</sub>  
          negative hear negative probability probably
- (149) *Ĝ* : *ô-pá*            *tê qhò bà*            *lâ-o*            .  
          .            N<sub>loc</sub>            NP<sub>q</sub>            P<sub>uf</sub>  
          that side the hill after next yes
- (150) *H* : *ḡ*            .  
          .            Interj  
          murmur of assent
- (151) *H* : *mâ hê?*            .  
          .            Adv + V  
          not be the case
- (152) *nò*            *jâ?*            *qay*            *â*            *ğā*            *tà*            *hé*            *qô?-lè?*            .  
          Pron V            V<sub>v</sub>            Adv        V<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>uf</sub>            P<sub>uf</sub>  
          you do stealthily V along negative be able negative probability probably emphatic
- (153) *H* : *khi-cu-ni*    *te*            *jâ?*            .  
          .            AE            vV        V  
          on tiptoes do and sneak up on

- (154) *mû-phe pò e ve yò nē* .  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 the air fly motion away nominalizer declarative emphatic
- (155) < *gë ve* >  
 V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 laugh nominalizer
- (156) *Ĝ : qhe-qo ̄ , khi-gô šī ve šī e* ,  
 . Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 then topic whole leg get numb nominalizer get numb V more and more  
*nò ve ̄* .  
 N<sub>poss</sub> + ve P<sub>unf</sub>  
 your topic
- (157) *H : khi-cu-ni te šī-nâ? ð-ku-câ? phû? e lò?-lò?* .  
 . Adv + V V N V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 walk on tiptoes twist one's ankle muscle turn inside out motion away enough to V
- (158) *Ĝ : ð-ku-câ? phû? lò?-lò? â phê? nē , qhe-tò-tò* .  
 . N V V<sub>v</sub> Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>ext</sub>  
 muscle turn inside out enough to V negative able to emphatic to that extent
- (159) *H : êe , khi-pē-qwi ð-gû-šī phô ̄ phû? e šš* .  
 . Interj N N<sub>loc</sub> M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 sure! calf of leg to the front side locative twist around motion away still
- (160) *gã šī phê a lâ qo nò ni tã* .  
 vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub>  
 get to twist launch violent action vivid action when you watch durative
- (161) < *gë ve* >  
 V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 laugh nominalizer
- (162) *Ĝ : qhe tò-tò lè â hê? o , nò ve ̄* .  
 . N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> VP N<sub>poss</sub> + ve P<sub>unf</sub>  
 to that extent topic definitely not the case your topic
- (163) *H : a-yé-yé te qay ve yò qô?-ma , chi ̄* .  
 . Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub>  
 carefully act continue V'ing nominalizer declarative emphatic this topic
- (164) *Ĝ : qhe-qo ̄ qay a ni yò lê* .  
 . Conj P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 so topic go try to declarative request for assent
- (165) *qhe ñà nô yà?-qo qhâ-šī ̄ , qhò-gô-lô nô tâ?*  
 Conj Pron N<sub>sd</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N N<sub>sd</sub> V  
 so I up there road along locative mountain ridge up there climb up  
*e lē nô lɔ à? lâ lê* ,  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 motion away suspensive up there wait for durative benefactive (non-3p) request for assent  
*qhe-qo* .  
 Conj  
 then

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- (166) *H* : *qha-dê?* *ni* *à?* .  
 . AE V P<sub>v</sub>  
 carefully watch durative
- (167) *št-phê* *a lâ* *mô* *nā-qú-cè* *hó* *gà* *e* *ve* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> N M<sub>prfx</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 go along (slang) vivid action down there banyan under reach motion away nominalizer
- (168) *Ĝ* : *eeà?* .  
 . Interj  
 right!
- (169) *qhe-qo* *ηà* *nô* *ò-na* *qho-gô-lô* *mi* *ā* *lâ*  
 Conj Pron N<sub>sd</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 so I up there upper part mountain ridge sit durative benefactive (non-3p)  
*mē* , *qhe-qo* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> Conj  
 emphatic then
- (170) *H* : *mô* *ò-hó* *ō* *à-šɛ-thâ* *î-khâ-pa* *qay* *lɛ* *chî-pí-qwè?* *tê*  
 . N<sub>sd</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N Num  
 down there under locative recently I-kha's father go suspensive barking deer one  
*khe* *pô?-pho* *ve* *qô?-qha-pâ?* *vâ* .  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 for animals flee by jumping nominalizer emphatic emphatic
- (171) *Ĝ* : *mô* *hó* *lâ-o* .  
 . N<sub>sd</sub> M<sub>prfx</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 down there under yes
- (172) *H* : *êe* , *ô* *mô* *qho-mâ* *tê* *khe* *vâ*  
 . Interj N<sub>sd</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V  
 yes over there down there foothill one for animals shoot with abandon  
*qha-pâ?* *à-šɛ* *nô* *â* *kâ* *lɛ-â* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> N<sub>time</sub> Pron Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 intensifying particle just now you negative hear yes
- (173) *Ĝ* : *âa* , *ηà* *nô* *ò-na* *chê* *lɛ* *â* *kâ* *dâ?* *qô?-ma* .  
 . Interj Pron N<sub>sd</sub>+P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! I up here upper part stay because negative hear well emphatic
- (174) *H* : *cô* *mē-pô-de* – *èe* , *mè-cû-šɛ* *tê* *qho*  
 . N<sub>sd</sub> N Interj N Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 over there meh-paw tree grove er tree with hard wood one for mountains  
*ò-hó* *ni?* .  
 N<sub>loc</sub> V<sub>imp</sub>  
 below look!
- (175) *qho-kɛ-lɛ* *cô* *bô?* *qha-pâ?* *ma* .  
 N N<sub>sd</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 mountain without vegetation over there shoot with a loud sound exclamatory
- (176) *Ĝ* : *à-tha* *bô?* *ve* *le* , *qhe-qo* .  
 . N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Conj  
 what shoot nominalizer substantive qst then

- (177) *H* : *fâ?*      *ğà?-bâ?*      *ve*      *qô?-ma*      *nē* .  
 .      N      V      P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 rodents chase by shooting nominalizer emphatic emphatic
- (178) *mô*      *chɔ-lù-kê*      *yâ-qê?-ku*      *tê cù kâ?* .  
 N<sub>sd</sub>      N      N      NP<sub>q</sub>  
 down there wretch pipsqueak handful of people
- (179) *Ğ* : *a-şu*      *le*      *qô?-ma*      *nē* .  
 .      Pron      P<sub>uf</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 who substantive qst emphatic emphatic
- (180) *mô*      *ve*      *̄* .  
 N<sub>sd</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>  
 down there genitivizer topic
- (181) *â-mε*      *qhâ-nî*      *ğâ*      *le* .  
 N      Num      Cl<sub>f</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 name how many? for people substantive qst
- (182) *H* : *Cà-há*      *hi*      *Qā-thû-yì*      *hi*      *yò-è?* .  
 .      N<sub>pers</sub>      B<sub>n</sub>      N<sub>pers</sub>      B<sub>n</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name pluralizer male name (with teasing prefix) pluralizer emphatic declarative
- (183) *mô*      *hɔ*      *̄*      *nà?-ú*      *şá-dî?-şá-dî?* .  
 N<sub>sd</sub>      M<sub>px</sub>      P<sub>n</sub>      N      AE  
 down there below locative conversation noisily but indistinctly
- (184) *Ğ* : *à-tha*      *te-câ*      *cê*      *le*      ,      *yâ-hi* .  
 .      N<sub>intg</sub>      V      P<sub>uf</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>      Pron  
 what cook quotative substantive qst they
- (185) *à-thò?-ma*      *ca*      *la*      ...  
 N<sub>intg</sub>      vV      P<sub>v</sub>  
 what go and do come to V
- (186) *H* : *chi-pí-qwè?*      *pâ?*      *kə*      *ve*      *kà?*      *yâ-hi*      *â*      *mò*      *ve*  
 .      N      V      V<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>      Pron      Adv      V      P<sub>univ</sub>  
 barking deer jump V towards nominalizer although they negative see nominalizer  
*lɔ*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic declarative
- (187) *mô*      *̄*      *phɔ*      *e*      *yò*      *qô?-và* .  
 N<sub>sd</sub>      P<sub>n</sub>      V      P<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 down there locative escape motion away declarative emphatic
- (188) *Ğ* : *ğa*      *câ*      *tù*      *â hê? o* .  
 .      vV      V      P<sub>v</sub>      VP  
 get to eat future definitely not the case
- (189) *H* : *mâ*      *ğa*      *câ*      *tâ*      *ò* .  
 .      Adv      vV      V      P<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>v</sub>  
 negative get to eat negative probability completed action

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- (190) *yâ chi tē ġi bð jâ* .  
 N Det Q V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 kids this pluralizer be lazy very
- (191) *Ĝ : qhð-nî ġâ là ve cê le , yô-hi* .  
 . Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron  
 how many? for people come nominalizer quotative substantive qst they
- (192) *mô là ve ̄-qhe læ šā-ġà?-pā cð lâ , yô-hi* .  
 N<sub>sd</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> Pron  
 down there come nominalizer topicalizer game-drivers be there yes they
- (193) *H : šā-ġà?-pā cð ð-na he-šā te-læ ġà? ce*  
 . N<sub>dvb</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 game-drivers over there above abandoned field from drive V downwards with vigor  
*la mð nē , à-šɛ* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>time</sub>  
 come to V see emphatic just now
- (194) *Ĝ : cð ð-na ̄ lâ-o* .  
 . N<sub>sd</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 over there above locative yes
- (195) *H : m̄* .  
 . Interj  
 murmur of assent
- (196) *Ĝ : a-šu le qô?-ma , šā ġà? ve ̄* .  
 . Pron P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 who substantive qst emphatic animals drive nominalizer topic
- (197) *H : šā ġà? ve mô ̄ mâ-ná A-lé*  
 . N V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N N  
 animals drive nominalizer down there locative north country Lahu group in S.Yunnan  
*yâ cê qô?-ma* .  
 N P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 people quotative emphatic
- (198) ” *A-lé qhê-mâ nâ? cê , ð-mâ* .  
 N N M<sub>prfx</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N  
 Lahu group in S.Yunnan turd black quotative tip
- (199) *Ĝ : pòthôo* .  
 . Interj  
 for God’s sake!
- (200) *jâ à nē , qhe-qo ...*  
 V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Conj  
 too much asseverative emphatic then
- (201) < *they fall into story-telling mood* >
- (202) *à-šwè thâ chɔ cê qô?-ma , âa , ð-pū ð-má* .  
 AE N P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Interj N N  
 once upon a time people quotative emphatic well! father-in-law son-in-law



- (203) *yô* *ɔ̄-qhe* *ɛ* *ð-má-pā* *tê* *mà* *gã* *cê* *qôʔ-ma* .  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 he topicalizer son-in-law one for people (informal) acquire quotative emphatic
- (204) *yô* *ha-lê* *jâ* *ve* .  
 Pron V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 he happy very nominalizer
- (205) *pòthôo* *šā* *khô-bá* *chi hi chi hi* *tôʔ* *cá* *ɛ* , *šā* *ô-ve* *ɔ̄-qhe* *ɛ* *ð-ne-pa*  
 Interj N M<sub>prfx</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub> V V P<sub>unf</sub> N Det P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 wow! meat slab great big cut off boil suspensive meat that topicalizer gristle  
*a-cí* *cò* *ve* *cê* *qôʔ-ma* .  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 a little be there nominalizer quotative emphatic
- (206) *H* : *ho* .  
 Interj  
 uh-huh
- (207) *Ĝ* : *āa* , *chò* *kə-tɛ* *ɛ* *làʔ-q̄s* *tôʔ* *pə* *chò*  
 Interj N<sub>sd</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> OV V<sub>v</sub> N<sub>sd</sub>  
 well! here lay sthg before smn suspensive join hands in marriage finish V'ing here  
*kə-tɛ* *chò* *cā* *ɛ-ɔ̄* , *ð-má-pā* *chi* *ɔ̄-qhe* *ɛ* *ð-má-pā* *chi* *ɔ̄*  
 V N<sub>sd</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N Det P<sub>unf</sub> N Det P<sub>unf</sub>  
 lay sthg before smn here eat suspensive son-in-law this topicalizer son-in-law this topic  
*ð-pū* *pā* *mī* *cê* *qôʔ-ma* .  
 N M<sub>prfx</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 father-in-law nearby place sit quotative emphatic
- (208) *šā-pêʔ* *ló* *chi* *ɔ̄* *a-cí* *ī* *jâ* *ɛ* , *āa* *yù*  
 N B<sub>n</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Interj V<sub>v</sub>  
 hunk of meat sthg big this topic quite big very suspensive well! take and V sthg  
*gəʔ* *vā* *ɛ* *ɔ̄-qhe* *ɛ* , *ð-ne-pa* *àʔ* *cò*  
 V V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V  
 bite down hard go at it suspensive topicalizer gristle accusative happen to be  
*ve* *cê* *qôʔ-ma* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer quotative emphatic
- (209) *H* : *ð-ne-pa* *àʔ* .  
 N P<sub>n</sub>  
 gristle accusative
- (210) *Ĝ* : *êe* .  
 Interj  
 right!
- (211) *qəʔ* *bà* *a* *qo* *bà* *mā* *phêʔ* .  
 vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V Adv V<sub>v</sub>  
 V back get rid of intentive when get rid of negative able to
- (212) *yàʔ-tɔ* *ve* , *à-pū* *àʔ* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 be embarrassed relativizer father-in-law accusative

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- (213) *ð-má-pā chi šā-pê? ló ô-ve à? yù yǐ?*  
 N Det N B<sub>n</sub> Det P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V <sub>v</sub>V  
 son-in-law this hunk of meat sthg big that accusative take and V sthg V vigorously  
*gð? pî qha lɛ a-cí hê jâ šē*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 bite down hard benefactive (3p) vivid action suspensive too strong very regrettably  
*lɛ šā-pê? ô-ve chè? šē lɛ yô lâ?-mē-cwi ð-pū*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N Det V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N N  
 suspensive hunk of meat that bite regrettably suspensive his elbow father-in-law  
*nā-qā-pī mē?-cɛ à? thī phê cô šē*  
 N N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 forehead space between the eyes accusative jab launch violent action happen to regrettably  
*lɛ , à-pū chi ô-pá ɔ̄ bô? qay šē*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N Det N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 suspensive father-in-law this that side locative keel over end up V'ing regrettably  
*ve yò cê qô?-ma .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative quotative emphatic
- (214) *qhâ-qhe kà? te â phê? ò .*  
 AE V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 in any way do negative able to completed action
- (215) *H : thôo chi qhe qô? thâ ñà ô-thâ tê pô? cò qô?-yò-è? .*  
 . Interj AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N<sub>time</sub> Q V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 gee! like this say when I in the past again be there emphatic
- (216) *Ĝ : qhò-qhe le .*  
 . N<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 how? substantive qst
- (217) *H : ô ɔ̄ , Mâ-hé Mâ-khô qay è ,*  
 . N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>place</sub> N<sub>place</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 over there locative Northern Thai village N. Thai and Karen village go topicalizer  
*šu qô?-ma gâ?-šā cá cā lâ lɛ hɛ-chû-pí lâ?-no*  
 Pron P<sub>uf</sub> N V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N  
 they emphatic chicken meat boil feed benefactive (non-3p) suspensive wild ginger finger  
*šē? khɛ qhe kə .*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> V  
 three for finger-breadths like put into
- (218) *gð yù bê chw-khô â nô ò*  
<sub>v</sub>V <sub>v</sub>V V N Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 V vigorously take and V sthg chew human speech negative be aware of completed action  
*qô?-ma .*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (219) *< gë ve >*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 laugh nominalizer

- (220) *Ĝ* : *šu* *chɔ-khô* *mâ* *nô* *ve* *tê gâ* *cò*  
 . Pron N Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> Q V  
 others' human speech negative be aware of relativizer another person be there  
*cê* *qôʔ-ma* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative emphatic
- (221) *yô* *ɔ-qhe le* *šo-kû* *tê* *mà* *cî* *qay* *cê* *qôʔ-ma* .  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 he topicalizer bicycle one for things ride V along quotative emphatic
- (222) *yô* *ɔ-qhe le* , *ô* *ɔ-qhe le* , *šáná-yè* *ɔ* *qay ve* .  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 he topicalizer over there topicalizer official building locative go nominalizer
- (223) *šáná-yè* *qay* *kì* *ɔ-qhe le* *ti-mi* *ɔ-tê* *cò*  
 N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N V  
 official building go way to V topicalizer paddy field (irrigated) paddy-field dike be there  
*cê* *qôʔ-ma* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative emphatic
- (224) *šu* *yàʔ-qɔ* *àʔ* *mâ* *qay* .  
 Pron N P<sub>n</sub> Adv V  
 others' road accusative negative go
- (225) *qhe-qo* *yô* *ɔ-qā* *hɔ* *pā* *cô*  
 Conj Pron N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> N<sub>sd</sub>  
 well then somebody buffalo tend grazing animals agentive nominalizer over there  
*yàʔ-qɔ-na* *pá* *ɔ* *chê* *ā* *cê* *qôʔ-ma* .  
 N M<sub>prfx</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 part of a road already passed side locative be there durative quotative emphatic
- (226) *yàʔ-qɔ-na* *pá* *chê* *ā* *le* *ɔ* , *lɔ-pū* *ô-ve*  
 N M<sub>prfx</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Det  
 part of a road already passed side stay durative suspensive topic old man that  
*àʔ* *kù* *pî* *cê* *qôʔ-ma* .  
 P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 accusative call benefactive (3p) quotative emphatic
- (227) ‘ *qhò* *qay* *tù* *è* ? ’  
 N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 where? go future substantive qst
- (228) *qôʔ* *pî* *le* *cê* *qôʔ-ma* .  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 say benefactive (3p) suspensive quotative emphatic
- (229) *í-kâʔ* *pâ* *ɔ* *cô* *šê* *lɔ* *cê*  
 N M<sub>prfx</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 water nearby place locative happen to be regrettably emphatic declarative quotative  
*qôʔ-ma* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic

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- (230) *ēē nō phū? ni lē , šo-kū tí qo mô í-kâ?*  
 Interj N<sub>sd</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> N  
 well up there turn around try and V suspensive bicycle topicalizer down there water  
*qhɔ lō? e ve .*  
 M<sub>px</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 into enter motion away nominalizer
- (231) *l̄-pū à? ‘ qh̄ qay e le ’ qo qô?*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 old man accusative where? go motion away substantive qst topic say  
*pî lē cê qô?-ma .*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (3p) suspensive quotative emphatic
- (232) ‘ *paj am- qô? cê qô?-ma .*  
 V V V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 go (Thai) go (Thai) say quotative emphatic
- (233) *H : ‘ paj am – ?*  
 ? V V  
 go (Thai) go (Thai)
- (234) *Ĝ : êe .*  
 Interj  
 yes
- (235) “ *âmphâ ” mâ ġa qô? tân lē , ‘*  
 N Adv vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 district office (Thai) negative get to say (not) have time to suspensive  
*àm ...’ tí ġa qô? tân lē í-kâ? qhɔ tū*  
 N P<sub>univ</sub> vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> V  
 district office (Thai) only get to say have time to V because water into sink  
*ve .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer
- (236) *H : ôo ...*  
 ... Interj  
 I see!
- (237) *Ĝ : âa šo-kū è? mô ̄ dō? ve cê*  
 Interj N P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! bicycle topicalizer down there locative get stuck nominalizer quotative  
*và nē .*  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic emphatic
- (238) *â qò? ġa ò .*  
 Adv vV V P<sub>v</sub>  
 negative V back get completed action
- (239) *ú-cī tē mà è ġa lē á-qhɔ qò? qò?*  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N vV V  
 hat one for things only get suspensive home V back (to starting point) return

- e* , *á-pò?* *qò?* *thāy* *cé* .  
P<sub>v</sub> N vV V P<sub>uf</sub>  
motion away shirt V again change (as clothes) quotative
- (240) *tê pò?* *qò?* *qay ve* .  
Q vV V P<sub>univ</sub>  
once more V again go nominalizer
- (241) *H* : *ηà* *né* *tê pò?* *cò* *jɔ* .  
. Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Q V P<sub>v</sub>  
I also once be there experiential
- (242) *ô* *̄* *lò* *phê* *lɛ* *mô* *̄* *yà?-qɔ*  
N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N  
over there locative slip launch violent action suspensive down there locative road  
*hó* *̄* *tɔ?-nɔ?* *ce* *chən-è?-kán-kà?* *qay* *qò?-ma* .  
M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> M<sub>px</sub> V AE V P<sub>uf</sub>  
below locative ridge fall (from a height) go sprawling go emphatic
- (243) *Ĝ* : (< *gĩ* *ve* ) *thôo* , *jâ* *à* *nē* ,  
. V P<sub>univ</sub> Interj V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
laugh nominalizer wow! too much asseverative emphatic  
*qhe tɔ-tɔ* .  
N<sub>ext</sub>  
something like that
- (244) *H* : *qò?* *phû?* *ni* *a* *lɛ* *qhâ?-cá-mê* *pu* *hó*  
. vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> M<sub>px</sub>  
V finally turn around V and see intentive suspensive jujube bush under  
*phân kà?* *ce tí* *qay* , *pòthôo* *mô* *gà*  
onomatopoetic adverbial (Adv<sub>onomat</sub>) P<sub>univ</sub> + P<sub>univ</sub> V Interj N<sub>sd</sub> V  
right smack just go for God's sake! down there reach  
*ò* *lɔ* *qò?-yò-è?* .  
P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
completed action emphatic declarative emphatic
- (245) *Ĝ* : *thôo* , *jâ* *qhe tɔ-tɔ* .  
. Interj V<sub>adj</sub> N<sub>ext</sub>  
wow! excessive something like that
- (246) *H* : *qò?* *pà?* *qò?*  
. vV V vV  
V back (to starting point) screw (rough slang for 'go') V back (to starting point)  
*la* *šú* *mò* *pí-à* *khí* *lɛ* *hâ?* *tâ?* *lɛ* *qò?*  
P<sub>v</sub> Pron V V + P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> vV  
come to V others see lest worry because quickly climb up suspensive V again  
*chî-tɛ* *qò?* *vâ* *qò?* *e* *á-qhɔ* *gà*  
V vV V V P<sub>v</sub> N V  
set oneself upright V again act in a lively way go home motion away home reach  
*e* *ve* , *pòthôo* .  
P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Interj  
motion away nominalizer for God's sake!

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- (247) *cò* *jɔ* *ve-ɔ̄* .  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
have an experience experiential emphatic
- (248) *Ĝ* : *tɔ-tɔ tí* *â* *cò* *šē* *và* .  
. AE Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
to that extent negative have an experience yet emphatic
- (249) *H* : *hà-ē* .  
. Interj  
what?
- (250) *Ĝ* : *tɔ-tɔ tí* *mâ* *cò* *šē* *qô?* *ve* .  
. AE Adv V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
to that extent negative be there yet say nominalizer
- (251) *H* : *cò* *ɔ* .  
. V P<sub>uf</sub>  
have an experience exclamatory
- (252) *ŋà* *mô* *tê pô?* *lò* *ce* *la* *ve* ,  
Pron N<sub>sd</sub> Q V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
I down there once slip V downwards with vigor come to V nominalizer  
*pòthôo* .  
Interj  
for God's sake!
- (253) *kà-tà* *kà?* *yî ê?* *qay* *qô?* *ve* .  
N P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>stat</sub> V V P<sub>univ</sub>  
safety fence also spinning out of control go say nominalizer
- (254) *mô* *ğò* *vâ* *kə* , *nā-khē-qu* *à?* .  
N<sub>sd</sub> vV V V<sub>v</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
down there V vigorously smash into V into shin accusative
- (255) *Ĝ* : *pyò* *ɔ* *nē* , *nò* *tí* *ô-thâ* *lè* .  
. V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
carefree affirmative emphatic you only in the past topic
- (256) *H* : *pyò* *cì-à?* *nē* .  
. V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
carefree very emphatic
- (257) *Ĝ* : *qhe-qo* *ô-thâ* *nò* *mε* *yâ-mî-há* *mâ?* *ve* *qhò-qhe*  
. Conj N<sub>time</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>intg</sub>  
so in the past you contrastive topicalizer girl court nominalizer how?  
*te le* *qhe-qo* .  
V P<sub>uf</sub> Conj  
do substantive qst then
- (258) *H* : *ô ɔ̄* *šikalè?* *tê kâ?* *vì* *lâ* *lε* ,  
. NP<sub>loc</sub> N Q V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
someplace cigarette one packet buy benefactive (non-3p) suspensive  
*phûdà-hó* *vì* *lâ* *lε* , *phây-khì?* *kà?*  
N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub>  
perfumed powder buy benefactive (non-3p) suspensive match (to strike fire) also



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- (268) *ȳsh̄ ɔ̄ lãʔ-q̄sh̄ ɡ̄ð̄ t̄ôʔ lɛ , h̄s̄-qhãʔ-pã ɔ̄-ve ɔ̄*  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> N Det P<sub>unf</sub>  
 she topic forearm V vigorously lay atop each other suspensive man that topic  
*ha-lè jã cê q̄ôʔ-ma .*  
 V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 happy very quotative emphatic
- (269) *ʃu ɔ̄ cã thã mã câ cê q̄ôʔ-ma .*  
 Pron N V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 others food feed when negative eat quotative emphatic
- (270) *m̄u phãʔ ɡã lɛ ɔ̄-m̄i-ma àʔ q̄ôʔ p̄i ve : ‘ ɔ̄*  
 SV V P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 get dark reach suspensive wife accusative say benefactive (3p) nominalizer food  
*cã-ʔ ’ q̄ôʔ p̄i cê q̄ôʔ-ma .*  
 V<sub>imp</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 feed! say benefactive (3p) quotative emphatic
- (271) *ɔ̄ mã c̄ð̄ .*  
 N Adv V  
 cooked rice negative be there
- (272) *ãa , lã-pũ chi ɔ̄-qhe t̄ê p̄ôʔ tí - ɔ̄-ve q̄ôʔ-ma - j̄èʔ-mùʔ-qhu cê*  
 Interj N Det P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> Det P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! fellow this topicalizer all of a sudden that emphatic earthen pot quotative  
*q̄ôʔ-ma , yù khãʔ k̄ə lɛ-ɔ̄ , lãʔ-ʃe chi ɔ̄*  
 P<sub>uf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Det P<sub>unf</sub>  
 emphatic take and V sthg stick into to fish out sthg suspensive hand this topic  
*lãʔ-ch̄iʔ-pi ɔ̄ khãʔ cê q̄ôʔ-ma .*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 fist topic fish around for quotative emphatic
- (273) *cô khã ʃ̄e cê q̄ôʔ-lèʔ .*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 over there get stuck regrettably quotative emphatic
- (274) *ɔ̄ khãʔ k̄ə lɛ khã ʃ̄e .*  
 N V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 cooked rice stick into to fish out sthg suspensive get stuck regrettably
- (275) *qh̄ð̄-qhe te kãʔ yù t̄ôʔ mã ɡã tá ò cê*  
 N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 whatever do even take V out negative be able durative completed action quotative  
*q̄ôʔ-ma .*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (276) *ɔ̄-pũ cô ó-q̄ô ní è , á-qãʔ ɔ̄ ha-pa-khi ba è lɛ ha-pa-ɡ̄ð̄ʔ*  
 N N<sub>sd</sub> N AE<sub>stat</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> N AE<sub>stat</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 guy over there head bald outside locative moonlight shining suspensive moonlight  
*l̄è ó-q̄ô àʔ h̄ãʔ la ve l̄è .*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 topic head accusative strike come to V nominalizer request for assent



- (277) *ó-qō à? hâ? la ve ̄-qhe ð-ğâ? ba è qay*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N AE<sub>stat</sub> V  
 head accusative strike come to V nominalizer topicalizer light shining go a certain way  
*ɛ , chò khá ā ve jè?-mù?-qhu thà? ð-mî-ma ô*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> N N<sub>sd</sub>  
 suspensive here get stuck durative relativizer earthen pot accusative wife over there  
*ó-qō à? yù phê ve .*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 head accusative take sthg and strike with it nominalizer
- (278) *há-mê?-ku mɛ ve cê qô?-ma .*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 rock mistake for sthg else nominalizer quotative emphatic
- (279) *pòthô bo te ve tê ca qay cê vâ nê ...*  
 Interj OV P<sub>univ</sub> Q V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 wow! repent relativizer one couple go a certain way quotative emphatic emphatic  
*chi máy tí yò lê .*  
 N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 only this much just declarative request for assent
- (280) *pê ò lê tê pô? lê .*  
 V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub>  
 enough completed action request for assent right now
- (281) *H : â pê šê nê-̄ .*  
 . Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative enough yet probably
- (282) *pɛ š̄ nê-̄ .*  
 V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 plentiful still suppositional
- (283) *Ĝ : pê ò nê-̄ , chi ma qo .*  
 . V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 enough completed action suppositional this much topic
- (284) *H : hâ? te šê .*  
 . Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 quickly do do
- (285) *Ĝ : qhâ?-qhâ nâ jâ qô?-ma .*  
 . N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 throat hurt very emphatic
- (286) *šú-lè? tê mà dò gâ š̄ .*  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 cheroot one for things smoke (tobacco) desiderative still
- (287) *pê ò lê .*  
 V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 enough completed action request for assent
- (288) *H : nò š̄ qo Lâhū ní ɛ Lâhū mâ-ná qô? qo qhâ-qhe*  
 . Pron V P<sub>unf</sub> Eth P<sub>unf</sub> N N P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>intg</sub>  
 you know topic Red Lahu suspensive Lahu north country topicalizer how?

- qô?* *le* .  
V P<sub>uf</sub>  
mean substantive qst
- (289) *Ĝ* : *qh̃-qhe le* .  
. N<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
how? substantive qst
- (290) *H* : *Lâhū ní lɛ Lâhū mâ-ná qô? ve è?* .  
. Eth P<sub>unf</sub> N N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
Red Lahu and Lahu north country say nominalizer emphatic
- (291) *Ĝ* : *Lâhū ní ɓ̃ chi ỹ-hi the-du á-pò? tí ṽ? lɛ ð-ta-ta-lwɛ?*  
. Eth P<sub>unf</sub> Det Pron N N P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N  
Red Lahu topic these they woman's sarong shirt just wear suspensive stripes  
*te ní è? lɛ lâ* .  
V AE P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
be a certain way red because benefactive (non-3p)
- (292) *ỹ à? Lâhū ní qô? ve qô?-ma* .  
Pron P<sub>n</sub> Eth V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
them accusative Red Lahu call nominalizer emphatic
- (293) *H* : " *mâ-ná* " *qô? ve qhe-qo* .  
. N V P<sub>univ</sub> Conj  
north country call nominalizer then
- (294) *mâ-ná* .  
N  
north country
- (295) *Ĝ* : *mâ-ná qô? ve ð-chi ỹ ô ɓ̃ ð-na-phô ɓ̃ chɛ*  
. N V P<sub>univ</sub> Det Pron NP<sub>loc</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V  
north country call nominalizer that thing they someplace north locative live  
*ve , ỹ à? " mâ-ná " qô? ve cê qô?-ma* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer them accusative north country call nominalizer quotative emphatic
- (296) *H* : *ɔ* .  
. Interj  
ah
- (297) *qhe-qo A-lɛ q̃? qô? ve ɓ̃-qhe qo* .  
Conj N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
well then Lahu group in S.Yunnan V also call nominalizer topicalizer topic
- (298) *Ĝ* : *A-lɛ chi ɓ̃ ỹ a-cí lɛ? jâ lɛ cê*  
. N Det P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Adv V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
Lahu group in S.Yunnan these topic they more clever very because quotative  
*qô?-ma* .  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
emphatic
- (299) *H* : *ɔ* .  
. Interj  
ah

- (300) *Ĝ* : *qhe-te-le šu A-lé qô? ve , yô à? .*  
 . Conj Pron N V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub>  
 so others Lahu group in S.Yunnan call nominalizer them accusative
- (301) *qhe-qa à-thò?-ma à-thò?-ma tê cə te kà? a-cí lē? jâ le cê*  
 Conj N<sub>intg</sub> Q V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 so whatever one thing do even more clever very because quotative  
*qô?-ma .*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (302) *H* : *a-cí lē? ve cê lâ-o .*  
 . Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 more clever nominalizer quotative yes
- (303) *Ĝ* : *êe .*  
 . Interj  
 yes
- (304) *H* : *qhe-qa šu ð-me me yâ o nē , nò .*  
 . Conj Pron N V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron  
 so others name give a name to emphatic emphatic emphatic you say
- (305) *qhê-mâ kà? nâ? .*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> M<sub>prfx</sub>  
 turd also black
- (306) *Lâhū-ní qa qhê-mâ ní kà? qô? mò qô?-ma .*  
 Eth P<sub>unf</sub> N B<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 Red Lahu topic turd turd also say see or hear of emphatic
- (307) *qhê ní le-nâ qô?-ma .*  
 N B<sub>n</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 feces red wonderment emphatic
- (308) *Ĝ* : *chi qhe ve nò kà? nâ? à nê-5 , qhê-mâ tí*  
 . AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> M<sub>prfx</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub>  
 like this genitivizer you also black asseverative suppositional turd as for  
*lê .*  
 P<sub>unf</sub>  
 topic
- (309) *H* : *â qò? qé ni mò qô?-yò-ê? , qhê-tú .*  
 . Adv <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N  
 negative V back pick out of V and see witness the action of emphatic anus
- (310) < *ĝè ve* >  
 V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 laugh nominalizer
- (311) *Ĝ* : *qha-dê? te ni ê? nē , qhe-qa .*  
 . AE V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Conj  
 carefully do try and V emphatic emphatic then
- (312) *H* : *âa , nâ? lê nâ? yò hê .*  
 . Interj M<sub>prfx</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> M<sub>prfx</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! black topic black declarative probably

- (313) *qha-pə̀-ə̀-ə̀ nâ? yò hé .*  
 AE M<sub>prfx</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 everything black declarative probably
- (314) *Ĝ : ñà tí qo è? nâ? ve yò ... pĕ*  
 . Pron P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> M<sub>prfx</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub>  
 I topicalizer emphatic black nominalizer declarative enough  
*ò lĕ , tĕ pĕ? lĕ .*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub>  
 completed action request for assent this time
- (315) *H : háa , šú kà? dĕ gâ ve yò*  
 . Interj N P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 ah! tobacco topicalizer smoke (tobacco) desiderative nominalizer declarative  
*lâ .*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 yes
- (316) *Ĝ : êe , pĕ ò lĕ .*  
 . Interj V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 yes enough completed action request for assent
- (317) *H : šú ló dĕ ā ve yò nĕ .*  
 . N B<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 cigar sthg big smoke (tobacco) perfective nominalizer declarative emphatic
- (318) *nĕ â dĕ lĕ-ā .*  
 Pron Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 you negative smoke (tobacco) yes
- (319) *Somebody : šú-lĕ? kà? â cĕ qô?-ma .*  
 . N P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 cigar even negative be there emphatic
- (320) *Ĝ : pĕ ò lĕ tĕ pĕ? lĕ .*  
 . V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> NP<sub>q</sub>  
 enough completed action urging this time
- (321) *H : pĕ ò lâ .*  
 . V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 enough completed action yes
- (322) *Ĝ : yĕ jâ ò .*  
 . V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 be long very completed action
- (323) *H : ô pĕ ò qo cĕ ò .*  
 . Interj V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 oh! enough completed action if be right completed action

## Translation

1. H: Well, what shall we do with ourselves today, Cà-gâ? ?
2. Cà-gâ? : Why, we can do whatever we please!<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Lit: “Whatever we do, we do it!”

3. H: Well then, let's go hunting, shall we?
4. Cà-gâ?: We'll go hunting!
5. H: Over there, above Kè-pa-tâw?<sup>2</sup> valley, we'll climb up and hunt above the Pu-pî River, okay?
6. Cà-gâ? : I'd like to go, if that's where [we're going]. The squirrels—there are plenty of squirrels<sup>3</sup> there. Lots of barking-deer too.
7. H: If you catch a barking-deer, do you plan to sell the meat?
8. Cà-gâ? : Well, sure, of course I'll sell it.
9. H: How much per kilo would you sell it for?
10. Cà-gâ? : Oh, I probably wouldn't sell it for less than twelve baht a kilo.
11. H: Hm—if you did get a barking-deer, you'd get back your investment in buying the gun, wouldn't you?
12. Cà-gâ?: Sure, I certainly would get it back.
13. H: Let's hunt then, let's hunt! Why don't you go around [tracking]<sup>4</sup> on that steep slope over there and force them down into that grove of mē-šâ bamboo .<sup>5</sup> I'll go and wait down there.
14. Cà-gâ?: Okay, fine. I'll drive them down for you, all right! Hey, Blackie<sup>6</sup>! Hey! Hey!
15. H: I haven't gotten there yet. Don't do it yet! Let me make my way down first.
16. Cà-gâ?: Be careful now. Wow! There sure are lots of tracks [up here]!
17. H: Okay, wind your way downward—down now.
18. Cà-gâ?: Keep right on their trail down there!
19. H: Drive 'em [down], drive 'em [down]!
20. Cà-gâ?: Hey, hey! Hey, Blackie, Blackie! Hey, something's moving down there! Be careful now!
21. H: Be quiet, be quiet, a barking-deer's coming down now.
22. Cà-gâ?: It's gone, it's gone.
- [Noise made by the deer, then the sound of the gun]
23. H: Hey, now it's gone into the river down there—into the river!
24. Cà-gâ?: What is it?
25. H: It's a big buck, I tell you, a buck.
26. Cà-gâ?: Gee, it'll taste great today—when we boil it up and eat it!
27. H: Oho, its hindquarters have gotten stuck right into the river-bed! Come on down, come on down! Come help me carry my gun. I can't lift it all by myself.<sup>7</sup>
28. Cà-gâ?: Aw, you carry it by yourself! I can't do it now. I'm too tired.
29. H: Just come on down first, down here.

<sup>2</sup>Kè-pa-tâw? is a Thai village below Huey Tat, in the valley of the same name.

<sup>3</sup>fâ? is really the generic term for all rodents: squirrels, porcupines, badgers, rats, etc. English 'rodent' has quite a different stylistic value, and is avoided in the translation.

<sup>4</sup>c e ve lit., 'go around in circles,' 'wind one's way.'

<sup>5</sup>mē-šâ bamboo: a kind of large bamboo that indicates good rice and chili land. See DL:1018.

<sup>6</sup>His hunting-dog.

<sup>7</sup>Because he'll need both hands to carry the barking-deer.

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30. Cà-gâ? : To where?
31. H: It's below where you are now, below the clump of mè-šâ bamboo, in the ravine.
32. Cà-gâ? : Below here, huh?
33. H: Yeah, down there, down there.
34. Cà-gâ?: The gulch is deep, you know! I can't make it.
35. H: Come pick your way down the hill over on that side there.
36. Cà-gâ?: By way of that hill, you say?
37. H: Yeah, by that peak–by that dark-colored one.
38. Cà-gâ?: I can't get down that ridge over there! The ground's too steep.
39. H: [Use] the footholds, the footholds<sup>8</sup> – there are elephant footprints like steps [going down the slope].
40. Cà-gâ?: If I make a false step, it's right down into the river!
41. H: So look where you're going! You've got eyes.
42. Cà-gâ?: Even with eyes I'm sure I'll fall! The ground's awfully steep.
43. H: You won't fall, you won't fall. Just get to that clump of suckers over there, nice and slow–
44. Cà-gâ?: You're sure<sup>9</sup> then, are you? That I won't fall.
45. H: Sure I'm sure!
46. Cà-gâ?: You can't be sure! You'll cause the death of a fellow-man!
47. H: You won't die, you jerk!<sup>10</sup>
48. Cà-gâ?: Otherwise even if you do get the animal, I won't live to eat it!
49. H: You just stay up there on the mountaintop and wait. I'll carry it up for you, if that's the way you want it.
50. Cà-gâ?: Well now, in that case I'll just sit myself down nicely up there for you.<sup>11</sup> Do be careful carrying it up here now, that thing down there! Shall I climb up there?
51. H: Sit<sup>12</sup> and wait, sit and wait! I'll carry it for you, I'll carry it up for you.
- [*The deer is brought up the mountain*]
52. Cà-gâ?: Wow, this barking deer weighs as much as 1 khó<sup>13</sup> plus 5 baskets of paddy! It's heavy to carry. Isn't that right?
53. H: Yes. It's one khó plus five basketful. There's no doubt about it.<sup>14</sup>
54. Cà-gâ?: How many animals have you ever gotten–ones like this?
55. H: Why, I've been shooting them down like this and eating them [for so long that] my teeth have turned yellow already!

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<sup>8</sup>ḡ-qbhè? 'layer; tier; notch'.

<sup>9</sup>šî 'know' + ā 'perfective verb-particle, i.e. 'have something known; be sure of something.'

<sup>10</sup>The epithet is conveyed by the exaggerated intonation on šî 'die'.

<sup>11</sup>The use of the benefactive verb-particle lâ is ironic here—"I'll do you a favor and sit down!"

<sup>12</sup>mî 'sit' is also used in the sense of 'rest.'

<sup>13</sup>khó: a measure of weight equal to two tâ? . See DL:380, 600.

<sup>14</sup>Lit: "There's no place for saying", i.e., there's no gainsaying.

56. Cà-gâ?: They're yellow because you smoke tobacco, more likely.
57. H: I have tried smoking those great big Gold Flake<sup>15</sup> cigars, you know.
58. Cà-gâ?: Your teeth are yellow because you smoke, I'd say!
59. H: From eating barking-deer meat my teeth are all blocked up—there's white crud<sup>16</sup> stuck in the tips of my teeth.
60. Cà-gâ?: That can't be true! I'm awfully hungry today! Where shall we go to eat? Let's get with it and cut up the meat.
61. H: I wrapped up [something to eat] and carried it along. A big packet of sticky rice.<sup>17</sup>
62. Cà-gâ?: Give it here! Let's mix it up [with the meat] and eat it together.
63. H: Mix it up to eat, mix it up to eat! Like what's between the legs of Na-ší's father!<sup>18</sup>  
[laughter]
64. Cà-gâ?: It probably doesn't taste too good then. If you call your [food] by that name.
65. H: It tastes good, I tell you! "Between the legs of Na-ší's father" just means a big fucker<sup>19</sup> of a cake, that's all.
66. Cà-gâ?: In a few minutes we'll get this meat cut up and we'll cook the headman's portion.<sup>20</sup> We'll sink our teeth<sup>21</sup> into it!
67. H; Light a fire. Light a fire then.  
[A woman who was listening to the taping breaks in]: The headman's portion belongs to the elders!
68. Cà-gâ?: Shall I make a fire?
69. H: Mm-hm.
70. Cà-gâ?: Gee, I don't have any pine-splinters.<sup>22</sup> It's hard as hell to get it lit, isn't it?
71. H: Scratch us together some dry bamboo into a pile. Lay a big fire<sup>23</sup>, strike a match, and set it ablaze.
72. Cà-gâ?: If it's really [done with] dry bamboo it won't taste good at all, I tell you.
73. H: Don't let it get scorched in the fire. We'll get diarrhea!  
[laughter]
74. Cà-gâ?: I'll push it in and 'tube-roast'<sup>24</sup> it then. I'll cut off a mè-šâ bamboo tube over there—

<sup>15</sup>kâ-thô (also pronounced kle-thô?) < Thai klêt thōy 'Gold Flake'; a brand of Thai cigarettes.

<sup>16</sup>qhê 'excrement; any refuse, excretion, or dross.'

<sup>17</sup>câ-nô-c 'glutinous rice.' Used as provisions on outings away from home, because of its handy compactness.

<sup>18</sup>There is a joke here that the Lahu refused to explain to me because of its raunchy nature, and/or because it involved a particular person in the village. Na-ší is a girl's name. Lahu adults are often referred to by the names of their eldest child, a widespread practice in Southeast Asia known to anthropologists as *teknonymy*.

<sup>19</sup>kho-nú pà?-cí: kho-nú is < Thai khānôm 'cake'. pà?-cí is probably from pà? 'copulate' and cí 'stick together.' Cf. the Mexican slang word *chingada*, meaning 'a big lump of something' < *chingar* 'copulate'.

<sup>20</sup>š-šê 'headman's portion of killed game'. Since one of the hunters is the headman himself, they have the right to cook up that tender morsel immediately. See DL:207 and Plate 56.

<sup>21</sup>chê? câ 'bite and eat.' The hunters' delight at this prospect is understandable in view of the fact that the ordinary Lahu in this village only gets to eat meat a few times a year.

<sup>22</sup>a-kí: shards of pitch-pine, used for tinder.

<sup>23</sup>bì-phu 'large fire; bonfire'. à-mī bì-phu is how Paul Lewis translates 'fiery furnace' in his translation of the New Testament (1962).

<sup>24</sup>cà?-lá vâ ve: 'cook by inserting the food into a bamboo-tube and holding it over a flame'—"tube-roast." Opposed to pì ve 'roast by trying to a stick and holding over a flame'—"spit-roast." The lively pro-verb vâ, here meaning 'eat,' like the usual word câ 'eat' itself, occurs as the second member of compounds relating to the preparation of food, but is best omitted in translation.

## A day hunting and talking

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75. H: Better tie it to a stick and roast it, ‘spit-roast’ it! On a great big roasting-stick,<sup>25</sup> as long as your arm.

76. Cà-gâ?: When you spit-roast it, the wood makes it stink of soot! If you *tube*-roast it, then it’s fine!

77. H: Spit-roast it! Scrape (lit. ‘beat’) those embers over there [together into one place] and spit-roast it.

78. Cà-gâ?: In that case put some wood in, too. Right over there, then.

79. H: Break off some dry mè-pò bamboo<sup>26</sup> and put it in. Pick up some dry mè-pò, some dry bamboo and put it in.

[*Sound of match being struck*]

80a. Cà-gâ?: Well, now, in a little while, it’ll catch nicely and we’ll have it cooked up, right?

H: Mm-hm. Cà-gâ?: When we’re through eating in a few minutes, how shall we go back [to the village]? Why don’t we do some more hunting on our way back?

81. H: Let’s go back hunting over there outside of Pa-ho village<sup>27</sup>, in that narrow valley—over in those rattan thickets there.

82. Cà-gâ?: But if we’re carrying the meat like this, we won’t be able to go through any rattan thickets!

83. H: [If you don’t want to hunt anymore on the way back] you go on up there to the [easy] road along the mountain, while *I* do some sneaky shooting<sup>28</sup> down below—then I’ll pick up [what I’ve shot] and carry it up to you!

84. Cà-gâ? : Ha! The way you do it all you can catch is birds!<sup>29</sup>

85. H: I’ll catch him, all right. [There’s an animal / He’s] sleeping down there at the river. Big as life, with a hard-on<sup>30</sup>!

[*laughter*]

86. Cà-gâ?: You’ve got a foul mouth!<sup>31</sup>

87. H: Don’t I though!

88. Cà-gâ?: Animals have sharp ears. Things like barking-deer [run away at the first sound]—because they don’t have gall-bladders.<sup>32</sup>

89. H: It’s still way over there, the mountain after next. It’s still far. He probably can’t hear us.

90. Cà-gâ? : The mountain after next in that direction, eh? H: Mm-hm. Cà-gâ?: Nope. I bet you won’t be able to go quietly enough.

91. H: I’ll flit along softly on my little tippy-toes<sup>33</sup>!

[*laughter*]

92. Cà-gâ?: Then your legs will get numb on you.

93. H: I’ll twist my steps as I walk on tiptoes. So that I practically turn my [calf-]muscles inside out.

<sup>25</sup>ǎ-pì: ‘a spit-roast’—the meat together with the stick to which it is attached.

<sup>26</sup>mè-pò: ‘huge species of bamboo, edible when young’. See DL:1018.

<sup>27</sup>Pa-hô?: a Thai village near Huey Tat. See DL:803.

<sup>28</sup>jà? bô? ve ‘shoot stealthily’, i.e. to hunt on noiseless feet.

<sup>29</sup>Lit: “if it isn’t birds, you don’t catch anything to eat.” A good translation might be ‘your shooting is for the birds!’

<sup>30</sup>nī-qhè? pé è te ve ‘to have an erection’. Used also to mean ‘obvious, very much in evidence, as hard to ignore as an erected penis.’

<sup>31</sup>Lit: “It’s too much, your [speech].”

<sup>32</sup>According to traditional Lahu belief, the gall-bladder is the seat of courage in men and animals.

<sup>33</sup>Lit: “sneaking on tip-toes I’ll fly through the air.” mû-phe ‘the region above’



94. Cà-gâ?: You can't almost turn your muscles inside out that way!

95. H: Sure, I can actually<sup>34</sup> get my calf turned around to the front [of my leg]! You just watch as I go twisting along!

[laughter]

96. Cà-gâ?: What you say can't be true.<sup>35</sup>

97. H: I'll go carefully this time, I tell you.

98. Cà-gâ?: Well then, I'll try going [my way too], right? So I'll climb up there to the mountain slope, up along the road, and I'll wait for you up there then, okay?

99. H: Watch me carefully. I'll twist along<sup>36</sup> till I get under that banyan down there.

100. Cà-gâ? : Right. So I'll sit and wait for you up on that upper ridge then.

101. H: A while back I-kha's father went down there, and a barking-deer jumped out and ran away!

102. Cà-gâ?: Down there, eh?

103. H: Yeah, over there—Hey, didn't you hear a shot<sup>37</sup> just now down at the foot of the mountain?

104. Cà-gâ?: Well, since I'm high up here I can't hear too well, you know.

105. H: Look over there below the mountain with the grove of *mē-pô* – I mean *mē-cû-šé* trees! Shots are being fired on that barren mountain there.

106. Cà-gâ?: What are they shooting at then?

107. H: They're hunting squirrels! A little bunch of miserable<sup>38</sup> young squirrels<sup>39</sup> down there.

108. Cà-gâ?: Who are they then, the ones down there? How many of them are there?<sup>40</sup>

109. H: It's Cà-há and his crowd and that oaf Thû-yì and his bunch.<sup>41</sup> They're mumbling away about something down there.

110. Cà-gâ?: What would you say they're cooking up, those guys?<sup>42</sup> What are they looking for?

111. H: The barking-deer jumped right towards them, but they didn't even see it! It ran away down [the slope]!

112. Cà-gâ?: They won't get anything to eat.<sup>43</sup>

113. H: They probably won't now. That bunch of kids are awfully lazy.

114. Cà-gâ?: How many of them would you say have come? Are there any game-drivers<sup>44</sup> among those who've come down there?

<sup>34</sup>The meaning 'actually' is conveyed by the verb-particle *š5* 'still' i.e., "no matter what you say."

<sup>35</sup>Lit. "It is not to such an extent, your [words]."

<sup>36</sup>*ší phê* "twist forth" is slang for 'go.'

<sup>37</sup>*vâ* is here used as a pro-verb for *bô?* 'shoot,' as is clear from *qhe*, the classifier for gunshots. The particle *qha-pâ?* is used especially when auditory perception is at issue. See DL:272.

<sup>38</sup>*cho lù-kí* 'wretches'; lit. "ruined and rotten people".

<sup>39</sup>*yâ-qè?-ku*: an insulting term for an adolescent.

<sup>40</sup>*š-me qhà-ní gâ le*: lit. "how many names are there?"

<sup>41</sup>The pluralizer *hi* is usable after proper names, like Japanese *-tachi*. *qā-* is an uncomplimentary prefix to names. *Thû-yì* was actually one of the brightest young men in the village, and a good friend of the Headman! See DL:681.

<sup>42</sup>*te câ* (vV + V<sub>h</sub>), lit. "do in order to eat", i.e. do for an envisaged advantage. *te-câ* can also be construed as a compound meaning 'to cook', so that the translation "What are they cooking up?" works well.

<sup>43</sup>The standard Lahu phrase for "to be unsuccessful in hunting."

<sup>44</sup>*šā-gâ?-pā*: members of the hunting party, armed with knives (and sometimes guns) and accompanied by dogs, who drive the game to where the "shooters" (*šā-bô?-pā*) are lying in wait.

A day hunting and talking

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115. H: I saw some drivers just now driving [the game] down from an old field up over there.

116. Cà-gâ? : Up over there, huh?

117. H: Mm-hm.

118. Cà-gâ?: Who are they, the game-drivers?

119. H: It looks like the ones down there driving the game are north-country A-leh<sup>45</sup> folk. The A-leh are supposed to have black tips to their turds<sup>46</sup>, you know.

120. Cà-gâ?: Come on! You're really too much, you know....

[*They fall into a story-telling mood*]

Once upon a time there were some people—er—a father-in-law and a son-in-law. This man got himself a son-in-law, see. He was very happy about it. Well, so he cuts off this great big hunk of meat and boils it—but in this meat there was a little bit of gristle, see?

121. H: Uh-huh.

122. Cà-gâ? : Well, here they serve it up, see, after the wedding, they put it down and here they are eating and this son-in-law he's sitting right next to his father-in-law, see. So he takes and bites off this great big piece, the biggest piece of all—and it happens to have the gristle!

123. H: The gristle, huh?

124. Cà-gâ? : Right. He wants to throw it away, but he can't. He's ashamed before his father-in-law. So he takes and bites into it with all his might, a little too violently, and he bites so hard that his elbow pokes his father-in-law in the forehead, right between the eyes, and the father-in-law keels over! Nobody could do a thing.

125. H: Gee, when you tell this it reminds<sup>47</sup> me of something that happened to me once a long time ago.

126. Cà-gâ?: What was it?

127. H: Once when I went over to Meu-heh and Meu-khaw<sup>48</sup>, they boiled up some chicken to feed me and they put in about three fingers' worth of wild ginger. When I took and chewed it, I passed the hell out<sup>49</sup>!

[*laughter*]

128. Cà-gâ?: Then there's a story about another person who passed out. He was riding along on a bicycle. He was headed for a government office building<sup>50</sup> someplace.<sup>51</sup> Well, on the way to the government office, there were paddy-field dikes<sup>52</sup>, see. It was an unusual way to go. Well, there was this buffalo-herder up behind<sup>53</sup> him on the road. From where he was behind him, he calls out to this old fellow [on the bicycle]: "Where are you going?" he says. Now [the guy] happened to be right near the water [in a paddy field],

<sup>45</sup> **má-nó A-lé: má-nó** 'north-country' < Thai *myaj nyá*. 'A-leh' is the designation of a minor subgroup of Lahu in Yunnan, considered to be a kind of Lahu Shehleh, rather closely related to Black Lahu. See DL:81.

<sup>46</sup> **qhê-mê** can mean either 'turd', or more specifically, 'the tip of a turd'. **nâ?** means 'black', but can also be used for any dark color, e.g. dark brown. When the meaning 'black' is insisted upon the intensified form **nâ?-tɔ̄** is used. See DL:752.

<sup>47</sup> Lit: "when (you) say like this, I had (something) once a long time ago."

<sup>48</sup> **Mô-khō** is a Northern Thai and Karen village a day's walk from Huey Tat. **Mô-hé** is a Northern Thai village near **Mô-khō**. See DL:1047.

<sup>49</sup> **chō-khō mâ nō**: lit. "not be aware of human speech". According to context, this can mean either 'be unconscious', or 'be unreasonable'.

<sup>50</sup> **šá-ná-yè: šáná** < Bse. 'government office'; yè 'house.'

<sup>51</sup> **ô ɔ̄-qhê** "like over there."

<sup>52</sup> **ti-mi ð-tê**: raised earth-boundaries around an irrigated paddy-field, serving to keep the water from running out.

<sup>53</sup> **yà?-qɔ̄ na pá** "the upper part of the road"—i.e., the part the man on the bike had already traversed, i.e. the part behind him. Contra DL:1268, where the phrase is glossed 'the part of the road remaining to be traversed'.

see. So, when he turns around to look back up the road, the bicycle goes right down into the water. [The buffalo-herder] had just said to him, “Where are you going?” right? So he answered, “To the off–”<sup>54</sup>

129. H: “To the off–?”

130. Cà-ğâ?: Yeah, he didn’t have time to say ‘office,’ so he could only say ‘off–’ before he sank into the water!

131. H: I see.

132. Cà-ğâ?: Well, the bicycle was swallowed up down there. He couldn’t get it back again. All he could get out was his hat, so he went back home and changed his clothes. Then he went off again.

133. H: I had a time like that once too. [I was walking] someplace when I slipped and fell head over heels onto a ridge off the edge of the path<sup>55</sup>!

134. Cà-ğâ?: (laughing) Wow, that was too much, something like that!

135. H: When I looked around afterwards there I was smack under a clump of jujubes <sup>56</sup>! To think I’d landed down there!

136. Cà-ğâ?: That was really too much!

137. H: I was worried that somebody might see me screwing my way back up<sup>57</sup> [to the road], so I climbed up in a hurry, hauled myself up and set myself [on the road] again, then I headed the hell back for home and reached my house. That really happened to me.

138. Cà-ğâ?: Nothing like that’s ever happened to me yet.

139. H: Huh?

140. Cà-ğâ?: I said, that has never happened to me yet.

141. H: It really happened. I skidded and fell downhill, by God. The safety-fence <sup>58</sup> went smash too, I tell you. Against my shins as I crashed down through it!

142. Cà-ğâ?: You must’ve been carefree in those days!

143. H: Very carefree.

144. Cà-ğâ?: Well, how did you<sup>59</sup> court the girls in those days, then?

145. H: I’d buy them<sup>60</sup> a pack of cigarettes someplace, and I’d buy some perfumed powder<sup>61</sup>, and I’d buy a box of matches, then I’d go scratching my matches down in the middle of the village, making big red flames. Then the girls would come and say “Give me a smoke, give me a smoke<sup>62</sup>!”

146. Cà-ğâ?: Then how would you give them a smoke?

147. H: I’d say to them “Come on over there, let’s go over there.” When we got there I’d give each one of them a cigarette. Then I’d say, “I’ve still got lots more of these, if you’d like to smoke again. Let’s go over there...”

<sup>54</sup>The original is in Thai: “**paj am-**.” He doesn’t have time to finish his phrase **paj amphə** “(I’m) going to the government office.”

<sup>55</sup>This was a serious matter, since he could have fallen several hundred feet to his death.

<sup>56</sup>The jujube-branches broke his fall. The onomatopoetic adverb **phən kà?** can also be used for gusts of wind.

<sup>57</sup>**qə?-pə?-qə?-la-** this morpheme **pə?** is probably to be identified with the verb ‘to copulate’-it is here being used as an obscene pro-verb in an elaborate expression.

<sup>58</sup>**kə-tà:** (tà ‘stick’); sticks planted by the side of steep mountain paths. See DL:357.

<sup>59</sup>The noun-particle **mə** is a strong (often contrastive) topicalizer.

<sup>60</sup>There is an anomalous use of **lā** here instead of **pī** for 3rd person benefaction, undoubtedly to make it more vivid, as if he’s interacting directly with the girls.

<sup>61</sup>**phū-də hó:** **phū-də** < Bse. < Eng ‘powder.’ **hó** < Shan ‘sweet-smelling’.

<sup>62</sup>**tə ve:** The causative of **də ve** ‘to drink, to smoke.’

148. Cà-gâ?: Aha. Well, then there's [a story about] another person. In this story it seems there was a certain woman. She got herself married<sup>63</sup> and her man was as happy as could be. (But) when the people were fed [at the wedding feast], he didn't eat, see. When night fell he said to his wife, "Give me something to eat." (But) there was no food left. Well, this fellow all of a sudden took up a—what do you call it—er, an earthen (rice-)pot, see, and stuck his hand in, and fished around in it for rice with his hand—with his fist. And it got stuck in there! Fishing around for rice it got stuck, and no matter what he did he couldn't get it out again. The fellow had a bald head, and the moonlight outside was shining, and the moonbeams struck his head, you see. As it was hitting his head, as the light was shining on it, [his wife] took [the pot] that was stuck [on his hand] and bashed him on the head with it. She thought it was a rock, you see. And boy, were they a couple that were sorry afterwards!<sup>64</sup>—Let's stop here, okay?<sup>65</sup> It's enough for now, isn't it?

149. H: I don't think it's enough yet. I'm sure there's plenty more [we could say].<sup>66</sup>

150. Cà-gâ?: I bet it's enough, as much as we've done.

151. H: Hurry and keep going!

152. Cà-gâ?: My throat is killing me. I want to have a cigarette now. It's enough, okay?

153. H: Do you know what is meant by "Red Lahu" and "Lahu Mâ-ná"?

154. Cà-gâ?: How do you mean?

155. H: When we say 'Red Lahu' and 'Lahu Mâ-ná.'

156. Cà-gâ?: Isn't it because the Red Lahu have red stripes on the skirts and jackets that they wear? So they're called 'Red Lahu.'

157. H: Well, what about 'Mâ-ná,' then? 'Mâ-ná.'

158. Cà-gâ?: This calling them 'Mâ-ná' is supposed to be because they live up north—that's why they're called 'Mâ-ná'.

159. H: I see. Then what about the ones called "A-leh"?

160. Cà-gâ?: [They're called] A-leh because they're supposed to be more *ca-leh-ver* than others!<sup>67</sup>

161. H: Oh.

162. Cà-gâ?: So other people call them "A-leh." Because whatever they do they're *ca-leh-verer* at it than anybody else.

163. H: They're supposed to be cleverer?

164. Cà-gâ?: Yes.

165. H: So that's why people give them that name, according to you! Their shit is black, too. Now I've also heard it said that the Red Lahu have red shit. I wonder if it is red, like they say!

166. Cà-gâ?: I daresay yours is black, too, your shit.

167. H: I've never actually picked it out of my butt to look at it!<sup>68</sup>

[laughter]

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<sup>63</sup>lâ?-q̄ tō? ve: 'get married', lit. "lay arms atop (each other)".

<sup>64</sup>bo te ve means 'to repent' among its other shades of meaning. See DL:942.

<sup>65</sup>Cà-gâ? is tired of talking into the tape-recorder.

<sup>66</sup>Note the allofamy between p̄e 'be enough' and p̄e 'be plenty'.

<sup>67</sup>"Ca-leh-ver" is an attempt to convey the pun in the Lahu original between A-lé and the adjective l̄e? 'clever'.

<sup>68</sup>Note the 4-verb concatenation: q̄d? 'V back' + q̄e 'pick out of' + ni 'V and see' + m̄d 'witness the action'.

168. Cà-ğâ?: In that case, do take a good look at it!
169. H: Well, I suppose it is black, at that. It's probably all quite black.
170. Cà-ğâ?: Mine is certainly black—Come on, now, that's enough already!
171. H: What—do you want to have a smoke?
172. Cà-ğâ? : Yeah, that's enough already!
173. H: I've already smoked a big cigar. Aren't you smoking?
- (A voice) 174 There aren't even any cigars.
175. Cà-ğâ?: Enough now, I tell you!
176. H: You've had enough?
177. Cà-ğâ?: It's awfully long already.
178. H: Oh, if you've had enough that's all right.

#### **4 Subsistence activities: Fishing**

## 4.1 Going fishing

- (1) *ŋà yàʔ-ni ð-chô tê ġâ ca jè lɛ , ŋâ t̄*  
 Pron N<sub>time</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> N V  
 I today friend one for humans go and do discuss suspensive fish dam a stream  
*ve*  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer
- (2) *làʔ-šá-ġi qhɔ̄ ɔ̄*  
 N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 right-hand fork of a stream in locative
- (3) *ŋâ mè ve pa-mô à lɔ̄*  
 N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 fish delicious nominalizer carp sp. asseverative emphatic declarative
- (4) *pa-mô qhô ló ve ā qo ŋâ mè ló*  
 N M<sub>px</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V<sub>adj</sub> V  
 carp sp. superior to be special nominalizer durative topic I delicious be special  
*ve mâ m̄*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V  
 nominalizer negative see
- (5) *ŋâ ɔ̄ ca t̄ qay lɛ , pa-mô ca ca*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V  
 fish topic go and do dam a stream go and V suspensive carp sp. go and do look for  
*qay lɛ , mô ɔ̄ ð-ġi-mi ɔ̄ gâ á*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 go and V suspensive down there locative downstream locative reach perfective  
*lɛ , nô lo ɔ̄ ð-ġi-ú ɔ̄ ú ɔ̄ tê l̄*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 suspensive up there locative locative upstream locative head locative one for streams  
*làʔ-mē-pá tê l̄ , ð-mi ɔ̄ q̄ʔ t̄ʔ e*  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub>  
 left hand side one for streams downstream part from V again climb up motion away  
*nô lo ɔ̄ qhɔ̄-ji ɔ̄ q̄ʔ la lɛ , q̄ʔ*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 up there locative locative hilltop locative return motion towards suspensive return  
*lɛ ŋâ á-qhɔ̄ q̄ʔ gâ lɛ , a-ví-a-ni àʔ p̄ c̄*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 suspensive my home V again reach suspensive relatives accusative share V to eat  
*ve l̄*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer affirmative (RL)
- (6) *qhâʔ-šɛ qhâʔ-lɛ àʔ p̄ c̄ ve , k̄ ló*  
 N N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> B<sub>n</sub>  
 headman assistant headman accusative share V to eat nominalizer old (of people) senior  
*àʔ p̄ c̄ ve , chɔ̄-m̄-chɔ̄-ho , qha qay mâ ġa*  
 P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> Adv V Adv V<sub>v</sub>  
 accusative share V to eat nominalizer elders (Red Lahu) all go negative manage to

Going fishing

	<i>ve</i>	<i>yâ-nè</i>		<i>chi-nî</i>	<i>qô?-ma</i>	.
	P <sub>univ</sub>	N		Num	P <sub>uf</sub>	
	nominalizer	unmarried young men		all of them	emphatic	
(7)	<i>ŋà</i>	<i>tê ġâ le-le</i>	<i>mâ</i>	<i>pè</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>mâ</i> <i>cò</i> .
	Pron	NP <sub>q</sub>	Adv	V	P <sub>univ</sub>	Adv V
	I	everybody	negative	share	nominalizer	negative be there
(8)	<i>pè</i>	<i>câ</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>yò</i>	.	
	V	V <sub>v</sub>	P <sub>univ</sub>	P <sub>uf</sub>		
	divide up	V to eat	nominalizer	declarative		
(9)	<i>qha</i>	<i>ġa</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>mè</i>	<i>lâ</i>	<i>mâ</i> <i>mè</i>
	Adv	V	P <sub>univ</sub>	V <sub>adj</sub>	P <sub>unf</sub>	Adv V <sub>adj</sub>
	all	catch	nominalizer	delicious	indirect question (RL)	negative delicious
	<i>lâ</i>	<i>mâ</i>	<i>šī</i>	, <i>qha šū</i>	<i>te</i> <i>ve</i>	<i>yò</i> .
	P <sub>unf</sub>	Adv	V	AE	V P <sub>univ</sub>	P <sub>uf</sub>
	indirect question (RL)	negative	know	in the same way	do nominalizer	declarative

**Translation**

1. Today I talked things over with a friend of mine and we went to dam a stream to catch fish.
2. In the right-hand fork.
3. There were delicious carp there!<sup>1</sup>
4. I have never seen a fish more delicious than a carp.
5. Having gone off to dam for fish, going off to look for carp, we reached the downstream end, then taking the left-hand fork up there to the head of the stream, we climbed up from downstream and arrived up there at the hilltop, then we turned back and when I got home I shared [the fish] with my relatives.
6. I shared them with the headman and the assistant headman, I shared them with the elders, with the old folks and with all the young guys who couldn't go [fishing].
7. There was no one that I did not share it with.
8. I shared it all for them to eat.
9. I don't know whether everything that I caught tasted good or not, but I did it just the same.

<sup>1</sup>Lit., "A delicious fish is the carp!" This Red Lahu sentence is not quite grammatical in Black Lahu, since à 'asseverative' is a verb-particle in BL, but in this sentence it is occurring after a noun. A more normal BL sentence would be: **pa-mô lè ŋâ mè à lo**.



## 4.2 The women go fishing

- (1) : *qhò-qhe tē qhâ t̄ ò* .  
 N<sub>intg</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 which? one for ways dam a stream substantive qst
- (2) : *Mē-thà?-lây ̄ t̄ câ ve cε yò nē* .  
 N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 Metalai locative dam a stream V to eat nominalizer just declarative emphatic
- (3) : *ηà kà? qay mē* .  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 I also go emphatic
- (4) : *qay , qay* .  
 V V  
 go go
- (5) : *th̄-qwè? kà? pû mē* .  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 mattock also carry on the back emphatic
- (6) : *cí-qô? kà? pû mē* .  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 hoe also carry on the back emphatic
- (7) : *pû ve tí yò-è?* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 carry on the back nominalizer exactly emphatic declarative
- (8) : *cí-qè?-pha kà? pû* .  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 plastic sheet also carry on the back
- (9) : *gã pû yò* .  
 vV V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 must carry on the back declarative
- (10) *mâ pû qo lè í-kâ? ī jâ ve*  
 Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 negative carry on the back if topic water high (of body of water) very nominalizer  
*pa-tò lε mâ t̄ gâ tâ* .  
 P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 because of suspensive negative dam a stream succeed in negative probability
- (11) : *qhe-qo kà? tē qhâ ̄ , l-qà chi tē cà*  
 Conj P<sub>unf</sub> Num N P<sub>unf</sub> N Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 so topicalizer one way of thinking topic fork in stream this one for sections  
*nī cà gã te t̄ hε nē* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> vV vV V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 two for sections have to do and dam a stream probably emphatic
- (12) : *gã te ve yò* .  
 vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 have to do nominalizer declarative

The women go fishing

- (13) *nò-hí-nè ð-e-ð-yâ ̄ , ú ̄ qha-dê? t̄* .  
 Pron Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> M<sub>prfx</sub> P<sub>n</sub> AE V  
 you (dual) mother and child topic upstream locative properly dam a stream
- (14) *ηà mē-mi te a* .  
 Pron M<sub>prfx</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 I downstream do intentive
- (15) : *qha-dê? te ve yò* .  
 AE V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 properly do nominalizer declarative
- (16) *nò qha-dê? l̄ à? mē* .  
 Pron AE V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 you properly wait for durative urging
- (17) : *ô pá ̄ chē ɔ nê-̄ , ηâ* .  
 N<sub>sd</sub> M<sub>prfx</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N  
 that side locative stay affirmative suppositional fish
- (18) : *qhð-qhe kà? chē à? d̄ qo ð-chi kà? ġa*  
 interrogative noun phrase (NP<sub>intg</sub>) V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub> vV  
 wherever stay durative plan topic this place also must  
*t̄ ve tí yò-ê?* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 dam a stream nominalizer exactly emphatic declarative
- (19) : *ô-pá ̄ t̄ à? nē* .  
 N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 that side locative dam a stream durative emphatic
- (20) *ô-pá ̄ t̄-? lò* .  
 N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V<sub>imp</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 that side locative dam (the stream)! urging
- (21) *ô-pá ̄ chē ɔ hē , ηâ* .  
 N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N  
 that side locative be there affirmative probably fish
- (22) : *ηà ̄ jè? d̄ phò? lâ a* .  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 I topic earth dig pile up benefactive (non-3p) intentive
- (23) *nò-hí-nè ð-e-ð-yâ ̄ há-pi ġò? k̄* .  
 Pron Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V V  
 you (dual) mother and child topic stone pick up stack up
- (24) : *ηà lē ġâ-thè? p̄ nē ve yò*  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Adv vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 I topic energetically carry in order to V plaster sthg on nominalizer declarative  
*qò?ma* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (25) : *qha-dê? te ve tí yò-ê?* .  
 AE V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 properly do nominalizer just emphatic declarative

- (26) *â te qo qhâ-qhe te ġa câ tû è* .  
 Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative do if how get to eat future substantive qst
- (27) *thôo , kĕ-ni nā pĕ?-šô te ā lĕ*  
 Interj N N AE V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 Lord Buddha! sweat forehead trickling copiously be a certain way durative suspensive  
*t̄ cĕ ve tí yò* .  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 dam a stream V for a living nominalizer just declarative
- (28) *yâ-pû-yâ-qa te ā lĕ* .  
 Elab<sub>adv</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 with kids on one's hands be occupied with durative suspensive
- (29) : *ġâ é kâ? l-câ ve qhe ġa te ve yò*  
 Pron N P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 my baby even wait to be fed nominalizer like this have to do nominalizer declarative  
*qô?-ma* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (30) : *yâ-ò , yâ-ò , ġâ l̄-pû kâ? l-câ â? ve , á-gho*  
 V V Pron N P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 yeah! yeah! my husband also wait to be fed durative nominalizer home  
 ̄  
 P<sub>n</sub>  
 locative
- (31) : *nò-hĕ-nĕ ð-e-ð-yâ ò , ð-ú ̄ jè? qha-dĕ? dū*  
 Pron Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> M<sub>prfx</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N AE V  
 you (dual) mother and child vocative upstream locative earth properly dig  
*nĕ* .  
 V  
 plaster sthg on
- (32) *ġâ ð-mĕ-mi t̄ a šā* .  
 Pron N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 I downstream dam a stream tentative intentional (1p)
- (33) : *thôo ġâ-thè? ve yò* .  
 Interj Adv P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 whew! energetically nominalizer declarative
- (34) *mâ? è mâ? te-qo lĕ* .  
 V P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 hungry also hungry because topic
- (35) : *pòthôo , l-qa qha-dĕ? t̄ mĕ* .  
 Interj N AE V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 wow! fork in stream properly dam a stream emphatic
- (36) *í-kâ? qha-dĕ? t̄ mĕ* .  
 N AE V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 water properly be blocked off emphatic

The women go fishing

- (37) *pòthôo* *ŋâ* *yà?* *la* *ve* *a-cí-cí mâ hê?* *ɔ* .  
 Interj N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> VP P<sub>uf</sub>  
 gee! fish come down come to V nominalizer in droves exclamatory
- (38) *pòthôo* , *ŋâ-thɛ-qô* *qhɔ* *ɔ̄* *lò?* *la* *ve* .  
 Interj N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 wow! huge basket for trapping fish inside locative enter come to V nominalizer  
*qô?* *qo* *kà?* *qha-bî-qha-šê?* *phê?* *ò* .  
 P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>adv</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 topicalizer topicalizer full to overflowing be a certain way completed action
- (39) *yù* *kà?* *mâ* *ġa* *lɔ* .  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 pick up even negative be able emphatic declarative
- (40) *hâ?-hâ?* *te* *lɛ* , *hâ?-hâ?* *te* *ġô?* *yà?* *la* *mē* .  
 AE V P<sub>unf</sub> AE <sub>v</sub>V V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quickly do suspensive quickly do and pick up come down come to V emphatic
- (41) : *pòthôo* , *pòthôo* , *ɔ̄-na* *kà?* *tâ?* *la* *ò* .  
 Interj Interj N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 goodness me! goodness me! up there also go up come to V completed action
- (42) *yà?-ni* *lê* *chi qhe* *ve* *à?* *ca* *à?* *ve* *yò* .  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 today topic like this genitivizer accusative look for durative nominalizer declarative
- (43) *mà?* *jâ* *ġâ-thê?* *mē* .  
 V V<sub>v</sub> Adv P<sub>uf</sub>  
 hungry very energetically emphatic
- (44) *pòthôo* , *pòthôo* *ŋâ-hu-qô?* *lón* *chi hi chi hi* *ve* *yà?*  
 Interj Interj N B<sub>n</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V  
 wow! wow! small edible fish with big mouth sthg big great big genitivizer come down  
*la* *ve* *a-cí-cí mâ hê?* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> VP  
 come to V nominalizer in droves
- (45) *pòthôo* *nò-hí-nè* *qhà-qhe* *te* *câ* *ve* *le* .  
 Interj Pron N<sub>intg</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 hey! you (dual) how? do V to eat nominalizer substantive qst
- (46) *hâ?-hâ?* *là* *ò?* *qô?-ma* *nē* .  
 AE V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quickly come urging imperative emphatic emphatic
- (47) *hâ?-hâ?* *là* *ò?* .  
 AE V P<sub>v</sub>  
 quickly come urging imperative
- (48) : *yà?* *e* *ve* *â* *hê?* *nè-ɔ̄* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 descend motion away nominalizer negative be the case suppositional
- (49) *tâ?* *la* *ve* *nè-ɔ̄* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 go up come to V nominalizer suppositional

- (50) : *mâ hê?*      ɔ                      ,      *mâ hê?*      ɔ                      .  
 Adv + V      P<sub>uf</sub>                      Adv + V      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 not be the case      affirmative      not be the case      affirmative
- (51) *hâ?-hâ?* *yâ?*                      *la*                      .  
 AE      V                      P<sub>v</sub>  
 quickly      come down      come to V
- (52) *hâ?*      *yâ?*                      *la*                      *tí*      *te*      .  
 Adv      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>      V  
 quickly      come down      come to V      just      do
- (53) : *ɲà*      *ni*                      *qo*      *tâ?*      *la*                      *ve*                      *šũ*                      *à*                      .  
 Pron      V                      P<sub>unf</sub>      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>  
 I      look at      topic      go up      come to V      nominalizer      be the same as      asseverative
- (54) : *mâ hê?*                      .  
 Adv + V  
 not be the case
- (55) *mâ*                      *tâ?*      *la*                      *ve*                      *qô?-ma*      .  
 Adv      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative      go up      come to V      nominalizer      emphatic
- (56) *hâ?-hâ?* *yâ?*                      *la-?*                      *qô?-ma*      .  
 AE      V                      P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quickly      come down      motion toward (imperative)      emphatic
- (57) *nò-hí-nè*                      *à-e-à-yâ*                      *ò*                      .  
 Pron                      Elab<sub>n</sub>                      P<sub>n</sub>  
 you (dual)      mother and child      vocative
- (58) : *tâ?*      *la*                      *ò*                      ,      *tâ?*      *la*                      *ò*                      .  
 V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>v</sub>                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>v</sub>  
 go up      come to V      completed action      go up      come to V      completed action
- (59) *thôo*      *yâ?-ni*      *lè-è-é-é*      *ğà*      *šĩ-e-yò*                      *ma*                      .  
 Interj      N<sub>time</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>      V                      VP                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 wow!      today      topic      catch      awfully much      exclamatory
- (60) *hâ?-hâ?* *te*      *ɛ*                      *hâ?-hâ?* *te*                      *ğš?*      *la*                      *o*                      .  
 AE      V                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      AE      vV                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quickly      do      suspensive      quickly      do and      pick up      come to V      emphatic
- (61) : *á-qhɔ*      *ɔ̄*                      *gà*      *qo*      *qha bú? è*      *te*                      *vân*                      *a*                      .  
 N                      P<sub>n</sub>                      V                      P<sub>unf</sub>      AE<sub>stat</sub>      vV                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>  
 home      locative      reach      when      to satiety      do and      eat enthusiastically      vigorous action
- (62) : *mû*                      *kà?*      *phà?*                      *pâ-nê*      *la*                      *yò*                      *mē*                      .  
 N                      P<sub>unf</sub>      V                      M<sub>px</sub>      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 heavens      also      get dark      near      come to V      declarative      emphatic
- (63) : *phà?*                      *e*                      *thô*      *ɔ̄*                      *a-kí*                      *tú*                      *qò?*      *e*                      .  
 V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>      N                      V                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>  
 get dark      V more and more      even if      topic      pitch pine      burn sthg      return      motion away

The women go fishing

- ve tí yò-è?*  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer just emphatic declarative
- (64) : *chi tê l-qā tí t̄ kà? ηā kīlō kh̄? kīlō*  
Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
this one for forks in a stream only dam a stream even five kilogram six kilogram
- gā hé mā*  
V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
get probably exclamatory
- (65) : *gā ve tí yò-è?*  
V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
catch nominalizer exactly emphatic declarative
- (66) *nè-á l̄-pū ha-lè ve yà?-pí lè là? tha š̄ è*  
Pron N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V AE<sub>stat</sub>  
our (dual) husband happy nominalizer tonight topic hand clap (hands) noisily
- qay yò nè-̄*  
V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
go a certain way declarative suppositional
- (67) : *thō , ηā l̄-pū kà? ha-lè ve lè-ē-é – thō , yè-q̄?-yè-le*  
Interj Pron N P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Interj Elab<sub>n</sub>  
wow! my old man also happy nominalizer topic wow! all over the house
- h̄-hí-h̄-hí te t̄ ḡ yò hé và*  
Adv<sub>onomat</sub> vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
giggling do and go around V for fun declarative probably emphatic
- (68) : *qha bū? è te vān lò , l̄-pū ò , q̄? gā*  
AE<sub>stat</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> vV V  
to satiety do and eat enthusiastically urging old man vocative V back arrive
- la ò*  
P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
come to V completed action
- (69) *qha bū? è te vān lò*  
AE<sub>stat</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub>  
to satiety do and go for it urging
- (70) *hā? te vān ò?*  
Adv vV V P<sub>v</sub>  
quickly do and go for it urging imperative
- (71) *pòthō ηā pε ve th̄ yà?-ni qo ̄ ð-e-ð-yā*  
Interj N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub>  
gee! fish plentiful nominalizer even though today topic topic mother and child
- qha-d̄?-d̄? q̄? mā na*  
AE V Adv V  
in exactly the right way tell negative listen
- (72) *mā na ve pa-tō ηā kīlō kh̄? kīlō cε tí gā*  
Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> + P<sub>univ</sub> V  
negative listen nominalizer because of five kilogram six kilogram only get

- ve* , *yà?-ni kà?* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 nominalizer today topicalizer
- (73) *thôo chi pa-fá lón ̄ ɲà l̄-pū ve qô?-ma* .  
 Interj Det N B<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 oh boy! this turtle (soft-shelled) sthg big topic my old man genitivizer emphatic
- (74) : *l̄-pū ò , há?-há? te-câ qô?-ma* .  
 N P<sub>n</sub> AE V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 old man vocative quickly cook emphatic
- (75) *é à? ̄ ve qha-dê? lâ? ɛ cá cā* .  
 N P<sub>n</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> AE V P<sub>unf</sub> V V  
 child accusative big relativizer properly choose suspensive boil feed
- (76) *nè-á ̄-qhe ɛ i ve à? ɛ á-p̄-ğwê ɛ*  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub>  
 the two of us topicalizer little nominalizer accusative and banana tree creeper and  
*jà?-cā-ê khò? cá cā a* .  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 edible shoots of acacia-like bush mix boil V to eat hortatory
- (77) : *l̄-pū ò , l̄-pū ò !*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 old man vocative old man vocative
- (78) *chi h̄y chi h̄y qo yâ à? cā p̄* .  
 NP<sub>ext</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 very small very small topic child accusative feed benefactive (3p)
- (79) *̄-lón qo nè-á tí v̄n a* .  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 great big thing topic the two of us only go for it vigorous action
- (80) : *yâ à? qha-dê? š̄ cā p̄ , l̄-pū*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> AE V V V<sub>v</sub> N  
 child accusative properly remove inedible parts feed benefactive (3p) old man  
*ò* .  
 P<sub>n</sub>  
 vocative
- (81) : *á-ci-ku ch̄? lâ ve , alôo , nà à* .  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Interj V P<sub>v</sub>  
 crab bite benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer ouch! hurt asseverative
- (82) : *a-pi , chi qhê t̄? nù à* .  
 N Det N<sub>spec</sub> + V V P<sub>v</sub>  
 old woman this fart stink asseverative
- (83) *qhê t̄? nù à* .  
 N<sub>spec</sub> + V V P<sub>v</sub>  
 fart stink asseverative
- (84) *qhò le qhò le* .  
 N<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 where? substantive qst where? substantive qst

The women go fishing

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- (85) : *chò è?* , *chò è?* , *chò è?* .  
 NP<sub>loc</sub> NP<sub>loc</sub> NP<sub>loc</sub>  
 right here (colloq.) right here (colloq.) right here (colloq.)
- (86) : *qhò-qhe è* .  
 N<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 where? substantive qst
- (87) : *a-pi ò chò è? è?* .  
 N P<sub>n</sub> NP<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 grandmother vocative right here (colloq.) emphatic
- (88) : *êe !*  
 Interj  
 hey!
- (89) *a-pi qhê tê? nù à* .  
 N N<sub>spec</sub> + V V P<sub>v</sub>  
 grandmother fart stink asseverative

### Translation

< All female speakers. Recorded at Huey Tat, March 9, 1965 >

1. A: Which section [of the stream] shall we dam up?
2. B: We'll just go dam<sup>1</sup> it at Me-thà-lây<sup>2</sup>!
3. C: I'll go too!
4. D: [I'll] go, [I'll] go.
5. A: Carry along a mattock<sup>3</sup>! And take along a hoe too!
6. B: Of course we'll carry them.
7. A: And carry a plastic sheet too!
8. B: We've got to carry [one]. If we didn't, since the water's especially high, we probably wouldn't be able to dam it.
9. C: Well then, one way to do it would probably be to dam one or two sections of this fork in the stream.<sup>4</sup>
10. A: That's what we'll have to do. The two of you, mother and child<sup>5</sup>, go dam it properly<sup>6</sup> upstream.<sup>7</sup> I'll do it downstream.
11. B: I'll do it right, You wait for me the way you should.
12. C: They're probably over on that side, the fish.
13. D: Wherever you're planning to stay [and wait], that's just where you have to dam it.
14. B: Why don't you dam it on that side. Dam it on that side! That's where they probably are, the fish.
15. A: I'll dig some earth and pile it up for you. You two, mother and child, go pick up stones to stack.

<sup>1</sup>tō câ: lit. "dam-eat." As a post-head versatile verb *câ* 'eat' means 'to V for a living'.

<sup>2</sup>Me-thà-lây is a small Thai village on a stream flowing at the foot of a mountain near Huey Tat.

<sup>3</sup>thō-qwê? (also kō-ŋwê?): a digging tool resembling a trowel, with a curved handle. See plate #18 in DL.

<sup>4</sup>lō-qa: a fork in a stream such that the two branches rejoin later.

<sup>5</sup>One of the women ("B") has brought her small child along.

<sup>6</sup>qha-dê? (Adv.): A culturally important adverb, 'properly; right; thoroughly; the way one should'.

<sup>7</sup>The fuller form of this word is gī-ú (lit. "water-head").



16. C: All right, I'll carry them and plaster<sup>8</sup> them over with all my might. <sup>9</sup>
17. A: Just do it right! If you don't, how will we get anything to eat?
18. C: By God, we've just got to do the damming with our foreheads dripping with sweat<sup>10</sup>, even while we're carrying our babies and trying to keep them amused.<sup>11</sup>
19. B: I've got to do it even when my baby is waiting to eat!
20. D: Yes, yes, my old man<sup>12</sup> is also waiting to eat at home.
21. A: You, mother and child, dig up mud properly upstream and plaster it on.<sup>13</sup> I'll go and dam downstream.
22. C: Whew, I'm giving it all I've got. Since I'm so hungry!
23. A: Wow, [13a] the fork has been dammed just right! The water is nicely blocked off!
24. Wowie, tons<sup>14</sup> of fish are coming down!
25. Wowie zowie,<sup>15</sup> they're coming right into the fish basket!<sup>16</sup>
26. It's full to the brim already!
27. We can't even budge it!
28. Act fast! Hurry and pick them up and come down here!
29. My, my, my, they've climbed up here too!
30. This is just what we've been looking for today.
31. I'm so hungry, so let's do our best!
32. A: My goodness, there are so many big hu-qò?<sup>17</sup> fish coming down—in droves!
33. Wow, how are the two of you doing?<sup>18</sup>
34. Hurry up and come here now—hurry up and come!
35. B: I don't think they [the fish] are going down[stream]—I think they're probably going up.
36. A: No, no! Hurry and come down—just come down!
37. B: From what I see it looks as if they're climbing up!
38. A: No! They are *not* climbing up! Hurry and come down, the two of you, mother and child!

<sup>8</sup>The idea is to plaster mud onto the piles of stones to impede the flow of water.

<sup>9</sup>**gâ-thê?**: another culturally important adverb, very much like Japanese *isshôkenmei* 'energetically; diligently; with sincere effort'.

<sup>10</sup>**kî-ni nâ pâ?-šô? te ve**: lit. 'do so that one's forehead drips with sweat.'

<sup>11</sup>**yâ-pû-yâ-qa**: 'have kids on one's hands to keep entertained' ("child-carry-child-play").

<sup>12</sup>**lâ-pû**: < Chinese (Mand. *lǎo-fū*) "old guy." Familiar reference term used by a woman when speaking of or to her husband: 'my old man'.

<sup>13</sup>The interjection **pôthôo ~ thôo** (ult. < Tai 'by the Buddha') is freely used by these Christian Lahu. To avoid tedious repetition I translate it in several different ways, e.g. "my God"; "my, my;" "wow", etc.

<sup>14</sup>**a-cí-cí mâ hê?**: lit. "not just a little bit", i.e., 'lots and lots'.

<sup>15</sup>This extreme interjection is meant to convey the exaggerated intonation of **pôthôo-ô-o**.

<sup>16</sup>**the-qô ~ phe-qô**: huge basket, usually used for storing paddy; **ŋâ-the-qô** 'basket for catching fish' (here **ŋâ** is interpreted as the first member of a compound). The sentence could also be interpreted with **ŋâ** 'fish' as the topic ("the fish are coming right into the basket").

<sup>17</sup>A kind of small, edible, hard-to-catch fish, whose bite can inflict pain.

<sup>18</sup>Lit., "How are the two of you doing to eat?" i.e., what are you doing that will bring us food?

The women go fishing

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39. B: They came up, they came up, they came up! My God, to-da-a-y<sup>19</sup> we got so many you could die<sup>20</sup>!
40. C: Do it fast, hurry and pick them up and come here!
41. D: When we get home we'll eat up a storm<sup>21</sup>!
42. C: It's going to get dark<sup>22</sup> soon.
43. D: Even if it's dark we'll just light our way home with pine-torches.
44. A: Just by damming this one fork we probably got five or six kilos of fish!
45. D: We sure did! Our old men will be happy—I bet they'll clap their hands for joy tonight.
46. B: Yeah, my old man will be so-o-o happy too—wow, I bet he'll be pacing back and forth giggling<sup>23</sup> all over the house! [laughter]
47. D: [pretending to be home] Eat your fill, old man! I've come back! Eat all you want! Here, eat up!
48. B: Wow, even though there were so many fish today, the mother and child didn't listened to what they were told..
49. Since they didn't listen, we only got five or six kilos today.
50. Oh boy, this big soft-shelled turtle<sup>24</sup> is for my old man!
51. D: Hey, old man, hurry and cook these up!
52. Pick the big one for our kid and cook it properly for him!
53. Cook the little one for the two of us to eat, mixed with banana-creeper<sup>25</sup> and mimosa-shoots.<sup>26</sup>
54. [taking an opposite stance] Hey, old man—hey, old man! Feed this little tiny one to the kid, and let's scarf down this big one ourselves!
55. B: Be careful to remove the inedible parts<sup>27</sup> when you feed it to the kid, old man.
56. A: [This] crab bit me—ouch, that hurts!
57. B: Grandma, that fart really stinks! That fart stinks! Where is it coming from?
58. X: Right here, right here, right here!
59. B: Where did she go?
60. X: Grandma! Right here!
61. B: Wow! Grandma let a bombshell!

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<sup>19</sup>yàʔ-hi lè : the topic particle lè is pronounced with very exaggerated intonation as lè-è-é-e, a phenomenon especially characteristic of women's speech.

<sup>20</sup>gá ši e (la) yò: lit. "must die"; an intensive expression, similar to Thai *cə-taaj*. Cf. Eng. locutions like "the foie gras was to die for."

<sup>21</sup>vǎ(n) is a verb (< Shan *vǎn* 'strike, beat') usable as a substitute for other verbs indicating violent, sudden, or extreme actions.

<sup>22</sup>mû phǎʔ ve 'get dark'; lit. "the sky is revealed"; i.e. the blackness of space and the stars, which are hidden during the day, are "revealed" at night.

<sup>23</sup>hǎ-hí hǎ-hí te ve (AE onomat + V) 'giggle' [inadvertently left out of DL, where also the variant *hí-hí te ve* appears].

<sup>24</sup>pa-fá (< Tai). This turtle is classified as a fish (Si. *plaa*) in Lao and Northern Tai, so that nominal vegetarians may eat it in good conscience.

<sup>25</sup>á-pǎ-ǎwê: A creeper with edible leaves that grows on banana trees (*á-pǎ* 'banana').

<sup>26</sup>jàʔ-cǎ-è: edible shoots of a small thorny bush, perhaps a kind of acacia or mimosa [*Dichrostachys cinera*]

<sup>27</sup>This idea is conveyed by the verb *ši* 'take out inedible parts'

### 4.3 Harvesting rice and catching crabs: struggling to survive with lazy husbands

- (1) : *nò* *à* , *chi tê ší* *nò hε qhɔ*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Pron N M<sub>prfx</sub>  
 my dear interrogative vocative this one for weeks you swidden in  
*há* *e* *ve* *câ* *ğə?* *ğa* *cì-à?* *lâ* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 spend the night motion away nominalizer rice harvest get to very much yes
- (2) : *ğa tù* *â hê? o* , *yâ-cí-yâ-ηè? te*  
 V P<sub>v-nom</sub> VP adverbial elaborate expression + verb (Elab<sub>adv</sub> + V)  
 get sthg to V definitely not the case saddled with whining children  
*qo* .  
 P<sub>unf</sub>  
 when
- (3) : *mε-thāw* , *nò qhà-qhe qay* *le* , *â* *ğa lâ* .  
 N Pron N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 old woman (resp.) you how? go a certain way substantive qst negative get yes
- (4) : *ğa tù* *mâ hê?* .  
 V P<sub>v-nom</sub> Adv + V  
 get sthg to V not be the case
- (5) *ηà* *mû-šó-nà?* *qo* *ɔ* *chɔ-mô* *ε* *qay e* *má-à?* *mâ*  
 Pron N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> Adv Adv  
 I early morning when topic old person because go motion away fast negative  
*gà* .  
 V<sub>v</sub>  
 manage to
- (6) *khi-cí* *nâ* .  
 N V  
 knee hurt
- (7) : *ηà* *ni* , *nò* *è?* .  
 Pron M<sub>prfx</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub>  
 my younger sibling you contrastive interrogative
- (8) : *ηà* *lè* *ğa* *ve* *yò* .  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 I topic get nominalizer declarative
- (9) *ğa* *kâ?* *câ-tù* *mâ* *cò* .  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> Adv V  
 get although food negative be there
- (10) *ð-cè* *mâ* *cò* .  
 N Adv V  
 tree negative have
- (11) *ð-ši* *mâ* *nò?* .  
 N Adv V  
 fruit negative bear (as fruit)

- (12) *fâʔ-ŋâʔ*      *câ* *pə̀*                      *ve*                      .  
 N                      V    V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>  
 rats and birds eat finish V'ing nominalizer
- (13) : *qhà-thâʔ*    *è*                      *pə̀*                      *hé*                      *le*                      .  
 N<sub>intg</sub>              P<sub>unf</sub>                      V                      P<sub>uf</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 when? topicalizer be completed probably substantive qst
- (14) : *qhe-qo*    *mâ*                      *pə̀*                      *tà*                      *hé*                      .  
 Conj              Adv                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well negative be completed negative probability probably
- (15) *tê ší-ší*                      *ǵa*    *ǵə̀ʔ*                      *š̄*                      *nè-š̄*                      .  
 NP<sub>q</sub>                      vV                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 about one week must harvest still suppositional
- (16) *cà*    *è*                      *cà-pí-néʔ*    *câ*    *pí-à*                      .  
 N    P<sub>n</sub>    N                      V    V + P<sub>v</sub>  
 rice also starling eat warning marker
- (17) *chɔ*                      *è*                      *chɔ-mô*    *te*    *qo*    ,    *ca*                      *ǵə̀ʔ*                      *è*                      *mâ*                      *ǵa*                      .  
 N                      P<sub>uf</sub>                      N                      V    P<sub>unf</sub>                      vV                      V                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      Adv                      V<sub>v</sub>  
 people topicalizer old folks do if go and do harvest even negative be able
- (18) : *tê*                      *ší*                      *ǵə̀ʔ*                      *a*                      *qo*    *pə̀*                      *e*                      *ve*                      *lá*                      .  
 Num    Cl<sub>f</sub>                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 one for weeks harvest try to if finish motion away nominalizer yes
- (19) : *pə̀*                      *e*                      *nè-š̄*                      .  
 V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be completed motion away suppositional
- (20) *pə̀*                      *e*                      *le-š̄*    *câ-tù*    *mâ*                      *cə̀*                      .  
 V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      N<sub>dvb</sub>                      Adv                      V  
 finish motion away topic food negative be there
- (21) *pə̀*                      *qo*                      *cà*    *jə̀ʔ*                      *ve*                      *nè-š̄*                      *qôʔ-ma*                      .  
 V                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      N                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 finish when rice thresh nominalizer suppositional emphatic
- (22) : *jə̀ʔ*                      *ve*                      *yò-a*                      .  
 V                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 thresh nominalizer emphatic declarative
- (23) : *cà*    *jə̀ʔ*                      *pə̀*                      *qo*                      *nè-hi*                      *cà-cí-yè*    *qhə̀ kàʔ*    *te*                      *tù*                      *ve*                      .  
 N                      V                      V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      Pron                      N                      NP<sub>intg</sub>                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>  
 rice thresh finish V'ing when you (pl) granary where? build future nominalizer  
*le*                      .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 substantive qst
- (24) : *á-qhɔ*    *pû*                      *kə̀*                      *ve*                      *tí*                      *yò*                      *nè-š̄*                      ,  
 N                      V                      V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 home carry on the back insert by V'ing nominalizer only declarative suppositional  
*tê*    *ni*                      *a-cí-cí*    *è*                      .  
 Num    Cl<sub>f</sub>                      Adv                      P<sub>n</sub>  
 each for days a little only

- (25) : *ηà ni* , *nò he qhɔ te tā ve lâ* .  
 Pron M<sub>px</sub> Pron N M<sub>px</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 my younger sibling you swidden in build perfective nominalizer yes
- (26) : *he qhɔ ɔ̄ ġa jò? kə ve yò*  
 N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 swidden within locative must thresh insert by V'ing nominalizer declarative  
*nè-ɔ̄* , *yâ è yâ cò te-qo* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>uf</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 suppositional son topicalizer son have because
- (27) : *pû pā è â cò lê* .  
 V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 carry on the back agentive nominalizer even negative be there request for assent
- (28) : *pû pā è mâ cò , nî ġâ è*  
 V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V Q P<sub>uf</sub>  
 carry on the back agentive nominalizer even negative be there two people topicalizer  
*tí è* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 only only
- (29) : *âa , qhe-qo è ca pû kə tû*  
 Interj Conj P<sub>n</sub> vV V+V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 well! if that's the way it is just go and do carry and put into for storage purposive  
*dô â tɔ? o ma* .  
 VP P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 cannot figure out emphatic exclamatory
- (30) *hà jâ* .  
 V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 tiring very
- (31) : *ηà qo pû ġa ve yò* .  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 I topic carry on the back manage to nominalizer declarative
- (32) *ηà lê chɔ nî ġâ tí kà? , ηà* .  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N Q P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron  
 I topic people two people only although I
- (33) *pû ġa kà? cà-šî qhà-ma mâ ġa*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N<sub>ext</sub> Adv V  
 carry on the back manage to topicalizer unhusked rice (not) very much negative get  
*ve lê* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer because
- (34) *qhò-nî ha tû qhe ġa hé le* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 how many? for hundreds for basketsful about get probably substantive qst
- (35) : *tê ha tû-tû qhe ġa hé* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 one for hundreds about a basketful about get probably

- (36) *câ lỏ?-ηɔ mâ mỏ .*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> Adv V  
 eat enough to negative see
- (37) *cì-qhỏ? qhỏ-qhe qay nỏ mâ sủ ve*  
 NP<sub>time</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 this year how? go a certain way indirect question marker negative know nominalizer  
*yỏ .*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (38) *cỏ phỏ? kỏ? cỏ-pủ mâ phỏ?*  
 N V P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv V  
 rice pile up even if rice-stoop negative be possible
- (39) *phủ mi ỏ qhe yỏ ma .*  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 dog sit durative like declarative exclamatory
- (40) : *nỏ qhỏ-nủ pủ gỏ le .*  
 Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 you how many? for paddy-mounds get substantive qst
- (41) : *sẻ? mà ô mà ẻ gỏ nẻ-ỏ , chi hỷ chi hỷ*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub>  
 three for things four for things only get suppositional only this big only this big  
*ẻ .*  
 Prt  
 adverbializer
- (42) : *cỏ lỏ? hẻ bỏ , qhe-qỏ .*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Conj  
 eat enough to V probably emphatic declarative if so
- (43) : *ỏ cỏ lỏ? nẻ-ỏ .*  
 Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative eat enough to V suppositional
- (44) *gỏ vủ cỏ e nẻ-ỏ .*  
<sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 have to buy V to eat motion away suppositional
- (45) : *qhe-qỏ nẻ-qhỏ? qỏ qhỏ-qhe te hẻ ẻ .*  
 Conj N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 so next year when how? do probably substantive qst
- (46) : *nẻ-qhỏ? qỏ ỏ cỏ-chủ-cỏ-ηỏ cỏ ve tí yỏ-ẻ?*  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 next year when topic go to borrow V for a living nominalizer only emphatic declarative  
 , *ỏ-chỏ-ỏ-pỏ? gẻ .*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 friends and neighbors from
- (47) : *mẻ-thỏw , nỏ qhỏ-qhe cỏ vủ cỏ e tủ*  
 N Pron N<sub>intg</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 old woman (resp.) you where? go and do buy V to eat motion away future

- ve le* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer substantive qst
- (48) : *alôo , Kóló ge ̄-šĩ ca v̄i câ ve tí*  
 Interj N P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 dear me! Northern Thai from locative go and do buy V to eat nominalizer just  
*yò n̄-̄* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative suppositional
- (49) : *Kóló ge â hê? qo Lâhũ chô ge ca p̄è*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> N N P<sub>n</sub> vV V  
 Northern Thai to negative be the case if Lahu friend with go and do divide up  
*â ġa o n̄-̄* .  
 Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative be able emphatic suppositional
- (50) *a-šũ a-šũ kâ? câ-šĩ â ġa qo ̄* .  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 everybody even unhusked rice negative get topic topic
- (51) : *âa , n̄-qhò? qo è ̄ m̄-šĩ e yò*  
 Interj N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! next year when topicalizer topic starve to death motion away declarative  
*h̄e ma l̄e* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 probably exclamatory request for assent
- (52) *šatâ è mâ cò* .  
 N P<sub>n</sub> Adv V  
 money also negative be there
- (53) : *vâ? ġâ? ca hu l̄e h̄ô a l̄e v̄i l̄e? ve*  
 N N vV V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 pig fowl go and do raise raise sell try to suspensive buy do for eating nominalizer  
*tí yò-qo* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 only emphatic conditional
- (54) : *ph̄e? b̄ò c̄-â? yâ-o n̄ l̄e* .  
 V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 exist be tired of very emphatic emphatic request for assent
- (55) : *te â ġa ò è?* .  
 V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 do negative be able completed action emphatic
- (56) : *m̄i â qhâ l̄e , ch̄-m̄ d̄-d̄ te-qo* .  
 V Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 cultivate crops negative skillful because old folks all because
- (57) *Câ-h̄e : kán è kán kh̄à? te-qo ̄-ch̄ m̄? ch̄e ve* ,  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 male name work also work difficult because food hungry continuous nominalizer

- lô-pū*    *à?*            *šā*            *bô?*    *câ*            *e*            *qô?* *pî*            *ve*  
 N            P<sub>n</sub>            N            V            V<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>v</sub>            V            V<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>univ</sub>  
 husband    accusative    animals    shoot    V to eat    motion away    say    benefactive (3p)    nominalizer  
 , *Na-thî*            *à*  
   N<sub>pers</sub>            P<sub>n</sub>  
   female name    interrogative vocative
- (58) : *chi*    *tê*            *ší*            *nò*    *à-thò?-ma*    *š-chî*    *ğā*            *câ*    *le*            ,    *nò*  
       Det    Num    Cl<sub>f</sub>            Pron    N<sub>intg</sub>        N            vV            V            P<sub>uf</sub>            N  
       this    one    for weeks    you    what            food    get to    eat    substantive qst    my dear  
       *à*  
       P<sub>n</sub>  
       interrogative vocative
- (59) : *tè?-chí è*            *mā*            *ğā*            *câ*    ,    *kán*    *è*            *kán*    *khà?*    *te-qa*            .  
       AE            Adv            vV            V            N            P<sub>uf</sub>            N            V            P<sub>unf</sub>  
       nothing at all    negative    get to    eat    work    topicalizer    work    difficult    because
- (60) *lô-pū*            *à?*            *šā*            *bô?*    *câ*            *e-?*            *qô?*    *qa*            ,    *mā*  
       N            P<sub>n</sub>            N            V            V<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub>            V            P<sub>unf</sub>            Adv  
       my old man    accusative    animals    shoot    V to eat    motion away (imp.)    say    even if    negative  
       *qay* .  
       V  
       go
- (61) : *mò?-mū-mò?-šā*            *tê* *ğî*            *â*            *ğā*            *câ*    *le-ā* .  
       Elab<sub>n</sub>            Q            Adv            vV            V            P<sub>uf</sub>  
       monkey meat or something    pluralizer    negative    get to    eat    yes
- (62) : *mò?-šā*            *kà?*    *mā*            *ğā*            *câ*    *qô?-yò-è?* .  
       N            P<sub>unf</sub>            Adv            vV            V            P<sub>uf</sub>  
       monkey meat    even    negative    get to    eat    emphatic
- (63) : *nò*    *à-thò?-ma*    *š-chî*    *câ*    *le*  
       Pron    N<sub>intg</sub>        N            V            P<sub>uf</sub>  
       you    what            food    eat    substantive qst
- (64) : *yà?-ni*    *mô*            *ğā?-pa*            *tê*    *lò*            *á-ci-ku*    *ca*  
       N<sub>time</sub>    N<sub>sd</sub>            N            Num    Cl<sub>f</sub>            N            vV  
       today    down there    shelter for jungle-chickens    one    for streams    crab    go and do  
       *ğā?*            *khà*            *e*            *và*            *nē*  
       V            V<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>uf</sub>            P<sub>uf</sub>  
       scoop out    go and V    motion away    emphatic    emphatic
- (65) *tāw-quí*    *tê*            *khē*            *ğā*            *câ* .  
       N            Num    Cl<sub>f</sub>            vV            V  
       turtle    one    for animals    get to    eat
- (66) < *ğî*            *ve*            >  
       V            P<sub>univ</sub>  
       laugh    nominalizer
- (67) *Cà-he*            :    *Cà-mò?*            *ò-pa*            *ší*            *pà*            *qa*            *ô*            *Hwè-tū*    *š*            *he-và?*  
       N<sub>pers</sub>            N<sub>pers</sub>            N            N<sub>time</sub>        V            P<sub>unf</sub>            N<sub>sd</sub>            N<sub>place</sub>    P<sub>n</sub>            N  
       male name    male name    father    week    finish    when    over there    Hweitu    locative    wild boar



- (68) *bô?* *há* *e* *qô?* *pî* *a-?* *mē* .  
V V P<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
shoot spend the night motion away say benefactive (3p) imperative urging
- (68) : *â* *šī* *è* , *qay* *nā* *â* *qay*  
Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V  
negative know topicalizer go indirect question marker negative go  
*nā*  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
indirect question marker
- (69) *ηà* *Cà-mò?* *ð-pa* *qhe* *chò-bò-qú* *yâ* .  
Pron N<sub>pers</sub> N N<sub>ext</sub> N P<sub>uf</sub>  
my male name father topicalizer lazybones emphatic
- (70) : *â* *qay* *qo* *â* *gā* *cā* *o* " *qô?* *pî* *tí*  
Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>uf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
negative go if negative get to eat emphatic say benefactive (3p) only  
*yò-qo* , " *hâ?* *qay-?* " *qô?* *pî* *tí* *yò* *è?*  
P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V<sub>imp</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
emphatic declarative quickly go! say benefactive (3p) only declarative emphatic  
, " *mà?* *ve-š* .  
V P<sub>uf</sub>  
hungry emphatic
- (71) *jê* *â* *gā* *ò* *yâ* " .  
V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
suffer not be able completed action emphatic
- (72) : *ca* *qay* *lâ* *tù* *â* *hê?* .  
<sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> Adv V  
go and do go benefactive (non-3p) future negative be the case
- (73) *ηà* *é* *ð-pa* *qhe* *bò* *ve* .  
Pron N N N<sub>ext</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
my little children father like be lazy nominalizer
- (74) *á-qhò* *tí* *chê* *gâ* *ve* , *yô* .  
N P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron  
home only stay desiderative nominalizer he
- (75) : *gà?-dô?* *yâ?* *qô?-ma* .  
<sub>v</sub>V+V<sub>h</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
pursue with blows brusque imperative emphatic
- (76) *chò-mò-chò-qú* *qhe* *ca* *te* *la* *ve* .  
N Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
old codger like this go and do deal with come to V nominalizer
- (77) : *é* *šā* *mà?* *šē* *yò* *yâ* , *qô?* *pî* *è?* .  
N N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
little children meat hungry still declarative emphatic say benefactive (3p) emphatic
- (78) : *gà?-dô?* *qô?* *ve* *kâ?* , *yô* *è* *ηà* *mâ* *gâ*  
<sub>v</sub>V+V<sub>h</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>uf</sub> Pron Adv V  
pursue with blows say nominalizer although he topicalizer I negative overcome

- qôʔ-yò-èʔ* .  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
emphatic
- (79) *ca bà dàʔ qo è mâ phêʔ* .  
<sub>v</sub>V V+V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V<sub>v</sub>  
go and do divorce topic even negative able to
- (80) : *chə-mô-qú qhe ve ɔ̄ gâʔ vâ šē qôʔ-ma* .  
N N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
old man such a(n) nominalizer topic chase sthg and V beat up right away emphatic
- (81) *nò qhe qo mâ hu ve qhe ve lè* .  
Pron N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
you like topic negative support relativizer such a(n) genitivizer topic
- (82) : *qhà-qhe te tù lə-nā mâ šī ve yò* .  
N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
how? do future indirect question marker negative know nominalizer declarative
- (83) *phêʔ bə jâ* .  
V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
exist be tired of very
- (84) : *gə hâʔ ɔ̄ qo ɔ̄ â tà ɔ̄*  
<sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
happen to marry completed action topic topic negative separate from completed action  
*èʔ qôʔ-ma* .  
P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
emphatic emphatic
- (85) : *mâ tà ve qəʔ tē qhâ*  
Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> Conj Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
negative want to separate nominalizer on the one hand one for points at issue  
*yò* .  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
declarative
- (86) *bà mâ phêʔ ve qəʔ tē qhâ yò*  
V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Conj Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
divorce negative able to nominalizer on the other hand one for points at issue declarative
- (87) : *bà e qo Ğì-ša à-lō â cō o yâ* .  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
divorce motion away if God will not be in accordance with emphatic emphatic
- (88) *gə hâʔ dàʔ ɔ̄ ve-ɔ̄ , a-pí-né kàʔ* .  
<sub>v</sub>V V+P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub>  
get to marry completed action emphatic little child even
- (89) : *qhe ve lə qôʔ-yò-èʔ* .  
Adv P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
just like that nominalizer because emphatic

- (90) : *gã khān yù ve è?* .  
 vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 must endure V lastingly nominalizer emphatic
- (91) *te â gã o è?* .  
 V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 do negative be able emphatic emphatic
- (92) *mâ gã câ thô , tê ge mà?-jê tí yò-qa* .  
 Adv vV V P<sub>unf</sub> Q V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative get to eat even if together starve just emphatic declarative
- (93) : *chi tê ší à-thò?-ma š-chî câ tù ve nā*  
 Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 this one for weeks what food eat future nominalizer indirect question marker  
*â ší ò*  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 negative know completed action
- (94) : *gã? dš? câ ve tí yò nē , šš-nà?*  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>time</sub>  
 chicken slaughter V to eat nominalizer only declarative emphatic tomorrow morning  
*qa š*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 when topic
- (95) : *à-mù-khá gã? dš? câ ve è? , šš-nà? câ*  
 N<sub>time</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> V  
 this evening chicken slaughter V to eat nominalizer emphatic tomorrow morning eat  
*tù ve*  
 P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 purposive nominalizer
- (96) : *ŋà qa câ-tù â cò* .  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> Adv V  
 I topic food negative have
- (97) *gã? è â cò* .  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
 chicken even negative have
- (98) *ŋâ ca tš qa â gã câ* .  
 N vV V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub>  
 fish go and do dam a stream when negative catch V to eat
- (99) *é mâ qa tê khe cε è gã a lâ qa â*  
 N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v+Pv</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv  
 little children many topic one for animals just only catch vivid action if negative  
*gã câ tá o*  
 vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 get to eat negative probability emphatic
- (100) : *ŋà vâ?-pā lón tê mà cò ɔ* .  
 Pron N B<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 I male pig sthg big one general classifier have affirmative

- (101) *dṣʔ cā lâ a , ṣī pḁ qo* .  
 V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> N<sub>time</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 slaughter feed benefactive (non-3p) intentive week finish V'ing when
- (102) : *nḁ dṣʔ cā lâ kàʔ vè cā tū mâ*  
 Pron V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> Adv  
 you slaughter feed benefactive (non-3p) even if buy V to eat purposive negative  
*cḁ qôʔ-yò-èʔ* .  
 V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be there emphatic
- (103) *ṣatân mâ cḁ ve èʔ* .  
 N Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 money negative be there nominalizer emphatic
- (104) : *chî-lâ-ṅā-lâ ve yò-èʔ* .  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 give on credit nominalizer emphatic declarative
- (105) : *ca ġa kî mâ mḁ qôʔ-ma* .  
<sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v-nom</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 go and do get way of V'ing negative see emphatic
- (106) *tê bâʔ è ġa qo yâ èʔ ġa vè-cā a qo vèʔ-qâ*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 one baht even get if children just must buy in order to feed intentive topic clothes  
*vè-ff a qo* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 buy in order to clothe intentive topic
- (107) *yâ-mî : pḁ ò , pḁ ò , qôʔ-pî-a !*  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 girl finish completed action finish completed action emphatic

## Translation

1. My dear/daughter-in-law<sup>1</sup>, when you went to spend the night in the fields this week, were you able to harvest a lot of rice?
2. There was nothing I could get! Since I was carrying my whining baby around!<sup>2</sup>
3. Grandma<sup>3</sup>, how's it going with you? Didn't you get anything?
4. I couldn't get anything. Seeing as how I'm an old lady, this morning I couldn't move very fast. My knees hurt.
5. Younger sister, what about you?
6. As for me, I did get something. But I still don't have enough to live on. I don't have any trees [that have produced things to eat]. They're not bearing fruit. The rats and birds have eaten them all up.

<sup>1</sup> *nḁ à* (voc) : *nḁ* (< PLB \**nam* ~ \**ṅam*) was originally a kinship term for close female relatives, but is now usable as a friendly term of address to intimates of either sex. See DL:779.

<sup>2</sup> *yâ-pû-yâ-ṅèʔ*: 'carry around a whining child; be saddled with the care of many children'. A similar expression is *yâ-cí-yâ-ṅèʔ*. See DL:428, 1255, 1257.

<sup>3</sup> *me-thāw*: respectful term of address to an elderly woman (< Shan).

7. So when will it [the rice harvesting] likely be finished?
8. Well, it's probably not finished yet, unfortunately! I guess it'll still be about a week before it can all be harvested. The starlings might well eat the paddy [in the meantime] too! As for [us] people, if old folks try to go and do it, the harvesting will never get done.
9. If we try to keep reaping for a week, will it be finished?
10. It should probably be finished. [But even] when we've finished, there'll still be nothing to live on. After it [the reaping] is over I guess we'll have to do the threshing.
11. We'll do the threshing.
12. When the threshing's done where will you all build your granary?
13. I'll probably just carry it [the rice] home to store. A little bit each day.
14. Younger sister, have you built [a granary] in the fields?
15. I guess I'll have to thresh and store [the rice] in the fields. Since there's [only] my son [to help].
16. There's nobody to do the carrying then?
17. I've got nobody to do the carrying. There are only the two of us.
18. Well in that case I can't imagine<sup>4</sup> how to go and carry it to store.<sup>5</sup> It's so tiring.
19. For my part, I can manage to do the carrying. Even though I only have two people. The reason why we can carry it is because we didn't get very much.
20. About how many hundred basketsful<sup>6</sup> are you likely to get?
21. I suppose about one hundred basketsful. I don't see how it'll be large enough for us to live on. I don't know what went wrong this year.<sup>7</sup> When we pile up the paddy we can't even make [proper] rice-stoops<sup>8</sup> out of it. They're just like sitting dogs.<sup>9</sup>
22. How many heaps will you get?
23. Probably only three or four. Little teeny ones.
24. In that case it should be enough to live on.
25. I doubt it would be enough. We'll probably have to go buy [some] in order to eat.
26. So then next year what will you probably do?
27. Next year I'll just have to borrow and borrow.<sup>10</sup> From our friends and neighbors.
28. Grandma, where would you go to buy [rice] to live on?

<sup>4</sup>**d̥s̥ ʔ t̥s̥?**: lit. "think-not-emerge".

<sup>5</sup>**ca p̥u̯ k̥ə**: a three-verb concatenation comprising **ca** 'go and', **p̥u̯** 'carry', **k̥ə** 'put in to store'.

<sup>6</sup>**t̥u̯** (Cl<sub>f</sub>) < Shan *tuy*. See DL:613.

<sup>7</sup>Lit. "I don't know how it went [this year] like this."

<sup>8</sup>**c̥a-p̥u̯**: a pile of harvested paddy. See DL 445.

<sup>9</sup>I.e., the paddy just makes miserable little heaps the size of sitting dogs.

<sup>10</sup>**ca-chi-ca-ŋā** (ElabV): when used alone, **chi** means 'borrow something that is to be repaid by an equivalent' (like money or food), whereas **ŋā** means 'borrow something that is to be returned as such' (like a tool); but in this elaborate expression the two verbs (here translated as 'borrow and borrow') merely reinforce each other.

29. Dear me, I suppose I'd just go buy it from the Northern Thai.<sup>11</sup>
30. Instead of [going] to the Northern Thai, one probably couldn't go to share with Lahu friends. Since nobody at all got [enough] rice.
31. Well, next year we'll probably starve to death, eh? We don't have any money<sup>12</sup> either.
32. If we could only raise pigs and chickens and sell them [to the Thai] to buy food.
33. I'm just so damn tired of living this way!<sup>13</sup>
34. There's nothing we can do about it!
35. Because [we're] not very good at working in the fields, since we're all so old.
- [Pause]
36. Cà-hɛ<sup>14</sup>: Na-thî, why don't you say<sup>15</sup> that the work is so hard [in the fields] that you're hungry for food to go with the rice<sup>16</sup>, and tell your husband to go hunting for animals to eat.
37. What kind of food have you gotten to eat with your rice this week, my dear?
38. We didn't get to eat anything at all, because we've been working so hard.<sup>17</sup> Even if I say to my old man<sup>18</sup> "Go hunt for something to eat," he doesn't go.
39. Don't you even get to eat monkey-meat or anything?<sup>19</sup>
40. I tell you we don't even get to eat monkey-meat either!
41. And what kind of food have you been eating?
42. Today I hiked<sup>20</sup> down there to the stream called Jungle Chickens' Shelter<sup>21</sup> so I could scoop up some crabs! I got a turtle to eat.
- [squeal of laughter]
43. (Cà-hɛ): Tell Cà-mò?'s father<sup>22</sup> to go over to Hwè-tû next week to hunt wild boar and spend the night there!
44. I don't know whether he'd go or not. The father of my Cà-mò? is a real lazybones.
45. Just tell him "If you don't go we won't have anything to eat!" Just tell him "Hurry up and go, we're starving! We can't hold out anymore!"

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<sup>11</sup> **Kɔ̃lɔ̃ ɣɛ ɔ̃-ɕi**: lit. "where the Northern Thai are; in the N. Thai area"; Cf. **ɕi** 'region; area' (DL: 1228). It now appears that **ɔ̃-ɕi** is best considered to be a unitary locative noun-particle meaning 'at a place (where)'. This was not recognized in either GL or DL.

<sup>12</sup> The speaker uses the Thai-derived word *ṣatâ(n)* for 'money' rather than the native Lahu **phu**, evidently because the villagers' contact with a money-based economy was mostly restricted to their dealings with the Northern Thai.

<sup>13</sup> This sentence ends with a string of four exclamatory Puf's (**yâ o nɛ lɛ**) which follow a concatenation of three verbs (**phɛ?** 'exist', **bò** 'be tired of', **cà?** 'very')

<sup>14</sup> A man sitting nearby prompts them.

<sup>15</sup> 'Why don't you' translates the interrogative vocative noun-particle **à**.

<sup>16</sup> **ɔ̃-chî**, lit. "rice lifter": food that is eaten with one's rice (cf. Thai *kâp-khâaw*, lit. "with rice, rice go-with." Sometimes translated as 'curry', but here more generally as 'food'.

<sup>17</sup> I.e., since the work in the rice fields is so demanding, there's no time for any other kind of female subsistence activities like cultivating vegetable gardens.

<sup>18</sup> **lɔ̃-pū**, ult. < Chinese 老夫 (Mand. *lǎofū*). See DL:1400.

<sup>19</sup> **mò?-mû-mò?-ṣā**: 'monkey meat or something'. **mû** is a bound morpheme that occurs in elaborate expressions, sometimes conveying an indefinite meaning like English 'or anything'. See DL: 1003-4 where other nuances of meaning are listed.

<sup>20</sup> **khè** 'march; hike' (probably from Yunnanese Chinese) is brisker in meaning than the usual word **qay** 'go'.

<sup>21</sup> **ḡâ?-pa tɛ lɔ̃**: apparently this stream was near a place where jungle-chickens took shelter.

<sup>22</sup> I.e., the husband of the woman he's talking to, who is the mother of **Cà-mò?**. Referring to people as the parent of their child (a practice anthropologists call teknonymy) is widespread in SE Asia.

46. He just won't go [do it] for you. He's lazy like the father of my own children.<sup>23</sup> He just wants to stay at home, that guy.
47. You ought to beat him up! That's the way to treat old farts.
48. Tell him the kids are hungry for meat.
49. You tell me to hit him, but he's stronger than me<sup>24</sup>! And I can't go and divorce him either.
50. An old geezer like that you've got to drive [into action] by beating him up! The type who doesn't take care of somebody like you.
51. I don't know what to do. I'm so miserable!<sup>25</sup>
52. Since you married him, you're stuck with him<sup>26</sup>!
53. One problem is, he doesn't want to separate. The other problem is, I can't divorce him.
54. Getting divorced is not according to God's will. Since you've already gone and married him. Ever since you were very young.
55. You've put your finger on the problem!
56. We've just got to accept it. There's nothing to be done! Even if we don't have anything to eat, we'll just starve together.
57. This week I don't know what we'll have to eat.
58. [*Jokingly*] You'll just have to kill a chicken in the morning.<sup>27</sup>
59. Kill one tonight while you're at it! To eat tomorrow morning.
60. As for me, I don't have anything to eat.<sup>28</sup> I don't even have a chicken. When I go to dam [a stream] for fish, I don't catch anything to eat. Since I have so many children. if I only catch one [fish] it likely wouldn't be enough to eat!
61. I have a big male pig. I'll slaughter it to feed you. Next week.
62. Even if you kill it to feed us we don't have anything to buy it with! We don't have any money.
63. I'll give it to you on credit!
64. I don't see any way to get [money].<sup>29</sup> If I should get ahold of a baht, I have to buy food for my kids to eat, clothes for them to wear—
65. [girl] Enough, enough already! [*laughs*]

<sup>23</sup>I.e., 'my own husband'.

<sup>24</sup>Lit., "I can't win [against] him."

<sup>25</sup>**phê? bə jâ:** lit. "very tired of living"

<sup>26</sup>Lit. "You can't separate anymore." Cf. **tà** 'want to separate (as an unhappy spouse)', DL:594-5.

<sup>27</sup>This is a wry bit of humor. If she had a chicken there would be no problem.

<sup>28</sup>The speaker pronounces the verb **cə**, 'have; be there' with exaggerated drawling intonation.

<sup>29</sup>To repay the owner of the pig.

## 4.4 Catching crabs with granny

- (1) *à-šwè thâ*      *jà-pi*      *jà-hwē*      *lɔ-qa*      *ca*      *t̄*      *lɛ*  
 AE                      N                      N                      N                      vV                      V                      P<sub>unf</sub>  
 once upon a time    grandmother    grandchild    fork in stream    go and do    dam a stream    suspensive  
*jà-hwē*      *thà?*      *á-ci-ku*    *nôl-tī*      *ve*      *cê*  
 N                      P<sub>n</sub>                      N                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 grandchild    accusative    crab      pinch tightly    nominalizer    quotative
- (2) *qhe-te-lɛ* *jà-hwē*      *qô?* *ve*      , ” *ŋà* *pi*      *ò*      .  
 Conj    N                      V    P<sub>univ</sub>                      Pron    M<sub>px</sub>                      P<sub>n</sub>  
 so      grandchild    say    nominalizer      my    grandmother    vocative
- (3) *a-cí*    *yù bà*    *ha*      ” *tê?*      *qô?* *lɛ*      , *jà-pi-ma*      *chi* *qô?*  
 Adv    V + V<sub>v</sub>    P<sub>v</sub>                      QUOT                      V    P<sub>unf</sub>                      N                      Det    V  
 please    remove    try to      embedded quote    say    suspensive    grandmother    this    say  
*ve*      , ” *phɔ*      , *phɔ*      , *a-pi*      *qhê t̄?*    *nù*    *ha*      ”  
 P<sub>univ</sub>                      V                      V                      N                      N<sub>spec</sub> + V    V                      P<sub>v</sub>  
 nominalizer      run away      run away      grandmother    fart      stink    intentive  
*t̄?*      *qô?* *lɛ*      , *qhê* *qò?*      *t̄?*    *nù*    *ha*                      *lɛ*      ,  
 QUOT                      V    P<sub>unf</sub>                      N                      vV                      V    V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>  
 embedded quote    say    suspensive      feces    go on to V    fart    stink    vigorous action    suspensive  
*cha-šī*    *à?*      *nú?*      *cí*                      *šē*      *cê*      .  
 N                      P<sub>n</sub>                      V                      V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 vagina    accusative    pinch    do so it sticks    regrettably    quotative
- (4) *jà-pi*      *chī*    *jà-hwē*      *thà?*      *qò?*      *qô?* *pī*                      *ve*                      : ”  
 N                      Det    N                      P<sub>n</sub>                      vV                      V    V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>  
 grandmother    this    grandchild    accusative    go on to V    say    benefactive (3p)    nominalizer  
*a-cí*    *gà?-khô*                      *qha*      , *yâ*    *ò*      ” *tê?*                      *qô?* *lɛ*  
 Adv    V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      N                      P<sub>n</sub>                      QUOT                      V    P<sub>unf</sub>  
 please    bite and break off    violent action    child    vocative      embedded quote    say    suspensive  
 , *jà-yâ*    *chī*    *thô*    ” *ôo*      , *nù*    *cì-à?*    , *a-pi*                      *ò*      ” *tê?*                      *qô?*  
 N                      Det    P<sub>unf</sub>                      Interj    V                      V<sub>v</sub>                      N                      P<sub>n</sub>                      QUOT                      V  
 child    this    also      oh!      stink    very      grandmother    vocative      embedded quote    say  
*pī*                      *ve*                      *yò*      .  
 V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (3p)    nominalizer    declarative

### Translation

1. Once upon a time, a grandmother and her grandchild<sup>1</sup> had gone to dam a fork in a stream, when a crab pinched the grandchild and held on tightly.

2. So the grandchild said, “Granny! Please take it off [of me]!”<sup>2</sup> and the grandmother said, “Run, run, granny will let a smelly fart!”<sup>2</sup> and then when she let fly with a smelly fart<sup>3</sup>, the crab pinched and hung onto her pussy.

<sup>1</sup>It is not specified whether the grandchild was a girl or a boy, but it was undoubtedly a girl, since damming streams to catch fish or crustaceans was a female activity.

<sup>2</sup>Presumably the grandmother meant that her granddaughter should prepare to run away with the crab dangling from her, while the grandmother would distract the crab by breaking wind so dramatically that it would let go.

<sup>3</sup>The expression *qhê t̄? ve* ‘let a fart’ is here broken up by the pre-head versatile verb *qò?* ‘go on to V’.



4. So then the grandmother said to her grandchild, “Please bite into it and break it, my child!”, but the kid said, “Oh, it stinks too bad, Granny!”

## **5 Lahu village life and customs**

## 5.1 Discussion of Lahu customs; hill life vs. life in the plains

- (1) *P* : *chi* *ηà* *a-cí* *šī* *gâ* *ve* *lê* , *Lâhū* *qhâ?*  
 . Conj Pron Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N N  
 you see I just know desiderative nominalizer request for assent Lahu village  
*ḡ* *chə-há* *yâ-mî-há* *a-šâ?* *qhâ-nî* *qhò?* *gà* *qo*  
 P<sub>n</sub> N N N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 locative young man unmarried young woman age how many? for years reach when  
*hâ?* *dâ?* *phê?* *ve* *le* , *qô?-ve* , *chi qhe*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>n</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub>  
 get married mutual action able to nominalizer substantive qst topicalizer like this  
*ve* *ḡ-lî* *cò* *ɔ* *lâ* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 genitivizer custom be there topicalizer yes
- (2) *šū* *qhâ?* *qo* *lê* *tê kà le-le* *ḡ* *qo* *a-šâ?* *chi ma* *mâ*  
 Pron N P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N NP<sub>ext</sub> Adv  
 others' village topic request for assent everywhere locative topic age this much negative  
*gà* *qo* *hâ?* *dâ?* *mâ* *phê?* , *qhe* *qô?* *ve* .  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> Adv V<sub>v</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 reach if get married mutual action negative able to thus say nominalizer
- (3) *tê kà-kà* *qo* *a-šâ?* *nî chi* *qhò?* *mâ* *gà* *qo* *ḡ-mî-ma* *hâ?*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> N V  
 in some places topic age twenty for years negative reach if wife gain in marriage  
*mâ* *phê?* .  
 Adv V<sub>v</sub>  
 negative able to
- (4) *tê kà-kà* *qo* *a-šâ?* *tê chi khò?* *qhò?* *mâ* *gà* *qo* *ḡ-phò*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 in some places topic age sixteen for years negative reach if husband  
*hâ?* *mâ* *phê?* .  
 V Adv V<sub>v</sub>  
 gain in marriage negative able to
- (5) *qhe* *ve* *ḡ-lî* *cò* *lâ* .  
 Adv P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 like this genitivizer custom be there yes
- (6) *mâ hê?* *qo* *a-šâ?* *tê chi* *qhò?* *kà?* *hâ?* *phê?* *ɔ* *lâ* , *qhà-qhe ve kà?*  
 Cl<sub>nf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + **ve**  
 otherwise age ten for years even get married able to affirmative yes however  
*hâ?* *phê?* *ɔ* *lâ* , *qô?* *ve* .  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 get married able to affirmative yes say nominalizer
- (7) *T* : *âa* , *chi* *tí qo* *a-šâ?* *tê chi* *qhò?* *ve* *lê* *ḡ-phò* *ḡ-mî-ma*  
 . Interj Det P<sub>univ</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N  
 well! this matter as for age ten for years genitivizer topic husband wife  
*hâ?* *mâ* *phê?* *ma* .  
 V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 gain in marriage negative able to exclamatory

Discussion of Lahu customs; hill life vs. life in the plains

- (8) *ŋà-hi Lâhū ð-lî tí qo yâ-mî lè tê chi ô qhò? , tê chi ŋâ qhò? ,*  
 Pron N N P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 our Lahu custom topicalizer woman topic fourteen for years fifteen for years  
*hó-qhâ? qo , tê chi šī , tê chi hí qhò? kà? hâ? phê? ve*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> Num Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 man topic seventeen eighteen for years even get married able to nominalizer  
*yò*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (9) *lɛ chi qhe qô? ve qô?-ma , ŋà-hi Lâhū ɔ̄ , ð-lî ɔ̄ chi qhe*  
 Conj AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron N P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub>  
 and like this say nominalizer emphatic we (pl) Lahu topic custom topic like this  
*cò ve*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 be there nominalizer
- (10) *yâ-mî ī ve à? hó-qhâ? a-šâ? i ve hâ? thô*  
 N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 woman older nominalizer accusative man age younger nominalizer get married even  
*phê? ve yò , tɛ qô? ve qô?-ma*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> QUOT V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 able to nominalizer declarative embedded quote say nominalizer emphatic
- (11) *hó-qhâ? a-šâ? ī lɛ yâ-mî a-šâ? i qo hâ? mâ phê?*  
 N N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V Adv V<sub>v</sub>  
 man age older and woman age younger if get married negative able to
- (12) *chi qhe qô? ve qô?-ma*  
 AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 like this say nominalizer emphatic
- (13) *lɛ Lâhū chw-mô-khô chi qhe cò ve yò*  
 Conj N N AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 and Lahu proverb like this be there nominalizer declarative
- (14) *P : chi qhe ŋà-hi Lâhū qhâ? ɔ̄ qhâ?-šɛ a-ké ī ve tê*  
 AE<sub>ext</sub> Pron N N P<sub>n</sub> N N<sub>ext</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Num  
 like this our Lahu village locative headman more than important relativizer one  
*gâ â cò ò lâ*  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 for humans negative be there would be yes
- (15) *šu qo Pî-chô qo lê , ŋà-hi Pî-chô-mû-mì thâ qo ɔ̄ ,*  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Eth P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 others topic Shan topic request for assent we (pl) Shan State when topic topic  
*pū-kē qô? ve lê , pū-kē ð-na ī*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub> V<sub>adj</sub>  
 headman (Shan) call nominalizer request for assent headman (Shan) above important  
*ve ɔ̄ pū-mān qô? ve lê*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer topic senior headman (4th rank) (Shan) call nominalizer request for assent

- pū-mān*  
N  
senior headman (4th rank) (Shan)
- pū-šé*  
N  
senior headman (3rd rank) (Shan)
- (16) *pū-šé*  
N  
senior headman (3rd rank) (Shan)
- cò*  
V  
be there
- (17) *qhe cò lâ , Lāhū ge š*  
Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
thus be there yes Lahu with topic
- (18) *T : āa , ṅà-hi Lāhū tí qo lè ô qhe ve mâ cò*  
. Interj Pron N P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V  
well! we (pl) Lahu as for topic like that genitivizer negative be there
- ma*  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
exclamatory
- (19) *cò ve lè , tê l cò*  
V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V  
have nominalizer topic one for things have
- (20) *qhâ?-še ge qha-pà-è qhâ?-še le qhâ?-yâ qha-pà-è ð-qhò ĩ ve tê*  
N P<sub>n</sub> AE N P<sub>unf</sub> N AE N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Num  
headman with all headman and villager all above important relativizer one
- gâ cò*  
Cl<sub>f</sub> V  
for humans be there
- (21) *ô-ve š qhâ?-še mâ hê?*  
Det P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv + V  
that one topic headman not be the case
- (22) *ṅà-hi Lāhū-khò qo ð-šĭ-ð-šā-phô*  
Pron N P<sub>unf</sub> extended elaborate expression (more than 4 syllables) (Elab<sub>extd</sub>)  
our Lahu language topic physical aspect
- ve kōmīti qô? ve*  
P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
genitivizer committee call nominalizer
- (23) *ð-šĭ-ð-šā-phô ve kōmīti*  
Elab<sub>extd</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N  
physical aspect genitivizer committee
- (24) *ô-ve lè , qhâ? chi tê qhâ? mâ-cô-mâ-hō dà? qo*  
Det P<sub>unf</sub> N Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
that topic village this one for villages disunited mutual action if

- yà?-dà?-jǐ?-dà?* *qo* *ô-ve* *phâ* *ge* *a-ló* *gã* *gà* *ve* *qô?-ma* .  
 Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Det N P<sub>n</sub> Adv<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quarrel and bicker if that fellow to first must reach nominalizer emphatic
- (25) *ô-ve* *phâ* *tê* *gã* *mã* *mã* *gã* *thâ* *qo* *qhâ?-šɛ* *ge*  
 Det N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V Adv<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 that fellow one for humans decide a matter negative be able when topic headman to  
*gã* *lò?* *e* *ve* *qô?-ma* .  
 vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 must enter motion away nominalizer emphatic
- (26) *P* : *ô-ve* *phâ* *lê* *qhâ?-šɛ* *a-ké* *ī* *ve* *yò*  
 . Det N P<sub>unf</sub> N N<sub>ext</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 that fellow topic headman more than important nominalizer declarative  
*lê*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 request for assent
- (27) *T* : *ò-lí-ò-qhâ* *thê è* *qô?* *qo* , *qhâ?-šɛ* *a-ké* *ī* *ve* *tê*  
 . Elab<sub>n</sub> AE<sub>stat</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N N<sub>ext</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Num  
 custom strictly say if headman more than important relativizer one  
*gã* *yò* .  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 for humans declarative
- (28) *P* : *qhe-kà?* *yô* *qhâ?-šɛ* *qhe-lê* *ká* *gã* *te* *ve* *mã hê?* .  
 . Conj Pron N N<sub>ext</sub> N vV V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv + V  
 but he headman like work must do nominalizer not be the case
- (29) *T* : *mã hê?* .  
 . Adv + V  
 not be the case
- (30) *P* : *qhe-tí* *chw-ī* *tã* *tɛ* *tã* *ve*  
 . Conj N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 just important person appoint (to a position) V permanently durative nominalizer  
*lê*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 request for assent
- (31) *T* : *êe* , *dà?* *ve* *ò-cà* *thà?* *ce tí* *yô* *gã* *te* *ve* .  
 . Interj V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> + P<sub>univ</sub> Pron vV V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 yes good relativizer thing accusative only he must do nominalizer
- (32) *P* : *ô-ve* *phâ* *qhâ-qhe* *lô?* *tɛ* *ã* *ve* *le* .  
 . Det N N<sub>intg</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 that fellow how? choose V permanently durative nominalizer substantive qst
- (33) *qhâ?-šɛ* *lô?* *ve* *qhe-lê* *lô?* *yù* *ve* *lã* .  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 headman choose nominalizer like choose V lastingly nominalizer yes
- (34) *T* : *yò* , *ô-ve* *tê* *gã* *lê* *qhâ?-šɛ* *kà?* *qhâ?-yâ* *kà?* *qha-pà-è* *yô*  
 . Interj Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> AE Pron  
 yes! that one for humans topic headman also villager also everybody him

- thà?* *ğa* *lâ?* *yù* *ve* *yò* .  
P<sub>n</sub> vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
accusative must choose V lastingly nominalizer declarative
- (35) *P : âa , yà?-ni ñà-hi mâ qhɔ̄ ɔ̄ là ɛ chò kà? Lâhū*  
. Interj N<sub>time</sub> Pron N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N  
well! today we (pl) city in locative come suspensive here locative Lahu  
*qhâ?* *ɔ̄* *cà-šɛ-ɔ̄* *tê ge* *câ* *la* *ve* *ğa*  
N P<sub>n</sub> N Q V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> vV  
village locative New Rice Festival together celebrate come to V nominalizer get to  
*câ* *ve* *ð-po* *ñà-hi* *ha-lê* *jâ* *tê-tê* *ve* *yò* .  
V P<sub>univ</sub> N Pron V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
celebrate relativizer behalf we (pl) happy very really nominalizer declarative
- (36) *chi qhe* *ğa* *câ* *ve* *thà?* *ñà-hi* *tê pɔ̄? kà?* *lê* *phê?* *tù*  
AE<sub>ext</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron NP<sub>time</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
like this get to celebrate nominalizer accusative we (pl) even once forget able to future  
*mâ hê?* *o* .  
Adv + V P<sub>uf</sub>  
not be the case emphatic
- (37) *qhe-te-ɛ* *ð-bo ɛ jâ* *tê-tê* *ve* *yò* .  
Conj sentence + verb phrase (S + VP) P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
so be very worthy of thanks really nominalizer declarative
- (38) *qhe-te-ɛ* *šālâ?* *nò* *chi* *Lâhū-yâ* *cà-šɛ-ɔ̄* *câ* *ve* *ð-l*  
Conj N Pron Det N N V P<sub>univ</sub> N  
so pastor you these Lahu people New Rice Festival celebrate relativizer about  
*ð-qhâ-ð-lî* *a-cí* *qāw* *mā* *phê?* *ɔ̄* *lâ* .  
Elab<sub>n</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
customs and practices a little tell indicate by V'ing able to affirmative yes
- (39) *T : âa , qāw mā* *lâ* *phê?* *ve* *yò* .  
. Interj V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
well! tell indicate by V'ing benefactive (non-3p) able to nominalizer declarative
- (40) *ñà-hi* *Lâhū* *Khri?-yâ* *cà-šɛ-ɔ̄* *câ* *ve* *qô?* *ve* *tê* *cà*  
Pron N N<sub>prop</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
we (pl) Lahu Christian New Rice Festival celebrate nominalizer say relativizer one thing  
*lê* *ð-bà-phô* *lôki* *Lâhū-ní* *qha šū-šū* *mâ hê?* .  
P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> N Eth AE Adv + V  
topic elsewhere pagan Red Lahu just like not be the case
- (41) *lôki* *tê phā* *lê* *chi qhe* *te* *ve* *yò* .  
N Q P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
pagans the whole group topic like this do nominalizer declarative
- (42) *yâ-hi* *cà-šɛ-ɔ̄* *câ* *ve* *tê yân thâ* , *cé-qô?* *á-tho*  
Pron N V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N N  
they New Rice Festival celebrate relativizer when hoe heavy knife  
*tê phā* *qha-pà-è* *yù* *la* *ɛ* *tê* *kà* *tí* *tɛ*  
Q AE V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V  
the whole group all take motion towards suspensive one for places only put down

Discussion of Lahu customs; hill life vs. life in the plains

- le* , *câ-tù-dò-tù* *te* , *le* , *cé-qô?* *le* *á-tho* *thà?*  
P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
suspensive food and drink cook (as food) suspensive hoe and heavy knife accusative
- tân* *pî* *ve* *yò* .  
V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
make a religious offering benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative
- (43) *ð-lò qo* *yô-hi* *qô?* *ve* *cé-qô?* *á-tho* *ve* *bo* *thà? pa-tò* *jà-hi*  
NP Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> N N P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> Pron  
the reason is they say nominalizer hoe heavy knife genitivizer favor because we (pl)
- gå-câ-gâ-dò* *ve* , *chi qhe* *qô?* *ve* *yò* .  
Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
get enough to eat and drink nominalizer like this say nominalizer declarative
- (44) *le* *jà-hi* *Khrì?-yâ* *tê phā* *lè* *chi qhe* *mā hē?* .  
Conj Pron N<sub>prop</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> Adv + V  
but we (pl) Christian the whole group topic like this not be the case
- (45) *tê* *ni* *pò* *tê* *ni* *Ĝì-ša* *jà-hi* *mì-gì-cho-yâ* *tê gâ le-le* *thà?*  
Num Cl<sub>f</sub> B<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N Pron N NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
one for days after one for days God us human beings on earth everybody accusative
- hà?-qá* *le* *hà?-śá* *le* *ga* *lâ* *ve*  
V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
take pity on suspensive take care of suspensive help benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer
- bo* *thà? pa-tò* , *jà-hi* *gå-câ-gâ-dò* *ve* *yò* .  
N P<sub>n</sub> Pron Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
grace (X'n) because we (pl) get enough to eat and drink nominalizer declarative
- (46) *nî* *lò* *tê* *lò* *lè* , *jà-hi* *mì-gì* *qhô* *chê* *thā* ,  
Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N N<sub>loc</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
second for matters one for matters topic we (pl) earth on live when
- ð-šì-ð-šā-phô* *gå-câ-gâ-dò* *tù* *Ĝì-ša* *yô* *mì-gì* *thà?* *ð-khî*  
Elab<sub>extd</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> N Pron N P<sub>n</sub> N  
physical aspect get enough to eat and drink purposive God his earth accusative fertility
- nà?* *pî* *ve* .  
V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
bless with benefactive (3p) nominalizer
- (47) *le* *mì-gì* *thà?* *mû-yè* *tê phā* *nê?* *pî* *le* *jà-hi*  
Conj N P<sub>n</sub> N Q V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron  
and earth accusative rain pluralizer moisten benefactive (3p) suspensive we (pl)
- cho-yâ* *ti* *tā* *ve* *câ-šì* *tê phā* *ð-yè* *yè* *la*  
N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Q N V P<sub>v</sub>  
human plant durative relativizer unhusked rice the whole group seedling sprout come to V
- le* , *ð-šì-ð-nu* *ð-qhò* *lo* *yô* *ve* *kâ-pâ?* *tê phā* *kə*  
P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N Q V  
suspensive seeds and panicles inside locative his genitivizer power all of put into
- pî* *ve* *thà? pa-tò* *gå* *câ* *ve* *yò* ,  
V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
benefactive (3p) nominalizer because get to eat nominalizer declarative
- tè* *šì* *ve* *pa-tò* , *Ĝì-ša* *ve* *bo* *thà?*  
QUOT V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
embedded quote know nominalizer because of God genitivizer grace (X'n) accusative



- ηà-hi chî-mu ve yò*  
Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
we (pl) praise nominalizer declarative
- (48) *chi thà? pa-to ηà-hi tê gâ le-le ve ha-lê-tù ĩ jâ ve ð-cà tê*  
NP Pron NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Num  
because of this we (pl) everybody genitivizer joy great very relativizer thing one  
*cà phê? ve yò*  
Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
thing be sthg nominalizer declarative
- (49) *P : ô , lăki-yâ qhe pē-tú-pā cà-šĭ-ŏ câ ve qô?-ve*  
. Interj N N<sub>ext</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
oh! pagans like animist New Rice Festival celebrate nominalizer topicalizer  
*ŏ chi cé-qô? á-tho tê gĭ pa-to ηà-hi ŏ gâ câ*  
P<sub>unf</sub> Det N N Q P<sub>n</sub> Pron N <sub>v</sub>V V  
topic these hoe machete pluralizer because of we (pl) cooked rice get to eat  
*ve , qhe te le cé-qô? á-tho tê gĭ à? ð-bo tā*  
P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> N N Q P<sub>n</sub> OV  
nominalizer thus do suspensive hoe machete pluralizer accusative give thanks to  
*ve chî-mu ve lê*  
P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer praise nominalizer request for assent
- (50) *ηà-hi qo ŏ Ğĭ-ša ve pa-to Ğĭ-ša bo pa-to ηà-hi*  
Pron P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N N P<sub>n</sub> Pron  
we (pl) topic topic God genitivizer because of God grace (X'n) because of we (pl)  
*gâ câ ve qô? le Ğĭ-ša thà? chî-mu ve*  
<sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
get to eat nominalizer say suspensive God accusative praise nominalizer  
*ð-bo tā ve qhe , pən dà? ve lê*  
OV P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
give thanks to nominalizer thus differ mutual action nominalizer request for assent
- (51) *T : yò , chi qhe pən dà? ve yò*  
. Interj AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
yes! like this differ mutual action nominalizer declarative
- (52) *P : qhe-qo ð-kâ?-ð-nu qhe Kślś qhe Pĭ-chŏ qhe â cò*  
. Conj Elab<sub>n</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> N N<sub>ext</sub> Eth N<sub>ext</sub> Adv V  
well then elsewhere like Northern Thai like Shan like negative have  
*ò lâ , cà-šĭ-ŏ câ ve à?*  
P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
completed action yes New Rice Festival celebrate nominalizer accusative
- (53) *nò â kâ jŏ le-ā , yŏ-hĭ câ nā*  
Pron Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron V P<sub>uf</sub>  
you negative hear experiential interrogative they celebrate indirect question marker  
*â câ nā*  
Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
negative celebrate indirect question marker

- (54) *T : âa , ñà kà? chi Thây-mì-gì , Kóló-mì-gì à? ché*  
 . Interj Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Det N<sub>place</sub> N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V  
 well! I topicalizer this Thailand Northern Thailand accusative live  
*ve ð mâ mɔ šē le qha-dê?-dê? mâ šī*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> AE Adv V  
 nominalizer topic negative long (of time) yet because very well negative know  
*qô?-ma .*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (55) *ñà dâ ve lè yô-hi lè cà-š-ð câ ve ð-lí*  
 Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 I think nominalizer topic they topic New Rice Festival celebrate relativizer custom  
*lè mâ cò hé .*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 topic negative be there probably
- (56) *le ñà-hi šī ve lè , Lâhū-ní tê cò le Yân-cho tê cò*  
 Conj Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Eth Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Eth Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 and we (pl) know nominalizer topic Red Lahu one kind and Karen one kind  
*ce tí šī ve qô?-ma .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> + P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 only know nominalizer emphatic
- (57) *Yân-cho qô? ve tê cò thô kà? chi qhe yò .*  
 Eth V P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 Karen call nominalizer one kind also also like this declarative
- (58) *yô-hi lóki-yâ cà-š-ð câ ve tê yân thâ , cé-qô? le á-tho lè*  
 Pron N N V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub>  
 they pagans New Rice Festival celebrate relativizer when hoe and machete topic  
*yô-hi thâ? yô-hi pân ché ve šá-hò?-šá-ná ve gè-ša*  
 Pron P<sub>n</sub> Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 them accusative they depend on continuous relativizer spirits (animist) genitivizer gods  
*thâ? câ-tù-dò-tù te le yô-hi thâ?*  
 P<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub>  
 accusative food and drink cook (as food) suspensive them accusative  
*tân pî pà qhò?-nó yô-hi cà-š-ð*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> M<sub>px</sub> Pron N  
 make a religious offering benefactive (3p) finish V'ing after they New Rice Festival  
*câ ve yò .*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 celebrate nominalizer declarative
- (59) *yô-hi ve šá-hò? ô-ve yô-hi thâ? ga lá ve*  
 Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N Det Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 they genitivizer idols those them accusative help benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer  
*yò tè chi qhe qô? ve qô?-ma .*  
 P<sub>uf</sub> QUOT AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative embedded quote like this say nominalizer emphatic
- (60) *P : ð , šá-hò?-šá-ná qô? ve Lâhū-khô ñà a-cí mâ*  
 . Interj Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N Pron Adv Adv  
 well spirits (animist) call nominalizer Lahu language I at all negative

- šĩ* *le* *a-cí* *qāw* *mā* *phè?* *ɔ* *lá* , *ô-ve* *cí-kì*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Det N  
 understand because please tell indicate by V'ing able to affirmative yes that meaning  
*ve*  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 genitivizer
- (61) *šá-hò?-šá-ná* *qô?* *ve* *ɔ* , *qhà-qhe* *ve* *à?* *qô?* *ve*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 spirits (animist) call nominalizer topic how? genitivizer accusative mean nominalizer  
*le*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 substantive qst
- (62) *T* : *šá-hò?-šá-ná* *qô?* *ve* *chi-ve* *lè* *chi qhe* *yò*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 spirits (animist) call nominalizer this topic like this declarative
- (63) *ô* *Jš-mô* *Yěšũ?* *mì-gì* *ò-qhò* *lo* *pɔ* *la* *ve* *ò-yân* *ô-ve* *ò-qhò*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> N N<sub>pers</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Det N<sub>time</sub>  
 over there Lord Jesus earth upon locative born come to V relativizer time that during  
*lo* , *yô* *kà?* *šá-hò?-šá-ná* *ô-ve* *ò-lɔn* *mā šě-phâ* *ô-ve* *tê* *gâ* *thô*  
 P<sub>n</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> Det N N<sub>dvb</sub> Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 locative he also spirits (animist) that matter teacher that one for people also  
*kà?* *ô-ve* *tê* *yân* *pɔ* *la* *ve* *yò*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 also that one for periods of time born come to V nominalizer declarative
- (64) *ô-ve* *tê* *gâ* *lè* *mû-ni-tš?-phô* *lo* *qay* *ve* *yò*  
 Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 that one for people topic east locative go nominalizer declarative
- (65) *yô* *ve* *šá-hò?-šá-ná* *ve* *ò-lí* *mā* *qay* *ve* , *Jš-mô*  
 Pron P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 his genitivizer spirits (animist) genitivizer doctrine teach go and V nominalizer Lord  
*Yěšũ?* *lè* *mû-ni-qè-phô* *lo* *mā* *qay* *ve* *yò*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 Jesus topic west locative teach go and V nominalizer declarative
- (66) *chi thà? pa-tɔ* *ò-yân* *ô-ve* *ò-qhò* *lo* *mā* *qay* *mā* *qay* *ve*  
 NP N Det N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 therefore time that during locative teach go and V teach go and V relativizer  
*tê yân thâ* , *ô-ve* *phâ* *mā* *ve* *tš-khô* *tí qo* *dà?* *à*  
 NP<sub>time</sub> Det N V P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 when that fellow teach genitivizer message topicalizer good asseverative
- (67) *yô* *chi qhe* *qô?* *ve* : " *Ği-ša* *ve* *mû-mì* *gâ* *gâ* *qo* ,  
 Pron AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 he like this say nominalizer God genitivizer country reach desiderative if  
*ğà* *qha šũ-šũ* *thê-ve-cô-ve* *ò-cà* *thà?* *te-?* " *tè* *qô?* *mā*  
 Pron AE Elab<sub>v</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V<sub>imp</sub> QUOT V V<sub>v</sub>  
 I just like righteous thing accusative do! embedded quote say indicate by V'ing

- ve* *yò* .  
*P<sub>univ</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 nominalizer declarative
- (68) *qhe qô? mā pə qhə?-nó ô-ve phā tē ġā lè šī*  
 Adv V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> M<sub>prfx</sub> Det N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 thus say indicate by V'ing finish V'ing after that fellow one for people topic die  
*šē ve yò* .  
*P<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 regrettably nominalizer declarative
- (69) *šī pə ð-qhə?-nó ô-ve phā ve ð-ta lè , cho-yā tē phā ô-ve*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> N<sub>time</sub> Det N P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N Q Det  
 die finish V'ing after that guy genitivizer successors topic people a group of that  
*phā thə? Ğī-ša tā lə ô-ve phā ve ð-hò?-ð-ha te*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> Det N P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> V  
 guy accusative God set up suspensive that guy genitivizer images and pictures make  
*lə yə-hi ó-qō pi ve* .  
*P<sub>unf</sub>* *Pron* *N* *V* *P<sub>univ</sub>*  
 suspensive they head incline the head nominalizer
- (70) *šá-hò?-šá-ná tē qô? ve thə? cho-yā te tā*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> QUOT V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub>  
 spirits (animist) embedded quote call nominalizer accusative human make perfective  
*ve thə? pa-tə šá-hò?-šá-ná tē qô? ve yò* .  
*P<sub>univ</sub>* *P<sub>n</sub>* *Elab<sub>n</sub>* *QUOT* *V* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 nominalizer because spirits (animist) embedded quote call nominalizer declarative
- (71) *P : ðə , šī ð , šī ð* .  
 . Interj V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 I see understand completed action understand completed action
- (72) *chi nə-hi Thây-mú-mì ̄ gə la ve cà-š̄-̄*  
 Conj Pron N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 well you (pl) Thailand locative reach come to V nominalizer New Rice Festival  
*cā ve qhà-nī p̄? gə ð le , chi*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Det  
 celebrate nominalizer how many? for times reach completed action substantive qst this  
*tē p̄? à? š̄ kə qo* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 one for times accusative calculate V into if
- (73) *T : āa , chi tē p̄? à? š̄ kə qo , Thây-mì-gì ð-qhə*  
 . Interj Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>place</sub> N<sub>loc</sub>  
 well! this one for times accusative calculate V into if Thailand inside  
*lo cà-š̄-̄ cā ve lè tē chi lə tē qhə? gə*  
 P<sub>n</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V  
 locative New Rice Festival celebrate nominalizer topic ten and one for years reach  
*ð mā* .  
*P<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 already exclamatory

- (74) *tê chi lɛ tɛ pɔʔ* .  
 Num P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 ten and one for times
- (75) *P : qha-cwê gà ò lê* .  
 . AE V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 rather reach already request for assent
- (76) *T : m̄ , qha-cwê mɔ ò ma* .  
 . Interj AE V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 murmur of assent rather long (of time) already exclamatory
- (77) *P : ôo , Ğì-ša ve bo pa-tɔ tɛ qhɔʔ pà tɛ qhɔʔ*  
 . Interj N P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> B<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 oh! God genitivizer grace (X'n) because of one for years after one for years  
*qha-dêʔ qhe cà-šɛ̄-ɔ̄ ġa câ ve pa-tɔ ñà-hi*  
 AE Adv N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron  
 properly thus New Rice Festival get to celebrate nominalizer because of we (pl)  
*Lâhû-yâ ð-po lê ha-lê kî mâ šûʔ ò lê* .  
 N N P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> Adv + V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 Lahu people behalf topic happy locative endless completed action request for assent
- (78) *T : eeàʔ* .  
 . Interj  
 yep
- (79) *P : cà-šɛ̄-ɔ̄ câ thâ qôʔ ve ɔ̄ qhà-qhe te câ*  
 . N V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub> V  
 New Rice Festival celebrate when call nominalizer topic how celebrate  
*ve le* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer substantive qst
- (80) *yàʔ-ni ñà-hi m̀ ve qhe-lê , vâʔ-dɔʔ-ġâʔ-dɔʔ lɛ ha-lê-ha-qa*  
 N<sub>time</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>adv</sub>  
 today we (pl) see nominalizer like slaughter pigs and chickens suspensive happily  
*tê ge Ğì-ša ge bo l̀ ve câ ve lâ* .  
 Q N P<sub>n</sub> OV P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 together God to pray nominalizer celebrate nominalizer yes
- (81) *chi qhe lê , tɛ qhɔʔ tɛ qhɔʔ te câ ve lâ* .  
 AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 like this request for assent year after year do and celebrate nominalizer yes
- (82) *T : yò , chi qhe yò* .  
 . Interj AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 yes! like this declarative
- (83) *tɛ qhɔʔ-qhɔʔ qo câ-tù-d̀-ù mâ-chwe ġa câ ve ð-qhò , Ğì-ša*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> AE <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> N N  
 some years topic food and drink quite a bit get to eat nominalizer besides God  
*bo thàʔ ġa chî-mu ve yò* .  
 N P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 grace (X'n) accusative must praise nominalizer declarative

- (84) *tê qhâ?-qhâ?* *qo* *ηà-hi* *Lâhū* *qhâ-qhō-yâ* *tê phā* *lè* *hā-ve-ğō-ve*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N N Q P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub>  
 some years topic we (pl) Lahu hill-folk the whole group topic poor and wretched  
*chɔ* *phê?* *ve* *pa-tɔ* *câ-tù-dò-tù* *thô* , *ṣ-chī* *šā* *tê phā*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N Q  
 people be sthg nominalizer because of food and drink even curry meat the whole group  
*mā* *ğa* *cā* *thô* *kâ?* *a-šū-yô* *ve* *cò* *tā*  
 Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 negative get to eat even though even each person nominalizer be there durative  
*ve* *qhe* *ğâ?* *tê ġi* *dô?* *lɛ* *tê ġɛ* *hā-lè-hā-qa* *tī* *cā*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> N Q V P<sub>unf</sub> Q Elab<sub>adv</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 nominalizer like chicken pluralizer slaughter suspensive together happily kill V to eat  
*lɛ* *ġi-ša* *ve* *bo* *thâ?* *chī-mu* *ve* *yò* .  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 suspensive God genitivizer grace (X'n) accusative praise nominalizer declarative
- (85) *P* : *qhe-kâ?* *pê-tú-pā* *hi* *kâ?* *yô-hi* *chi qhe* *ve* *ğâ?-dô?-vâ?-dô?*  
 . Conj N<sub>dvb</sub> B<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub>  
 so animist pluralizer also they like this nominalizer slaughter chickens and pigs  
*lɛ* *qhe* *hā-lè-hā-qa* *te-cā* *ve* *lā* , *ηà-hi* *qhe-lê* .  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> Elab<sub>adv</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron N<sub>ext</sub>  
 suspensive like happily cook nominalizer yes us like
- (86) *cā* *ve* *tê* *kà* , *cā* *ve* *à?* *ni*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V  
 celebrate relativizer one for matters celebrate nominalizer accusative pay attention to  
*a* *qo* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 try to if
- (87) *T* : *cā* *ve* *à?* *ni* *a* *ve* *tí qo* *lè* ,  
 . V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 eat nominalizer accusative pay attention to try to nominalizer topicalizer topic  
*chi qhe* *yò* .  
 AE P<sub>uf</sub>  
 like that declarative
- (88) *yâ?-qhā* *yô-hi* *tân-kì* *thâ?* *mā* *šū* *dâ?*  
 Conj Pron N<sub>dvb</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 on the other hand they offering accusative negative be the same as mutual action  
*ve* *cɛ tí* *yò* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> + P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer just declarative
- (89) *cā* *ve* *tí qo* *yô-hi* *šá-hò?* *thâ?* *nê* *thâ?*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N P<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 eat nominalizer as for they idols accusative spirit (animist) accusative  
*tân* *pà* , *cé-qô?* *á-tho* *thâ?*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> N N P<sub>n</sub>  
 make a religious offering finish V'ing hoe heavy knife accusative  
*tân* *pà* *ò-qhâ?-nó* *qo* *tê ġɛ* *phô?* *cā*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Q <sub>v</sub>V V  
 make a religious offering finish V'ing after when together do in a group celebrate

- ve* *yò* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer declarative
- (90) *P* : *chi qhe qô?* *ɛ* *ɲà-hi chi tê pɔ?* *ɲà šĩ gâ*  
. AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub>  
like this talk suspensive we (pl) this one for times I know desiderative  
*ve ð-l cã-šĩ-ɔ cã ve ð-l , Lãhũ-yã*  
P<sub>univ</sub> N N V P<sub>univ</sub> N N  
relativizer matter New Rice Festival celebrate relativizer matter Lahu people  
*cã-šĩ-ɔ cã ve ð-l ġã šĩ ve pa-tɔ ,*  
N V P<sub>univ</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
New Rice Festival celebrate relativizer matter get to understand nominalizer because of  
*nò thã? ð-bo tã jã tẽ-tẽ ve yò* .  
Pron P<sub>n</sub> OV V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
you accusative give thanks to very really nominalizer declarative
- (91) *ð-bo ĩ jã tẽ-tẽ ve yò* .  
S + VP P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
many thanks really nominalizer declarative
- (92) *chi-bã? ɔ , ɲã Lãhũ ve ð-l qò?* *šĩ gâ*  
N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N P<sub>univ</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub>  
now topic I Lahu genitivizer matter V in addition understand desiderative  
*ve a-cĩ qò? cò šɔ ɛ , qò? na phẽ? ɔ*  
P<sub>univ</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer a little V in addition be there still because V again ask able to affirmative  
*lã , šãlã à?* .  
P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
yes pastor accusative
- (93) *T* : *na phẽ? ve yò* .  
. V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
ask able to nominalizer declarative
- (94) *P* : *šãlã , nò šĩ ve qhe qo , Lãhũ-yã Tð-kɔ-yã Li-šɔ-yã*  
. N Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N N N  
pastor you know nominalizer like topic Lahu people Akha people Lisu people  
*Á-vã-yã Khẽ-mẽw?-yã qhe ve qhɔ-qhò-lò-qhò chẽ ve chɔ ,*  
N N N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N  
Wa people Hmong people like genitivizer the mountains live relativizer people  
*qhɔ-qhò-yã qhe šu qò? ve lê , ɛ Pĩ-chɔ-yã ,*  
N N<sub>ext</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N  
hill-folk like others call nominalizer request for assent and Shan people  
*Man-yã Kɔlɔ-yã qhe qo ð-tɔ ɔ chẽ ve chɔ qò?*  
N N N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N V  
Burmese people Northern Thai people like topic plain locative live relativizer people call  
*ve lê* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer request for assent
- (95) *qhã-qhe te ɛ qhe ð-tɔ ɔ chẽ ve chɔ , qhɔ-qhò ɔ chẽ*  
Cl<sub>nf</sub> Adv N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N N N P<sub>n</sub> V  
how like this plain locative live relativizer people in the mountains locative live

Discussion of Lahu customs; hill life vs. life in the plains

- ve* *chɔ* , *qhe te tɔʔ* *la* *ve* *le* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> N Adv V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
relativizer people thus turn out a certain way come to V nominalizer substantive qst
- (96) *T* : *chi ve tê cə lè chi qhe yò* .  
. Det P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
this genitivizer one thing topic like this declarative
- (97) *ɔ-khí-pi thá nà-hi Lâhū-yâ tê cə lè Lâhū ve ɔ-pa tê*  
N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> N Num  
beginning when we (pl) Lahu people one kind topic Lahu genitivizer forefathers one  
*cwe thá , ɔ-khí-pi ve tê yân thá Lâhū chɔ-mô-khô chi qhe cə*  
Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N N AE<sub>ext</sub> V  
for eras when beginning genitivizer when Lahu words of wisdom like this be there  
*ve yò* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer declarative
- (98) *nà-hi Lâhū chɔ-mô-khô chi , chi qhe qôʔ ve* .  
Pron N N Det AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
our Lahu words of wisdom this like this say nominalizer
- (99) *nà-hi Lâhū ve ɔ-pa-ɔ-e chi ve tê ġâ lè , tê ni*  
Pron N P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> Det P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
our Lahu genitivizer ancestors these genitivizer one for people topic one for days  
*thá yô qhɔ-qhó tâʔ e ve cê* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
when he in the mountains go up motion away nominalizer quotative
- (100) *mu jâ ve qhɔ tê šī thàʔ tâʔ*  
V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V  
high (objects) very relativizer mountain one for round objects accusative climb  
*e ve* .  
P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
motion away nominalizer
- (101) *yô í-kâʔ-dē tê mà dôʔ pû a*  
Pron N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V V P<sub>v</sub>  
he bamboo water-tube one general classifier pack into carry on the back vigorous action  
*le tâʔ e ve yò cê* .  
P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
suspensive climb motion away nominalizer declarative quotative
- (102) *yô ġò qay ġò qay le , ġò tâʔ ġò*  
Pron <sub>v</sub>V V <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V <sub>v</sub>V  
he V vigorously go V vigorously go suspensive V vigorously climb V vigorously  
*tâʔ e le qhɔ ɔ-qó-ji le mâ hôʔ šē*  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
climb motion away suspensive mountain middle suspensive negative wind one's way yet  
*thá ɔ-qó-ji lo ġâ ve tê yân thá í-kâʔ chi pà šē*  
P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N Det V V  
when middle locative reach nominalizer when water this use up unpleasantly



- ve* *cê* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer quotative
- (103) *chi thà? pa-tɔ* *ɲà-hi* *Lâhū-yâ* *tê phā* *qhɔ-qhō* *ca* *chê*  
NP Pron N Q N <sub>v</sub>V V  
because of this we (pl) Lahu people the whole group in the mountains go and do live
- ve* *yò* *tè* *Lâhū* *chɔ-mô-khō* *chi qhe* *cò*  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> QUOT N N AE<sub>ext</sub> V  
nominalizer declarative embedded quote Lahu words of wisdom like this be there
- ve* *yò* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer declarative
- (104) *P : nò* *qô? gâ* *ve* *ɔ̄* , *qhɔ-qhō* *ɔ̄* *gà* *le* , *í-kâ?*  
. Pron V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N  
you mean nominalizer topic in the mountains locative reach suspensive water
- pà* *šē* *le* *qô?* *yâ?* *la* *mâ* *gâ*  
V V P<sub>univ</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> Adv V  
use up unpleasantly because V back (to starting point) descend come to V negative reach
- qô?* *ve* *lá* .  
V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
mean nominalizer yes
- (105) *T : yò* .  
. Interj  
that's right!
- (106) *P : ðɔ* .  
. Interj  
I see
- (107) *qhe-qo* *chi* *ð-tɔ* *chê* *ve* *chɔ* *tê phā* *Pî-chô* *Kɔ́lɔ́* *qhe* *ve*  
Conj Det N V P<sub>univ</sub> N Q Eth N N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
well then these plain live relativizer people all of Shan Northern Thai like genitivizer
- è?* *qhà-qhe te le* *ð-tɔ* *chê* *ve* *le* *qô?* *ve* .  
P<sub>unf</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
topic how come? plain live nominalizer substantive qst say nominalizer
- (108) *T : èe* , *chi* *ve* *tê phā* *tí qo* *Kɔ́lɔ́* *ve* *ð-lɔ* , *chi*  
. Interj Det P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> N Det  
er these genitivizer all of topicalizer Northern Thai genitivizer about this
- ɔ̄* , *ɲà-hi* *ɔ̄* , *Lâhū* *chi* *ɔ̄* , *ð-lɔ* *chi* *tê* *mâ* *thà?*  
P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N Det P<sub>unf</sub> N Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
topic we (pl) topic Lahu these topic matter this one general classifier accusative
- qha-dê?-dê?* *mâ* *šī* *qô?-ma* .  
AE Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
in exactly the right way negative know emphatic
- (109) *nò* *šī* *ɔ̄* *lá* .  
Pron V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
you know affirmative yes

Discussion of Lahu customs; hill life vs. life in the plains

- (110) *P* : *ηà šĩ ve qhe-lê qo lê* , *Pĩ-chô Á-và ve*  
 . Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Eth Eth P<sub>univ</sub>  
 I know nominalizer like topic request for assent Shan Wa genitivizer  
*đ-lɔ qo lê* , *Á-và ve đ-lɔ qo ηà tê pđ? kâ*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Eth P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Q V  
 about topic request for assent Wa genitivizer about topic I once hear  
*jo à qđ? -ma* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 experiential asseverative emphatic
- (111) *ô-thâ qo Á-và-yâ qo đ-tĩ chê ve chɔ qđ? ve ma* .  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 once topic Wa people topic plain live relativizer people say nominalizer exclamatory
- (112) *Lâhũ* , *Á-và* , *Tđ-kɔ qha-pđ-è đ-tĩ chê ve chɔ yđ* , *qđ?*  
 N Eth Eth AE N V P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>uf</sub> V  
 Lahu Wa Akha all plain live relativizer people declarative say  
*ve* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer
- (113) *yà-đ nâ â yà-đ nâ ηà qha-dê? â šĩ lê* .  
 V P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> Pron AE Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be true doubt negative be true doubt I properly negative know request for assent
- (114) *šũ chɔ-mđ qâw dâ? ve à? ġa kâ lɛ* ,  
 Pron N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> vV V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 other people elder tell mutual action nominalizer accusative get to hear suspensive  
*Á-và-yâ đ* , *tê pđ? đ-qhe Á-và Lâhũ qhɔ-qhđ-yâ qha-pđ-è đ-tĩ chê ve*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> Eth N N AE N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 Wa topic once topicalizer Wa Lahu hill-folk all plain live nominalizer  
*yâ* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (115) *Pĩ-chô chi đ qhɔ-qhđ-lđ-qhđ chê ve cê* .  
 Eth Det P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 Shan these topic the mountains live nominalizer quotative
- (116) *Pĩ-chô chi đ a-cĩ lê? jâ qđ? ve ma* .  
 Eth Det P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 Shan these topic more clever very say nominalizer exclamatory
- (117) *qhɔ-qhđ-lđ-qhđ đ yđ-hĩ hɛ te câ ve hâ-jâ-tù?-jâ*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron N V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub>  
 the mountains locative they swidden do for a living nominalizer miserable and distressed  
*tê* *šĩ à? lɛ* , *chi lđ - đ-tĩ chê ve*  
 QUOT V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Det V N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 embedded quote realize durative suspensive this request plain live relativizer  
*Á-và-yâ - Á-và-yâ Lâhũ-yâ tê pa à? qđ? ve cê : ” ôo* ,  
 N N N Q P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Interj  
 Wa Wa Lahu people some accusative say nominalizer quotative oh!

- (118) *nò-hi qhɔ-qhò ̄ ca ché la ” qhe qô? ve*  
 Pron N P<sub>n</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 you (pl) the mountains locative go and do live become like say nominalizer .
- (118) ” *qhɔ-qhò ̄ ya-phī-mì te câ ve , láy-cà*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> N V+V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q  
 the mountains locative opium field (RL) do for a living nominalizer several kinds  
*te câ ve , phu kà? cò mâ jâ*  
 V+V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 do for a living nominalizer silver also be there do much very
- (119) *šā kà? hε-ŋâ kà? cò mâ jâ ,” qô? ve*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 animal also mountain rice-field also be there be many very say nominalizer  
*cê*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative
- (120) ” *qhe-kà? ð-t̄ qo šā kà? mâ cò , tèt-chí kà? mâ cò*  
 Conj N P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V Adv P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
 but plain topic animal even negative be there nothing even negative be there  
 ,” *qhe qô? ve cê*  
 N<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 like say nominalizer quotative
- (121) ” *qhe-te-le ð-t̄ ché ve nò-hi phu-ši ġa câ t̄ tèt-chí*  
 Conj N V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N vV V P<sub>v-nom</sub> Adv  
 thereupon plain live relativizer you (pl) wealth get to earn a living purposive nothing  
*láy-cà ġa câ t̄ mâ cò ,” qô? ve*  
 Q vV V P<sub>v-nom</sub> Adv V V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 several kinds get to earn a living purposive negative be there say nominalizer  
*cê*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative
- (122) *qhe-te-le Lāhū-yā qhɔ-qhò-l̄-qhò-yā Á-và-yā chi ̄ ð-t̄ d̄ l̄*  
 Conj N Elab<sub>extd</sub> N Det P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 thereupon Lahu people hill-folk Wa these topic truth think suspensive  
*pa ve cê*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 switch around nominalizer quotative
- (123) *pa d̄? ve cê*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 switch around mutual action nominalizer quotative
- (124) ” *qhe-qo ñà-hi qhɔ-qhò ̄ tâ? ché a , nò-hi ð-t̄*  
 Conj Pron N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> Pron N  
 so we (pl) the mountains locative go up continuous intentive you (pl) plain  
*ca ché la ” qô? ve cê*  
 vV V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 go and do live become say nominalizer quotative

- (125) *qhe-te-le* *gò pa* *šē* *ve* .  
 Conj <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 so lively switch around right away nominalizer
- (126) *qhe-te-le* *qhɔ-qhò-là-qhò-yâ* *chi-bà?* *chê* *ve* *̄-qhe* *qhɔ-qhò-là-qhò* *̄*  
 Conj Elab<sub>extd</sub> N<sub>time</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 so hill-folk now live nominalizer topicalizer the mountains locative  
*gã* *chê* *šē* *ve* *cê* .  
<sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 must live still nominalizer quotative
- (127) *qhe-te-le* *Pî-chô* *hi* *Kólól* *hi* *láy-cà* *hi* *̄* *̄-t̄*  
 Conj Eth B<sub>n</sub> N B<sub>n</sub> Q B<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 so Shan pluralizer Northern Thai pluralizer several kinds pluralizer topic plain  
*chê* *le* *yô-hi* *chi qhe* *phè?* *qay* *šē* *ve* *qô?*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron AE<sub>ext</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V  
 live suspensive they like this be (a certain way) continue V'ing still nominalizer say  
*ve* *yâ* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer emphatic
- (128) *T* : *ò* , *chi qhe* *qô?* *ve* *lâ* .  
 Interj AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well like this say nominalizer yes
- (129) *P* : *yà-ò* .  
 V  
 yeah!
- (130) *T* : *t̄-khò* *chi* *ve* *̄* *nò* *qô?* *tho* *lâ* *ve*  
 N Det P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Conj V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 words this nominalizer topic you then tell benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer  
*thà? pa-t̄* *le* *nò* *ve* *̄-bo* *lè* *ī* *jâ* *t̄-t̄* *ve*  
 P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 because because you genitivizer favor topic important very really nominalizer  
*yò* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (131) *P* : *qhà-qhe* *te* *chi-bà?* *̄* *̄-t̄* *chê* *ve* *chɔ* *tê* *pa* *̄*  
 Cl<sub>nf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> N Q P<sub>unf</sub>  
 somehow or other now topic plain live relativizer person some topic  
*t̄-mi* *qha-dê?* *gã* *câ* *ve* *pa-t̄* , *tâ-kà*  
 N AE <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N  
 paddy field (irrigated) properly get to earn a living nominalizer because of trade  
*qha-dê?* *gã* *te* *ve* *pa-t̄* , *yô-hi* *̄* *tê* *ni* *pà* *tê*  
 AE <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> B<sub>n</sub> Num  
 properly get to do nominalizer because of they topic one for days after one  
*ni* *ī-la-mu-la* *chê* *ve* .  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 for days progress continuous nominalizer

- (132) *qhɔ-qhɔ-lɔ-qhɔ chɛ ve ɔ̄ chi he te .*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Det N V  
 the mountains live nominalizer topic this swidden cultivate
- (133) *câ à-thò?ma te câ ve ɔ̄ hā jā .*  
 V N<sub>intg</sub> V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 earn a living whatever do for a living nominalizer topic difficult very
- (134) *qhe láy-cà ð-lɔ dɔ ve , ɛ-la-mu-la tù ve ð-lɔ*  
 Conj Q N V P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 so several kinds matter think up nominalizer progress purposive relativizer matter  
*dɔ ve ð-yâ mâ cò .*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> N Adv V  
 think up relativizer time negative be there
- (135) *qhe-te-le tɛ ni pà tɛ ni hā chɛ ve .*  
 Conj Num Cl<sub>f</sub> B<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 so one for days after one for days suffer continuous nominalizer
- (136) *ʃu qhe-lɛ ɛ-la-mu-la tù mâ cò .*  
 Pron N<sub>ext</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> Adv V  
 others like progress purposive negative be there
- (137) *qhe qay ve cɛ .*  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 thus go a certain way nominalizer quotative
- (138) *qhe-te-le chi-bà? ɔ̄ qhɔ-qhɔ-lɔ-qhɔ-yâ qô? ve ɔ̄ qhà-thâ?-kâ? ɛ-la-mu-la*  
 Conj N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>extd</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE Elab<sub>v</sub>  
 so now topic hill-folk call nominalizer topic always progress  
*tù ve ð-qhâ ɔ̄ mâ cò mð qô? ve .*  
 P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 purposive relativizer way topic negative be there see or hear of say nominalizer
- (139) *T : ɔ̄ , chi-ve lɛ cɔ tɛ-tɛ ve yò .*  
 Interj Det P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 oh! this topic be right really nominalizer declarative
- (140) *Lâhū-khɔ , Lâhū chɔ-mɔ chi qhe qô? á ve ð-cà lɛ cɔ*  
 N N N AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 Lahu language Lahu ancestors like this say durative relativizer thing topic be right  
*tɛ-tɛ ve yò .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 really nominalizer declarative
- (141) *âa , nà-hi Lâhū ð-khɛ-pi tɛ cwe thà? ni bð cã?*  
 Interj Pron N N<sub>time</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 well! we (pl) Lahu beginning one era accusative pay attention to tired of very much  
*yâ-o nɛ .*  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic emphatic
- (142) *P : yà-ò , yà-ò , yà-ò .*  
 Interj Interj Interj  
 yes! yes! yes!

Discussion of Lahu customs; hill life vs. life in the plains

- (143) *chi* , *Pî-chô* *hi*      *̄*      *yô-hi* *̄*      *ô-thâ* *qhɔ-qhô-lò-qhô* *chê* *ve*      *̄* ,  
 Det Eth B<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 this Shan pluralizer topic they topic then the mountains live nominalizer topic  
*yô-hi* *̄* , *hɛ*      *te câ*      *ve*      *à-thò?ma* *te câ*      *ve*  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 they topic swidden do for a living nominalizer whatever do for a living nominalizer  
*hā*      *jā*      *qô?* *ve*      .  
 V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 difficult very say nominalizer
- (144) *chi* *Lâhū-yâ*      *Á-vâ-yâ* *Tô-kɔ-yâ*      *qhe* *̄*      *pìnyà*      *mā*      *cò*      .  
 Det N N N N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv V  
 this Lahu people Wa Akha people like topic education negative be there
- (145) *Pî-chô-yâ*      *hi*      *chi* *Kóló-yâ*      *hi*      *hē* *cā*  
 N B<sub>n</sub> Det N B<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 Shan people pluralizer this Northern Thai people pluralizer lie get along by V'ing  
*ve*      *pa-tɔ*      , *yô-hi* *qhɔ-qhô*      *̄*      *phɔ* *tâ?*      *e*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 nominalizer because of they the mountains locative flee V upwards motion away  
*ve*      *qô?* *ve*      .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer say nominalizer
- (146) *pa*      *dâ?*      *šē*      *ve*      *cê*      , *mū-mì* *pa*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N V  
 switch around mutual action regrettably nominalizer quotative country switch around  
*dâ?*      *ve*      .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 mutual action nominalizer
- (147) *chê-kì*      *pa*      *dâ?*      *šē*      *qô?* *ve*      .  
 N<sub>dvb</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 dwelling place switch around mutual action regrettably say nominalizer
- (148) *chi-bà?* *̄*      *yô-hi* *lê?*      *jā*      *lɛ*      , *yô-hi* *ηà-hi*      *a-ké*      .  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Pron N<sub>ext</sub>  
 now topic they clever very suspensive they we (pl) more than
- (149) *âa*      , *à-thò?ma* *tê*      *cà*      *mā* *qô?*      .  
 Interj N<sub>intg</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Adv + V  
 well! whatever one thing whether
- (150) *ī-la-mu-la*      *chê*      *ve*      *yò*      *qô?* *ve*      .  
 Elab<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 advance in life continuous nominalizer declarative say nominalizer
- (151) *T* : *âa*      , *qhe-go* *chi-bà?* *ηà-hi*      *Lâhū-yâ*      *tê*      *cà*      *è*      *ī-la-mu-la* *tù*  
 . Interj Conj N<sub>time</sub> Pron N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub>  
 well! so now we (pl) Lahu people one thing only progress purposive  
*ve*      *à-ghâ* *̄*      *qhà-qhe* *gā*      *te*      *tù*      *ve*      *̄*      , *ηà* *̄*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> vV V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub>  
 relativizer way topic how? get to make purposive nominalizer topic I topic



Discussion of Lahu customs; hill life vs. life in the plains

- , *hâ?* *gâ* , *ca* *gâ* *qhe* *ve* *ni-ma* *cò* *la* *qô?*  
V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> Adv P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>spec</sub> + V P<sub>v</sub> V  
get desiderative seek desiderative thus nominalizer be interested in sthg become say  
*lê* , *tê* *ni* *qo* *phê?* *la* *tù* *hé* *dô* *ve*  
P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
topic one for days when be (a certain way) become future maybe think nominalizer  
*yò* .  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
declarative
- (160) *qhe-kà?* *dâ?* *tê-tê* *ve* *qô?* *ve* *lê* *ò-tô* *ca* *chê* *lê*  
Conj V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
but good really nominalizer say nominalizer topic plain go and do live suspensive  
*ti-mi* *te câ* *à-thò?-ma* *te câ* *qo* *dâ?* *hé* *dô*  
N V + V<sub>v</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V  
paddy field (irrigated) do for a living whatever do for a living if good maybe think  
*ve* *ma* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer exclamatory
- (161) *a-cí* *ŋay* *à* *qô?* *ve* *ma* .  
Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
more be easy asseverative say nominalizer exclamatory
- (162) *T* : *âa* , *qhe-qo* *lê* , *ŋà-hi* *ti-mi* *ò-tô* *cò* *kì*  
. Interj Conj P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N N V P<sub>v-nom</sub>  
well! so topic we (pl) paddy field (irrigated) plain be there locative  
*lo* *ca* *ni* *cô* *ve* *yò* *hé* .  
P<sub>n</sub> vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
locative go and do look at ought to nominalizer declarative maybe
- (163) *P* : *yà-ò* , *yà-ò* , *tê gâ le-le* *ca* *ni* *cô* *ve* *yò*  
. V V NP<sub>q</sub> vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
yeah! yeah! everybody go and do look at ought to nominalizer declarative  
*lê* , *a-šù kà?* .  
P<sub>uf</sub> Pron  
request for assent everybody
- (164) *ŋà-hi* *šī* *la* *ve* *qhe-lê* *ŋà-hi* *ō* *ò-ha* *qhò?* *ò-hí*  
Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N Cl<sub>f</sub> N  
we (pl) know come to V nominalizer like we (pl) topic hundred for years thousand  
*qhò?* *qhe* *qhò-qhò-lò-qhò* *chê* *lê* *te câ* *là* *ve* *ō* ,  
Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V + V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
for years like the mountains live suspensive do for a living come to V nominalizer topic  
*tê* *qhò?* *ê?* *kà?* *ī-la-mu-la* *tù* *ve* *ò-cà* *mâ* *gã mò* , *qô?*  
Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Adv vV + V<sub>h</sub> V  
one for years even even progress purposive relativizer thing negative find say  
*ve* *lê* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer request for assent
- (165) *tê* *qhò?* *kà?* *chì qhe* *yò* .  
Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AExt P<sub>uf</sub>  
the first for years also like this declarative



- (166) *nī qhò? kà? chi qhe yò* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 second for years also like this declarative
- (167) *tê ha qhò? kà? chi qhe yò* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 one hundred for years even like this declarative
- (168) *chi qhe tí phê? chê ve qô?-ma* .  
 AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 like this only be (a certain way) continuous nominalizer emphatic
- (169) *ô ̄ ð-t̄ chê ve chɔ ̄ tê qhò? pà tê qhò?*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> B<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 there locative plain live relativizer people topic one for years after one for years  
*l̄l̄i ġa c̄i ve , l̄l̄i pà qo lâthâ-ví là*  
 N vV V P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> N V  
 motor vehicle get to ride nominalizer motor vehicle finish when airplane come  
*ve , lâthâ-ví là qo yè dâ?-dâ? ló là ve*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> N V<sub>redup</sub> B<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer airplane come when house very beautiful sthg big come nominalizer  
*láy-cà phê? la ve*  
 Q V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 several kinds be a certain way become nominalizer
- (170) *chi qhe tí phê? chê ve qô?-ma* .  
 AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 like this only be (a certain way) continuous nominalizer emphatic
- (171) *cū-yī-mā-yī phô kà? ̄-la-mu-la chê ve qô? ve*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 knowledge general area also progress continuous nominalizer say nominalizer  
*ma* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 exclamatory
- (172) *qhe-te-le ġà-hi chi-bò? d̄s-ni ve ̄ ð-t̄ qha-dê? ġa chê qo*  
 Conj Pron N<sub>time</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N AE vV V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 thereupon we (pl) now consider nominalizer topic plain properly get to live if  
*lê , ̄-la-mu-la tù ð-qhâ lê m̄d la h̄é , d̄s ve ma*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 topic progress future way topic see become maybe think nominalizer exclamatory
- (173) *T : âa , c̄s t̄e-t̄e ve yò* .  
 Interj V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! be right really nominalizer declarative
- (174) *t̄s-kh̄ô chi ve t̄e kh̄ô lê* .  
 N Det P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 words this genitivizer one for words topic

## Translation

1. P: What I'd just like to know is, in a Lahu village how old do a young man and a girl have to be before they can get married, would you say? Is there a rule about that sort of thing? In other tribes' villages, everywhere, if you haven't reached a certain age you can't get married, I hear. In some places you can't take a wife until you're twenty years old. In other places you can't take a husband until you're sixteen. Do you have rules like that? Or else can you even get married when you're ten years old? Can you marry at whatever [age] you please, would you say?

2. T: Well, as far as that goes, if you're ten years old you certainly can't take a husband or a wife. Our Lahu custom is, that a woman who is fourteen or fifteen, or a man who is seventeen or eighteen years old may marry. Besides that, there's a rule that we Lahu have that goes like this. A man who is younger may even marry a woman who is older, according to us. [But] if the man is older and the woman is younger, they can't get married. That's what we say. And there's a Lahu proverb to that effect.

3. P: [*changing the subject*] Well, then, there isn't anybody who would be higher-up than the headman in our Lahu villages, is there? Other people, like the Shans – right? – when we were in Shan State, [there were] the so-called *pukeh*, right? The ones above the *pukeh* were called *pumyn*,<sup>1</sup> right? Those above the *pumyn* were called *pusheh*,<sup>2</sup> isn't that so? And there were still several kinds [of officials] above the *pusheh*. Are there such things among the Lahu?

4. T: Well, we Lahu don't really have that sort of thing. There is one thing that we do have, though. There's one person who is higher up than all the headmen – er, than the headman and all the villagers put together. He is not the headman. What we call him in Lahu is “the committee of one for our physical well-being.”<sup>3</sup> That person now, if there should be strife and disharmony in the village, if people are quarreling and bickering with each other, he's the fellow that people have to go to first. If this fellow can't decide the matter, one must go in to the headman.

5. P: So that fellow is higher-up than the headman, is that it?

6. T: If we're talking about the letter of the law,<sup>4</sup> he's the person who's higher-up than the headman.

7. P: But he doesn't have to work like the headman does.

8. T: No, he doesn't.

9. P: He's just appointed to be an important person, right?

10. T: Yes, and he must only do good things.<sup>5</sup>

11. P: How do you choose this fellow? Do you pick him the way you pick a headman?

12. T: Yes, both the headman and the villagers all have to [vote to] pick him.

13. P: [*changing the subject*] Well, today we<sup>6</sup> have come from the city here to this Lahu village to celebrate the New Rice Festival together, and since we've been privileged to celebrate with you, we are really and truly happy. We will never forget the way we have been able to celebrate [with you]. And we're very grateful indeed. But, Pastor, could you please tell us a bit about the customs and practices connected with the Lahu New Rice Festival?

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<sup>1</sup>An over-headman whose authority extends over several villages. Cf. Thai *kamnan*.

<sup>2</sup>A super-headman who controls the administrative districts of about five *pumyn*.

<sup>3</sup>ᐃ-ᐃᐃ ᐃ-ᐃᐃ *phō*: lit. “blood and flesh aspect,” i.e. the material, physical side. *kōmīti* is a loanword from English used in a special sense. It is clear from the context that a single person is referred to. For the Lahu, ‘committee’ can be simply a fancy word for a prestigious official.

<sup>4</sup>Lit: “if we say the rules and ways straightly.” Actually the headman does seem to have the last word. It's just that the “committee” has to be consulted *first*. In that sense alone he is “higher.”

<sup>5</sup>The implication is that he will be replaced if found to be unsatisfactory.

<sup>6</sup>Paul and the author.

14. T: Oh, I certainly can tell you about it. The way we Christian Lahu celebrate New Rice it's not at all the same as those pagan<sup>7</sup> Red<sup>8</sup> Lahu do it out there. This is how the pagans do it. When they celebrate New Rice, they bring all their hoes and knives and put them together in one place, and prepare food and drink, and offer it to the hoes and knives. The reason is, that it is thanks to these tools that we get our food and drink, so they say. But it's different with all us Christians. We get our food and drink because God takes pity on all of us human beings on earth, and cares for us day after day, and helps us. Furthermore, while we live upon the earth, God blesses the land<sup>9</sup> with fertility in order that our physical natures may be nourished. And since we know it is because He moistens the earth with rain that the rice-seeds we human beings have planted send forth their sprouts, and because He has put His powers inside the seeds and seedpods, we praise the grace of God. For this reason, it is a very great joyous occasion for us all.

15. P: Oh, so when the pagans – the “beeswax-burners”<sup>10</sup> – celebrate the New Rice, they say it's thanks to the various hoes and knives that we get rice to eat, so they offer thanks to their tools and praise them, is that it? But we say that we are nourished because of God – the grace of God – so we praise God and give thanks to Him, and that's the difference between us, right?

16. T: Yes, that's how we're different.

17. P: Well, don't other people like the Northern Thai or the Shan have one too, a New-Rice celebration? Haven't you ever heard whether they do or not?

18. T: Well, I myself haven't been in Thailand – in Northern Thai country – for very long yet, so I'm really not sure. But my guess is that they probably don't have the custom of celebrating the New Rice. What we do know about is the Red Lahu and the Karen, and that's all we know. The people called “Karen” have similar customs. When the pagans among them<sup>11</sup> celebrate the New Rice, they prepare food and drink for their hoes and knives and for the spirits and false gods<sup>12</sup> that they depend on, and after they've offered it to them they celebrate the New Rice. They say that those idols of theirs help them!

19. P: Hm, I don't really understand what *śá-hò?-śá-ná* means in Lahu, so could you please explain its meaning to me? What do you mean by *śá-hò?-śá-ná*?

20. T: The thing we call *śá-hò?-śá-ná* is like this. Way back at the time when our Lord Jesus was born on earth, he too — that is, the man who preached about the *śá-hò?-śá-ná* — was also born at that time. This man went off to the east. He went to preach his doctrine of the *śá-hò?-śá-ná*, while Jesus went preaching to the west. So as he went around preaching and preaching at that time, the words this fellow taught were quite good. He would say, “If you want to reach the kingdom of God, do upright and righteous deeds even as I do,” thus he would preach. Well, after he had done his preaching, this fellow died. When he had died, his successors, a group of people, set the fellow up as a god, and made images and pictures<sup>13</sup> of him which they bowed down to.<sup>14</sup> We call them *śá-hò?-śá-ná* because they were made by human beings.<sup>15</sup>

21. P: Oh, I see, I see. Well, since you arrived in Thailand how many times has it come to now that you've been celebrating the New Rice Festival, if you count this time too?

<sup>7</sup>*l̥ɔki*: ‘pagan/heathen/gentile,’ ultimately from Pali *lōka*- ‘world’, i.e. “of this world, worldly.”

<sup>8</sup>*Lāhu-ní* ‘Red Lahu’ is used somewhat disparagingly by the Black Lahu Christian villages to designate animist Lahu. It thus seems to be largely a cultural, rather than a linguistic label.

<sup>9</sup>*Ġi-śa yō mi-gi*: *yō* may be taken either in apposition with *Ġi-śa* or as the possessor of a genitive construction with *mi-gi*, meaning “God blesses his earth with fertility.”

<sup>10</sup>*pē-tú-pā* “those who burn beeswax.” This is a rather patronizing term for the animist Lahu, who burn beeswax candles while worshipping their spirits. The animists themselves often refer to themselves this way.

<sup>11</sup>There are many thousands of Christian Karen in Thailand, many of whom have close and friendly relations with the Lahu Christians.

<sup>12</sup>*śá-hò?-śá-ná* refers to representations of animist deities. In the Bible translation this expression is used to render ‘idols’ or ‘false gods’.

<sup>13</sup>The elaborate expression *ḡ-hò?-ḡ-ha* ‘images and pictures’ shares a morpheme with *śá-hò?-śá-ná*.

<sup>14</sup>*ó-qō pi ve*: “incline the head (in prayer)”. Baptist Lahu use the expression *bo l̥ɔ ve* “ask for grace”.

<sup>15</sup>It is hard to say where the Pastor picked up this bit of theological history. Perhaps he is influenced by the story of John the Baptist.

22. T: Well, if you count this time, we've been celebrating the New Rice in Thailand now for eleven<sup>16</sup> years! Eleven years.

23. P: Rather a long time now, isn't it?

24. T: Mm, quite a long time now!

25. P: Ah, it's a tremendous joy for us Lahu, isn't it, that through the grace of God we've been able to celebrate the New Rice Festival properly year after year!

26. T: Yes, indeed.

27. P: How is it that you do this "celebration of the New Rice"? Is it as we saw today, that you slaughter pigs and chickens and in joy and gladness pray to God together and eat? Is that right, do you celebrate that way every year?

28. T: Yes, that's right. Some years we have plenty to eat and drink, and we must praise the grace of God the more.<sup>17</sup> Other years, since we Lahu hill-tribesmen are poor and needy folk, we don't have anything to eat, no curry<sup>18</sup> or meat to go with our rice, but even so everybody contributes whatever he may have and we kill a few chickens, we kill them and eat them together in joy and gladness and praise the goodness of God.

29. P: So do the "beeswax-burners" also kill chickens and pigs like that and cook them happily, the way we do? If we just consider the matter of what they eat, their eating.<sup>19</sup>

30. T: As far as what they eat goes, it's the same. But it's just that they make their offerings differently. As for their eating, after they worship their idols, their spirits, their hoes and knives, they all eat together.

31. P: Well, talking here with you now, I've learned what I wanted to know about the celebration of the New Rice Festival, the way the Lahu celebrate the New Rice Festival, and I'm really grateful to you. Thank you very much indeed. Now I still have a little bit more that I'd like to know about the Lahu, so could I ask some more, Pastor?

32. T: You can ask.

33. P: Pastor, as you now, people who live in the mountains like the Lahu, the Akha, the Lisu, the Wa, the Hmong, they're called "hill-people," right? While people like the Shans, the Burmans, the Northern Thai are called "plains-people," right? Well, how is it that it's turned out that there are people who live in the plains and people who live in the mountains?

34. T: Well, it's this way. Long ago our Lahu race, in the days of our forefathers, a time long ago, we have a Lahu legend<sup>20</sup> about this. This Lahu legend of ours goes like this. It is said that one day one of our Lahu forefathers was climbing up a mountain. He was climbing a certain very high mountain. He packed a water-tube<sup>21</sup> and carried it on his back as he climbed. Well, he went on and on, and climbed and climbed, and before he had wound his way up to the middle of the mountain, when he reached the middle, his water gave out. For this reason, all of us Lahu go to live on mountaintops, or so this Lahu legend has it.<sup>22</sup>

35. P: You mean he got up onto the mountain and his water gave out, so he wasn't able to come back down again?

36. T: Yes.

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<sup>16</sup>tê chi le tê is an unusual way of saying "eleven", which is usually expressed simply as tê chi tê.

<sup>17</sup>Lit: "some years, more than the having plenty to eat and drink, we must praise the grace of God," i.e., the grace of God is more to be praised than the abundance of food is.

<sup>18</sup>ᵛ-chî 'that which uplifts rice'; cf. Thai *kâpkhâaw*.

<sup>19</sup>As opposed to their religious practices on this occasion.

<sup>20</sup>chᵛ-mᵛ-khᵛ: "words of the elders".

<sup>21</sup>î-kâ2-dē: a large tube of bamboo, carried in a basket on the back, used for transporting water.

<sup>22</sup>The brevity of this story, as well as Càbo's hesitation in telling it, lead one to believe that it is merely a half-remembered shadow of an interesting and elaborate legend.

37. P: Oh. Well then, how is it that all these plains-dwellers like the Shans and the Northern Thai live in the flatlands, would you say?

38. T: Well, those people now, about the Northern Thai we — we Lahu — don't really know very much about such matters. Do *you* know?

39. P: All that I know, you see, about the Shans and the Wa, you know<sup>23</sup> – I once did hear something about the Wa! They say that once upon a time the Wa were plainsmen! The Lahu, the Wa, the Akha were all people who lived in the plains, they say. I don't really know whether it's true or not though, you see. I heard some old men talking about it, and they said that the Wa once—that the Wa and the Lahu and all the hill-people once lived in the plains. The Shans used to live in “the-mountains-and-the-valleys,”<sup>24</sup> they said. But the Shans were a lot smarter! They realized that they were having a terrible hard time living off their dry-rice fields up in the hills, so they said to the plains-living Wa—to some Wa and Lahu, “Say, come on up and live in the mountains! You can earn a living with opium fields in the mountains, you can get a living from all sorts of things, and there's a lot of silver, too. And there are plenty of game-animals and lots of room for dry-rice fields besides. But in the plains there's no game, there's nothing<sup>i</sup>,” they said. “So you plains-people have no wealth, no means of livelihood, none of these various ways to make a living.” Well, the Lahu and [the other present-day] hill-people [like] the Wa thought this was the truth, so they changed places. They switched with the others: “So we shall go up and live in the mountains, and you people come live in the plains,” they're supposed to have said. So they went and switched around! That's how the people who now live up in the hills came to live there.<sup>25</sup> And the Shans and the Northern Thai and all the rest of them came to live in the plains, and they turned out the way they did!

40. T: Oh, is that what they said?

41. P: That's right.

42. T: It was really very good of you to retell this story to us.

43. P: Somehow or other, nowadays many of the plains-people are making a fine living from their wet-rice fields, and are doing very well in trading, so they're coming up in the world<sup>26</sup> day by day. The hill-folk cultivate swiddens. But the hill-people are very badly off, whether from their dry-rice fields or anything else they try to earn a living from. So no matter how many different things they think up, no matter what plans they may think up to get ahead in the world, they have no time.<sup>27</sup> And so day after day they suffer in poverty. There is no way for them to improve themselves like other people. That's how it goes. So now one can't see how these so-called “hill-tribesmen” will ever be able to find a way to work themselves up.

44. T: Oh, that's absolutely right! These Lahu words, the things those Lahu elders said, are absolutely right. Ah, it's disgusting to think of those Lahu ancestors of ours!<sup>28</sup>

45. P: Yes, yes, yes. These Shans, they used to live up in the mountains, and they had a wretched living from their dry-rice fields and from everything else. But these people like the Lahu and the Wa and the Akha had no education. The Shans and the Northern Thai had oily tongues,<sup>29</sup> so the others<sup>30</sup> went flying up into the mountains! They switched around, they exchanged their lands. They changed their habitat. Now they're very clever, more than we are. Oh, in all respects! They're coming up in the world, I tell you.

<sup>23</sup>These English pause fillers “you see” and “you know” are used here to translate the Lahu final unrestricted particle *lê* ‘request for assent.’

<sup>24</sup>**qhɔ-qhɔ-lɔ-qhɔ**: “in the mountains and valleys.” This elaborate expression simply means ‘in the hills’/‘in the mountains.’

<sup>25</sup>The original repeats **qhɔ-qhɔ-lɔ-qhɔ** instead of substituting ‘there.’

<sup>26</sup>**i la-mu-la**: lit. “become big become high.”

<sup>27</sup>I.e., they must work constantly just to eke out their subsistence, so they have no time for experimentation in trying to improve their lot.

<sup>28</sup>I.e., we are revolted to think of the stupidity of our ancestors in coming to live up in the mountains.

<sup>29</sup>**hɛ-câ-ve**: ‘to earn a living by lying; live by one's oily tongue.’

<sup>30</sup>The original just has **yɔ-hi** ‘they.’ The speaker is taking the deictic viewpoint of an outsider, speaking of his ancestors as ‘they’. It would have been clearer if he had said **ɲà-hi** ‘we’.

46. T: Well, then, I for one don't know what has to be done now for our Lahu people to find a way to improve themselves. Do you know the answer to that, too?<sup>31</sup>

47. P: Well, as far as I can see, in order for the hill-people to raise their standard of living I don't even say they've got to go live in the plains. Even up in the mountains there are certain places where you can make wet-rice fields—live off wet-rice fields—or off fruit-orchards of various kinds. So if you go about it properly I think you could probably find a way to prosper like other people, like the people living in the plains. Then too the Lahu just<sup>32</sup> don't have any education, they just haven't managed to get schooling like other people. So since they don't understand the ways and means of getting ahead, why, I think there's probably no way they can actually do it. But in the future if the Lahu also come to have education and training, if in their hearts they come to desire it, to want to seek it, then someday I suppose it will be possible. However, if I were to say what would really be best, I think that the best thing would be to go live in the plains and live off wet-rice fields or anything else. It would certainly be easier!

48. T: Well, so we should probably go look at the places where there is flat land for wet-rice fields.

49. P: Yes, yes, everybody ought to go and look, each one of you. As we've come to realize, even if we live and work for a living in the hills for a hundred years, or for a thousand years or more, there will never be a year when we'll get to see any improvement in our lot, right? It's that way the first year. It's that way the second year. It's that way for a hundred years. That's just the way it is! The plains-people over there from one year to the next get to ride in cars, and after the cars come airplanes, and when the airplanes come so do their big beautiful houses—all kinds of things happen for them. That's just the way it is! On the intellectual side too they're making progress! So if we think it over now, and manage to live in the plains as we should, I really think we'll probably begin to see the path to progress.

50. T: Ah, they're absolutely right, these words of yours.

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<sup>31</sup>“do you also know this matter?”

<sup>32</sup>**a-ci** ‘a little, just’ is used to soften these hard truths.

## 5.2 Things that I use

- (1) *ηà yê jɔ ve lè* ,  
 Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 I use experiential nominalizer topic
- (2) *và?-é-*qwê?* tê khâ , phà-pá tê mà , cé-qô? šî cē tê*  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N Q Num  
 yoke for pigs one for kinds big axe (Thai) one general classifier hoe square one  
*phà?*  
 Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 for certain flat objects
- (3) *kô-ηwê? tê phà? , phá-cè? tê qhô? , cê-é tê*  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N Num  
 mattock one for certain flat objects towel one for foldable objects small chisel one  
*mà*  
 Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 general classifier
- (4) *qhá-jū tê šî , lí-la tê mà , ha-ma tê*  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N Num  
 basket one for round objects saw one general classifier winnowing tray one  
*mà , mí-*chɔ* tê šî , ú-ní tê qhô?*  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 general classifier shoulder bag one for round objects turban one for foldable objects  
*, á-pò? tê qhô?*  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 shirt one for foldable objects
- (5) *hā tê qhô? , hā-pi tê mà , khí-thò?-qō tê*  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N Num  
 trousers one for foldable objects belt one general classifier leggings one  
*cē , khí-šê? tê cē , khí-nú? tê ku* –  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 for pairs socks one for pairs shoes one for pairs (Thai)
- (6) *ηà chí qhe te cò jɔ ve yò* .  
 Pron NP<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 I this way have experiential nominalizer declarative

### Translation

<sup>1</sup>As for the things which I have used:

a yoke for pigs, a big axe, a square hoe,

a mattock, a towel, a small chisel,

a basket, a saw, a winnowing tray,

a shoulder bag, a turban, a shirt, a pair of trousers, a belt, a pair of leggings, a pair of socks, a pair of shoes.

Things like this are what I have had.

<sup>1</sup>This text has been edited from Red Lahu.

### 5.3 The village headman

- (1) *P* : *âa* , *chi-bâ?* *̄* *ɲà* *a-cí* *šĩ* *gâ* *ve* *̄* *chi* –  
 . Interj N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Det  
 well! now topic I just know desiderative nominalizer topic this matter  
*qhâ?-še* *̄-l* *qô?-ma* .  
 N N P<sub>uf</sub>  
 headman about emphatic
- (2) *chi* *mû-mì* *qhô* *̄* *qo* *qhâ?* *phê?* *ve* *qô? qo*  
 Det N N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 this country throughout locative topic village be a certain way nominalizer topicalizer  
*̄* , *qhâ?-še* *tê gâ* *gã* *cò* *ve* *lê* .  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N Q <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 topic headman one person must have nominalizer request for assent
- (3) *tê* *mû-mì* *le-le* .  
 Num N B<sub>n</sub>  
 one country every
- (4) *T* : *yò* .  
 . Interj  
 yes!
- (5) *P* : *qhe-̄* *Lâhû* *qhâ?* *̄* *qô?* *ve* *̄* *qhâ?-še* *tê gâ*  
 . Conj N N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Q  
 in that case Lahu village locative call nominalizer topic headman one person  
*qhâ-qhe te* – *âa* – *lâ?-yù* *ve* *qhâ?-še* *qô?* *ve* *qhâ-qhe ve* *chɔ*  
 Cl<sub>nf</sub> Interj V P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + **ve** N  
 how er choose nominalizer headman call nominalizer what kind of? person  
 – *qhâ-qhe ve* *chɔ* *qhâ?-še* *phê?* *kān* *ve* *le* .  
 N<sub>poss</sub> + **ve** N N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 what kind of? person headman be sthg worthy of V'ing nominalizer substantive qst
- (6) *chi* *qhe* *ve* *̄-l* *a-cí* *šĩ* *gâ* *le* *qô?-ma* .  
 AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 like this genitivizer matter a little know desiderative because emphatic
- (7) *šālā* *a-cí* *qāw* *mā* *phê?* *lā* , *qhe* *ve* .  
 N Adv V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 pastor please tell negative able to yes such genitivizer
- (8) *T* : *âa* , *phê?* *tê-tê* *ve* *yò* .  
 . Interj V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! able to really nominalizer declarative
- (9) *P* : *qhe-qo* , *qāw* *mā* *ni* *a-?* , *a-cí* .  
 . Conj V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> Adv  
 if so tell instruct by V'ing try and V hortatory please
- (10) *T* : *ɲà-hi* *Lâhû-yâ* *qhɔ-qhô?-lâ-qhô?-yâ* *qhâ?-še* *lâ?* *ve* *tê cə* *lê*  
 . Pron N Elab<sub>extd</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub>  
 we (pl) Lahu people hill-folk headman choose relativizer one thing topic



- chɔ* *tê gã le-le* , *yâ-mî* *yâ-nè* *qha-pà-è* *thà?* *gã* *šĩ* *gã* *kâ*  
 N NP<sub>q</sub> N N AE P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V <sub>v</sub>V V  
 people everybody girl young man all accusative must know must hear  
*pî* *ve* *tê cə* *yò* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (3p) relativizer one thing declarative
- (11) *nî lɔn tê lɔn* *qhâ?-šɛ* *phê?* *pà* *ve* *chɔ* *tê gã* *qo*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Q P<sub>unf</sub>  
 the second matter headman be sthg V already relativizer person one person topic  
*yô ve* *qhâ?* *ə-lɔn* *thà?* *qhà-thâ?-kà?* *gã* *dô-nô* *ve*  
 N<sub>poss + ve</sub> N N P<sub>n</sub> AE <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 his village situation accusative always must be mindful of nominalizer  
*yò* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (12) *gã* *dô-nô* *ve* *ə-cə* *chi* *tê phā* *lè* *qhà-qhe ve* *le*  
<sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> N Det Q P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>poss + ve</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 must be mindful of relativizer things these pluralizer topic what kind of? what kind of?  
*tê* *qô?* *ve* *qo* , *yô ve* *qhâ?-yâ* *tê phā* *qhà-qhe te le*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>poss + ve</sub> N Q Cl<sub>nf</sub>  
 really V say nominalizer if his villager pluralizer how  
*gã-cā-gã-də* *tù* , *qhà-qhe te le* *šu* *qhâ?* *šu lɔ šũ*  
 Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub> Pron N OV  
 get enough to eat and drink future how others' village be equal to others  
*tù* , *ə-cə* *tê phā* *thà?* *yô* *qhà-thâ?-kà?* *qha-dê?* *gã* *mā*  
 P<sub>v-nom</sub> N Q P<sub>n</sub> Pron AE AE <sub>v</sub>V V  
 purposive thing pluralizer accusative he always properly must teach  
*pî* *ve* *yò* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative
- (13) *le* *šĩ?* *lɔ tê lɔ* , *qhâ?-šɛ* *phê?* *ve* *chɔ* *tê gã* *lè* , *šĩ?-cə*  
 Conj NP<sub>q</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> N Q P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 and the third matter headman be sthg relativizer person one person topic tree  
*tê cə* *qha šũ-šũ* *gã* *phê?* *ve* *yò* .  
 Q AE <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 one tree just like must be a certain way nominalizer declarative
- (14) *ôn* , *qhâ?-yâ* *phê?* *ve* *tê phā* *lè* *šĩ?-qá* *qhe* *phê?*  
 Num N V P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> N N<sub>ext</sub> V  
 fourthly villager be sthg relativizer pluralizer topic branch of tree like be a certain way  
*ve* *yò* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (15) *ŋá* , *le* *kɔmĩtĩ* *phê?* *ve* *tê phā* *lè* , *ə-phà?* *tê phā* *qhe*  
 Num Conj N V P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> N Q N<sub>ext</sub>  
 fifthly and committee be sthg relativizer pluralizer topic leaf pluralizer like  
*phê?* *ve* *yò* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be a certain way nominalizer declarative

The village headman

- (16) *šĕ? tĕ cə cə ve qo ð-qá cə ve yò .*  
 N Q V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 tree any kind be there nominalizer if branch have nominalizer declarative
- (17) *ð-phà? kà? cə ve yò .*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 leaf also be there nominalizer declarative
- (18) *chi thà? pa-tə qhâ?-šĕ tĕ ġâ phĕ? ve qo , qhâ?-yâ-lə-yâ láy*  
 NP N Q V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> Num  
 therefore headman one person be sthg nominalizer if villagers several  
*yān ġa cə ve tĕ cə yò .*  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> <sub>v</sub>V + V<sub>h</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>uf</sub>  
 for kinds need relativizer another thing declarative
- (19) *P : qhâ?-šĕ tĕ ġâ phĕ? kān ve ɔ̄ qhâ?-šĕ ɔ̄ a-šà?*  
 . N Q V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 headman one person be sthg worthy of V'ing nominalizer topic headman topic age  
*qhà-nĭ qhò? ġa ġâ tù le .*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 how many? for years must reach future future
- (20) *a-šà? i qo phĕ?-phĕ? ɔ̄ lâ , a-šà? ĩ qo phĕ?-phĕ? ɔ̄*  
 N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>redup</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>redup</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 age young if still be able affirmative yes age older if still be able affirmative  
*lâ .*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 yes
- (21) *T : áa , qhâ?-šĕ te ve tĕ cə lĕ a-šà? mâ-chwĕ ve*  
 . Interj N V P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> N AE P<sub>univ</sub>  
 well! headman act as relativizer one matter topic age rather a lot genitivizer  
*chə-mô dɔ̄-yĭ-ġâ-yĭ ve chə thà? ġa lă?-yù ve*  
 N Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 adult wise and intelligent relativizer person accusative must choose nominalizer  
*yò .*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (22) *a-šà? ð-lə thà? qò? thâ qo , à-là nĭ-šĕ? chi qhò?*  
 N N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv NP<sub>q</sub> Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 age matter accusative discuss when topic approximately twenty or thirty for years  
*lĕ šĕ? chi ġâ qhò? qò? ð-qhò tã? e ve chə lĕ*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> <sub>v</sub>V N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub>  
 topic thirty-five for years V also above go up motion away relativizer person topic  
*qhâ?-šĕ te phĕ? ve yò .*  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 headman act as able to nominalizer declarative
- (23) *P : pĭnyà-cú-yĭ kà? a-cí šu a-ké ġa cə mâ ve yò*  
 . N P<sub>unf</sub> Adv Pron N<sub>ext</sub> <sub>v</sub>V + V<sub>h</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 education also a little others more than need be much nominalizer declarative

- lê*  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
request for assent
- (24) *T : yò*  
Interj  
that's right!
- (25) *P : šu-khâ-šu-šá kâ? a-cí ġa šī mâ ve*  
Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
others' languages and customs also more ought to know V greatly nominalizer  
*yò lê*  
P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
declarative request for assent
- (26) *T : yò*  
Interj  
that's right!
- (27) *P : èe , qhe-qo chɔ-há-pā phê? qo qhâ?-šɛ te phê?*  
Interj Conj N V P<sub>unf</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub>  
I see! so unmarried young man be sthg if headman act as able to  
*ɔ lâ*  
P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
affirmative yes
- (28) *T : âa , chɔ-há-pā tí qo lè , qhâ?-šɛ te mâ phê?*  
Interj N P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V Adv V<sub>v</sub>  
well! unmarried young man as for topic headman act as negative able to  
*ma*  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
exclamatory
- (29) *ɔ-lɔ qô? qo ɔ yô ɔ-mî-ma mâ cò lɛ yâ-mî-há*  
Cl<sub>nf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> N  
the reason is topic he wife negative have because unmarried young woman  
*dâ? ve à? mò qo , yô tê pô?-pô? ca te yâ? qo*  
V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron NP<sub>q</sub> vV vV+V<sub>h</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
good-looking nominalizer object see if he sometimes go and do do sthg wrong if  
*šu yɔ-khâ mâ na qô?-ma*  
Pron N Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
others spoken words negative listen emphatic
- (30) *P : ɔɔ , qhe-qo ɔ nò qô? ġa ve ɔ qhâ?-šɛ qo ɔ*  
Interj Conj P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V+P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
affirmative so then topic you mean nominalizer topic headman topic topic  
*chɔ-há-pā mâ ġa phê? qô? ve lê*  
N Adv vV V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
unmarried young man negative get to be sthg say nominalizer request for assent
- (31) *ɔ-mî-ma ġa cò ve chɔ tê ġâ le-le yò , qô? ve*  
N vV+V<sub>h</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
wife need relativizer people everybody declarative say nominalizer

The village headman

- lê*  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
request for assent
- (32) *T : yò* .  
Interj  
yes!
- (33) *P : qhe-qo ̄ qhâ?-š̄e ̄ – èe –*  
– Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> Interj  
so topic headman topic er...
- (34) *JAM : yâ-mî-qê? qhâ?-š̄e te phê? ve l̄-ā* .  
N N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
woman headman act as able to nominalizer interrogative
- (35) *P : èe , yâ-mî-qê? kâ? te phê? ɔ l̄ , qhâ?-š̄e* .  
Interj N P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N  
yes woman also do able to affirmative yes headman
- (36) *T : âa , yâ-mî-qê? lê mâ phê? tâ ma* .  
Interj N P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
well! woman topic negative be possible negative probability exclamatory
- (37) *P : à-thò?-ma te l̄ mâ phê? ve le* .  
Cl<sub>nf</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
why negative be possible nominalizer nominalizer
- (38) *T : ñà-hi Lâhū ð-lî chi qhe mâ cò* .  
Pron N N AE<sub>ext</sub> Adv V  
we (pl) Lahu custom like this negative be there
- (39) *chɔ-mô tê cá pð tê cá kâ? chi qhe mâ te mì*  
N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> B<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub>  
ancestors one generation after one generation even like this negative do used to V  
*jɔ ve pa-tɔ , ñà-hi te mâ phê?*  
P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron V Adv V<sub>v</sub>  
experiential nominalizer because of we (pl) do negative able to
- (40) *P : qhe-qo l̄ Lâhū ve qhâ?-š̄e l̄ hɔ-qhâ?-pā dê-dê yò*  
Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
so then topic Lahu genitivizer headman topic topic all declarative  
*lê*  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
request for assent
- (41) *T : hɔ-qhâ?-pā tí ġa te ve yò* .  
N P<sub>univ</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
only must act as nominalizer declarative
- (42) *P : qhe-qo qhâ?-š̄e tê ġâ ġa phê? ve l̄ yô phu*  
Conj N Q vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N  
so headman one person get to be sthg nominalizer topic he money  
*qhà-ma cò ve le , mô qhà-ma cò*  
N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N N<sub>intg</sub> V  
how much? have nominalizer nominalizer personal property how much? have

- ve* *le* *chi* *à?* *kà?* *ġa* *š̄* *ve* *lâ* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Det P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer nominalizer this matter object also ought to consider nominalizer yes
- (43) *qhâ?-š̄ε* *qo* *̄* , *tê ġâ le-le* *phê?-phê?* *lâ* , *phu* *cò* *thô* *mâ* *cò*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> V<sub>redup</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
 headman topic topic everybody still be able yes money have even negative have  
*thô* .  
 P<sub>unf</sub>  
 even
- (44) *T* : *âa* , *qhâ?-š̄ε* *te* *ve* *tí qo* *ð-lî-ð-qhâ* *š̄* *l̄ε*  
 . Interj N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 well! headman act as nominalizer topicalizer laws and customs know suspensive  
*mî-gî* *ð-lî* *thà?* *thê è* *l̄ε* *ȳé* *p̄í* *qo* *phu*  
 N N P<sub>n</sub> AE<sub>stat</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 country customs accusative uprightly suspensive observe a custom able to V if money  
*mâ* *cò* *thô* *te* *phê?* *ɔ* .  
 Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative have even do able to affirmative
- (45) *tê p̄ð?-p̄ð?* *qhâ?-š̄ε* *hā-ġô* *la* *thô* , *phu* *mâ* *cò* *ve* *tê*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 sometimes headman poor become even money negative have nominalizer really V  
*qhâ?-yâ* *tê phā* *š̄* *qo* , *ȳ-hî* *ve* *qhâ?-š̄ε* *thà?* *q̄ð?* *ga*  
 N Q V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> vV V  
 villager pluralizer know if their genitivizer headman accusative go on to V help  
*p̄í* *phê?* *ɔ* , *qhâ?-yâ* *tê phā* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N Q  
 benefactive (3p) able to affirmative villager pluralizer
- (46) *P* : *qhâ?-š̄ε* *chi qhe* *qo* *̄* , *Lâhū* *qhâ?-š̄ε* *qo* *̄* *ha-pa-phû* *cò*  
 . N AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V  
 headman like this topic topic Lahu headman topic topic monthly salary be there  
*lâ* , *ȳ* *ġa* *câ* *tù* *ve* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> Pron vV V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 yes he get to earn a living purposive nominalizer
- (47) *T* : *âa* *Lâhū* *qhâ?-š̄ε* *tí qo* *ha-pa-phû* *mâ* *cò* *ma* .  
 . Interj N N P<sub>univ</sub> N Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! Lahu headman topicalizer monthly salary negative have exclamatory
- (48) *tê cò* *l̄ε* *cò* .  
 Q P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 one thing topic be there
- (49) *š̄ā-q̄* *l̄ε* *š̄ā-š̄ε* *ġa* *câ*  
 N Conj N vV V  
 headman's portion of killed game and special portion of large killed game get to eat  
*ve* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer

The village headman

- (50) *le tê pô?-pô? qhâ?-yâ-lâ-yâ mâ-cô-mâ-hô dâ? le dê-dâ?-yâ?-dâ? ve*  
 Conj NP<sub>q</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 and sometimes villagers disunited mutual action because quarrel relativizer  
*â-qhâ lo qo , yô phu má yù ve*  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 while locative if he money levy a fine V to get sthg nominalizer
- (51) *phu ô-ve qhâ?-šê câ phê? ɔ*  
 N Det N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 money that headman profit from able to affirmative
- (52) *P : nò qô? ve šā â-šê ġā câ ve*  
 . Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> N N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 you say nominalizer animal headman's portion of killed game get to eat nominalizer  
*qô? ve chi-pí-qwê? bô? le ġā ve*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 say nominalizer barking deer shoot suspensive get nominalizer  
*â-šê ô-ve qhe ve lâ*  
 N Det N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 headman's portion of killed game that like genitivizer yes
- (53) *T : yò*  
 . Interj  
 that's right!
- (54) *chi-pí-qwê? , he-vâ? , khí-yī*  
 N N N  
 barking deer wild boar deer (great sambhur)
- (55) —  
 —  
 —
- (56) *Lisu : he-nû*  
 . N  
 wild cattle
- (57) *T : he-nû – chi tê phā lè câ phê? ve yò*  
 . N Det Q P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 wild cattle these pluralizer topic eat able to nominalizer declarative
- (58) *mâ câ phê? ve lè nî cā cā*  
 Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V  
 negative eat able to nominalizer topic two kind be there
- (59) *tê cā yê-mí-tō*  
 Q N  
 one kind bear (animal)
- (60) *nî cā hâ-tó-pê?*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N  
 second kind goat-antelope
- (61) *chi ve lè mâ câ , qhâ?-šê*  
 Det P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V N  
 these topic negative eat headman

- (62) *P* : *qhà-qhe te lɛ chi nî cə̌ ̄ mâ câ phè? ve qô?*  
 . Cl<sub>nf</sub> Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V  
 how come? these two for kinds topic negative eat able to nominalizer say  
*ve le*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer nominalizer
- (63) *T* : *chi ve cɛ-kɛ̌ lɛ̌ chi qhe yò* .  
 . Det N P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 this reason topic like this declarative
- (64) *yô qô? ve mâ mɛ̌ cê , chi ve ̄* .  
 Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> , Det P<sub>unf</sub>  
 they say nominalizer negative taste good quotative these things topic
- (65) *P* : *mâ mɛ̌ lɛ̌ mâ câ phè?* .  
 . Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub>  
 negative taste good because negative eat able to
- (66) *T* : *mâ mɛ̌ lɛ̌ mâ câ phè?* .  
 . Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub>  
 negative taste good because negative eat able to
- (67) *P* : *ò* .  
 . Interj  
 I see
- (68) *T* : *mâ câ gâ cê* .  
 . Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative eat desiderative quotative
- (69) *P* : *câ tí qo câ phè? ve lê* .  
 . V P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 eat topicalizer eat able to nominalizer request for assent
- (70) *mâ mɛ̌ lɛ̌ yô mâ câ gâ ve cɛ* .  
 Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 negative taste good because they negative eat desiderative nominalizer just
- (71) *T* : *câ tí qo phè? ve yò* .  
 . V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 eat as for able to nominalizer declarative
- (72) *yô-hi mâ câ* .  
 Pron Adv V  
 they negative eat
- (73) *yô-hi mâ hân* .  
 Pron Adv V  
 they negative like sthg
- (74) *P* : *šĩ ò , šĩ ò , šĩ ò* .  
 . V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 know completed action know completed action know completed action

The village headman

- (75) *qhe-qo lè qhâ?-šɛ qô? ve yô qhâ?-šɛ phê? la qo qhâ-ní*  
 Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num  
 well then topic headman call nominalizer somebody headman become if how many?  
*qhò? qo ð-šɛ qò? lâ? ve le*  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 for years when another one V again choose nominalizer nominalizer
- (76) *mâ hê? qo qhâ?-šɛ dà?-dà? ve tí qo yô ší thâ*  
 Cl<sub>nf</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron V Temp Nom  
 or else headman headman nominalizer topicalizer he die the time when  
*qha-gà qhâ?-šɛ ġa te ve lâ*  
 N<sub>time</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 the time when headman get to act as nominalizer yes
- (77) *T : âa , tê pô?-pô? tê ġâ-ġâ qo yô dô pí le qhâ?-yâ*  
 . Interj NP<sub>q</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 well! sometimes someone or other topic he smart suspensive villager  
*thâ? qha-dê? hà?-šá pí le thê ê? šɛ qay*  
 P<sub>n</sub> AE V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>stat</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 accusative in the right way take care of able to V suspensive uprightly lead continue V'ing  
*pí ve qo , yô ší thâ qha-gà qhâ?-šɛ te*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V Temp Nom N<sub>time</sub> N V  
 able to V nominalizer if he die the time when the time when headman act as  
*phê? ve yò*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 able to nominalizer declarative
- (78) *qhâ?-šɛ te ve qô? ve tê cò yô te yà? kî*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Q Pron <sub>v</sub>V + V<sub>h</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub>  
 headman act as nominalizer say relativizer one matter he do sthg wrong point of action  
*mâ cò qo ñâ-hi yô thâ? ca yù ce pí*  
 Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Pron P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V <sub>v</sub>V + V<sub>h</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 negative be there if we (pl) him accusative go and do dismiss benefactive (3p)  
*ve ð-lí mâ cò*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N Adv V  
 relativizer custom negative have
- (79) *ñâ-hi Lâhū chò-mô-khò chi qhe cò ve : " lâ mâ ší qo lâ-ġì*  
 Pron N N AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 we (pl) Lahu proverb like this have nominalizer tiger negative die if tiger skin  
*qhê? mâ phê? " cê*  
 V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 strip off negative able to quotative
- (80) *P : yà-ò*  
 . V  
 yeah!
- (81) *cô têt-têt ve yò , chi*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Det  
 be right really nominalizer declarative this



- (82) *T : lâ mâ šĩ lɛ lâ-gì qhè? qo chè? lâ*  
 . N Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 tiger negative die suspensive tiger skin strip off if bite benefactive (non-3p)  
*cê*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative
- (83) *qhâ?-šɛ mâ te yà? lɛ qhâ?-šɛ yù yà? ve qo ,*  
 N Adv <sub>v</sub>V+V<sub>h</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V+V<sub>h</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 headman negative do sthg wrong suspensive headman bring smn down nominalizer if  
*qð? šũ?-šâ? la pĩ-à , chi qhe qô? ve*  
<sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> V+P<sub>v</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 keep on V'ing be annoying come to V warning marker like this say nominalizer  
*yò*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (84) *P : qhe-qo qhâ?-šɛ šĩ ò qo , qhâ?-šɛ ð-šĩ lâ?*  
 . Conj N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N V  
 so headman die completed action when headman new thing choose  
*ve qhâ-qhe te lâ? ve le*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer how choose nominalizer substantive qst
- (85) *T : qhe-qo qhâ?-šɛ šĩ pà qhâ?-nó qo , qhâ?-šɛ ð-šĩ hâ? gâ*  
 . Conj N V V<sub>v</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N N V P<sub>v</sub>  
 well headman die definitely V afterwards headman another one get desiderative  
*qo chɔ tê-qhâ?-tê-lò qha-pà-è ġa lâ?-yù ve yò*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N Elab<sub>n</sub> AE <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 when people the whole village everybody get to choose nominalizer declarative
- (86) *ni-ma dà? ve mɛ ni-ma yân-khân pí ve*  
 N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 heart good nominalizer contrastive topicalizer heart patient good at V'ing nominalizer  
*lɛ šũ ð-bà-phô ca qhâ qô? ve ð-cà thâ?*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>loc</sub> <sub>v</sub>V <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 suspensive behind people's backs go and do V secretly speak relativizer thing accusative  
*mâ na gâ pí ve chɔ ô qhe lɛ*  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 negative listen desiderative V habitually relativizer person like that suspensive  
*šũ-khâ-šũ-šá šĩ ve chɔ chi qhe ve thâ?*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 others' languages and customs know relativizer person like this genitivizer accusative  
*ġa qð? lâ?-yù ve yò*  
<sub>v</sub>V <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 ought to go on to V choose nominalizer declarative
- (87) *chɔ tê ġâ le-le ġa lâ?-yù ve yò*  
 N NP<sub>q</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 people everybody must choose nominalizer declarative
- (88) *P : šũ ɓ qo lê , hɔ-khâ qô? qo ɓ hɔ-khâ šĩ qo*  
 . Pron P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 others topic topic request for assent king topicalizer topic king die when

The village headman

- $\bar{5}$   $y\acute{o}$   $\grave{\alpha}$ - $y\acute{a}$ - $p\bar{a}$   $qo$   $\bar{5}$   $h\acute{s}$ - $kh\acute{a}$   $q\grave{o}?$   $ph\grave{e}?$   $ve$  ,  $y\acute{o}$   $\acute{s}\check{i}$   
 P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron V  
 topic his son topic topic king V in turn become nominalizer he die  
 $e$   $ve$   $qh\grave{o}?$ - $n\acute{o}$   $l\acute{e}$  .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 motion away nominalizer after request for assent
- (89)  $chi$   $qhe$   $\bar{5}$   $qh\acute{a}?$ - $\acute{s}e$   $qo$   $qh\acute{a}?$ - $\acute{s}e$   $\acute{s}\check{i}$   $\grave{o}$   $qo$  ,  $y\acute{o}$   $\acute{s}\check{i}$   
 AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V  
 like this topic headman topic headman die completed action when he die  
 $ve$   $qh\grave{o}?$ - $n\acute{o}$   $y\acute{o}$   $\grave{\alpha}$ - $y\acute{a}$ - $p\bar{a}$   $qh\acute{a}?$ - $\acute{s}e$   $q\grave{o}?$   $te$   $ph\grave{e}?$   $\text{c}$   $l\acute{a}$  .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> M<sub>px</sub> Pron N N <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 relativizer after his son headman V in turn act as able to affirmative yes
- (90)  $chi$   $qhe$   $ve$   $\grave{\alpha}$ - $l\acute{i}$   $c\grave{o}$   $\text{c}$   $l\acute{a}$  ,  $L\acute{a}h\bar{u}$ - $y\acute{a}$  .  
 AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N  
 like this genitivizer custom be there affirmative yes Lahu people
- (91)  $T$  :  $\acute{a}a$  ,  $c\grave{o}$   $ve$   $y\grave{o}$  ,  $chi$   $qhe$   $k\grave{a}?$   $c\grave{o}$   $ve$   
 . Interj V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 well! be there nominalizer declarative like this also be there nominalizer  
 $y\grave{o}$  .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (92)  $t\acute{e}$   $p\acute{o}?$ - $p\acute{o}?$   $chi$   $qhe$   $c\grave{o}$   $ve$  .  
 NP<sub>q</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 sometimes like this be there nominalizer
- (93)  $qh\acute{a}?$ - $\acute{s}e$   $chi$   $t\acute{e}$   $\acute{g}\acute{a}$   $\bar{5}$  ,  $y\acute{o}$   $ve$   $\grave{\alpha}$ - $y\acute{a}$ - $p\bar{a}$   $m\acute{a}$   $c\grave{o}$  .  
 N Det Q P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N Adv V  
 headman this one person topic his son negative be there
- (94)  $y\acute{a}$ - $m\acute{i}$   $ce$   $t\acute{i}$   $c\grave{o}$   $ve$  .  
 N P<sub>univ</sub> + P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 daughter only be there nominalizer
- (95)  $qhe$ - $qo$   $\grave{\alpha}$ - $pa$   $\acute{s}\check{i}$   $p\grave{a}$   $qh\grave{o}?$ - $n\acute{o}$  ,  $\grave{\alpha}$ - $k\acute{a}$ - $\grave{\alpha}$ - $nu$   $ch\acute{o}$   $th\acute{a}?$   $\acute{g}\acute{a}$   $q\grave{o}?$   
 Conj N V V<sub>v</sub> M<sub>px</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V <sub>v</sub>V  
 so father die V already after elsewhere person accusative must go on to V  
 $l\acute{a}?$ - $y\grave{u}$   $ve$   $y\grave{o}$  .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 choose nominalizer declarative
- (96)  $le$   $y\acute{o}$   $ve$   $\grave{\alpha}$ - $y\acute{a}$ - $p\bar{a}$   $chi$   $th\acute{o}$  —  $c\grave{o}$   $th\acute{o}$  ,  $t\grave{e}?$ - $ch\acute{i}$   $\grave{\alpha}$ - $l\acute{o}$   $m\acute{a}$   
 Conj N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N Det P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv N Adv  
 and his son this even be there even nothing situation negative  
 $\acute{s}\check{i}$   $ve$   $qo$  ,  $y\acute{e}$   $m\acute{a}$   $ph\grave{e}?$  .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V Adv V<sub>v</sub>  
 understand nominalizer if use negative able to
- (97)  $P$  :  $y\acute{e}$   $m\acute{a}$   $ph\grave{e}?$  .  
 . V Adv V<sub>v</sub>  
 use negative able to

- (98) *T* : *yê mâ ġa* .  
 . V Adv V<sub>v</sub>  
 use negative be able
- (99) *P* : *chi ñà-hi qhâ?-šɛ tɛ ve ɔ̄-qhe Lâhū ɛ ð-kā-ð-nu*  
 . Det Pron N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Conj Elab<sub>n</sub>  
 like this we (pl) headman establish nominalizer topicalizer Lahu and other  
*ve chɔ ú-pā-mā qô? qo Kólɔ qhe Thây qhe Tð-kɔ qhe*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N N P<sub>unf</sub> N N<sub>ext</sub> N N<sub>ext</sub> Eth N<sub>ext</sub>  
 genitivizer people for example topicalizer Northern Thai like Thai like Akha like  
*qha šū-šū yò lâ , qhâ?-šɛ lâ? ve*  
 AE P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 just like declarative yes headman choose nominalizer
- (100) *qhâ-qhe pən dà? ve le* .  
 N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 how? differ mutual action nominalizer nominalizer
- (101) *T* : *âa* —  
 — Interj  
 well!
- (102) *P* : *âa , tɛ? dà? ni a qo — âa — yô-hi qhâ-qhe*  
 . Interj V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Interj Pron N<sub>intg</sub>  
 well! compare mutual action try and V tentative if well! they how?  
*te ve le , ñà-hi Lâhū qhâ-qhe te ve le*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron N N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 do nominalizer nominalizer we (pl) Lahu how? do nominalizer nominalizer
- (103) *qhð tɛ kà ɔ̄ šū ve le , qhð tɛ*  
 N<sub>intg</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> Num  
 which? one for aspects topic be the same as nominalizer nominalizer which? one  
*kà mâ šū dà? ve le*  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 for aspects negative be the same as mutual action nominalizer nominalizer
- (104) *T* : *âa , a-cí lè mâ šū dà?* .  
 . Interj Adv P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 well! a little topic negative be the same as mutual state
- (105) *Lâhū pɛ-tú-pā qhâ?-šɛ lâ?-yù ve ɔ̄ chɔ tɛ ġâ le-le ni-ma cɔ*  
 N N<sub>dvb</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N NP<sub>q</sub> N<sub>spec</sub> + V  
 Lahu animist headman choose nominalizer topic people everybody be to one's liking  
*e la ò qo qhe-lɛ yô thâ? qhâ?-šɛ phê?*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv Pron P<sub>n</sub> N V  
 go on V'ing come to V completed action if on the spot him accusative headman be sthg  
*cí ve*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 causative nominalizer
- (106) *tè?-chí šá-khî? mâ cò* .  
 Adv N Adv V  
 nothing oath negative be there

The village headman

- (107) *lɛ* *ŋà-hi* *Lâhū* *bon-yâ* *qhâ?-šɛ* *lâ?* *ve* *ɔ̄* *šá-khî?* *cò*  
 Conj Pron N N N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V  
 and we (pl) Lahu Christian headman choose nominalizer topic oath be there  
*ve* *yò* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (108) *tê cə* : *qhâ?-šɛ* *lâ?* *pə* *ə-qhə?-nɔ̄* *çə* *tê gâ le-le* *ni-ma cə*  
 Q N V V<sub>v</sub> N<sub>time</sub> N NP<sub>q</sub> N<sub>spec</sub> + V  
 one thing headman choose finish V'ing afterwards people everybody be to one's liking  
*pə* *qo* , *cən-yè* *ə-qhə* *lo* *yâ-mî* *yâ-nè* *çə-mə* *qha-pə-è* *yò*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N N N AE Pron  
 definitely V if church in locative girls young men elders everybody him  
*thâ?* *qhâ?-šɛ* *phè?* *ci* *ve* *yò* *tè* *šá-khî?*  
 P<sub>n</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 accusative headman be sthg causative nominalizer declarative really V testimony  
*lâ?-qə cá* *pî* *ve* .  
 OV V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 shake hands benefactive (3p) nominalizer
- (109) *P* : *šá-khî?* *te* *ve* —  
 — N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 oath make nominalizer
- (110) *T* : *èe* , *šá-khî?* *te* *ve* , *ô qhe* *cə* *ve* *yò* .  
 . Interj N V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 yes oath make nominalizer like that be there nominalizer declarative
- (111) *P* : *qhe-qo* *qhâ?-šɛ* *lâ?* *thâ* *qhâ-qhe te lâ?* *ve* *le* .  
 . Conj N V P<sub>univ</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 so headman choose when how choose nominalizer nominalizer
- (112) *ha-lè-pwê* *à-thò?-ma* *à-thò?-ma* *te* *ve* *lâ* .  
 N N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 celebration some kind or other make nominalizer yes
- (113) *â* *te* *hɛ* *nè-ɔ̄* .  
 Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative do probably suppositional
- (114) *T* : *âa* , *qhâ?-šɛ* *lâ?* *thâ* *tí qo* , *ô qhe* *lè* *mâ* *te* .  
 . Interj N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
 well! headman choose when topicalizer like that topic negative do
- (115) *pwê* *tê cə* *lè* *mâ* *cə* , *ŋà-hi* *Lâhū-yâ* .  
 N Q P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V Pron N  
 celebration any kind topic negative be there we (pl) Lahu people
- (116) *qhâ?-šɛ* *lâ?* *ve* *tê yân* *thâ* *yò* *thà?* *qhâ?-šɛ* *phè?*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>univ</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> N V  
 headman choose relativizer the time that when him accusative headman be sthg  
*ci* *pə* *ə-qhə?-nɔ̄* *qo* *lâ?-qə cá* *pî* *ve* *tê yân*  
 V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> OV V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q  
 causative finish V'ing after when shake hands benefactive (3p) relativizer the time that

- thâ* , *tê gâ le-le* *yô ve* *tô-khô* *thâ?* *gâ* *na* *yù* *ve*  
P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
when everybody his words accusative must listen V lastingly nominalizer  
*yò* .  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
declarative
- (117) *P* : *yâ?ni* *thâ?* *tâ* *lɛ* *ŋâ-hi* *qhâ?* *à?* *šɛ* *qay*  
. N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
today accusative begin suspensive our village accusative lead continue V'ing  
*pā* *lê* *nò* *yò* *mē* .  
P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
agentive nominalizer topic you declarative emphatic
- (118) *T* : *yò* .  
. Interj  
that's right!
- (119) *P* : *qhe* *qô?* *ve* *lê* .  
. Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
like this say nominalizer request for assent
- (120) *chi* , *qhâ?-šɛ* *ŋâ-hi* *lâ?* *pə* *ò* *qo* , *chi* *šu*  
Det N Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Det Pron  
like this headman we (pl) choose finish V'ing completed action when this others  
*chɔ-ī* *ašóyà?* *kà?* *chi* *qhâ?-šɛ* *à?* *mɛ* *ve*  
N N P<sub>unf</sub> Det N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
important person government also this headman object recognize as nominalizer  
*lê* .  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
request for assent
- (121) *T* : *yò* .  
. Interj  
yes!
- (122) *P* : *qhâ?-šɛ* *tè* *gâ* *mɛ* *ve* *lê* .  
. N P<sub>univ</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
headman really V must recognize as nominalizer request for assent
- (123) *T* : *yò* .  
. Interj  
yes!
- (124) *ŋâ-hi* *lâ?-yù* *pə* *qhâ?-nó* *chɔ-ī* *là* *ve* *tê yân thâ* *qhâ?-šɛ*  
Pron V V<sub>v</sub> M<sub>prfx</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N  
we (pl) choose finish V'ing after important person come relativizer when headman  
*tê* *na* *ve* *tê yân thâ* , *ŋâ-hi* *ô-ve* *qhâ?-šɛ* *thâ?* *gâ* *mā*  
P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Pron Det N P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V  
really V ask relativizer when we (pl) that headman accusative must point out  
*pī* *ve* *yò* .  
V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative

The village headman

- (125) *lɛ chō-ī tē phā thō-kà? qhâ?-sɛ lō ve tē yân thâ qhâ?-sɛ chi ge*  
 Conj N Q P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N Det P<sub>n</sub>  
 and official pluralizer also headman need relativizer when headman this to  
*là ve yò*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 come nominalizer declarative
- (126) *P : qhe-kà? là ve*  
 AE V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 like this come nominalizer
- (127) *yô-hi lè mâ ca lâ? pî hɛ nē , qhâ?-sɛ*  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Adv vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N  
 they topic negative go and do choose benefactive (3p) probably emphatic headman  
*hâ-hi qhâ hâ-hi ġa lâ?-yù ve lâ*  
 AE vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 all by ourselves get to pick out nominalizer yes
- (128) *T : yò , hâ-hi qhâ hâ-hi lâ?-yù ve*  
 Interj AE V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 that's right! all by ourselves choose nominalizer
- (129) *lɛ Thây-cho qha sū-sū mâ hê?*  
 Conj N AE Adv + V  
 and Thai people just like not be the case
- (130) *Thây-cho qhâ?-sɛ lâ? ve tē yân thâ ɔ̄ chō-ī tɛ*  
 N N V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V  
 Thai people headman pick out relativizer when topic official arrange for  
*pî ve*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 benefactive (3p) nominalizer
- (131) *lɛ ha-pa-phû kà? pè? pî ve*  
 Conj N P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 and monthly salary also give benefactive (3p) nominalizer
- (132) *lɛ hâ-hi Lâhū chi qhe mâ hê?*  
 Conj Pron N AE<sub>ext</sub> Adv + V  
 but we (pl) Lahu like this not be the case
- (133) *hâ-hi Lâhū qhâ?-sɛ lâ? ve tē yân thâ , hâ-hi qhâ hâ-hi ġa lâ?-yù*  
 Pron N N V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> AE vV V  
 we (pl) Lahu headman choose relativizer when all by ourselves get to pick out  
*ve yò*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (134) *cho tē ġâ ɛ ni-ma mâ cō qo qhâ?-sɛ te ci*  
 N Q P<sub>n</sub> N Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub>  
 person one person only heart negative find favor with if headman do causative  
*mâ phê?*  
 Adv V<sub>v</sub>  
 negative able to

- (135) *tê gâ le-le ni-ma cô thâ qhâ?-šɛ ġa te ci ve* .  
 NP<sub>q</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 everybody heart find favor with when headman get to act as causative nominalizer
- (136) *P : qhe-qo Lâhū qhâ?-šɛ te ve ̄-qhe , Kóló qhâ?-šɛ te*  
 . Conj N N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N V  
 so Lahu headman make nominalizer topicalizer Northern Thai headman do  
*ve qhe-lê mâ hê? lê* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> Adv + V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer like not be the case request for assent
- (137) *Lâhū qhâ?-šɛ te ve ̄ chi qhâ?-šɛ ve kán thà?*  
 N N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Det N P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 Lahu headman act as nominalizer topic this matter headman genitivizer work accusative  
*qhe bo te ve qhe-lê te yù ve lê* .  
 Adv ext<sub>ent</sub> clause (Cl<sub>ext</sub>) V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 like this voluntarily do V to good effect nominalizer request for assent
- (138) *T : yò* .  
 Interj  
 that's right!
- (139) *P : Kóló qhâ?-šɛ qo yô-hi bo te gâ* .  
 . N N P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N V P<sub>v</sub>  
 Northern Thai headman topic they merit (Buddhist) make desiderative
- (140) *T : thê lê ð-lî thà? thê lê te ve qo , tê*  
 . AE<sub>stat</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> AE<sub>stat</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num  
 strictly custom accusative strictly observe (a custom) nominalizer if one  
*qhâ? ve ð-qhɔ lo qhâ?-šɛ šê? ġâ ġa cò ve* .  
 N P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> <sub>v</sub>V + V<sub>h</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 village genitivizer within locative headman three for humans need nominalizer
- (141) *tê — qhâ?-šɛ ló ; nî — yô ve ð-hó kà šɛ-phá* .  
 Num N B<sub>n</sub> Num N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N<sub>loc</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub>  
 the first headman senior second his under assistant
- (142) *qhâ?-šɛ yò , chi kà? , nî ġâ tê ġâ* .  
 N P<sub>uf</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub>  
 headman declarative this one also second person
- (143) *šê? – a-cí dō ġa pí ve chw-khō na pí ve*  
 Num Adv VP P<sub>univ</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 thirdly a little more intelligent nominalizer people's advice listen able to V nominalizer
- (144) *tê pō?-pō? ñà-hi lì? ca qò ci ve tê yân thâ , yô*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> Pron N <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Pron  
 sometimes we (pl) letter (epistle) go and do send causative relativizer when him  
*thà? lì? bù? pí le , ca yù*  
 P<sub>n</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V <sub>v</sub>V  
 accusative letter (epistle) write benefactive (3p) suspensive go and do take and V sth

The village headman

- qò* *cí* *tù* *ve* *chò* .  
V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N  
send causative purposive relativizer person
- (145) *ô qhe* *ve* *kà?* *ğà cò* *ve* *yò* .  
NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV + V<sub>h</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
like that genitivizer also need nominalizer declarative
- (146) *ci-yâ* .  
N  
messenger
- (147) *P* : *ò* , *ci-yâ* .  
. Interj N  
affirmative messenger
- (148) *T* : *ci-yâ* *tè* *qô?* *ve* , *èe* .  
. N P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Interj  
messenger really V call nominalizer yes
- (149) *lî?* *fə* *pā* *ci-yâ* .  
N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> N  
letter (epistle) letter (epistle) agentive nominalizer messenger
- (150) *ô qhe* *ve* *kà?* *ğà cò* *ve* *yò* .  
NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV + V<sub>h</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
like that genitivizer also need nominalizer declarative
- (151) *P* : *qhâ?-šc* *à?* *ga* *pî* *pā* *qô?* *ve*  
. N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
headman object help benefactive (3p) agentive nominalizer say relativizer  
*tê ġâ* *kà?* *qô?* *cò* *ve* *lê* .  
Q P<sub>unf</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
one person also V in addition be there nominalizer request for assent
- (152) *T* : *cò* .  
. V  
be there
- (153) *P* : *qhâ?-šc* *nî ġâ tê ġâ* .  
. N NP<sub>q</sub>  
headman second person
- (154) *T* : *yò* .  
. Interj  
that's right!
- (155) *P* : *ô-ve* *š* *qhâ-qhe te* *lâ?-yù* *ve* *le* , *ô-ve* *š* .  
. Det P<sub>unf</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub>  
that one topic how choose nominalizer nominalizer that one topic
- (156) *T* : *ô-ve* *thô-kà?* *chi qhe* *yò* .  
. Det P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
that one also like this declarative



- (157) *ô-ve thâ? lâ? ve tê yân thâ qhâ?-šɛ ĩ ve tê gâ*  
 Det P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q  
 that one accusative pick out relativizer when headman senior relativizer one person  
*gâ lâ? ve yò*  
 vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 must choose nominalizer declarative
- (158) *qhâ?-šɛ ĩ ve tê gâ lâ? pà ð-qhò?-nó qhâ?-yâ*  
 N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q V V<sub>v</sub> N<sub>time</sub> N  
 headman senior relativizer one person choose finish V'ing after villager  
*tê phā thâ? ” nà chi ve tê gâ thâ? nà ve ð-hó*  
 Q P<sub>n</sub> Pron Det Q P<sub>n</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>loc</sub>  
 the whole group accusative I this one person accusative me genitivizer under  
*ve ga lâ šɛ-phā te cĭ gâ*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 genitivizer help benefactive (non-3p) agentive nominalizer make causative desiderative  
*ve yò ” têt? qhâ?-yâ thâ? gâ tho pĭ*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> QUOT N P<sub>n</sub> vV V V<sub>v</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative embedded quote villager accusative must tell benefactive (3p)  
*ve*  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer
- (159) *qhâ?-yâ tê cá ni-ma cō ve qo chi-phā kà? yō ve kà šɛ-phā -*  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>spec</sub> + V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N<sub>dvb</sub>  
 villager one for groups like sthg nominalizer if this guy also his assistant
- (160) *P : phê? ve yò*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be sthg nominalizer declarative
- (161) *T : te phê? ve yò*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 do able to nominalizer declarative
- (162) *qha šū-šū* .  
 AE  
 just like
- (163) *P : qhe nà-hi Lāhū qhâ? ɔ̄ šu cho-qhō-cho-nā? qhe ve ,*  
 Conj Pron N N P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Elab<sub>n</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 so our Lahu village topic others thieves and bandits like genitivizer  
*mā-dā?-mā-na ve cho qhe ve tê cā ca-yā?-ca-te la*  
 Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 evil relativizer people like genitivizer any kind come to make trouble come to V  
*ve à? hà?-śá tū te phê? ve tê cā-cā cō lâ*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v-nom</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer object protect from purposive do able to relativizer any kind be there yes
- (164) *T : āa , chi ve tí qo lè mā cò*  
 Interj Det P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
 well! this topicalizer topic negative be there

The village headman

- (165) *yàʔ-qhâ tē lɔn cò ve yò* .  
 Conj Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 however one for things be there nominalizer declarative
- (166) *qhâʔ chi ve tē qhâʔ ð-qhɔ lo cho-qhɔ-cho-nâʔ qhe ve*  
 N Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 village this one for villages in locative thieves and bandits like nominalizer  
*ca lâ ve tē yân thâ tē-qhâʔ-tê-lò qha-pà-è ġa ni*  
 vV V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> AE vV V  
 go and do come relativizer when the whole village everybody must keep watch  
*ve yò* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (167) *tē pɔʔ-pɔʔ “ cho-qhɔ lâ ð qôʔ ve ð-khɔ ġa kâ*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N vV V  
 sometimes thief come completed action say relativizer sound get to hear  
*ve tē yân thâ , hó-qhâʔ-pā tē phā i-yâ-i-yâ tē ġa le-le qha-dêʔ qhâʔ chi*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N Q Elab<sub>n</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> AE N Det  
 relativizer when pluralizer old and young everybody properly village this  
*àʔ ġa hàʔ-śá ve yò , qha-dêʔ ġa ni ve*  
 P<sub>n</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> AE vV V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 object must protect from nominalizer declarative properly must keep watch nominalizer
- (168) *mû phàʔ qo mâ ġa yîʔ* .  
 SV P<sub>unf</sub> Adv vV V  
 get dark when negative get to sleep
- (169) *qha-dêʔ ġa ni tā ve yò* .  
 AE vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 properly must keep watch durative nominalizer declarative
- (170) *P : è , ñà-hi Man-mû-mì ɔ qo qhâʔ-şε qo qhâʔ tē qhâʔ tē*  
 . Interj Pron N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N Num N Num  
 yes our Burma locative topic headman topic village one village one  
*qhâʔ ve kâ-kwē-yê cò â hêʔ lâ* .  
 N P<sub>univ</sub> N V Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 village genitivizer self-defense group be there negative be the case yes
- (171) *qhâʔ àʔ hàʔ-śá ve pālêʔ-yâ qhe qôʔ ve tãʔ-nòʔ qhe qôʔ*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N N<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N N<sub>ext</sub> V  
 village object take care of relativizer policeman like call relativizer police like call  
*ve* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer
- (172) *qhâʔ-yâ ní ġâ şêʔ ġâ lâʔ le nâʔ kàʔ a-şu-yô*  
 N Q Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> Pron  
 villager two people three for humans pick out suspensive guns also one's own

- ve qhâ?-chɔ ð-po vɛ lɛ te ve*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N N V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 genitivizer villager for N's sake buy suspensive do nominalizer
- (173) *qhe te tã ve kà? cɔ̂*  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 thus do perfective nominalizer also be there
- (174) *Thây-mû-mì ɔ̂ â cɔ̂ lâ*  
 N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 Thailand locative negative be there yes
- (175) *T : âa —*  
 — Interj  
 well!
- (176) *P : mû phà? thâ qhâ?-jâ-qhâ?-ji nî kà šɛ? kà qhe ġa*  
 . SV P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> vV  
 get dark when perimeter of village two for places three for places like must  
*lɔ ve , chɔ-qhâ-chɔ-nâ? qhe ca ġi la*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub>  
 lie in wait nominalizer thieves and bandits like go and do visit motion towards  
*ca qhâ la tɛ qhe qhâ? ca qhâ*  
 vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> N vV vV  
 go and do steal motion towards emphatic topicalizer like village go and do V sneakily  
*tú la tɛ ġa kɔ? ve lɛ*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 set sthg on fire motion towards emphatic topicalizer must be afraid nominalizer because
- (177) *â cɔ̂ lâ , chò-pá ɔ̂*  
 Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 negative be there yes this side locative
- (178) *T : âa , chi tí qo mâ cɔ̂ ma*  
 . Interj Det P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! like this topicalizer negative be there exclamatory
- (179) *P : qhe-qo nò-hi qhâ? qhɔ ɔ̂ chɔ tɛ ġâ-ġâ te phî?*  
 . Conj Pron N M<sub>prfx</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N NP<sub>q</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 so your (pl) village in locative person someone or other do offend by V'ing  
*a qo qhâ-qhe te à-mù? te dà? ve le*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 vigorous action when how trial (legal) do mutual action nominalizer nominalizer
- (180) *T : âa , chɔ tɛ ġâ-ġâ šu thà? ca yà?*  
 . Interj N NP<sub>q</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> vV V  
 well! person someone or other others accusative go and do do harm to  
*ve qo chɔ qha-pà-è thà? qhâ?-šɛ á-qhɔ lo kù-phò*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N AE P<sub>n</sub> N N P<sub>n</sub> V  
 nominalizer when people everybody accusative headman home locative call together  
*lɛ yɔ ve ð-lɔ ġa jɛ pî ve yò*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 suspensive his matter must discuss benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative

The village headman

- (181) *P* : *ú-pā-mā qhâ? qhɔ̄ ɔ̄ chɔ̄ tē gâ-gâ chɔ̄ dɔ̄?-pē*  
 . N N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N NP<sub>q</sub> N V  
 for example village in locative person someone or other person beat to death  
*ve chɔ̄ bɔ̄?-pē ve qhe te , à-mù? chi ɔ̄ qhâ-qhe te*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> V N Det P<sub>unf</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub>  
 relativizer person shoot to death nominalizer like do trial (legal) this topic how  
*jè ve le*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 discuss nominalizer nominalizer
- (182) *T* : *âa , chɔ̄ tē gâ-gâ dɔ̄?-pē pí ve qo*  
 . Interj N NP<sub>q</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 well! person someone or other beat to death able to V nominalizer if  
*phu-pī tē ha nâ chi gâ kə ve yò*  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 silver coins one hundred fifty must pay (as a fine) nominalizer declarative
- (183) *ɔ̄-pa-ɔ̄-e ni-qhâ mâ ši qo ô qhe ce tí mâ hê?*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> N<sub>spec</sub> + V P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> + P<sub>univ</sub> Adv + V  
 parents dissatisfied if like that only not be the case
- (184) *šú lə ve qhe gâ pí ve yò*  
 Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 others ask for nominalizer just like that must give nominalizer declarative
- (185) *lə ve qhe pí mâ gâ ve qo te mâ phê?*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V Adv V<sub>v</sub>  
 request nominalizer like give negative manage to nominalizer if do negative able to  
*ò*  
 P<sub>v</sub>  
 completed action
- (186) *jɔ̄-mɔ̄ ge gâ yù qay ve yò*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 authority to must take V away nominalizer declarative
- (187) *P* : *ɔ̄ , qhâ?-šɛ gâ yù qay ve lâ*  
 . Interj N <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 oh! headman must take V away nominalizer yes
- (188) *T* : *qhâ?-šɛ gâ yù qay ve*  
 . N <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 headman must take V away nominalizer
- (189) *P* : *ɔ̄ , qhe te ve lə*  
 . Interj Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 oh! thus do nominalizer emphatic declarative
- (190) *pē-tú-pā ve qhâ? qhɔ̄ ɔ̄ qhâ?-šɛ le chi nâ-hi šú-tɔ̄-pā*  
 N<sub>dvb</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N Conj Det Pron N  
 animist genitivizer village in locative headman and these our Christian Lahu  
*ve qhâ?-šɛ ká te ve qha šū lâ*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N N V P<sub>univ</sub> AE P<sub>uf</sub>  
 genitivizer headmen work do nominalizer in the same way yes

- (191) *T* : *qha šū*                      *yò* .  
           .            AE                              P<sub>uf</sub>  
                   in the same way    declarative
- (192) *P* : *ηà*    *cí-kì*    *šī*    *gâ*                      *qôʔ-ma* , *chi ve* *ḡ* .  
           .            Pron N            V            P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>                      Det            P<sub>unf</sub>  
                   I            reason know desiderative emphatic    this    topic

## Translation

1. P: Well, what I'd like to know a bit about—is about the *headman*.
2. Throughout this country if a village is established you've got to have a headman, right? All over the country.
3. T: Right.
4. P: So the headman in a Lahu village, how do you—er, choosing a headman, what kind of person—what kind of person is is worthy of being a headman?
5. Because I'd just like to find out about this matter.
6. Couldn't the Pastor please tell me such things?
7. T: Well, I certainly can.
8. P: So then, please try explaining it.
9. T: The matter of how we Lahu and the other hill-folk choose a headman is something that everybody—women and young people included—ought to be made aware of, ought to be made to listen to.
10. The second thing is, a person who has been made headman must constantly be mindful of what goes on in his village.
11. If we were to specify all the things that he should be mindful of, he must always carefully teach his villagers about how to earn their living,<sup>1</sup> how to become the equal of other people's villages, all these things.
12. And in the third place, a person who has become headman must be just like a tree.
13. Fourthly, all those who are his villagers are just like his branches.
14. And fifthly, those who are on the Committee<sup>2</sup> are like all his leaves.
15. If there is a tree there are branches.
16. There are leaves as well.
17. Therefore when a person becomes headman, there must also be several other kinds of villagers to work with him.
18. P: How old must a person be before he is fit to be headman?
19. Does it matter whether he is young or old?<sup>3</sup>
20. T: Well, to be a headman we must choose someone who is a mature person rather advanced in years, a person who is wise and intelligent.

<sup>1</sup>*ġa-câ-ġa-dò tù*: 'in order to get to eat and drink'.

<sup>2</sup>*kōmīti*: a group of respected men who were consulted on important matters by the headman of a Christian village.

<sup>3</sup>Lit. "If he is young, can he become it, if he is old can he become it?". The reduplication of the verb *phè?* 'become' conveys the notion of 'even if; if still.'

## The village headman

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21. As for the matter of his age, if a person is around twenty or thirty<sup>4</sup>, or thirty-five and above, he can become headman.
22. P: He should also have a little more education than other people, right?
23. T: Yes.
24. P: He should also know a bit more about other peoples' languages and customs, right.?
25. T: Yes.
26. P: Hmm, so if somebody is a bachelor<sup>5</sup> could he be headman?
27. T: Well, as for bachelors, they can't be headmen!
28. The reason is, they<sup>6</sup> don't have wives, so when they see a pretty girl and they are tempted to<sup>7</sup> go and commit an offense they don't listen to people's advice.
29. P: Oh, so what you mean is, as for [being] headman a bachelor can't do it, is what you're saying, right?
30. They all must be people who have wives,<sup>8</sup> you're saying.
31. T: Right.
32. P: So then, a headman—er—
33. JAM: Could a woman be a headman?
34. P: Yeah, could a woman do it too, being a headman?
35. T: Well, a woman probably couldn't.
36. P: Why couldn't she?
37. T: We Lahu don't have such a custom.
38. Our ancestors for generation after generation have never used to do that, so we can't do it.
38. P: So then Lahu headmen are all men.
39. T: They must just be men only.
40. P: So as for a person who gets to be headman, do you also have to consider how much money he has, how much property he has?
41. Could anybody be a headman whether he has money or not?
42. T: Well, to be headman, as long as one knows proper customs and behavior, and always follows the laws of the country honestly, he can do it even if he doesn't have money.
43. Sometimes, even if a headman is struggling with poverty, if the villagers find out that he really has no money they could help out their headman, those villagers could.<sup>9</sup>
44. P: If it's a headman like that, a Lahu headman, does he get a monthly salary to live on?
45. T: Well, a Lahu headman doesn't get a monthly salary.

<sup>4</sup>**nî-šê? chi:** short for **nî chi šê? chi**. Consecutive numerals may be used approximatively, as in Japanese *go-roku nen mae ni* 'about 5 or 6 years ago'. The Teacher means that the minimum age should be 20 or 30, but people 35 or over would also be fine. In general the Lahu are rather vague about their ages according to the calendar.

<sup>5</sup>**chɔ-há-pā:** a marriageable but still unmarried youth (ca. 17-20 years old).

<sup>6</sup>The teacher uses the singular 3p pronoun **yɔ** instead of **yɔ-hi** 'they', but since he is speaking of bachelors in general, *they* is more appropriate as a translation.

<sup>7</sup>**ca te yà? qo:** the pre-head versatile verb **ca** 'go and V' in this context seems to mean 'have the intention of V'ing'.

<sup>8</sup>Lit. "they are all people who must have wives."

<sup>9</sup>This sentence, syntactically garbled in the original, has been lightly edited.

46. But there is one thing.
47. He gets to eat the special portions of killed game animals.<sup>10</sup>
48. And sometimes when the villagers don't get along with each other and are in the midst of fighting and squabbling, he will levy a fine.
49. That money can go to the headman.<sup>11</sup>
50. P: When you said that he gets to eat special parts of the game, is it like when you shoot a barking deer he gets the special parts?
51. T: Yes. Barking deer, wild boar, sambhur deer—
52. Lisu: Wild cattle.
53. T: Wild cattle—all these he can eat.
54. There are two kinds which he cannot eat.
55. One kind is bear. The other kind is goat-antelope. These he doesn't eat, the headman.
56. P: How come you say that he can't eat those two things?
57. T: The reason is like this. It is said that they don't taste good, those things.
58. P: Since they don't taste good one can't eat them.
59. T: Since they don't taste good one can't eat them.
60. -A. P: I see.
60. -B. T: They say one doesn't want to eat them.
61. P: As for eating them, they're permitted to eat them, aren't they? It's just that they don't want to eat them because they don't taste good.
62. T: To eat them is permitted. But they don't eat them. They don't like them.<sup>12</sup>
63. P: Oh, I see, I see, I see. Well then, a headman—when somebody has become headman, after how many years do you choose a new one?
64. Or else—if he's a very good one, could he keep being headman until he dies?
65. T: Well, sometimes a certain person, if he's smart, and takes care of the villagers properly, and leads them honestly, he can be headman until he dies.
66. The thing about being a headman, as long as he hasn't done anything wrong, we have no procedure for dismissing him.
67. We Lahu have a proverb like this: "If the tiger's not dead, you can't strip off its skin."
68. P: Yeah. Very true, that is.
69. T: If the tiger's not dead and you scrape its skin, it'll bite you, they say.
70. If a headman hasn't done anything wrong and you bring him down, it could cause a lot of trouble, people say.

<sup>10</sup>šā-qō-šā-še: š-še 'special portion of killed game'; possibly the same morpheme as the 2nd syllable of qhâ2-še 'headman'. The choicest parts of the animal were the muscles of the neck (qō) and back.

<sup>11</sup>Lit. "that money the headman can eat".

<sup>12</sup>This whole part of the discussion is quite academic. Even back in the 1960's large game animals in Northern Thailand had been hunted almost to extinction. Few villagers had ever had the chance to taste the body parts of such animals, unless they had been lucky enough to have done so in Burma.

## The village headman

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71. P: So when a headman dies, how do you go about choosing a new one?
72. T: After a headman dies, when you want to get a new one, all the people in the village must select him.
73. One must choose the sort of person who has a good heart, who is patient, who doesn't want to listen to gossip spoken behind people's backs, a person who knows others' languages and customs.
74. All the people must choose him.<sup>13</sup>
75. Speaking of other people's customs, if there's a king, and the king dies, his son can then become king after he dies, right?
76. In the same way, if it's a headman, when the headman dies can his son then become headman after his death?
77. Is there this kind of custom among the Lahu?
78. T: Well, there is—we have that too.
79. Sometimes it's like that.
80. Our current headman,<sup>14</sup> he doesn't have any sons.
81. He only has a daughter.
82. So after the father dies, we'll have to choose some other person.
83. And even if this son—er, even if he does have a son, if he [the son] doesn't understand how things are we can't use him.
84. P: You can't use him.
85. T: He can't be used.
86. P: As for the way we establish a headman, are the Lahu just the same as other people—for example, the Northern Thai, the Central Thai, the Akha—in the way a headman is chosen?
87. How are they different?
88. T: Well—
89. P: Well, if you try comparing them—how do they do it, how do we Lahu do it?
90. Which aspects are the same, and which aspects are not?
91. T: Well, they're not quite the same.
92. The way the animist Lahu<sup>15</sup> choose a headman is that if everybody likes someone they just make him headman on the spot.
93. There is no kind of oath.
94. Whereas we Christian Lahu have an oath when we choose a headman.
95. It's this way: once a headman has been chosen, if everybody is satisfied, in the church the young men and women and the adults all shake his hand and testify that they are making him headman.
96. P: They take an oath—
97. T: Yes, they take an oath, that's how it is.
98. P: So when you pick a headman, how do you do it?

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<sup>13</sup>I.e., there should be unanimous consent to his selection.

<sup>14</sup>In Huey Tat village.

<sup>15</sup>**pê-tú-pā**: lit. "beeswax burners," so called because they use beeswax candles in many religious ceremonies.



99. Do you have some kind of celebration?
100. You probably don't, I guess.
101. T: Well, when we pick a headman we don't do it that way.
102. We don't make a celebration, we Lahu.
103. When we choose a headman, after he's been made headman, once we have shaken his hand, everybody must listen to what he tells us.
104. P: "From today onward the leader of our village is you!"<sup>16</sup>
105. T: Yes.
106. P: That's what you say, eh?
107. Then, once we've chosen a headman, other people, government officials and such, recognize him as headman, right?
108. T: Right.
109. P: They have to call him headman.
110. T: Yes. Once we've chosen him, when an official comes and asks who the headman really is, we have to point out the headman to him.
111. And when the officials need the headman they come to the headman's house.<sup>17</sup>
112. P: That's how they come.
113. They probably don't come and choose somebody on their own—don't we choose a headman all by ourselves?
114. T: Yes, we choose all by ourselves.
115. And it's not the same as the Thai.
116. When Thai people pick a headman, an official appoints him.
117. And they pay him a monthly salary.
118. But it's not like that for us Lahu.
119. When we Lahu choose a headman, we get to choose him all by ourselves.
120. If even a single person is not happy with the choice, he can't be made headman.
121. When everybody is in agreement, he can be made headman.
122. P: So then the way the Lahu make their headmen<sup>18</sup> is not the same as the way the Northern Thai do it, right?
123. The way a Lahu acts as a headman, he takes on the work of a headman with no remuneration, right?<sup>19</sup>
124. T: Yes.
125. P: If they're Northern Thai headmen, they would like to make merit.
126. T: Strictly speaking, if we observe the custom properly, in a single village there ought to be three headmen.

<sup>16</sup>Paul is pretending to quote the oath.

<sup>17</sup>The comitative noun particle *ge* here has a meaning similar to French *chez*.

<sup>18</sup>**qhâ?-še te ve**: lit. "do headman", can mean either 'select to be headman' or 'act/function as a headman'.

<sup>19</sup>**bo te ve**: 'to make merit; do something *pro bono*'.

The village headman

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127. The first—the Chief Headman; the second—an assistant under him.
128. He’s a headman, this one too—the second person.<sup>20</sup>
129. The third—somebody who is fairly intelligent and obedient.<sup>21</sup>
130. Sometimes if we had a letter to go send, we could write the letter and give it to him, a person who can be made to take it and send it off.
131. We should have somebody like that too. A messenger.
132. P: Oh, a messenger.
133. T: He’s called a ‘messenger’, yes. A messenger who sends letters. We must have somebody like that too.
134. P: There’s also a person you said that helps the headman, right?
135. T: There is.
136. P: The second headman.
137. T: Yes.
138. P: How do you choose him, that one?
139. T: It’s like this:
140. When he’s being chosen, it’s the Chief Headman who has to select him.
141. After the Chief Headman has chosen him, he has to tell all the villagers that “This person I want to be the one who serves under me to help me.”
142. If this meets with the approval of all the villagers, this guy also his assistant<sup>22</sup> —
143. P: Can be.
144. T: He can be that. Just the same [as the chief Headman].<sup>23</sup>
145. P: So is there anything that can protect our Lahu villages from thieves and bandits and evil people who might come to make trouble?
146. T: Well, that’s something we don’t have.
147. However, there is one thing.
148. In this village, when thieves or suchlike try to come, the whole village has to keep watch.
149. Sometimes when we hear the words “A thief has come!”, all the men, old and young,<sup>24</sup> every man jack must protect our village properly, must keep watch properly.
150. When it gets dark we can’t sleep.
151. We have to keep watch carefully.
152. P: Yeah, in our country of Burma don’t the headmen have “self-defense groups”<sup>25</sup> in each and every village?

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<sup>20</sup>A sort of Vice Headman.

<sup>21</sup>This is a sort of messenger or liaison person with the world outside the village.

<sup>22</sup>Paul finishes the Teacher’s sentence for him.

<sup>23</sup>Since the rest of this text was badly recorded, it was re-recorded by Paul and me on Nov. 5, 1965.

<sup>24</sup>*ī-yā-i-yā*: lit. “big guys and little guys”.

<sup>25</sup>*kā-kwē-yê*: < Bs. *ka-kwe-yê* (WB *ka-kway-rê*) < *kway-ka* ‘protect by interposing; shield’, *rê* ‘be brave; soldier’. See DL: 328.

153. It's called the "village protection pā-lê?",<sup>26</sup> like the police.<sup>27</sup>
154. What they do is, they pick two or three villagers to buy guns for the people in each village.
155. That's how it has been done.
156. Don't you have that in Thailand?
157. T: Well—
158. P: When it gets dark you have to wait in two or three places around the village perimeter, since they have to fear that bandits might come visiting and steal from them or set the village on fire.
159. Don't you have that here?
160. T: Well, that's something we don't have!
161. P: So then when somebody commits a crime in the village, how do you deal with it?<sup>28</sup>
162. T: Well, when somebody commits an offense against someone else, we summon everybody to the headman's house and we have to discuss the matter.
163. P: For example if somebody in the village beats or shoots someone to death, how do you discuss this at the trial?
164. T: Well, if a person should kill somebody, he must pay 150 in silver rupees.<sup>29</sup>
165. If the parents are not satisfied, that's not the end of it.
166. Whatever they ask for they must be given.
167. It is not possible not to give them what they ask for.
168. You'd have to take him [the culprit] to the authorities.
169. P: Oh, would the headman have to take him there?
170. T: The headman must take him.
171. P: Oh, so that's what you do!
172. Is the job of the headman in animist villages the same as the headmen in our Christian<sup>30</sup> villages?
173. T: It's the same.
174. P: I'd like to know the reason for that.

<sup>26</sup>He uses the Burmese word *pu'lei?* (WB *pu'lip*) 'police'.

<sup>27</sup>The speaker clarifies the meaning of the Burmese word by glossing it with the Lahu version (**tà?-nò?**) of the equivalent Thai word *tamrùat* 'police'.

<sup>28</sup>**a-mò? te dà? ve:** 'try a case' < Bs. *?əhmu* 'court trial'.

<sup>29</sup>**phu-pī,** lit. "old money", silver coins dating from the British raj in Burma. Paper money will not do to compensate for the crime.

<sup>30</sup>Paul here uses **šú-tš(n)-pā,** the animists' epithet for the Christian Lahu (< Shan *suu-ton* < Bs. *hsu'tāuN* (WB *chu'tōŋ*), lit. "those who beg for grace/favor").

## 5.4 Preventive medicine

- (1) *êe* , *nâ?-chê šâlâ?-gõn lón* *ve* *ð-lon* *yò* .  
 Interj N B<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well then medical doctor important genitivizer matter declarative
- (2) *le nâ?-chê šâlâ?-gõn lón* *yô qô?* *ve* *ð-qhe* , *tê ni tê ni ñà-hi*  
 Conj N B<sub>n</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE Pron  
 and medical doctor important he say nominalizer topicalizer every day we (pl)  
*gã hên ve* *yò* , *mô* *ð-qhɔ* *ð* .  
 vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 must learn nominalizer declarative down there within locative
- (3) *le nâ?-chê šâlâ?-gõn lón* *yô qô?* *ve* *ð* , *ni-hi Lâhū-yâ* *chi*  
 Conj N B<sub>n</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 and medical doctor important he say nominalizer topic we (pl) Lahu people ten  
*ð nà-ve-gò-ve* *chi* *ð-qhe* , *ð-yân le* *thâ tí là*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V  
 topic sick and wretched this matter topicalizer time be too late when only come  
*ve cê* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer quotative
- (4) *qhe-qo* , *lâthâbân* *kà?* *šé-lây* *jâ cê* , *chɔ* *chi tê*  
 Conj N P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N Det Num  
 so government also fear to lose sthg very quotative person this one  
*mà* *lù* *ve* *ð-yân* *ð-qhɔ* *lo* .  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 for people (informal) die relativizer time during locative
- (5) *qhe pa-tɔ* *ð-ví-ð-ni* *tê gĩ* *ò* , *tê gâ le-le* *kâ pĩ-?*  
 Conj Elab<sub>n</sub> Q P<sub>n</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 for this reason brethren pluralizer vocative everybody hear benefactive (imperative)  
*šĩ pĩ-?* *qô?* *ve* *yò* .  
 V V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 know benefactive (imperative) say nominalizer declarative
- (6) *qhe-te-le* *chɔ* *tê gâ le-le* *qhâ-qhe te nà* *mâ qô?* , *ó-qô* *nà* *mâ qô?* ,  
 Conj N NP<sub>q</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub> V Adv+V N V Adv+V  
 so people everybody however hurt whether head hurt whether  
*chê-hā-cò-hā* *ve* *qhâ-qhe te nà* *ve* *mâ qô?* , *hâ?-hâ?* *tê nà?*  
 Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv+V AE NP<sub>time</sub>  
 suffer from illness nominalizer however hurt nominalizer whether quickly in good time  
*gà la* *cô* *cê* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 reach come to V ought to quotative
- (7) *tê nà?* *là* *ô?* *cê* .  
 NP<sub>time</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 in good time come hortatory quotative
- (8) *mô* *kà?* *ve* *ð-qhe* *lâthâbân* *acôyâ?* *nâ?-chê-yè* *tɛ*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N N V  
 down there locative genitivizer topicalizer government government hospital set up



- yù* *kə* *la* *cê* .  
<sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 take and V sthg put into come to V quotative
- (16) *le* *yâ-mî-qê?* *yâ* *pɔ* *tù* *ve* *cò* *ve*  
 Conj N N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 also woman child give birth to future nominalizer have an experience relativizer  
*tê cə* *qo* *ɔ̄-qhe* , *pɔ* *ve* *ɔ̄-yân* *gà* , *ha-pa* *gà* , *nò-hi*  
 Q P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N V N V Pron  
 one thing topic topicalizer give birth relativizer time reach month reach you (pl)  
*šĩ* *ā* *cê* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 know durative quotative
- (17) *tê gā le-le* *è* *nò-hi* *qhɔ-qhò?* *chê* *ve* *tê cə* *qo* *lê* ,  
 NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N V P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 everybody topicalizer you (pl) in the mountains stay relativizer situation if topic  
*nò-hi-qhā-nò-hi* *pɔ* *gā* *qo* *pɔ* .  
 AE V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 by yourselves give birth be able if give birth
- (18) *mā* *pɔ* *gā* *qo* *lê* , *šĩ* *e* *ve* *yò*  
 Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative give birth be able if topic die motion away nominalizer declarative  
*cê* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative
- (19) *láy* *gā* *chi qhe* *mò* *ve* *cê* , *yô-hi* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron  
 several for people like this see nominalizer quotative they
- (20) *chi pa-tɔ le* *cì-qhò?* *tàn* *le* *ɔ̄-gũ-šĩ* *qay* *ve* *qo* *yâ-mî-qê?*  
 NP NP<sub>time</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 because of this this year start suspensive in the future go nominalizer topic woman  
*yâ* *pɔ* *ve* *ɔ̄-yân* *gà* *la* *qo* , *ni* *le* *pɔ*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 child give birth relativizer time reach come to V when watch suspensive give birth  
*hā* *ve* *tê?* *nò-hi* *šĩ* *ve* *tê cə* *qo* ,  
 V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> QUOT Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub>  
 difficult nominalizer embedded quote you (pl) know relativizer situation if  
*tê nà?* *kā?* *šĩ-yòn* *mô* *ve* *ɔ̄-qhɔ* *lo* *là* *ò?*  
 NP<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 in good time topicalizer hospital down there genitivizer inside locative come hortatory  
*cê* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative
- (21) *qhe-te-le* *yâ* *pɔ* *ve* *tê yân thā* , *yâ* *pɔ* *pə* *ve*  
 Conj N V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 then child give birth relativizer when child give birth finish V'ing relativizer  
*tê yân* *thā* - *le* - *ò-e* *gɛ* *mā* *gā* *yì?* *cê*  
 Q P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 the time that when suspensive mother with negative ought to cohabit with quotative

- (22) *ŝ ni ð-e gɛ yâ-é mâ g̃a tɛ cê*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> N Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 four for days mother with baby negative ought to put down quotative
- (23) *ð-lî chi qhe yê ve cê*  
 N AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 rule like this observe a custom nominalizer quotative
- (24) *ŝ ni ð-e gɛ mâ g̃a chê*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V V  
 four for days mother with negative ought to stay
- (25) *qhe-qo ð-e ð-g̃â-ð-šá qha bî-bî cò*  
 Conj N Elab<sub>n</sub> AE V  
 if that's the way it is mother strength fully be there
- (26) *ð-g̃â-ð-šá kâ? mâ lù*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
 strength even negative be damaged
- (27) *qhe-qo ð-g̃â-ð-šá qhâ-thâ?-kâ? bî chê , ð-šĩ-ð-šã ð-g̃â kâ?*  
 Conj Elab<sub>n</sub> AE V V<sub>v</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub>  
 if that's the way it is strength always complete keep on good health strength also  
*mâ yôn qay cê*  
 Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative decrease continue V'ing quotative
- (28) *qhe-qo ð-g̃â ĩ chê ɔ qô? ve*  
 Conj N V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 then strength great continuous affirmative say nominalizer
- (29) *yô mô kâ? gà la lɛ , yâ pɔ pð*  
 Pron N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub>  
 she down there locative reach come to V suspensive child give birth finish V'ing  
*ve tê yân thâ , yâ chi yâ-qhâ-yâ tê pô? hà?-šá ve*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N Det N Q V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 relativizer when child this the child by itself for a while take care of nominalizer  
*cê*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative
- (30) *ŝ ni ve ð-qhɔ nû-cú-g̃i tɔ pî ve*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 four for days genitivizer during cow's milk give to drink benefactive (3p) nominalizer
- (31) *šu hà?-šá ve*  
 Pron V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 others take care of nominalizer
- (32) *qhe-te-lɛ yâ-mî-qê? ð-chi ð-e yâ pɔ pð á ve*  
 Conj N N N N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 so woman this one mother child give birth finish V'ing perfective relativizer

- tê yân*      *qo*      *ô*                      *tê*      *bwê*      *ɔ̄*      *gã*      *yì?*      *ve*  
 Q              P<sub>unf</sub>      N<sub>sd</sub>                      Num      Cl<sub>f</sub>              P<sub>n</sub>              vV              V              P<sub>univ</sub>  
 the time that when that same one one for rooms locative get to sleep nominalizer  
*cê*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative
- (33) *ô*                      *tê*      *bwê*              *ɔ̄*              *yì?*      *lɛ-ɔ̄*              – *èe*      – *qha-pà-è*      *ô*      *ni*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> + P<sub>n</sub>              Num      Cl<sub>f</sub>              P<sub>n</sub>              V              P<sub>unf</sub>              Interj              AE              Num      Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 that same one one for rooms locative sleep suspensive er all four for days  
*gà-ò*                      *lɛ*                      , *yô*      *yâ*      *chi*      *yô*      *mò*      *gâ*                      *ve*                      *qô?*  
 V + P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      Pron      N              Det      Pron      V              P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      V  
 reached (already) suspensive her child this she see desiderative nominalizer say  
*ve*                      *tê cà*              *qo*      *yô*      *gɛ*      *tɛ*                      *phê?*              *ve*                      *yò*                      *cê*  
 P<sub>univ</sub>                      Q                      P<sub>unf</sub>      Pron      P<sub>n</sub>              V                      V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 relativizer situation if her with put down able to nominalizer declarative quotative
- (34) *lɛ-â*                      , *šɛ-qò?*                      *e*                      *thâ*      *qha-gà*      *šu*              *hà?-šá*  
 Conj                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>      N<sub>time</sub>              Pron              V  
 however lead back home motion away time until others take care of  
*lâ*                      *ve*                      *dà?*      *ve*                      *yò*  
 P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      V<sub>adj</sub>              P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer good nominalizer declarative
- (35) *chi*      *phu*              *tê*      *pè?*                      *kà?*      *mâ*              *pà*              *lɛ*                      *qô?-qo*              , *šu*  
 Det      N                      Num      Cl<sub>f</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>              Adv              V              P<sub>unf</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      Pron  
 this money one for trifling sums even negative spend suspensive topicalizer others  
*hà?-šá*                      *phô*                      *dà?*      *ve*                      *yò*                      *cê*  
 V                      N                      V<sub>adj</sub>              P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 take care of alternative good nominalizer declarative quotative
- (36) *yà?-qhâ*      *gã*              *qò?*                      *e*                      *tù*              *ve*                      *tê cà*                      , *mô*                      *kà?*  
 Conj                      vV                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      Q                      N<sub>sd</sub>                      P<sub>n</sub>  
 however get to go home motion away future relativizer one matter down there locative  
*qha*      *lò?*              *la*                      *ve*                      *ɔ̄*                      , *à-lî*      *ɔ̄*              *chi qhe*      *yê*              *a*              *cê*                      ,  
 Adv      V              P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      N              P<sub>unf</sub>              AE<sub>ext</sub>              V              P<sub>v</sub>              P<sub>uf</sub>  
 all enter come to V nominalizer topic rule topic like this observe try to quotative  
*šâlà?-gôn*      *qô?*      *ve*  
 N              V              P<sub>univ</sub>  
 doctor say nominalizer
- (37) " *khò?*      *ni*                      *lɛ*              *šĩ*              *ni*                      *chi*      *à-hó*      *ɔ̄*              *qo*              *mâ*              *qò?*  
 Num      Cl<sub>f</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>              Num      Cl<sub>f</sub>                      Det      N              P<sub>n</sub>              P<sub>unf</sub>              Adv              V  
 six for days or seven for days this less locative topic negative go home  
*e*                      *pə*                      *cĩ*                      *cê*  
 P<sub>v</sub>                      V<sub>v</sub>                      V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 motion away send smn to V causative quotative
- (38) *à-lî*      *chi qhe*      *yê*                      *ve*                      *cê*  
 N              AE<sub>ext</sub>              V                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 rule like this observe nominalizer quotative



- (39) *khò? ni šĩ ni gà qo qò? e phê? ve*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 six for days seven for days reach when go home motion away able to nominalizer  
*yò cê*  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative quotative
- (40) *qhe-te-le tê gâ le-le tâ nà-jê ô?*  
 Conj NP<sub>q</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 so then everybody negative imperative suffer pain hortatory
- (41) *chi qhe chi qhe ca te šĩ tô ve a-ké ̄-qhe*  
 AE<sub>ext</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> vV vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 like this like this go and do do and die V aimlessly nominalizer rather than topicalizer  
*tê-nà?-tê-šĩ? là le-̄ gu la ô? cê*  
 Elab<sub>adv</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 in plenty of time come suspensive be cured come to V hortatory quotative
- (42) *mô ve ̄-qhe acôyà? te ā ve yò*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 down there genitivizer topicalizer government set up perfective nominalizer declarative  
*cê*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative
- (43) *á-šĩ?-ni thâ cò Dooj Sù?thêep qhò qô? ve ̄ Khè-mèw?*  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> N<sub>place</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Eth  
 a while ago when over there Doi Suthep mountain call nominalizer locative Hmong  
*qô? nā â šĩ ò , tê gâ là le , yâ*  
 V P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> Q V P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 say whether negative know change of state one person come suspensive child  
*pɔ là ve-̄ , cò qhò-qhò? ̄ yâ ca*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> N vV  
 give birth come to V emphatic over there in the mountains locative child go and do  
*pɔ le mâ ġa cê*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 give birth suspensive negative be able quotative
- (44) *yâ pɔ ve ô ni gà-ò cê*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 child be in labor nominalizer four for days reached (already) quotative
- (45) *yâ pɔ ve , yâ khán ā ve*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 child be in labor nominalizer child get stuck durative nominalizer
- (46) *qhe-te-le ̄ , hâ? mâ là*  
 Conj P<sub>unf</sub> Adv Adv V  
 so then topic quickly negative come
- (47) *ô ni gà ve pa-tɔ ð-e ̄ ð-ġâ nû jâ*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 four for days reach nominalizer because of mother topic strength weak very

- ò                      cê  
 P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 change of state    quotative
- (48) *mô*              *kà?*              *gà*              *la*              *thâ* , *tô*              *yɔ*              *kà?*              *mâ*              *pí*  
 N<sub>sd</sub>              P<sub>n</sub>              V              P<sub>v</sub>              P<sub>univ</sub>              N              V              P<sub>unf</sub>              Adv              V<sub>v</sub>  
 down there    locative    reach    come to V    when       words    speak    even    negative    able to V  
 ò  
 P<sub>v</sub>  
 change of state
- (49) *jà-ǵá*              *i*              *jà*              ò  
 N              V<sub>adj</sub>              V<sub>v</sub>              P<sub>v</sub>  
 strength    little    very    change of state
- (50) *qhe-qo*              *jà-ǵá nâ?-chê*              *ca*              *thây*              *pí*              ,              *jà-ǵá*              *thây*  
 Conj              N              <sub>v</sub>V              V              V<sub>v</sub>              ,              N              V  
 so then    stimulant    go and do    save smn    benefactive (3p)    strength    save smn  
*pí*              *kà?*              ,              *thây*              *pí*              *dê*              *yò*  
 V<sub>v</sub>              P<sub>unf</sub>              ,              V              V<sub>v</sub>              N<sub>lim</sub>              P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (3p)    although    save smn    benefactive (3p)    in vain    declarative
- (51) *yô*              *jà-ǵá*              *i*              *jà*              ,              *pà*              *pâ-nê*              ò              *ɛ*              ,              *qhe-qo*  
 Pron              N              V<sub>adj</sub>              V<sub>v</sub>              V              M<sub>prfx</sub>              P<sub>v</sub>              P<sub>univ</sub>              Conj  
 she    strength    little    very    be all gone    near    completed action    because    so  
*mô*              *kà?*              *gà*              *ɛ*              *ǵ-qhe*              ,              *yâ*              *ô-ve*              *mâ*              *yù*              *tô?*              *qo*  
 N<sub>sd</sub>              P<sub>n</sub>              V              P<sub>unf</sub>              P<sub>unf</sub>              ,              N              Det              Adv              V              V<sub>v</sub>              P<sub>unf</sub>  
 down there    locative    reach    suspensive    topicalizer    child    that    negative    take    V out    if  
*mâ*              *phê?*              ò  
 Adv              V              P<sub>v</sub>  
 negative    be possible    change of state
- (52) *jà-e*              *ǵ*              *jà-ǵá*              *i*              *jà*              ò  
 N              P<sub>unf</sub>              N              V<sub>adj</sub>              V<sub>v</sub>              P<sub>v</sub>  
 mother    topic    strength    little    very    completed action
- (53) *jà-ǵá*              *i*              *jà*              ò  
 N              V<sub>adj</sub>              V<sub>v</sub>              P<sub>v</sub>  
 strength    little    very    completed action
- (54) *èe*              ,              *yâ*              *ô-ve*              *yù*              *tô?*              *a*              *ɛ*              ,              *jà-e*              *chi*              *tê qhe tí*              *š*  
 Interj              N              Det              V              V<sub>v</sub>              P<sub>v</sub>              P<sub>unf</sub>              ,              N              Det              NP<sub>q</sub>              V  
 well then    child    that    take    V out    try to    suspensive    mother    this    suddenly    die  
*gê*              *e*              *ve*              *cê*  
 V<sub>v</sub>              P<sub>v</sub>              P<sub>univ</sub>              P<sub>uf</sub>  
 V suddenly    motion away    nominalizer    quotative
- (55) *jà-yân*              *ɛ*              *šê*              *ve*              *pa-tô*  
 N              V              P<sub>v</sub>              P<sub>univ</sub>              P<sub>n</sub>  
 time    be too late    regrettably    nominalizer    because of
- (56) *chi qhe*              *tâ*              *te*              *pî-ô?*              *cê*  
 AE<sub>ext</sub>              Adv              V              P<sub>v</sub>              P<sub>uf</sub>  
 like this    negative imperative    do    optative    quotative

- (57) *à-ví-à-ni tē gā le-le à? kâ pî-? qhe qô? ve*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 brethren everybody accusative hear benefactive (imperative) like this say nominalizer  
*yò*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (58) *šālâ?-gōn lón yô chi Cê-mây qhō? lè , tō-jè-pā šána*  
 N B<sub>n</sub> Pron Det N<sub>place</sub> M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> N  
 doctor sthg great he this Chiang Mai over topic adviser government office  
*lón à-qhō lo yô kōmīti lón phè? ve yò*  
 B<sub>n</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron N B<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 important within locative he committee important be sthg nominalizer declarative  
*cê*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative
- (59) *qhe-te-le ô-ve šālâ?-gōn mō ve ̄ , tē gā le-le mō kâ?*  
 Conj Det N N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 so that doctor down there genitivizer topic everybody down there locative  
*gu la ô? , chi qhe qô? ve yò*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be cured come to V hortatory like this say nominalizer declarative

## Translation

1. Well, these are the things the great medical doctor<sup>1</sup> [was saying].
2. And what the great doctor tells us we have to learn every day, down there.
3. Well, what the great doctor said was, that when we Lahu are sick and ailing <sup>2</sup> we only come [for treatment] when it's too late.
4. And the government is very concerned, he says, whenever such a person is lost.
5. So, brothers and sisters, he told me to let you hear and let you know [what you should do].
6. Well then, no matter what ails a person, whether he has a headache, or no matter how he may be feeling unwell or sick<sup>3</sup>, he ought to get to [the doctor's] quickly and in good time.
7. Come in good time, he says!
8. Down there the government<sup>4</sup> has set up a hospital.
9. So now nobody has to pay any money [for medical treatment].<sup>5</sup>
10. Don't keep on suffering all by yourselves, he says.
11. Brothers, if you arrive down there after suffering and suffering for a long time, when you're practically dead, even if they try to restore your strength you can only survive for a little while, he says.

<sup>1</sup>A government doctor. The speaker received several weeks of paramedical training at a government center in Mae Taeng, about 40km south of Huey Tat. Every weekend he would return to the village and give a talk in church on Sunday morning, telling about what he had learned during the week.

<sup>2</sup>*nà-ve-gò-ve* (Elabv) 'be sick and wretched'.

<sup>3</sup>*chê-hā-cò-hā* (Elabv) 'be unwell and having a hard time'.

<sup>4</sup>The speaker uses both the Thai- and Burmese-derived words for 'government' together, in a sort of compound.

<sup>5</sup>This seems like an overly optimistic description of the real situation in the late 1960's.

12. You have no strength.
13. You're just too weak.
14. When that time comes, even if he [tries to] give you back your strength, your strength is no longer enough.
15. So when somebody is getting to feel slightly unwell, whoever it is who's sick, a group [of us] should talk it over a little, and we should all cheerfully take him and put him into [the hospital] in good time—even if he can't walk.<sup>6</sup>
16. Also, when it happens that a woman is to give birth to a child, you know when the time for the birth has arrived, when the month has arrived.
17. If you [women] all stay up here in the mountains [for your deliveries], if you can manage to give birth all by yourselves, you do.
18. But if you can't give birth you just die, he says.
19. He says they have seen several cases like that.
20. For this reason, from this year on, when the time comes for a woman to give birth, if you watch her and realize that she has a hard time giving birth, let her come down while there is still time to the hospital in the valley, he says.
21. Then when she gives birth, when she has finished giving birth – er – he says you're not supposed to sleep with the mother.<sup>7</sup>
22. For four days you shouldn't put the baby with the mother.
23. He says that they observe this rule.
24. For four days it shouldn't stay with the mother.
25. That way the mother regains her full strength and energy.<sup>8</sup>
26. She doesn't lose her strength and energy.
27. Then she will always be full of strength and vigor, and her physical condition<sup>9</sup> and strength will not deteriorate.
28. That way her strength remains great, he says.
29. When she arrives down there and has had her baby, they take care of the child separately<sup>10</sup> at the same time [she is regaining her strength].
30. For four days they feed it cow's milk.
31. They take care of it.
32. So this woman, the mother, once she has already borne the child, then she can sleep in the same room with it.
33. After they've been in the same room – er – when all four days have passed, if she says she wants to see her baby, she may have it put down with her.

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<sup>6</sup>It would actually have been quite an undertaking to carry a sick person down the mountain path to the highway, a trip that took a healthy person three hours walking under his own steam.

<sup>7</sup>The speaker's hesitation betrays his slight embarrassment at having to refer to sexual matters.

<sup>8</sup>ḡ-ḡā-ḡ-šā (Elabn): lit. "strength and flesh".

<sup>9</sup>ḡ-šī-ḡ-šā (Elabn) : lit. "blood and flesh".

<sup>10</sup>yâ-qhâ-yâ: "the child all by itself". For a description of the N1 + qhâ + N1 construction, see GL:79-80.

34. But, it's fine to have them take care of it for you<sup>11</sup> right up until the time you're led back home.
35. Seeing that you don't have to spend a red cent [for it], he says you might as well<sup>12</sup> let them take care of it.
36. But, about the matter of being allowed to go home, down there they have this rule for everybody who enters [the hospital], the doctor says.
37. They don't let you be sent home for six or seven days..
38. That's a rule that they follow, he says.
39. After six or seven days you can be sent back.
40. So, everybody, there is no need to suffer!
41. Instead of continuing to die for nothing in the same old way,<sup>13</sup> come [to the hospital] early and in good time, and be cured, he says.
42. Down there the government has arranged it for you.
43. The other day, from over there on the mountain they call Doi Suthep<sup>14</sup>, there was a Hmong woman I think he said it was<sup>15</sup> who came to give birth to a child, because there on the mountain she couldn't give birth.<sup>16</sup>
44. She had been in labor<sup>17</sup> for four days, he said.
45. She was in labor, [but] the child was blocked.<sup>18</sup>
46. But she didn't come [to the hospital] quickly.
47. Since four days had passed the mother was already very weak, he said.<sup>19</sup>
48. When she arrived down there she could no longer speak.
49. She had very little strength left.
50. Then they tried giving her stimulants<sup>20</sup> to restore her strength , but although they did, it was of no use.<sup>21</sup>
51. She had very little strength, it was almost all gone, so when she arrived down there there was nothing to be done but to take out the child [by Caesarean section].
52. The mother had very little strength left.
53. She had very little strength left.

<sup>11</sup>The change of person from 3rd to 2nd is signaled by the verb-particle **lâ**, which cannot be used for 3rd to 3rd person benefaction. See GL:324-330.

<sup>12</sup>V + **phô dà? ve**: lit., "the V side is good," i.e., 'the alternative of V'ing is better.' This is similar to the Japanese construction V + *hoo ga ii*.

<sup>13</sup>**chi qhe chi qhe**: lit. "like this like this", i.e. 'in the same old way'.

<sup>14</sup>Doi Suthep (Thai ดอย สู่?thêp) A wooded mountain near Chiang Mai with a famous Buddhist temple on its summit. There is a Hmong village (Hwè-ti?) on a nearby slope.

<sup>15</sup>**Khè-mèo? qô? nâ â ši ò**: lit. "whether he said it was a Hmong I don't know now."

<sup>16</sup>Lit: "a Hmong [woman] came and as for her coming to give birth to a child, [it was because] over there on the mountain she couldn't give birth".

<sup>17</sup>Lit: "her giving birth had reached four days."

<sup>18</sup>**yâ khá ve**: lit. "the child is blocked". This expression is used to refer to most mishaps of pregnancy, including miscarriage.

<sup>19</sup>The quotative final unrestricted particle **cê** must now be translated 'he said', since the speaker is recounting a story that took place in the past. Earlier in the text, when the speaker was conveying the doctor's prescriptive remarks that were meant to have present relevance, the tag 'he says' was preferable.

<sup>20</sup>**gâ nâ?-chî**: lit. "strength-medicines."

<sup>21</sup>V + **dê yò**: 'it is futile to V.'

54. Well, when they took out the child, the mother died on the spot, he said.
55. Because it was too late.
56. Don't let this happen to you,<sup>22</sup> he says!
57. "Let all your brothers hear this!" he told me.
58. This great doctor is an adviser to an important committee<sup>23</sup> in a government bureau [with jurisdiction] over Chiang Mai.
59. So that doctor down there says that everybody should come down to be treated.

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<sup>22</sup>Lit. "may you not do like this".

<sup>23</sup>Presumably the 'committee' had jurisdiction 'over' Chiangmai.

## 5.5 Building a house

- (1) *Headman* : *âa* , *ηà-hi* *yè* *te* *ve* *yò* .  
 . Interj Pron N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! we (pl) house build nominalizer declarative
- (2) *Teacher* : *âa* , *qhà-qhe* *qhà-qhe* *te* *tù* *ve* *le* *qôʔ-ma* ,  
 . Interj N<sub>intg</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! how? how? build future nominalizer substantive qst emphatic  
*yè* .  
 N  
 house
- (3) *Headman* : *âa* , *ò-qhə* *tê cə le-le* *ca* *ğə* *ā* *qo* , *te*  
 . Interj N NP<sub>q</sub> <sub>v</sub>V <sub>v</sub>V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 well! materials every kind go and do get to perfective when build  
*phèʔ* *ve* *yò* *nē* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 able to nominalizer declarative emphatic
- (4) *Teacher* : *âa* , *mâ* *lòʔ* *šē* *ve* *tê cə* *cə* *qôʔ-ma* .  
 . Interj Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! negative be enough yet relativizer one thing be there emphatic
- (5) *tó-làʔ* *qôʔ* *ve* *mâ* *lòʔ* *šē* *qôʔ-ma* .  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 roof beam call nominalizer negative be enough yet emphatic
- (6) *Headman* : *âa* , *ca* *bàʔ* *ve* *tí* *yò* *èʔ* .  
 . Interj <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! go and do hack into lengths nominalizer only declarative emphatic
- (7) *ηà-hi* *chə* *tê-ní* *ğā* *šī* *le* .  
 Pron N NP<sub>q</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 we (pl) people one or two people lead along lead along
- (8) *Teacher* : *nī* *ğā* *tí qo* *mâ* *qəʔ* *tāʔ*  
 . Q P<sub>univ</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V V  
 two people topicalizer negative V back (to starting point) carry on shoulder  
*ğə* *qôʔ-ma* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be able emphatic
- (9) *Headman* : *ô* *ğā* *šī və* *a* , *ô* *ğā* .  
 . Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 four for people carry along intentive four for people
- (10) *Teacher* : *eeàʔ* , *ô* *ğā* *šī və* *tí qo* *lè* *ğā* *ɔ*  
 . Interj Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 right! four for people accompany topicalizer topic succeed affirmative  
*hé* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 probably

Building a house

- (11) *Headman* : ð-kā-ð-nu tē cə le-le ve a-šū-yô ca tū ve ð-cə  
 . Elab<sub>n</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 other every kind genitivizer everyone look for future relativizer thing  
 tē phā chw šō lɛ , tē cə le-le ve ca cō  
 Q OV P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 pluralizer select people for a task suspensive every kind genitivizer look for ought to  
 lê , nð-hi .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> Pron  
 request for assent you (pl)
- (12) *Teacher* : a-šū a-šū nà gɛ qay tū le .  
 . Pron Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 who all me with go future substantive qst
- (13) *tó-là?* ca bà? e ve .  
 N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 roof beam go and do cut into boards motion away nominalizer
- (14) *Headman* : âa , Cà-qā nð kà? tē ġā qay mē .  
 . Interj N<sub>pers</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Q V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! male name you also one person go persuasive
- (15) *qay a lâ ?*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 go intentive yes
- (16) *Cà-qā* : *qay* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> V  
 male name go
- (17) *Headman* : *Cà-ye* , nð kà? qay mē .  
 . N<sub>pers</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name you also go persuasive
- (18) *Cà-ye* : *qay* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> V  
 male name go
- (19) *Headman* : nî ġā gā-ò lē .  
 . Q V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 two people reached (already) request for assent
- (20) *Cà-bo* , nð kà? qay lâ ?  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name you also go yes
- (21) *Cà-bo* : *qay tē yò ma* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name go really V declarative exclamatory
- (22) *Headman* : *Thû-yì* , nð kà? qay mē .  
 . N<sub>pers</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name you also go persuasive
- (23) *Thû-yì* : èe .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Interj  
 male name yes



- (24) *Headman* :  $\hat{s}$   $\ddot{g}\hat{a}$   $g\hat{a}-\hat{o}$   $n\bar{e}$  .  
 . Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 four for people reached (already) emphatic
- (25)  $l\hat{s}?$   $\hat{o}$   $l\hat{e}$  .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be enough completed action request for assent
- (26) *Teacher* :  $\hat{s}$   $\ddot{g}\hat{a}$   $g\hat{a}-\hat{o}$   $qo$   $l\hat{e}$  ,  $l\hat{s}?$   $ve$   
 . Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 four for humans reached (already) if topic be enough nominalizer  
 $y\hat{o}$  .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (27)  $\hat{a}a$  ,  $t\hat{o}-l\hat{a}?$   $t\hat{i} qo$   $\hat{s}$   $\ddot{g}\hat{a}$   $t\hat{a}?$   $e$   
 Interj N P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 well! roof beam topicalizer four for humans carry on shoulder motion away  
 $l\hat{a}$   $l\epsilon$  ,  $\ddot{g}\hat{a}$   $\hat{o}$   $l\hat{a}$   $l\epsilon$   
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p) suspensive succeed completed action benefactive (non-3p) suspensive  
 $t\epsilon$   $a$   $t\hat{a}$   $\hat{o}$   $ma$   $n\bar{e}$  .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 put down vigorous action durative completed action exclamatory emphatic
- (28)  $te$   $ve$   $t\hat{i}$   $y\hat{o}$  ,  $t\hat{e} p\hat{s}?$   $l\hat{e}$  .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub>  
 build nominalizer only declarative right then
- (29) *Headman* :  $\hat{s}\hat{o}$  .  
 . Interj  
 mm
- (30) *Teacher* :  $q\hat{h}\hat{a}-t\hat{h}\hat{a}?$   $t\hat{e} ni$   $\hat{a}?$   $te$   $t\hat{u}$   $ve$   $le$  .  
 . NP<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 on what day? accusative build future nominalizer substantive qst
- (31) *Headman* :  $\acute{s}\hat{i} p\hat{a}$   $n\hat{i} ni$   $\hat{a}?$   $te$   $c\hat{s}$   $q\hat{o}\hat{s}?$ - $y\hat{o}-\hat{e}?$  .  
 . NP<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 Tuesday accusative do ought to emphatic
- (32) *Teacher* :  $\acute{s}\hat{i} p\hat{a}$   $n\hat{i} ni$  .  
 . NP<sub>time</sub>  
 Tuesday
- (33) *Headman* :  $\hat{e}e$  ...  
 ... Interj  
 yes
- (34)  $\bar{s}-ch\hat{i}$   $t\hat{i} qo$   $n\hat{o}-hi$   $\hat{a}?$   $c\hat{a}$   $l\hat{a}$   $t\hat{u}$   $ve$   
 N P<sub>univ</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 food with rice topicalizer you (pl) accusative feed benefactive (non-3p) future nominalizer  
 ,  $m\hat{e}-m\hat{e}$   $\bar{s}-ch\hat{i}$   $l\hat{e}$   $m\hat{a}$   $c\hat{o}$   $h\acute{e}$  .  
 V<sub>adj</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 delicious curry topic negative be there probably

Building a house

- (35) *Teacher* : *âa* , *pa-mô-pa-kâ?* *tê gî* *ce* *kâ?* *lò?* *ve*  
 . Interj Elab<sub>n</sub> Q P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 well! canned carp pluralizer only topicalizer be enough nominalizer  
*yò* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (36) *5-chî* *tí qo* .  
 N P<sub>univ</sub>  
 food with rice topicalizer
- (37) *Lâhū-yâ* *qô?* *ve-5* , *ga* *dâ?* *ve* *qô?-ve-5* .  
 N V P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 Lahu people call emphatic help mutual action nominalizer emphatic
- (38) *5-chî* *tí* *ni-câ* *tù* *mâ hê?* *ε?* .  
 N P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> Adv + V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 food only consider what there is to eat purposive not be the case emphatic
- (39) *Headman* : *gâ?* *tê* *khε* *nî* *khε* *tí* *câ* *ve* *tí*  
 . N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 fowl one for animals two for animals slaughter V to eat nominalizer only  
*yò* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (40) *qhe-qo* *lê* , *gâ?* *ī-ī* *ve* *ð-phu-qā* , *ð-ma-pā* ,  
 Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N V<sub>redup</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N N  
 so topic fowl great big relativizer cock female (of certain animals)  
*chi hī* *chi hī* *ve* *nî* *khε* *qo* *lê* *lò?* *hε*  
 N<sub>ext</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nice and big nice and big genitivizer two for animals if topic be enough probably  
*lê* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 request for assent
- (41) *Teacher* : *âa* , *nî* *khε* *lê* *tê* *khô-bá* *qo* *lò?* *hε* .  
 . Interj Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! two for animals topic one for halves if be enough probably
- (42) *Headman* : < *gî* *ve* >  
 > V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 laugh nominalizer
- (43) *Headman* : *âa* , *ī-kâ?-ī-le* *lò?* *tù* *yò* .  
 . Interj Elab<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! as long as it's big be enough future declarative
- (44) *Teacher* : *vâ?-šâ* *câ* *gâ* *pā* *qhà-nî* *gâ* *cò*  
 . N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V  
 pork eat desiderative agentive nominalizer how many? for people be there  
*le* , *qhe-qo* , *yè* *te* *pā* *chi* *qha-pà-è* *ve*  
 P<sub>uf</sub> Conj N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> Det AE P<sub>univ</sub>  
 substantive qst then house build agentive nominalizer these all genitivizer

- ð-*qhɔ* .  
 N<sub>loc</sub>  
 amongst
- (45) *Kachin* : *âa* , *tê* *qhâ?* *tí* *lo* ...  
 ... Interj Num N P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 well! the whole village just locative
- (46) *âa* , *ηà* *kà?* *câ* *gâ* *ve* *yò* .  
 Interj Pron P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! I also eat desiderative nominalizer declarative
- (47) *âa* , *ηà* *lê* *và?-qhɔ-qhɔ* *hâ?* *a* , *câ* *gâ* *ve* .  
 Interj Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 well! I topic pig innards want to get intentive eat desiderative nominalizer
- (48) *Teacher* : *Pā-é* , *nò* *è?* .  
 . N Pron P<sub>n</sub>  
 male name you contrastive interrogative
- (49) *Yâ-pā-é* : *ð-lâ-šī* , *ð-lâ-šī* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N N  
 man's name kidney kidney
- (50) *Teacher* : *ð-lâ-šī* .  
 . N  
 kidney
- (51) *Thû-yì* , *nò* *è?* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub>  
 male name you contrastive interrogative
- (52) *Thû-yì* : *ð-fí-qō* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N  
 male name stomach
- (53) *Teacher* : *ð-fí-qō* .  
 . N  
 stomach
- (54) *Kachin* : *và?-šā* *mâ* *hê?* *qo* *mâ* *lò?* *tā* *šē* .  
 . N Cl<sub>nf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 pig-flesh unless negative be enough durative yet
- (55) *Teacher* : *âa* , *ηà* *ó-qō* *cô* *ā* *ve* *ó-qō* *cô*  
 . Interj Pron N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N V  
 well! I head boil to mush perfective relativizer head boil to mush  
*ā* *ve* *câ* *gâ* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 perfective relativizer eat desiderative
- (56) *ηà* *kà?* *câ* *gâ* , *nò* *ó-qō* *cô* *ā* *ve* .  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> Pron N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 I also eat desiderative your head boil to mush perfective relativizer

Building a house

- (57) *Headman* :  $\eta\grave{a}$   $\grave{\alpha}$ - $\check{s}\bar{a}$   $p\grave{\alpha}?$   $l\grave{a}$   $\bar{a}$   $ve$   $c\grave{a}$   
 . Pron N V  $P_v$   $P_v$   $P_{univ}$  V  
 I meat chop up fine benefactive (non-3p) perfective relativizer eat  
 $g\grave{a}$   $q\grave{o}?\text{-}ma$  .  
 $P_v$   $P_{uf}$   
 desiderative emphatic
- (58) *Teacher* :  $ee\grave{a}?$  ,  $a$ - $\check{s}u$ - $y\check{o}$   $c\grave{a}$   $g\grave{a}$   $ve$   $qhe$   $te$ - $c\grave{a}$ - $?$   $l\grave{o}$  .  
 . Interj Pron V  $P_v$   $P_{univ}$  Adv  $V_{imp}$   $P_v$   
 right! each person eat desiderative nominalizer just like that cook! urging
- (59) *Teacher* :  $qhe$ - $qo$   $\bar{\omega}$  ,  $y\acute{i}$   $t\acute{e}$   $ph\bar{a}$   $k\grave{a}?$   $l\grave{o}?$   $\grave{o}$   $l\acute{e}$ - $l\grave{a}$   
 . Conj  $P_{unf}$  N Q  $P_{unf}$  V  $P_v$   $P_{unf}$   
 well then topic thatch-grass pluralizer also be enough completed action yes  
 ,  $n\grave{o}$ - $hi$   $y\grave{e}$   $te$   $ve$   $\bar{\omega}$  .  
 Pron N V  $P_{univ}$   $P_{unf}$   
 you (pl) house build nominalizer topic
- (60) *Headman* :  $\acute{a}a$  ,  $y\acute{i}$   $t\acute{e}$   $chi$   $h\acute{i}$   $v\grave{i}$   $g\grave{a}$ - $\grave{o}$   $l\grave{o}?$   
 . Interj N Num  $Cl_f$   $V + P_v$  V  
 well! thatch-grass eighteen for sheaves reached (already) be enough  
 $\grave{o}$   $l\acute{e}$ - $h\acute{e}$  .  
 $P_v$   $P_{uf}$   
 completed action probably
- (61) *Teacher* :  $\acute{a}a$  ,  $t\acute{e}$   $chi$   $h\acute{i}$   $v\grave{i}$  .  
 . Interj Num  $Cl_f$   
 well! eighteen for sheaves
- (62)  $\eta\grave{t}$  .  
 Interj  
 murmur of assent
- (63) *Teacher* :  $t\acute{e}$   $chi$   $h\acute{i}$   $v\grave{i}$   $qo$   $l\acute{e}$  ,  $l\acute{a}$   $l\acute{e}$   
 . Num  $Cl_f$   $P_{unf}$   $P_{unf}$  V  $P_{unf}$   
 eighteen for sheaves if topic be more than enough topic  
 $l\acute{a}$   $t\grave{u}$   $y\grave{o}$   $h\acute{e}$  .  
 V  $P_v$   $P_{uf}$   $P_{uf}$   
 be more than enough future declarative probably
- (64) *Headman* :  $\check{s}\bar{\omega}$   $ha$   $ni$   $\grave{\epsilon}?$   $n\bar{e}$  ,  $y\grave{e}$   $chi$   $\bar{\omega}$   $t\acute{e}$   $p\acute{a}$   
 . V  $P_v + P_v$   $P_{uf}$   $P_{uf}$  N Det  $P_{unf}$  Num  $M_{pfx}$   
 calculate try to emphatic emphatic house this topic one side  
 $ve$   $qh\grave{a}$ - $n\acute{i}$   $qh\grave{e}?$   $te$   $t\grave{u}$   $ve$  .  
 $P_{univ}$  Num  $Cl_f$  V  $P_v$   $P_{univ}$   
 genitivizer how many? for tiers of thatch make future nominalizer
- (65) *Teacher* :  $\grave{a}$ - $\check{s}w\grave{e}$   $t\acute{h}\bar{a}$   $\eta\grave{a}$ - $hi$   $ch\check{o}$ - $m\check{o}$   $te$   $j\check{o}$   $ve$   $qo$ - $q\grave{o}?$  ,  
 . AE Pron N V  $P_v$   $P_{univ}$   $P_{uf}$   
 in olden times our ancestors do experiential nominalizer emphatic topic  
 $t\acute{e}$   $p\acute{a}$   $ve$   $\bar{\omega}$  ,  $kh\grave{o}?$   $qh\grave{e}?$   $q\grave{o}?\text{-}ma$  .  
 Num  $M_{pfx}$   $P_{univ}$   $P_{unf}$  Num  $Cl_f$   $P_{uf}$   
 one side genitivizer topic six for tiers of thatch emphatic

- (66) *tê pá ve šĩ qhè? te jɔ qô?-ma* .  
 Num M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 the other side genitivizer seven for tiers of thatch make experiential emphatic
- (67) *Headman : tê chi šĩ? qhè? lê* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 thirteen for tiers of thatch request for assent
- (68) *Teacher : tê chi šĩ? qhè? te jɔ qô?-yò-è?* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 thirteen for tiers of thatch make experiential emphatic
- (69) *Headman : tê chi šĩ? qhè? qo lê , ôo , dà? ve yò*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Interj V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 thirteen for tiers of thatch if topic oh! good nominalizer declarative
- (70) *ɔ-cɛ mâ ġa ve lê ñà-hi ɔ-po*  
 N Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N  
 even number negative reach a certain amount nominalizer topic our for N's sake  
*ɔ-bo cò ve yò* .  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 good luck be there nominalizer declarative
- (71) *tê pá ve khò? qhè? te ve qo nĩ pá tê chi nĩ*  
 Num M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num M<sub>px</sub> Num  
 each side genitivizer six for tiers of thatch make nominalizer if both side twelve  
*qhè? , ɔ-cɛ ġa ve* .  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 for tiers of thatch pair reach a certain amount nominalizer
- (72) *Teacher : mâ dà?* .  
 Adv V<sub>adj</sub>  
 negative good
- (73) *yè te ve tê cò ɔ-cɛ qha ġa è qha ġa è te mâ phè?* .  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> Q N AE AE V Adv V<sub>v</sub>  
 house build relativizer one thing pair as far as as far as do negative able to
- (74) *tâ? tù phè? ve cê* .  
 V P<sub>v-nom</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 climb up sthg that is cause for V'ing be a certain way nominalizer quotative
- (75) *chɔ-mô-khâ qô? ve* .  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 ancient lore say nominalizer
- (76) *Teacher : âa , te pí jâ ve à? ġa ca*  
 Interj V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> vV V  
 well! do good at V'ing very nominalizer accusative must look for  
*ve tí yò ma* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer just declarative exclamatory

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- (77) *âa* , *a-cí pí ve lè* .  
 Interj Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 well! more able nominalizer topic
- (78) *Teacher* : *a-cí pí ve lè* , *Thû-šwè yò ma* .  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 more able nominalizer topic male name declarative exclamatory
- (79) *yè te pā* .  
 N V P<sub>v-nom</sub>  
 house do agentive nominalizer
- (80) *Headman* : *ca na-ni nē* , *yô thâ?* , *ŋà-hi* .  
 vV V P<sub>uf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> Pron  
 go and do ask emphatic him accusative we (pl)
- (81) *ca kù-lâ le* , ” *cí mā lâ?* ”  
 vV V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 go and do invite to come suspensive please show how to benefactive (imperative)  
*qô? pî?*  
 V + V<sub>v</sub>  
 tell (imperative to 3rd person)
- (82) *Kachin* : *âa Thû-šwè tí lè yè tâ? e kâ? pí jâ*  
 Interj N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 well! male name as for topic house climb up motion away also good at very  
*ve yâ*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer emphatic
- (83) *Headman* : *tê gâ ci pə a* , *tê gâ*  
 Q V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> Q  
 one person send on an errand send smn to V try to one person  
*ci pə a*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 send on an errand send smn to V try to
- (84) *Teacher* : *a-šu qay tù le* .  
 Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 who go future substantive qst
- (85) *Cà-ye qay* , *Cà-ye* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> V N<sub>pers</sub>  
 male name go male name
- (86) *Kachin* : *hâ? qay* , *hâ? qay* .  
 Adv V Adv V  
 quickly go quickly go
- (87) *Boy* : *qay qô?-ma nē* .  
 V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 go emphatic emphatic
- (88) *Headman* : *qay ò* , *qay ò* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 go completed action go completed action

- (89) *tê khi*      *gà*      *la*              *yò*              .  
 Q              V              P<sub>v</sub>              P<sub>uf</sub>  
 very soon reach come to V declarative
- (90) *Teacher* : *ô-ve* ...  
 ...              Det  
                   that
- (91) *Headman* : *à-thò?-ma* *le*                      , *nò* ‘ *ô-ve* ’ *è?*                      ?  
 ?              N<sub>intg</sub>              P<sub>uf</sub>                      Pron              Det              P<sub>n</sub>  
                   what              substantive qst              your              that              contrastive interrogative
- (92) *Teacher* : *ô*      *gâ?-u-qú*              !  
 !              N<sub>sd</sub>      N  
                   that hen’s eggshell
- (93) < *gî*      *ve*                      >  
             V              P<sub>univ</sub>  
             laugh nominalizer
- (94) *qhe-qo*      *õ*              , *tê pî?* *qò?*              *te* *qay*                      *ve*              *tí*      *yò*              .  
 Conj              P<sub>unf</sub>              Q              vV              V              V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>              P<sub>univ</sub>              P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well then topic now V again do continue V’ing nominalizer only declarative
- (95) *yè*      *te*      *pà*                      *ò*                      *l-qô?-qo*                      *õ*              , *qha-cî-cî?*  
 N              V              V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>              N  
 house build finish V’ing completed action emphatic conditional topic fireplace props  
*tê gî*              *kà?*      *gâ*      *šõ*              *kə*              *ve*                      *ma*                      .  
 Q              P<sub>unf</sub>              vV              V              V<sub>v</sub>              P<sub>univ</sub>              P<sub>uf</sub>  
 pluralizer also must install V into nominalizer exclamatory
- (96) *a-cí*      *šõ*              *ò*                      *l-lâ*              , *qha-cî*      *cò*              *ò*                      *l-lâ*              .  
 Adv              V              P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>              N              V              P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 almost install completed action yes fireplace be there completed action yes
- (97) *Headman* : *mô*                      *lò-qá* *qhô*      *õ*              *bà?*                      *tɛ*                      *ā*  
 .                      N<sub>sd</sub>              N              N<sub>loc</sub>              P<sub>n</sub>              V                      V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>v</sub>  
                   down there river above locative hack into lengths set aside to V perfective  
*lɔ*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic declarative
- (98) *ca*              *tâ?*              *e*                      *la-?*                      , *nò-hi*      *chɔ*              *ca*  
 vV              V              P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub>                      Pron              N              V  
 go and do go up motion away motion toward (imperative) you (pl) people look for  
*lɛ*  
 P<sub>unf</sub>  
 suspensive
- (99) *Teacher* : *ô*                      *Na-bè*              *lò-qá* *qhô*      *õ*              *lâ-o*              .  
 .                      N<sub>sd</sub>              N              N              N<sub>loc</sub>              P<sub>n</sub>              P<sub>uf</sub>  
                   over there River Ping river above locative yes
- (100) *Headman* : *èe*              .  
 .                      Interj  
                   yes

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- (101) *Teacher* : ôo , vĕ à yâ-o nĕ , nò ve ̄ ,  
 . Interj V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 oh! far asseverative emphatic emphatic you genitivizer topic  
 chi fĭ-fĭ ̄ .  
 NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 just as far locative
- (102) ð-pâ-pâ â cð le-lâ .  
 N<sub>loc</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 place nearby negative be there yes
- (103) *Headman* : ôo , mô ð-hó ̄ hó-šĭ yà?-qɔ-ce ̄ tĕ  
 . Interj N<sub>sd</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N N N P<sub>n</sub> Num  
 oh! down there below locative rice-mill fork in road locative one  
 mà bà? tɛ ā qô?-ma .  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 for things cut into boards leave sthg where it is perfective emphatic
- (104) â dà? nā dà? nā â šĭ  
 Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V  
 negative good indirect question marker good indirect question marker negative know  
 ò .  
 P<sub>v</sub>  
 completed action
- (105) *Teacher* : à-thò?-ma šĭ? le .  
 . N<sub>intg</sub> N P<sub>uf</sub>  
 what kind of tree substantive qst
- (106) *Headman* : mà-y-cù-pí qô?-ma , mà-y-cù-pí .  
 . N P<sub>uf</sub> N  
 magnolia sp. emphatic magnolia sp.
- (107) *Teacher* : mà-y-cù-pí qô? lè , dà? ve yò .  
 . N V P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 magnolia sp. call topic fine nominalizer declarative
- (108) tĕ ġâ ca tâ? e – Thû-šwè ca tâ?  
 Q vV V P<sub>v</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> vV V  
 somebody go and do climb up motion away male name go and do climb up  
 e .  
 P<sub>v</sub>  
 motion away
- (109) qay a lâ .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 go intentive yes
- (110) Thû-šwè : qay a .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 male name go intentive
- (111) *Teacher* : èe , qay dà? à .  
 . Interj V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 yes go mutual action asseverative



- (112) *Cà-bo* , *nò* *ṣ* *ṣ-chî* *ṣ* *te* *ô?* *nē* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name you topic curry topic cook (as food) hortatory emphatic
- (113) *ṣ-chî* *ṣ* *te* *mε* *ò* *lε-lâ ?*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> vV V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 curry topic do and be cooked completed action yes
- (114) *alôo* , *ṣ* *kà?* *mà?* *ve* .  
 Interj N P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 oh boy! food also hungry nominalizer
- (115) *câ* *yâ* *gâ* *ò* *ve* .  
 V M<sub>prfx</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 eat time reach completed action nominalizer
- (116) *Cà-bo* : *mâ* *mε* *ṣē* , *mâ* *mε* *ṣē* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 male name negative be ready to eat yet negative be ready to eat yet
- (117) *nāli?* *mâ* *gâ* *ṣē* .  
 N Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 time negative reach yet
- (118) *tê khi* *jê* *a* *ṣē* .  
 Q V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 for a while wait hortatory still
- (119) *Kachin* : *tha-phî* *hâ?* *qhô* *lò* .  
 N Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 split bamboo slats quickly spread out urging
- (120) *mû-cha* *kà?* *hɔ* *jâ* .  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 sunshine also hot very
- (121) *ṣa-gû-ṣ* *câ* *thâ* *gâ* *ve* *yò* *ê?* *nē* .  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 midday meal eat time reach nominalizer declarative emphatic emphatic
- (122) *ṣ* *â* *mà?* *ò* *lε-lâ* , *nò-hi* *tê phâ* .  
 N Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron Q  
 food negative hungry completed action yes you (pl) pluralizer
- (123) *Teacher* : *ṣu* *yè-dɔ* *né* *kà?* *qha* *pà* *ò* .  
 Pron N P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 others housepost even also all finish completed action
- (124) *nò ve* *ṣ* *te* *ci* *ê?* *chi mɔ-mɔ* *te ve* *chɔ*  
 N<sub>poss</sub> + ve P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 yours topic work on causative topicalizer such a long time do nominalizer people  
*â* *mò* *jɔ* .  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 negative see experiential

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- (125) *Headman* : *chi qô? ve* " *chɔ â mɔ jɔ* " *ve-5* .  
 . Det V P<sub>univ</sub> N Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 this say nominalizer people negative see experiential emphatic
- (126) *5 te ve chi mɔ-mɔ te ve* .  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 food cook (as food) nominalizer such a long time do nominalizer
- (127) *Cook* : *câ la ò , câ la ò* .  
 . V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 eat come to V already eat come to V already
- (128) *te mɛ ò , câ la ò* .  
 V V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 cook (as food) be ready to eat completed action eat come to V already
- (129) *Teacher* : *câ la ò cê vâ qô?-ma* .  
 . V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 eat come to V already quotative emphatic emphatic
- (130) *Khán-pā bo ġa lɔ ve yò* .  
 Eth N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 Jingpho grace (X'n) get to ask for nominalizer declarative
- (131) *Khán-pā , nɔ bo lɔ a lâ* .  
 Eth Pron OV P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 Jingpho you say grace tentative yes
- (132) *Kachin* : *âa , ñà bo lɔ ve qha-dê? mâ pɛ šê* .  
 . Interj Pron OV P<sub>univ</sub> AE Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 well! I say grace nominalizer properly negative good at yet
- (133) *šālâ? nɔ lɔ lɔ* .  
 N Pron V P<sub>v</sub>  
 pastor you pray urging
- (134) \*\*\*
- (135) *Headman* : *âa , 5 câ pɔ ò qo lɛ , yâ tê ġi*  
 . Interj N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Q  
 well! food eat finish V'ing completed action if topic guys pluralizer  
 ò , *tê cə le-le hâ?-hâ? te ô? mɛ* .  
 P<sub>n</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> AE V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 vocative every thing quickly do hortatory persuasive
- (136) *Teacher* : *eeà? , yɛ bɛ tâ-ò ma , yɛ bɛ*  
 . Interj N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N V  
 right! thatch-grass cover be high time to V exclamatory thatch-grass cover  
*tâ-ò – à-mù mù phà? e yò lè?* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> Conj SV P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be high time to V otherwise get dark motion away declarative emphatic
- (137) *mû kâ? nâ? à* .  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 sky also get black asseverative

- (138) *mû-yè kà? là ò qo , yî?-kî ca mâ ġa*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> V Adv V  
 rain also come completed action if sleeping place look for negative have available  
*pí a .*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 able to V emphatic
- (139) *Headman : ôo , yè-do yè-do tê ġî há?-há? ġò c̄-?*  
 . Interj N N Q AE V V<sub>imp</sub>  
 oh! housepost housepost pluralizer quickly drag set upright!
- (140) *tê c̄ le-le .*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> B<sub>n</sub>  
 each thing each
- (141) *Kachin : yè-do yù qô?-qha , yè-do yù qô?-qha !*  
 ! N V P<sub>uf</sub> N V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 housepost take emphatic housepost take emphatic
- (142) *Headman : hê? , hê? tê mà yù , c̄ k̄-?*  
 . Interj Interj Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V N<sub>sd</sub> V<sub>imp</sub>  
 take it! take it! one for things take over there put in!
- (143) *tê mà ð-hó pá ̄ k̄-?*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V<sub>imp</sub>  
 one for things under side locative put in!
- (144) *Teacher : qha-dê? te m̄ .*  
 . AE V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 properly do persuasive
- (145) *yè-do chi-ve ̄ ð-ce phê? pí-à .*  
 N Det P<sub>unf</sub> N V V+P<sub>v</sub>  
 housepost these topic pair be a certain way warning marker
- (146) *ð-ce tâ phê? ci m̄ .*  
 N Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 pair negative imperative become let (permissive causative) persuasive
- (147) *âa , yè-do tí qo šî p̄ l̄ qô?-ma .*  
 Interj N P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! housepost topicalizer be fit into finish V'ing emphatic declarative emphatic
- (148) *tê p̄? lè k̄?-š̄ yù l̄ chî? ô? , yâ tê ġî ò ,*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> N Q P<sub>n</sub>  
 this time thatch-sticks take suspensive tie hortatory guys pluralizer vocative  
*k̄?-š̄ .*  
 N  
 thatch-sticks
- (149) *Headman : yù qô a qha – k̄?-š̄*  
 . <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> N  
 take and V sthg pass sthg upwards vigorous action vivid action thatch-sticks  
*yù qô a qha-?*  
<sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub>  
 take and V sthg pass sthg upwards vigorous action vivid action (imperative)

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- (150) *Somebody on the roof* : *vâ-ne* *kâ?* *yù la-?*  
 . . . . N P<sub>unf</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub>  
 bamboo split (for fastening) also bring! (imperative)
- (151) *Kachin* : *qô* , *qô* , *qô* , *yè-kê?*  
 . V V V N  
 pass sthg upwards pass sthg upwards pass sthg upwards bamboo roof-sticks  
*yè-kê?*  
 N  
 bamboo roof-sticks
- (152) *Teacher* : *vâ-ne* *yù a-?* , *a-šu* *yù pī*  
 . N V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> Pron <sub>v</sub>V + V<sub>h</sub>  
 bamboo split (for fastening) take hortatory whoever pick up and give to  
*vâ-ne* *yù a-?* *cê* *vâ* .  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 bamboo split take hortatory quotative emphatic
- (153) *Kachin* : *vâ-ne* , *vâ-ne* , *vâ-ne* *ca ni-?* , *vâ-ne* .  
 . N N N V + V<sub>v</sub> N  
 bamboo split bamboo split bamboo split try to find bamboo split
- (154) *hâ?* *yù la-?* .  
 Adv V + P<sub>v</sub>  
 quickly bring! (imperative)
- (155) *hâ?* *chì?* *mē* .  
 Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quickly tie persuasive
- (156) *Teacher* : *qhe-qo* *lê* *chì?-pā* *chì?* *qo* *ḡ* , *bε* *pā*  
 . Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v-nom</sub>  
 well then topic one who ties tie when topic thatch agentive nominalizer  
*bε-?* *qô?-ma* .  
 V<sub>imp</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 thatch! emphatic
- (157) *à-na* *chì?-tâ?* *e* *pā* *chì?-tâ?* *e*  
 N<sub>loc</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 up there tie up and carry motion away agentive nominalizer tie up and carry motion away  
*le* , *chō* *mā* *ā* *ve* *le* , *chê* *ā*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 suspensive people many durative nominalizer suspensive hang around idly perfective  
*qo* *chê* *ā* *dê* *yò* .  
 P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> N<sub>lim</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 if hang around idly perfective in vain declarative
- (158) *tè?-chí* *cí-kì* *mā* *cò* .  
 Adv N Adv V  
 in the slightest usefulness negative be there
- (159) *šá* *gò* *bà* *ve* *cε tí* *yò* .  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> + P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 breath draw V wastefully nominalizer only declarative

- (160) *Headman* : *âa* , *bε* *pə̀* *ò* *và* .  
 . Interj V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! thatch finish V'ing completed action emphatic
- (161) *ə̀-hə́-pá* *̄* *ŋá* *qhê?* *khə́?* *qhê?* *tí qo* *è?* .  
 N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 lower side locative five for tiers of thatch six for tiers of thatch topicalizer only
- (162) *chò* *ə̀-na-pá* *̄* *qə́?* *gu* *chì?* *é?* .  
 N<sub>sd</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> vV vV V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 here upper side locative V again improve by V'ing tie emphatic
- (163) *Teacher* : *ə̀-na-pá* *tê mō* *yà?-šš* *kà?* *šu* *mâ* *tà* *te*  
 . N<sub>loc</sub> Q N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Adv vV V  
 upper side one group this morning even others negative begin to V work  
*thâ* *kà?* *tà* *te* *ā* *ve* *qô?-ma* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 when even begin to V work perfective nominalizer emphatic
- (164) *chi tê khi* *kà?* *mâ* *pə̀* *šē* *qô?-ma* .  
 NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 right now even negative finish yet emphatic
- (165) *Headman* : *pə̀* *la* *yò* , *pə̀* *la* *yò* .  
 . V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 finish nearly V declarative finish nearly V declarative
- (166) *nî* *qhê?* *tí* *cə̀* *yò* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 two for tiers of thatch only be there declarative
- (167) *ə̀-na-pá* *tê mō* , *mâ* *qhâ* *ve* *thà?* *šī* *ā*  
 N<sub>loc</sub> Q Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 upper side one group negative hardworking nominalizer accusative know perfective  
*ve* *yò* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (168) *Teacher* : *hâ?-hâ?* *te* *ve* *kà?* *mâ hê?* .  
 . AE V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv + V  
 quickly do nominalizer even not be the case
- (169) *à-thò?-ma* *te* *ve* *kà?* *šu* *te* *ve* *à?* *nī*  
 N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V  
 whatever do nominalizer even others do nominalizer accusative be concerned about  
*ve* *kà?* *mâ hê?* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv + V  
 nominalizer no matter what not be good
- (170) *šu* *yâ* *à?* *ca* *nī* *ve* , *ca* *nī* *ve* ,  
 Pron N P<sub>n</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 others' children accusative go and do visit nominalizer go and do visit nominalizer  
*ca* *qhô* *jâ?-nī* *ve* *qo* *tho* *cì-à?* .  
 vV vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 go and do V secretly steal a look at nominalizer topic clever very

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- (171) *ôo* , *mâ hê?* !  
 Interj Adv + V  
 oh! not be the case
- (172) *yê* *yù qô* *lâ* *ve* *mâ* *vây* *ɛ* , *a-cí*  
 N <sub>v</sub>V + V<sub>h</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv  
 thatch-grass hand up to benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer negative quick because more  
*vây-chwe* *yù qô* *lâ* *ve* *mâ hê?* *ɛ* .  
 Adv <sub>v</sub>V + V<sub>h</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv + V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 quickly hand up to benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer not be the case because
- (173) *Somebody* : *mû phâ?* *qo* *şu* *yâ* *â?* *jâ?* *ve* *tho*  
 . SV P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> V<sub>adj</sub>  
 get dark when others' children accusative spy on nominalizer clever  
*à* *qô?-pî-a* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 asseverative emphatic
- (174) *yê-kê?* *â?* *chî?* *ci* *mâ-chwe-chwe* *te-qo* .  
 N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> AE P<sub>unf</sub>  
 bamboo roof-sticks accusative tie causative quite a large amount if
- (175) *Teacher* : *eeâ?* *ve* *yò* .  
 . Interj P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 right! nominalizer declarative
- (176) *mì-gì-qhò* *õ* *chi ve* *tê* *pá* *qo* *mā* *tù* *â*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v-nom</sub> Adv  
 in this world locative this one for aspects topic teach cause for V'ing negative  
*cò* .  
 V  
 be there
- (177) *âa* , *pâ* *ve* *lò* *ma* , *tê pô?* *tí* *qo* .  
 Interj V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 well! finish nominalizer emphatic declarative exclamatory right now topic
- (178) *qhô-pi* *mù?* *ve* *tí* *yò* *ma* , *qhô-pi* .  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N  
 ridgepole thatch a roof nominalizer only declarative exclamatory ridgepole
- (179) *yê-vê?* *kà?* *ca* *pî-?* , *yê-vê?* .  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> N  
 overhang of thatch also look for benefactive (imperative) overhang of thatch
- (180) *Headman* : *ñ-êe* , *hâ?* *te* *mē* , *hâ?* *te-?* .  
 . Interj Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V<sub>imp</sub>  
 hey there! quickly do persuasive quickly do!
- (181) *mû-phe* *te* *tē* *ā* *ò* .  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 up above make set aside to V perfective completed action
- (182) *Headman* : *yù qô* *pî* *a* , *yù qô* *pî* *a*  
 . <sub>v</sub>V + V<sub>h</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> <sub>v</sub>V + V<sub>h</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 hand up to benefactive (3p) hortatory hand up to benefactive (3p) hortatory

- (183) *Teacher* : *hê?* , *hê?* !  
! Interj Interj  
take it! take it!
- (184) *yê-vê?* *qha-dê?* *te* *mē* , *šu* *gī* *la* *mē* ,  
N AE V P<sub>uf</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
overhang of thatch properly make persuasive others laugh come to V emphatic  
*mâ* *dâ?* *qo* .  
Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
negative good if
- (185) *Headman* : *âa* , *te jɔ* *ā* *ve* *yò* .  
Interj V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
well! do experiential perfective nominalizer declarative
- (186) *chi qhe tí qo lè* .  
AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
like this only if topic
- (187) *Teacher* : *te jɔ* *qo dâ?* *ve* *yò-a* .  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
do experiential if fine nominalizer emphatic declarative
- (188) *âa* , *chi tê pɔ?* *tí qo* *lè* *yè* *chi tê* *yè* *lè* *qha-pə-è* *te*  
Interj NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE V  
well! right now topicalizer topic house this one for houses topic everything do  
*pə* *ò* *lɔ* *ma* *lè* .  
V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
finish V'ing completed action emphatic declarative exclamatory request for assent
- (189) *pə* *ve* *à?* *pa-tɔ* *le* *chi tê* *kà* *qo* *à-thò?-ma*  
V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>intg</sub>  
finish nominalizer accusative because of suspensive this one for places topic what  
*te tù* *ve* *le* .  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
do future nominalizer substantive qst
- (190) *ɔ* *te-câ* *kì* *lâ* , *chi tê* *kà* .  
N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
meal cook locative yes this one for places
- (191) *Headman* : *chi tê* *kà* *qha-cí* *cí* *kì* .  
Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N V P<sub>v-nom</sub>  
this one for places fireplace install locative
- (192) *Teacher* : *qha-cí* *cí* *kì* , *ô* *tê* *kà* .  
N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
fireplace install locative that one for places
- (193) *Headman* : *ô* *tê* *kà* *yì?* *kì* .  
N<sub>sd</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v-nom</sub>  
over there one for places sleep locative

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- (194) *Teacher* : *yî?* *kî* .  
 . V P<sub>v-nom</sub>  
 sleep locative
- (195) *ô* *tê* *kâ* *chô* *mî* *gî* *kî* *lâ* .  
 N<sub>sd</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 over there one for places person sit V for pleasure locative yes
- (196) *Headman* : *yâ-ò* .  
 . V  
 yeah!
- (197) *chô* *gî* *la* *qo* *mî* *kî* .  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v-nom</sub>  
 people visit come to V when sit locative
- (198) *Teacher* : *šê?* *kâ* *cò* *ve* .  
 . Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 three for places be there nominalizer
- (199) *tê kâ le-le* *tê cò* *tê cò* *ò-mε* *cò* *ve* *yò* *lê*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> Q Q N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 every place each kind each kind name be there nominalizer declarative request for assent
- (200) *qhe-qo* *lê* , *te* *pà* *ò* *yò* *qô?* *qo* *ḡ* ,  
 Conj P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 so topic do finish V'ing completed action declarative topicalizer topic  
*qhe-cε* *yò* *ma* .  
 NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 it's just like that exclamatory
- (201) *Kachin* : *ôo* , *tê pò?* *lê* *yè* *à?* *te* *pà* *ò* .  
 . Interj NP<sub>q</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 oh! right now house accusative build finish V'ing completed action
- (202) *chô* *mâ* *à* *ε* *yè* *kà?* *ī* *jâ* .  
 N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 people many asseverative because house also big very

**Translation**

T = Teacher (Pastor Cà-bo)

H = Headman (Cà-bí)

Issue: how much to vary translation of *âa*, which begins most of the turns. Usually translated “well.”

1. H: Well, we'll build a house.
2. T: Well, just how shall we build it, the house?
3. H: Well, once we've collected all the materials, we can do it!



4. T: Well, there's one thing we don't have enough of yet! What we call the roof-support beams<sup>1</sup> aren't enough yet.
5. H: Well, we'll just go and cut<sup>2</sup> some. We'll take one or two people along.
6. T: With only two people you won't be able to carry them back [from the forest to the village].
7. H: Let four people carry them, four people.
8. T: Yeah, as long as four people carry it, they'll probably succeed.
9. H: Let everybody look for all the other stuff, all the things [we'll need]. You guys should select people, and go look for everything.
10. T: So who all will go with me—to go and cut some roof-support beams?
11. H: Well, Cà-qā, you should be one to go too! Will you go?
12. Cà-qā: I'll go.
13. H: Cà-ye, please go too.
14. Cà-ye: I'll go.
15. H: That makes two people, right? Cà-bo, are you going too?
16. T: Sure I am!
17. H: Thûyì, please go too.
18. Thûyì: OK.
19. H: That makes four people. That's enough, right?
20. T: If we've got four people, that's enough. Four people will carry the beams for me, and when we've succeeded [in getting them to the building site] we'll just put them in place!
21. H: Uh-huh.
22. T: What day shall we do it on?
23. H: I say we ought to do it on Tuesday.
24. T: Tuesday.
25. H: Yeah. As for food<sup>3</sup>, what they'll feed you guys probably won't be very tasty.
26. T: Well, there's enough canned carp<sup>4</sup> for the whole group, as far as food goes. We Lahu we help each other! It's not that we just look at what food there is to eat!
27. H: We should just kill one or two chickens to eat. In that case, a great big cock and a hen, two nice fat animals, should be enough.
28. T: Oh, two chickens and a half should be enough!
29. H: [laughs]<sup>5</sup> Well, as long as they're big it'll be enough.
30. T: How many people are there who would like to eat pork<sup>6</sup> then, among all of you house-builders?

<sup>1</sup>tó-là?: see the diagram of a Lahu house under construction in DL, Plate 68.

<sup>2</sup>bà? ve: 'cut into lengths of wood; cut into boards'.

<sup>3</sup>chî: 'that which is eaten with rice', lit. "rice-lifter", often conventionally translated as 'curry'. The person for whom the volunteers are working is normally expected to feed them.

<sup>4</sup>pa-mô-pa-kâ?: pa-mô 'carp', pa-kâ? 'canned fish' (< Thai *plaa-klàk*).

<sup>5</sup>The laughter is because everybody knows that chickens are hard to come by in the impoverished village.

<sup>6</sup>Pork, the best of meats, is only eaten a few times a year, and is even less likely than chicken to be offered to the house-builders.

31. Kachin: Well, just the whole village –
32. Somebody: Well, I'd like to eat it too.
33. Somebody else: Well, as for me, I'll take the pig intestines—I love to eat them.
34. T: Pā-é<sup>7</sup>, what about you?
35. Pā-é: The kidneys, the kidneys.
36. T: The kidneys. Thû-yì, how about you?
37. Ty: The stomach.
38. T: The stomach.
39. Kachin: Unless there's pig-meat it still won't be enough.
40. T: Well, I'd like to eat the [pig's] head boiled, the head boiled.
41. Somebody: I'd like to eat it too, your boiled head.
42. H: I'd like to eat the meat chopped up fine.
43. T: Sure, let everybody eat whatever he likes.
44. T: Well, then,<sup>8</sup> is there enough thatching-grass already, you guys who are building the house?
45. H: Well, eighteen sheaves of thatch have arrived, it should be enough.
46. T: Oh, eighteen sheaves.
47. Somebody: Mm-hm.
48. T: If there are eighteen sheaves, that'll probably be more than enough.<sup>9</sup>
49. H: Try to figure it out—on this house, how many tiers [of thatch] will there be on one side [of the roof]?
50. T: In olden times, the way our ancestors used to do it, on one side there were six tiers! On the other side they used to make seven tiers.
51. H: Thirteen tiers, right?
52. T: They used to make thirteen tiers indeed.
53. H: Well, if it's thirteen tiers, that's fine. Not reaching in even number [on the two sides of the roof] is an advantage for us.<sup>10</sup>
54. If we make six tiers on each side, that would make twelve tiers for both sides, which is an even number.
55. T: That's not good. Building a house you can't let them reach an even number. They say it would cause a lot of climbing up.<sup>11</sup> That's what our ancestors say.
56. T: Well, we've just got to find somebody who's really good at it. Yeah, somebody who's the best. The best one is Thû-swè! As a house-builder.
57. H: Let's us guys go and ask him.<sup>12</sup> Invite him and say "Please help us!"

<sup>7</sup>The name of Yâ-pā-é (lit. "Little Son") is often shortened to Pā-é.

<sup>8</sup>Returning to the topic after the food-fantasy is over.

<sup>9</sup>Íá lè Íá tù: lit. "as for there being more than enough, there will be more than enough".

<sup>10</sup>ǎ-œ 1. 'a pair (including cosmological pairs like sun and moon)'. 2. 'an even number'. Traditional Lahu roofs are pitched, with the two sides slanting down from the ridgepole.

<sup>11</sup>In order to fix problems with the roof.

<sup>12</sup>There are two inversions in sentence (80). The normal order would be: ɲà-hi yô thà? ca na-ni nē.

58. Kachin: Yeah, it's Thu-shwe who's really good at climbing up a house!
59. H: Send somebody to fetch him, send somebody to fetch him!
60. T: Who will go?
61. Somebody: Let Cà-ye go, Cà-ye.
62. Kachin: hurry up and go, hurry up and go!
63. Boy: I'll go!
64. H: He's gone, he's gone! He'll be back in a minute.
65. T: That—
66. H: What is it, your “that”?
67. T: That eggshell! [*Laughter*].<sup>13</sup> Well then, now let's keep going. Once the house is built, we've got to install all the fireplace-props! Have you almost installed them? Is the fireplace there already?
68. H: Down there above the river they've cut them<sup>14</sup> into boards and left them. Let's go up there and carry them back here. You guys find people [to do it].
69. T: You mean over there on the high ground near Ping River<sup>15</sup> ?
70. H: Yeah.
71. T: Oh, hell<sup>16</sup>, that's too far, where you [did it], at such a distance. Wasn't there a closer place?
72. H: Oh, down there where the rice-mill is at that fork in the road there's one [tree] already cut into boards. I don't know if it's any good now!<sup>17</sup>
73. T: What kind of wood is it?
74. H: It's jupi wood, jupi wood.<sup>18</sup>
75. T: If it's jupi wood, that's fine. Somebody go and climb up – Thû-šwè, you go climb up. Are you going?
76. Thû-šwè: I'll go.
77. T: Yes, that's good!
78. Somebody: Cà-bo, you cook the rice and curry! Is the food all cooked yet?
79. Somebody else: Hey, I'm hungry too. It's time to eat.
80. T: It's not done yet, not done yet. It's not time yet. Just wait a while.
81. Kachin: Hurry up and spread out the bamboo slats!<sup>19</sup>
82. Somebody: And the sun is awful hot. It's time to have lunch! Aren't you hungry, you guys?
83. T: The others have already finished with their house-posts. But you're taking such a long time with yours, that I told you to work on. I've never seen the like!<sup>20</sup>
84. H: [What do you mean by saying] you've “never seen the like”! *You're* taking so long cooking the food.

<sup>13</sup>Everybody evidently felt that this was a snappy comeback. Perhaps some previous incident is referred to.

<sup>14</sup>That is, the wood for the fireplace props.

<sup>15</sup>**Na-bè lǝ-qá:** probably refers to the River Ping (also Lahuized as **nà-pèn** or **nà-pên**), a tributary of the Chao Phraya, having its source near Chiang Dao, quite close to Huey Tat.

<sup>16</sup>By this mild expletive I translate a string of final exclamatory particles: **vī à yā-o nē**.

<sup>17</sup>Perhaps the Headman is concerned that the wood for the fireplace was left sitting there too long.

<sup>18</sup>*Michelis champaca* (*Magnoliaceae*).

<sup>19</sup>**tha-phí:** split bamboo slats used for walls and flooring.

<sup>20</sup>**chə (m)â mǝ jə:** lit. “people have never seen”.

## Building a house

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85. Cook: Come and eat, come and eat! It's ready, come eat!
86. T: He says "Come eat"! Kachin, you get to say grace. Kachin<sup>21</sup>, will you say grace<sup>22</sup>?
87. Kachin: Aw, I can't say grace properly yet. Pastor, you do it!
- \*\*\*
88. H: Well, since we've finished eating, my boys, let's hurry up and do everything!
89. T: Yeah, it's high time we thatched the roof, it's time to thatch, otherwise it'll get dark! The sky will be black! And if it rains, we might not be able to find a place to sleep.
90. H: Hey, hurry and drag up all the house-posts and set them upright! Each and every one of them.
91. Kachin: Grab all the house-posts, grab the house-posts!
92. H: Here, here, take and stick one over there! Put another one underneath!
93. T: Do it properly! These house-posts might end up in even numbers. Don't let them be paired up! Ah, all the house-posts have been stuck into place already! So now, take the roof-sticks and tie the thatch to them! Come on, guys, the thatch-sticks!<sup>23</sup>
94. H: Take them and pass them up, pass up the thatch-sticks!<sup>24</sup>
95. Somebody (on the roof): Bring the bamboo-splits<sup>25</sup> too!
96. Kachin: Pass 'em up, pass 'em up, pass up the thatch-sticks!
97. T: Bring the bamboo-splits! He says to take all the splits that anybody gave you!
98. Kachin: Splits, splits, splits—try to find the splits! Hurry up and bring them!
99. Somebody: Tie [them] up quick!<sup>26</sup>
100. T: O.K., then let the tie-ers tie, while the thatchers thatch! The ones who carried [the stuff] up there to tie have already done it—but there are so many people here now.<sup>27</sup> If you just hang around, there's no point to it. It's no use at all. You're just wasting your time.<sup>28</sup>
101. H: Well, the thatching is done! On the lower part there are only five or six tiers. Here on top re-tie it again!
102. T: The group working up top began working this morning, before the others had started! But still they haven't finished even now!
103. H: It's almost done, almost done. Only two tiers are left.
104. Somebody: We already knew that bunch up top didn't work very hard.
105. T: It's not just a question of doing it fast. Whatever you're working at, don't be concerned at the way others are doing it.<sup>29</sup> What you *are* very clever at is going to visit girls<sup>30</sup> all the time, going to sneak looks at them!

<sup>21</sup>A long-time resident of Huey Tat, of Jingpho ethnicity. Everybody good-naturedly calls him **Khá-pā** 'Kachin'.

<sup>22</sup>**bo lə ve**: 1. 'pray (in church)' 2. 'say grace before meals', lit. "beg for favor".

<sup>23</sup>**kêl-šī**: bamboo sticks forming the horizontal framework of a roof, to which the tiers of thatch are attached..

<sup>24</sup>**yè-kêl?**: a synonym of **kêl-šī**.

<sup>25</sup>**vā-ne**: bamboo fibers used for tying.

<sup>26</sup>I.e., tie the thatch to the roof-sticks.

<sup>27</sup>Here the Teacher ostensibly turns to the people who have been standing around watching.

<sup>28</sup>**šá gò bà ve ce tí yò**: lit. "you're just throwing away your breath".

<sup>29</sup>I.e., 'Don't try to keep pace with the others, or compare your output to theirs.'

<sup>30</sup>**šu yā**, lit. "other people's children", here referring to marriageable girls.

106. Somebody: Oh, that's not so! It's because they weren't quick passing us up the thatch, they weren't fast enough handing it up to us.
107. Somebody else: When it gets dark you say they're good at sneaking around "other people's daughters"! If they're made to tie lots and lots of roof-sticks.<sup>31</sup>
108. T: That's true. In this world nobody needs a teacher for that sort of thing. Well, we're finished at this point. All we have to do is thatch the ridgepole, the ridgepole. Go look for thatch to make the overhang too, the overhang.<sup>32</sup>
109. H: Hey, hurry it up, hurry it up! There's already a place for it up there.
110. H: Pass it up, pass it up!
111. T: Here, here! Make the overhang properly—people will laugh if it's not good!
112. H: Aw, we've done it before! If that's all there is [left to do].
113. T: If you've done it before, that's fine. Well, at this point this house has been completely built, right? Now that it's all finished, what will you do with this place here? Will it be the place where you cook food, this area?
114. H: Over here is where the fireplace will be installed.
115. T: The fireplace, over there.
116. H: Over there is the bedroom.
117. T: The bedroom. Is that the living room<sup>33</sup> over there?
118. H: Yep. The place where visitors will sit.
119. T: There are three rooms. Each kind of place has its own name. So, if you say it's finished, that's all there is to it.
120. Kachin: Ah, the house is all built now. Since many people will live here<sup>34</sup>, the house is also very big.

<sup>31</sup>I.e., 'You shouldn't begrudge them their little diversions after a hard day's work.'

<sup>32</sup>**yî-vê?**: lit. "thatch-flower". A projection of thatch on a roof to carry away rain, here translated 'overhang'.

<sup>33</sup>**chō mi gi kī**: lit. "place where people sit for pleasure".

<sup>34</sup>**chō mā ā le**: 'since there are many people'; lit. "since people will keep being numerous"

## 5.6 Founding a new village

- (1) *H* : *chi-ve* *̄* *Lāhū-yā* *qhā?* *̄-ší* *tā* *ve* *qô?* *ve*  
 . Det P<sub>unf</sub> N N N V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 this topic Lahu people village new thing establish nominalizer say nominalizer  
*̄* *chi qhe* *ve* *qô?-ma* .  
 P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 topic like this genitivizer emphatic
- (2) *chê-kì* *̄-ti* *te-cā-mì-cā* *kì* , *mì-cā-vā-cā*  
 N<sub>dvb</sub> N Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub>  
 dwelling place place earn a living from the land locative cultivate the land for a living  
*kì* *mā dā?* , *̄-ti* *mā dā?* *qo* , *̄-ti* *mā dā?* *qo* *ô-ve* *te* *ve*  
 P<sub>v-nom</sub> Adv + V N Adv + V P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv + V P<sub>unf</sub> Det V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 locative bad place bad if place bad if that do nominalizer  
*qô?-ma* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (3) *mā* *chê* *gā* *ve* *pa-to* , *̄-ší* *dā?* *kì* *ca*  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> vV  
 negative stay desiderative relativizer because of new thing good locative go and do  
*ni* *ve* *ā?* *qhā?* *̄-ší* *tā* *ve* *qô?* *ve*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N N V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 look at nominalizer accusative village new thing establish nominalizer call nominalizer  
*chi tē khi* , *̄-ti* *dā?* *ve* *ā?* .  
 NP<sub>q</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 this time place good nominalizer accusative
- (4) *T* : *āa* , *qhe-qo* *̄* *n̄-hi* *cì-qh̄?* *nô* *̄* *Nā-qh̄y* *̄* *qay*  
 . Interj Conj P<sub>unf</sub> Pron NP<sub>time</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V  
 well! so topic you (pl) this year up there locative place name locative go  
*qô?-qô?* *ā* *hē?* *lā* *qô?-ma* .  
 V<sub>redup</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 keep saying negative be the case yes emphatic
- (5) *yà-ò* *lā* .  
 Interj P<sub>uf</sub>  
 yes! yes
- (6) *ti-mi* *c̄* *qô?* *ve* *ā* *hē?* *lā* , *nô*  
 N V V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub>  
 paddy field (irrigated) be there say nominalizer negative be the case yes up there  
*̄* *šu* *qô?* *ve* .  
 P<sub>n</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 locative others say nominalizer
- (7) *H* : *qay* *ve* *yò* .  
 . V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 go nominalizer declarative
- (8) *ḡà-hi* *tí qo* *è* *ti-mi* *c̄* *nā* *ā* *c̄* *nā*  
 Pron P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N V P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 we (pl) topicalizer only paddy field (irrigated) be there doubt negative be there doubt

- ni kà? ca ni á ò š̌ .*  
V P<sub>unf</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
look at also go and do look at durative change of state still
- (9) *ša jâ , tê cə le-le ve .*  
V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
easy very every kind genitivizer
- (10) *chê-kì kà? dà? jâ .*  
N<sub>dvb</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
dwelling place also good very
- (11) *T : šu qô?-khô na qo í-kâ? kà? â cə qô?-qha-pâ?*  
. Pron N V P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
others words of advice listen if water even negative be there emphatic  
*qô?-ma .*  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
emphatic
- (12) *H : pòthô í-kâ? qô?-qo yê-qhə yà? la ve*  
. Interj N P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
for God's sake! water topicalizer high mountains descend become nominalizer  
*Yê-nâ-ği qô? ve í-kâ?-lò yê lə pə pí â hê?*  
N<sub>place</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> Adv V  
river name call nominalizer river use suspensive use up able to V negative be the case  
*o .*  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
emphatic
- (13) *dà? jâ .*  
V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
good very
- (14) *ə-hó ɔ̄ mô ɣi-phú-twê? kì í-kâ? má gə*  
N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> N P<sub>v-nom</sub> N Adv V  
lower part locative down there foamy place in a river locative water negative reach  
*la qô?-ma , mú-cha-yâ ɔ̄ .*  
P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub>  
become emphatic hot season topic
- (15) *T : ca hē lə nē-ɔ̄ , nə qhà-thâ?-kà? hē pí*  
. vV V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron AE V V<sub>v</sub>  
go and do lie suspensive suppositional you always lie prone to V  
*à qô?-lè? .*  
P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
asseverative emphatic
- (16) *H : â hē .*  
. Adv V  
negative lie
- (17) *ni á lə qə? la ò ve nē .*  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
look at durative suspensive return become completed action nominalizer emphatic

Founding a new village

- (18) *ŋà a-šĩ? kà? nò â mò le-lâ .*  
 Pron NP<sub>time</sub> Pron Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 I recently you negative see yes
- (19) *T : ôo .*  
 . Interj  
 oh!
- (20) *P : nò-hi qhâ? ð-šĩ tã ve qô? ve qhà-qhe ve*  
 . Pron N N V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 you (pl) village new thing establish nominalizer call nominalizer how? genitivizer  
*à? , qhà-qhe ve ð-cà ġa ni ve le .*  
 P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 accusative how? genitivizer thing must look at nominalizer substantive qst
- (21) *í-kâ? qha-dê? ġa kî lâ , mâ hê? qo qhɔ mu kî lâ ,*  
 N AE V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 water properly get locative yes otherwise mountain high (objects) locative yes  
*šĩ?-cê qhà-ma-ma cò kî lâ .*  
 N AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 tree very much be there locative yes
- (22) *yà?-qɔ tô-là-tô-qay ŋay kî lâ .*  
 N Elab<sub>v</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 way wander back and forth be easy locative yes
- (23) *qhà-qhe ve à? ni le te tã ve*  
 N<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 how? genitivizer accusative think over suspensive do and establish nominalizer  
*le , qhâ? tã ve chi-ve .*  
 P<sub>uf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> Det  
 substantive qst village establish nominalizer this
- (24) *T : âa , chi ɔ̄ -*  
 - Interj Det P<sub>unf</sub>  
 well! this topic
- (25) *P : mâ hê? qo ɔ̄ chê-ša kî , chê dà? kî qhe ve lâ .*  
 . Cl<sub>nf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 otherwise topic well locative live mutual action locative like nominalizer yes
- (26) *H : chi qhe yò .*  
 . AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 like this declarative
- (27) *qhâ? tã ve ɔ̄ tê cò le-le ve ša kî ɔ̄ -*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 village establish nominalizer topic every kind nominalizer easy to V locative topic  
*ve - ša kî à? ġa ni le qhâ? tã*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> N V  
 nominalizer easy to V locative accusative must think over suspensive village establish  
*e ve qô? ve yò .*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 motion away nominalizer say nominalizer declarative



- (28) *mì-câ-vâ-câ* *kì* *ša* *ve* , *í-kâ?* *ša* *ve*  
 Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 cultivate the land for a living locative easy to V nominalizer water easy to V nominalizer  
 , *tê cò le-le* *ša* *ve* *chi* *qhe-ṽ* *qo* *ηà-hi* *qhâ?* *tā*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Det Conj P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N V  
 every kind easy to V nominalizer this in that case if we (pl) village establish  
*chê* *ve* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 continuous nominalizer
- (29) *T* : *šā-pe-ηā-pe* *ve* .  
 . Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 have plenty of game and fish nominalizer
- (30) *H* : *ša* *ve* *yò* , *ô qhe* *qo* *ṽ* .  
 . V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 easy to V nominalizer declarative like that if topic
- (31) *T* : *á-cè-gu* *ca-phû?*-*ca-tṽ* *le* *ša* *ve* *ô qhe*  
 . N Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub>  
 crab go and seek by damming suspensive easy to V nominalizer like that  
*ve* *à?* *ca* *ve* *ma* *nē* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer accusative seek nominalizer exclamatory emphatic
- (32) *ηà-hi* *Lâhū* *qhâ?* *tā* *kì* *ca* *ve* *qhe-ṽ* -  
 Pron N N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Conj  
 we (pl) Lahu village establish locative seek nominalizer topicalizer
- (33) *P* : *í-kâ?* , *í-kâ?* *qho-dṽ* *kì* *vê* *à* *qo* *â* *phê?*  
 . N N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
 water water scoop out to drink locative far asseverative if negative able to  
*hé* *nē* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 maybe emphatic
- (34) *T* : *í-kâ?* *qho-dṽ* *kì* *vê* *à* *qo* *ṽ* *mâ* *phê?*  
 . N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
 water scoop out to drink locative far asseverative if topic negative able to  
*ve* *yò* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (35) *ηà-hi* *Lâhū* *chə-mṽ* *chi* *ṽ* *bṽ* *à* *qô?*-*ma* .  
 Pron N N Det P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 we (pl) Lahu ancestors this topic be bored asseverative emphatic
- (36) *í-kâ?* *yâ?* *ve* *tê* *ni* *yâ?* *tê* *ni* *dṽ* *ve*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 water scoop up nominalizer one for days scoop up one for days drink nominalizer  
*le* , *í-kâ?* *kâ?* *ṽ-pâ-pâ* *cò* *mâ hê?* *qo* *mâ* *phê?* *qô?*-*ma* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> V Cl<sub>nf</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 because water also nearby be there otherwise negative able to emphatic

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- (37) *P* : *qhe šĩ?-cè kà? mâ ġa cò mâ à lê* .  
 . Conj N P<sub>unf</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V V Adv P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 so tree also negative get to be there negative asseverative request for assent
- (38) *T* : *èe , yò* .  
 . P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (39) *H* : *šĩ? cò mâ ve šĩ? khâ?-tú ša ve* ,  
 - N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 tree be there be many nominalizer wood chop wood to burn easy to V nominalizer  
*vâ chw ša ve , tê cò le-le -*  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>q</sub>  
 bamboo chop easy to V relativizer every kind
- (40) *P* : *šò , chi qhe ve ni ā le ġa tã , dš-ni*  
 . Interj AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V V  
 mm like this nominalizer look at durative suspensive must establish consider  
*le ġa tã ve lê* .  
 P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 suspensive must establish nominalizer request for assent
- (41) *H* : *ñ* .  
 . Interj  
 murmur of assent
- (42) *P* : *qhà-qhe te le Lâhũ-yâ chi qhâ? tã qo tê qhò? le-le , tê pš? le-le*  
 . Cl<sub>nf</sub> N N Det N V P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> NP<sub>q</sub>  
 how Lahu people this village establish when every year every time  
*qhò qhò š tí tã ve le* .  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 for mountains above locative only establish nominalizer substantive qst
- (43) *qhe š-tš mâ ca tã ve lê qô? ve* .  
 Conj N Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 so plain negative go and do establish nominalizer request for assent say nominalizer
- (44) *H* : *âa , š-tš hã qô?-ma , ñâ-hi Lâhũ-yâ chi š-po hã*  
 . Interj N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron N Det N V<sub>adj</sub>  
 well! plain difficult emphatic we (pl) Lahu people this sake difficult  
*ve* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer
- (45) *â-šwè è thâ kà? ġa te le cò la ve mâ hê?*  
 NP<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv + V  
 long time ago also must do suspensive be there become nominalizer not be the case  
*le* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 because
- (46) *T* : *š-tš chê ve tí qo chê-hã qô?-ma* .  
 . N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 plain live nominalizer topicalizer be in trouble emphatic

- (47) *P* : *ôo* , *nà-phâ?* *a* *qô?* *ve* *lâ* .  
 . Interj V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 oh! ill with malaria vigorous agreement say nominalizer yes
- (48) *T* : *èe* .  
 .
- (49) *kâ?-nà-qā* *qo* *nâ?-chî* *vì* *dò* *tù* *phu* *mâ*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> N V V P<sub>v-nom</sub> N Adv  
 chills and fever if medicine buy take (as liquid medicine) purposive money negative  
*cò* *qô?-ma* , *ηà-hî* *qhɔ-qhò-yâ* *chi* *̄* .  
 V P<sub>uf</sub> Pron N Det P<sub>unf</sub>  
 be there emphatic we (pl) hill-folk these topic
- (50) *âa* , *qhe-qo* *̄* *nô* *̄* *yê-qhɔ* , *qhɔ* *mu* *kî*  
 Interj Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub>  
 well! so topic up there locative high mountains mountain high (objects) locative  
*̄* , *̄* , *mò?-nâ?* *śá è* , *fâ?-thô?* *fâ?-šwe*  
 P<sub>n</sub> Interj N AE<sub>stat</sub> N N  
 locative you see gibbon noisily but indistinctly squirrel red-cheeked ground squirrel  
*śá è* *kî* *̄* *ô qhe* *qo* *è* *nî-hi* *chê-kî* *tê-tê*  
 AE<sub>stat</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>n</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron N<sub>dvb</sub> M<sub>prfx</sub>  
 noisily but indistinctly locative locative like that if only our dwelling place a real one  
*ve* *yò* *qô?-ma* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative emphatic
- (51) *chê* *gâ* *cà?* *qô?-ma* , *ô qhe* *qo* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 live desiderative very much emphatic like that topic
- (52) *ô qhe* *ve* *â?* *ca* *ā* *ve* *qô?-ma* , *chi-bà?* *̄* .  
 NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 like that nominalizer accusative seek durative nominalizer emphatic now topic
- (53) *H* : *yà-ò* *và* , *ô qhe* *yò* *và* .  
 . Interj P<sub>uf</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 yes! emphatic like that declarative emphatic
- (54) *chi-bà?* *nô* *̄* , *Nâ-qhây* *̄* *qhà-qhe* *le-nā* *mâ* *šî* , *nò-hî*  
 N<sub>time</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V Pron  
 now up there locative place name locative how? doubt negative know you (pl)  
*mâ* *gâ* *pā* .  
 Adv V P<sub>v-nom</sub>  
 negative reach agentive nominalizer
- (55) *nò-hî* *mâ* *gâ* *tí qo* *mâ* *šî* .  
 Pron Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V  
 you (pl) negative reach topicalizer negative know
- (56) *ηà* *gâ* *á* *ò* *ve* *qô?-ma* .  
 Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 I reach durative completed action nominalizer emphatic

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- (57) *qha-dê?* *ni* *á* *ò* *ve-̄* .  
 AE V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 properly look at durative completed action emphatic
- (58) *P* : *èe* , *qhâ?* *te* *thâ* *qo* *qhâ-qhe* *qhâ-qhe* *mì-gì* *pè* *dà?*  
 . N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub>  
 village make when if how? how? earth share mutual action  
*ve* *le* , *ð-ti* , *yè* *te* *tù* *ve* *ð-ti* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 nominalizer substantive qst place household do purposive relativizer place
- (59) *T / H* : *âa* -  
 - Interj  
 well!
- (60) *P* : *a-š-u-yô* *hâ?* *gâ* *kì* *hâ?* , *gâ* *ca* *ni*  
 . Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> V , <sub>v</sub>V <sub>v</sub>V V  
 one's own hit the mark desiderative locative hit the mark must go and do look at  
*yù* *ve* *lâ* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 V lastingly nominalizer yes
- (61) *T* : *yâ-ò* .  
 . V  
 yeah!
- (62) *a-š-u-yô* *hâ?* *gâ* *kì* , *yô* *ni-ma* *cô* *kì* *ca*  
 Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> Pron N V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> <sub>v</sub>V  
 one's own get married desiderative locative he heart ought to locative go and do  
*yù* *ve* *yò* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 take nominalizer declarative
- (63) *P* : *ηà* *chi* *tê* *kà* *te* *a* , *ηà* *chi* *tê* *kà* *yè* *te*  
 . Pron Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> Pron Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N V  
 I this one for places do intentive I this one for places household do  
*a* , *chi* *tê* *kà* *kho* *te* *a* , *qhe* *te* *ve* *lâ* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 intentive this one for places for gardens do intentive like do nominalizer yes
- (64) *H* : *yâ-ò* , *yâ-ò* , *yâ-ò* .  
 . V V V  
 yeah! yeah! yeah!
- (65) *P* : *yè* *te* *thâ* *qhâ-qhe* *te* *ve* *le* .  
 . N V P<sub>univ</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 household do when somehow or other nominalizer substantive qst
- (66) *qhe* , *ga* *dâ?* *ve* *lâ* , *tê* *gâ* *le* *tê*  
 N<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num  
 like help mutual action nominalizer yes one for humans suspensive one  
*gâ* .  
 Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 for humans

- (67) *mâ hê? qo yô-qhâ-yô , a-šu yô-qhâ-yô yè te ve lâ .*  
 Cl<sub>nf</sub> AE Pron AE N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 otherwise by himself who by himself household do nominalizer yes
- (68) *T : âa , yè te ve tí qo è ga dà? ve*  
 . Interj N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 well! household do nominalizer topicalizer only help mutual action nominalizer  
*yò mē .*  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative emphatic
- (69) *ca tã chê ve tê qhò? qo mâ ga dà? kà?*  
 vV V V P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 go and do establish live nominalizer one for years if negative help mutual action also  
*mâ phê? o qô?-ma .*  
 Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative able to emphatic emphatic
- (70) *a-šu-yô ve yô te cô ve dê-dê te qo , tê gâ-gâ*  
 Pron P<sub>univ</sub> Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub>  
 one's own nominalizer he do ought to nominalizer all do if someone or other  
*tí te cô ve qo tê-qhâ?-tê-lô phô? ga pî*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> vV V V<sub>v</sub>  
 only do ought to nominalizer if the whole village do in a group help benefactive (3p)  
*ve .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer
- (71) *tê khi tê ni tí gâ te ve qô?-ma , yè tê yè*  
 Q Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N Num N  
 now one for days only get to do nominalizer emphatic household one household  
*ve kà? .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 nominalizer also
- (72) *P : tê ni tí gâ te ve lâ .*  
 . Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 one for days only get to do nominalizer yes
- (73) *T : èe .*  
 .
- (74) *P : qhe-qo qhâ? tê qhâ? yè qha-dê? phê? la tù*  
 . Conj N Num N N AE V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub>  
 so village one village household properly able to come to V purposive  
*ve ô qhâ-nî ni qhâ-nî ha-pa gâ te ve nã .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num N vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer topic how many? for days how many? month get to do nominalizer doubt
- (75) *T : âa , qhâ-nî ha-pa lè mâ gâ te o ma , nò*  
 . Interj Num N P<sub>unf</sub> Adv vV V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron  
 well! how many? month topic negative get to do emphatic exclamatory you

- (76) *P* : *tê gã le-le yè qha-dê? gã chê tù ve ê?*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> N AE <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 everybody household properly get to live purposive nominalizer nominalizer
- (77) *T* : *tê gã le-le a-šũ-yô ve yô yè qha-dê?-dê?*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N AE  
 everybody one's own nominalizer he household in exactly the right way  
*ú-khà? cí ā ě te ve qo*  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 carrying basket with a headstrap be stuck to perfective suspensive do nominalizer if  
*ha-pa tê mà mà gã te qô?-ma*  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 month one general classifier negative get to do emphatic
- (78) *tê ší ě nî ší ð-kā qo gã ve yò*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 one for weeks suspensive two for weeks middle if get to nominalizer declarative
- (79) *P* : *qhe , yè te pà ò qo šu qô? ve qhe-lê*  
 N<sub>ext</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub>  
 like household do finish V'ing vocative if others say nominalizer like  
*lê*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 request for assent
- (80) *Pî-chô Kóló qo ̄ , “ qhâ? ð-ší cā ve ” qhe qô?*  
 Eth N P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> V  
 Shan Northern Thai if topic village new thing celebrate nominalizer like say  
*ve â cò ò lâ , pwê te ve ̄*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 nominalizer negative be there vocative yes celebration do nominalizer topic
- (81) *T* : *âa , chi tí qo è -*  
 - Interj Det P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 well! this topicalizer only
- (82) *P* : *yè ð-ší tâ? ve qhe â cò ò lâ*  
 N N V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> Adv V P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 household new thing climb nominalizer like negative be there vocative yes
- (83) *T* : *ḡà-hi Lāhū šú-tōn-pā chi ̄ mâ te , chi qhe ve ̄*  
 Pron N N Det P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 we (pl) Lahu Christian Lahu this topic negative do like this nominalizer topic
- (84) *yè-ší tâ? qô? qo šu mâ gã tâ? šē kà? yô-qhâ-yô qò?*  
 N V V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE <sub>v</sub>V  
 new house climb say if others negative get to climb still also by himself V again  
*tâ? yî? šē tí qay qô?-ma*  
 V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 climb sleep still only go emphatic

- (85) *ηà-hi Lâhū chi šu tí qo chi qhe qô? ve yò .*  
 Pron N Det Pron P<sub>univ</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 we (pl) Lahu this others topicalizer like this say nominalizer declarative
- (86) *P : “ khyn hán màj ” qô? ve lâ , šu qô? ve .*  
 V N N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 go up house (Shan) tree (Shan) say nominalizer yes others say nominalizer
- (87) *H : chi ve qo Pî-chô-khô -*  
 Det P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 this nominalizer if Shan language
- (88) *T : Pî-chô-khô qo “ khyn hán màj ” qô? ve .*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> V N N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 Shan language if go up house (Shan) tree (Shan) say nominalizer
- (89) *ηà-hi Lâhū qo “ yè-šī tâ? ve ” qô? ve qô? qo , chɔ*  
 Pron N P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 we (pl) Lahu if new house climb nominalizer say nominalizer say if people  
*mâ ġa tâ? thâ yô-qhâ-yô tâ? šē qô?-ma , šu ġû-šī*  
 Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> AE V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron N<sub>loc</sub>  
 negative get to climb when by himself climb still emphatic others in front of  
*à?*  
 P<sub>n</sub>  
 accusative
- (90) *P : èe .*
- (91) *T : âa , ð-khô ġa kâ ve qo ɔ nð-hi tê qhâ? nô*  
 Interj N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Num N N<sub>sd</sub>  
 well! sound get to hear nominalizer if topic you (pl) one village up there  
*ɔ qay a qô? ve ɔ-qhe ɛ chɔ ɔ tê phā*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> Q  
 topic go intentive say nominalizer topicalizer suspensive people topic the whole group  
*qo ɔ , tê phā qo qay ġâ , tê phā qo â qay*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
 if topic the whole group if go desiderative the whole group if negative go  
*ġâ qô?-ma .*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 desiderative emphatic
- (92) *nì-hi nê-á chɔ chi ɔ qhâ-qhe te tù ve*  
 Pron Pron N Det P<sub>unf</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 our the two of us people this topic somehow or other purposive nominalizer  
*le nā ηà kâ? â šī ò qô?-ma .*  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 substantive qst doubt I also negative know vocative emphatic
- (93) *H : qay tù ve dê yò .*  
 V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 go purposive nominalizer scold declarative

- (94) *a-yé-yé è? qay tù ve ɔ* .  
 Adv P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 in the future in the future go purposive nominalizer affirmative
- (95) *T : a-yé-yé a-yé-yé è? qô? qo , à-mù šu qhð?-nó lɛ-lɛ*  
 . Adv Adv P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Conj Pron M<sub>prfx</sub> M<sub>prfx</sub>  
 in the future in the future in the future say if some day others after limit  
*dà? kî mâ ġa qo šu à? qð? dɛ tù*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v-nom</sub>  
 mutual action locative negative get to if others accusative V again scold purposive  
*ve qô?-ma* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer emphatic
- (96) *H : âa , chi ɔ mì-gî qè à nē* .  
 . Interj Det P<sub>unf</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! this topic earth wide asseverative emphatic
- (97) *mì-gî ɔ nò chɛ-kî nò cò ve mì-gî qha-pà-pà-è nò*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N<sub>dvb</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> N AE Pron  
 earth topic you dwelling place you be there nominalizer earth all you  
*mâ chɛ pà ve-ɔ* .  
 Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative live finish V'ing emphatic
- (98) *T : à-mù â dà? kî qo yô â chɛ gâ*  
 . Conj Adv P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 some day negative mutual action locative if he negative live desiderative  
*nè-ɔ* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 suppositional
- (99) *H : â chɛ gâ qo â qay qhe-cɛ yò-è? nē* .  
 . Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V AE P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative live desiderative if negative go only emphatic declarative emphatic
- (100) *yô à? cò ve yò-è? nē* .  
 Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 he accusative be there nominalizer emphatic declarative emphatic
- (101) *T : chɔ-khô â hê? nē , nò ve chi ɔ* .  
 . N Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>poss + ve</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub>  
 human speech negative be the case emphatic your this topic
- (102) *H : yò-è? nē* .  
 . P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic declarative emphatic
- (103) *nò ve à? yù ve , nò ve* .  
 N<sub>poss + ve</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>poss + ve</sub>  
 your accusative take nominalizer your
- (104) *T : nè-á tí qo à-thò?-ma te kà? â phè? ve-ɔ* .  
 . Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 the two of us topicalizer whatever do also negative able to emphatic



- (105) *H* : *qhe mâ là šē ve-5* .  
 . N<sub>ext</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 like negative come still emphatic
- (106) *qhe mâ là pā qo 5 yô qhâ?-nô è yô qhâ*  
 N<sub>ext</sub> Adv V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron N<sub>intg</sub>  
 like negative come agentive nominalizer if topic he after only he where?  
*kâ? chē gâ yô à? cò ve yò-è?* .  
 P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 also live desiderative he accusative be there nominalizer emphatic declarative
- (107) *T* : *qhe-qo à-mù qò? ni-ma hā ve nô 5 šu*  
 . Conj Conj vV N<sub>spec</sub> + V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron  
 so some day V again miss with sadness nominalizer up there topic others  
*gū-šī 5 qay pā kâ? tē pò? qò? qò? la*  
 N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Q vV vV P<sub>v</sub>  
 in front of topic go agentive nominalizer also again V again V again come to V  
*ve qò?-lè?* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer emphatic
- (108) *nì-hī Lāhū-yā qò? ve te hā ve* .  
 Pron N V P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 our Lahu people say nominalizer do difficult nominalizer
- (109) *H* : *āa , mâ qò? la ġa chē qo nô kâ? lē phē?*  
 . Interj Adv vV P<sub>v</sub> vV V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 well! negative V again come to V get to live if up there also topic able to  
*tù yò* .  
 P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 purposive declarative
- (110) *nò-hī tē ġa le-le ġa qay a qo hś-qhâ?-pā qò? ve 5 ġa*  
 Pron NP<sub>q</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV  
 you (pl) everybody get to go intentive if man say nominalizer topic get to  
*dś-chē? qò?-qo-pò?* .  
 V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 decide topicalizer (lively)
- (111) *é mâ hē? ve-5* .  
 M<sub>px</sub> Adv + V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 little not be the case emphatic
- (112) *tā qò? ġē* .  
 Adv V V  
 negative imperative say visit
- (113) *T* : *hś-qhâ?-pā hś-qhâ?-pā qò? qo mò?-qo e vāy ve , nò*  
 . N N V P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron  
 man man say if mouth motion away be fast nominalizer you  
*qò?-lè?* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic

- (114) *H* : *â qô? e ò* .  
 . Adv <sub>v</sub>V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>n</sub> .  
 negative V again motion away vocative
- (115) *gã qô? chê? ò , qhe qo ̄* .  
<sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> .  
 get to say completely finish vocative topic
- (116) *qhà-qhe te chi qhe ca te à tù è* .  
 Cl<sub>nf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> .  
 somehow or other like this go and do do asseverative purposive even
- (117) *mâ hê? qo ̄-qhe tê khi cε qô? gî ve ca qô? dà? ve*  
 Cl<sub>nf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Q Cl<sub>f</sub> V V P<sub>univ</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V+P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 otherwise topicalizer now for pairs say visit nominalizer go and do quarrel nominalizer  
*̄ tâ-lε te* .  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
 topic negative imperative do
- (118) *qô? dà? ve ̄-qhe ò-bo mâ cò* .  
 V+P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv V  
 quarrel nominalizer topicalizer favor negative be there
- (119) *nò à? á-š? kà? mâ qay qo tâ qay qô?*  
 Pron P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V V  
 you accusative previously also negative go if negative imperative go say  
*pî ve nò â na è?* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (3p) nominalizer you negative listen listen
- (120) *qhe chi tê khi â qay qô? ve* .  
 N<sub>ext</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> Adv V V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 like right now negative go say nominalizer
- (121) *hó-qhâ?-pā â hê? lε-lâ , nò* .  
 N Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> Pron  
 man negative be the case yes you
- (122) *T* : *hà qô? ve gã qay qo qha-pà-è-pà-è qay qô? ve khô*  
 . Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> AE V V P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 I say nominalizer get to go if all go say nominalizer word  
*̄* .  
 P<sub>unf</sub>  
 topic
- (123) *H* : *qay tù ve yò , qha-pà-è-pà-è* .  
 . V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> AE  
 go purposive nominalizer declarative all
- (124) *mâ qay thô chi-bà? à? qay ve yò* .  
 Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> .  
 negative go even now accusative go nominalizer declarative
- (125) *T* : *mâ qay qô? ve yâ , šu tê phā* .  
 . Adv V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron Q  
 negative go say nominalizer emphatic others the whole group

- (126) *H* : *mâ qay qhò?-nó è " là " qô? ve*      *ɔ̄ šu qô?*  
 . Adv V M<sub>prfx</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron V  
 negative go after only come say nominalizer affirmative others say  
*ve ɔ̄*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 nominalizer topic
- (127) *èe , ġa câ kî dà? chi dà?-dà? ve ca*  
 . <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>v</sub> Det V<sub>redup</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> <sub>v</sub>V  
 get to celebrate locative mutual action this very beautiful nominalizer go and do  
*ni á ɛ mâ qô? qay* .  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V V  
 for days perfective suspensive negative V again go
- (128) *ɲà tí qo lè á-šǝ? kâ? ġa ni qo ɔ̄ mâ qay qo*  
 Pron P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 I topicalizer topic previously also get to for days if topic negative go if  
*tâ ni qô? pî ve* .  
 Adv Cl<sub>f</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 negative imperative for days say benefactive (3p) nominalizer
- (129) *ni ò ve ɔ̄ qhà-qhe te è* .  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 for days vocative nominalizer topic somehow or other even
- (130) *T* : *ɲà tí qo ġa è mâ ġa jɔ̄ ɛ , nò-hi*  
 . Pron P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron  
 I topicalizer reach even negative reach experiential suspensive you (pl)  
*khô à? na ɛ qay ve yò* .  
 N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 word accusative listen suspensive go nominalizer declarative
- (131) *qhe-qo , mâ ġa câ thâ ġa , nò šǝ tù ve*  
 Conj Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> V Pron V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 so negative get to celebrate when reach you know purposive nominalizer  
*yò* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (132) *H* : *qhò-qhe thô mâ te qo mâ ġa câ ve yò* .  
 . N<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 where? even negative do if negative get to celebrate nominalizer declarative
- (133) : *qay ò lɔ̄ , qay ò lɔ̄* .  
 V P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 go vocative emphatic declarative go vocative emphatic declarative
- (134) *nò-hi a-cí dš-ná-lǝ? pā qay ò lɔ̄* .  
 Pron Adv V P<sub>v-nom</sub> V P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 you (pl) a little think deeply agentive nominalizer go vocative emphatic declarative
- (135) *T* : *yô-hi yô-hi ni-ma-qa-pi tí tǝ? ve qô?-lè?* .  
 . Pron Pron N P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 they they chest only measure nominalizer emphatic

- (136) : *nə-hi chɛ phɛ̃? ā lâ* .  
 Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 you (pl) live able to perfective yes
- (137) *H : mɛ-lə ā lâ-a* .  
 N P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 agricultural matters perfective interrogative
- (138) *ɔ-ʃɛ̃ mɛ-ʃɛ̃-vá-ʃɛ̃ tɔ̃? la ɛ̃ là ò* .  
 N Elab<sub>n</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>n</sub>  
 new rice first fruits V out come to V only come vocative
- (139) *nə-hi ɔ̃ mâ la gâ ve qo ɔ̃* .  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Adv P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 you (pl) topic negative come to V desiderative nominalizer if topic
- (140) *T : dà? ve yò-a , qhe qo lɛ̃* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 mutual action nominalizer emphatic declarative topic
- (141) *à-thò?-ma ca te câ qô? ve nô ɔ̃* .  
 N<sub>intg</sub> vV V + V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 whatever go and do do for a living say nominalizer up there topic
- (142) *hɛ qô? ve lâ , ti-mi qô? ve lâ* .  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 swidden say nominalizer yes paddy field (irrigated) say nominalizer yes
- (143) *H : ti-mi te a* .  
 N V P<sub>v</sub>  
 paddy field (irrigated) do intentive
- (144) *a-qɔ̃-pɛ̃ qay ve tê qhò? ɔ̃ yɛ̃-hɛ̃ te câ ʃɔ̃* .  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 first go nominalizer one for years topic high swidden do for a living still
- (145) *yɛ̃-hɛ̃ te thâ ti-mi te ve yò* .  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 high swidden do when paddy field (irrigated) do nominalizer declarative
- (146) *P : à-thò?-ma à-thò?-ma ti câ tũ ve le* .  
 N<sub>intg</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> V V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 whatever whatever plant celebrate purposive nominalizer substantive qst
- (147) *H : ti-mi te ā , ti-mi cà ti câ*  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> N N V V  
 paddy field (irrigated) do perfective paddy field (irrigated) rice plant celebrate  
*ā , yɛ̃-hɛ̃ ti câ kho te láy-cà mɔ̃ hɔ̃*  
 P<sub>v</sub> N V V Cl<sub>f</sub> V Q N V<sub>adj</sub>  
 perfective high swidden plant celebrate for gardens do several kinds belongings heavy  
*tũ ve tê ǵĩ* .  
 P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q  
 purposive nominalizer pluralizer
- (148) *nɔ̃?-qhɛ̃ mɛ̃ te* .  
 N N V  
 bean with a strong odor earth do

- (149) *ša-ma á-pô pû-cho ti hô tù qô?-ma* .  
 N N N V V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 corn banana sugarcane plant heavy purposive emphatic
- (150) *phâ?-má-ši tê gî* .  
 N Q  
 pumpkin pluralizer
- (151) *phu ca ša já nô kâ? qô? ve* .  
 N <sub>v</sub>V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 money go and do easy to V very up there also say nominalizer
- (152) *T : qhe te qay tù ve qô?-qo-pò? ɔ* .  
 . N<sub>ext</sub> V V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 like do go purposive nominalizer topicalizer (lively) affirmative
- (153) *Nâ-qhày-lò nô ve ð-t̄ qha dà? ve*  
 N N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Adv P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 stream through Nâ-qhày up there nominalizer plain all mutual action nominalizer  
*qô?-qo-pò?*  
 P<sub>unf</sub>  
 topicalizer (lively)
- (154) *šu mâ ġa te , ñâ tí te tù ve-̄* .  
 Pron Adv <sub>v</sub>V V Pron P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 others negative get to do I only do purposive emphatic
- (155) *P : a-l̄ ve t̄a ve qô? ve lâ* .  
 . Adv V V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 first stake out a claim establish nominalizer say nominalizer yes
- (156) *T : ve ā ve ɔ , ñâ* .  
 . V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron  
 stake out a claim perfective nominalizer affirmative I
- (157) *H : qhe-̄ , nò tí qo te â pà è? nē* .  
 . Conj Pron P<sub>univ</sub> V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 in that case you topicalizer do negative finish V'ing finish V'ing emphatic
- (158) *tê ġâ a-cí a-cí te ġa l̄? è? te ve yò*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> AE V <sub>v</sub>V AE<sub>stat</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 one for humans little by little do get to sufficiently do nominalizer declarative  
*è?*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (159) *T : h̄ l̄? ve yò è? , šu à?* .  
 . V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub>  
 heavy do for eating nominalizer declarative even others accusative
- (160) *H : h̄ l̄? ve , nò* .  
 . V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron  
 heavy do for eating nominalizer you
- (161) *lâthâbâ a-khòn â cò nê-̄* .  
 N N Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 government opportunity negative be there suppositional

Founding a new village

- (162) *T* : *mô*            *lò-qá* *qhô* *è*    *há-phô*    *tê*    *pū*            *tâ?*    *e*  
           *N<sub>sd</sub>*            *N*    *N<sub>loc</sub>* *P<sub>unf</sub>*    *N*            *Num* *N*            *V*    *P<sub>v</sub>*  
           down there river on even rocky slope one riverbank climb motion away  
*ve*            *chɔ*            *ǵa*            *šɔ*            *tù*            *mâ hê?*            .  
*P<sub>univ</sub>*            *N*            *vV*            *V*            *P<sub>v-nom</sub>*            *Adv + V*  
 nominalizer people get to guard purposive not be the case
- (163) *ŋà*    *ve*                            *ā*            *ve*            *ɔ*            ,    *mô*            *ve*            .  
 Pron *V*                                    *P<sub>v</sub>*            *P<sub>univ</sub>*            *P<sub>uf</sub>*            *N<sub>sd</sub>*            *P<sub>univ</sub>*  
 I stake out a claim perfective nominalizer affirmative down there nominalizer
- (164) *H* : *pɛ*            *à*                            *há-phô*            *tí qo*            ,    *nò*    *ve*                            *kà?*  
           *V<sub>adj</sub>*            *P<sub>v</sub>*                            *N*            *P<sub>univ</sub>*            *Pron* *V*                            *P<sub>unf</sub>*  
           numerous asseverative rocky slope topicalizer you stake out a claim also  
*ve-?*            .  
*V<sub>imp</sub>*  
 lay claim to!
- (165) *qhò-qhe* *ve*                            *kà?* *ve-?*            .  
*N<sub>intg</sub>*    *V*                                    *P<sub>unf</sub>*    *V<sub>imp</sub>*  
 where? stake out a claim also lay claim to!
- (166) *pɛ*            *jâ*            .  
*V<sub>adj</sub>*            *V<sub>v</sub>*  
 numerous very
- (167) *ŋà-hi*    *yê*    *mâ*            *pà*            *ò*            .  
 Pron    *V*    *Adv*            *V<sub>v</sub>*            *P<sub>n</sub>*  
 we (pl) use negative finish V'ing vocative
- (168) *Tò-kɔ* *qô?* *ve*                            *ɔ*            *nò*    *a-cí*    *ni*            *è?*            *ni*            *è?*  
 Eth    *V*    *P<sub>univ</sub>*                            *P<sub>unf</sub>*    *Pron*    *Adv*    *Cl<sub>f</sub>*            *P<sub>uf</sub>*            *Cl<sub>f</sub>*            *P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 Akha say nominalizer topic you a little for days for days for days for days  
*dà?*                            *ve*            .  
*P<sub>v</sub>*                            *P<sub>univ</sub>*  
 mutual action nominalizer
- (169) *šā*            *pɛ*                            *mò?*            *pɛ*            *ŋâ-šā*            *cā*            *gā*            *kà?*  
 N            *V<sub>adj</sub>*                            N            *V<sub>adj</sub>*            N            V            *P<sub>v</sub>*            *P<sub>unf</sub>*  
 animals numerous monkey numerous fish as food celebrate desiderative also  
*pòthôo*            .  
 Interj  
 for God's sake!
- (170) *qay* *kà?* *qhɔ* *qô?* *ve*                            *ɔ*            *tâ?-tâ?*            *yà?-yà?*            *mâ*            *cò*            .  
 V    *P<sub>unf</sub>*    *M<sub>px</sub>*    *V*    *P<sub>univ</sub>*                            *P<sub>unf</sub>*    *V<sub>redup</sub>*            *V<sub>redup</sub>*            *Adv*            *V*  
 go also in say nominalizer topic keep going up keep going down negative be there
- (171) *phì-è?-lê?-è?*    *qhò*            *qay* *qhò*            *ša*            *jâ*            *qô?-ma*            ,    *ca*            *cā*  
*Elab<sub>adv</sub>*            *N<sub>intg</sub>*            *V*    *N<sub>intg</sub>*            *V<sub>v</sub>*            *V<sub>v</sub>*            *P<sub>uf</sub>*            *vV*            *V*  
 flat and smooth where? go where? easy to V very emphatic go and do celebrate  
*ve*            .  
*P<sub>univ</sub>*  
 nominalizer

- (172) : *á-šǎ?* *kà?* *ŋà* *qay* *né* *í-kâ?* *šǎ* *ve* *šǎ-e-la-yò* .  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>unf</sub> N Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> VP  
 previously also I go even water for weeks nominalizer awfully much
- (173) *T* : *na-?* , *na-?* , *na-?* ?  
 ? V<sub>imp</sub> V<sub>imp</sub> V<sub>imp</sub>  
 listen! listen! listen!
- (174) *H* : *nò* *mô* *̄* *hɔ* *jâ* *qô?-ma* , *ð-t̄* *̄* *ve-̄* ,  
 . Pron N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 you down there topic be the case (YL) very emphatic plain topic emphatic  
*mû-cha-yâ* *̄* .  
 N P<sub>unf</sub>  
 hot season topic
- (175) *T* : *ð-t̄* *â* *hê?* .  
 . N Adv V  
 plain negative be the case
- (176) *qhò-qhe* *te* , *tí-mí* *te cá* *phê?* *a* *tù* *è* .  
 N<sub>intg</sub> V N V+V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 where? do paddy field (irrigated) do for a living able to intentive purposive even
- (177) *H* : *nô* *̄* *ú* *̄* *lò-qá* *qhô* *̄* *yê-qhɔ* *̄* *š̄*  
 . N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 up there topic head topic river on topic high mountains topic still  
*ce* *la* *mô* *gà* *qo* *í-kâ?* *chi* *yê* *mâ* *pà*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N Det V Adv V<sub>v</sub>  
 fall (from a height) come to V down there reach if water this use negative finish V'ing
- (178) *Nâ-qhày-lò* *tí qo* *mâ* *ī* *ve* *mâ hê?* .  
 N P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv+V  
 stream through Nâ-qhày topicalizer negative important nominalizer not be the case
- (179) *Mê-thā-lây* *Kê-pa-tâw?* *ní* *lò* *hi* *cò*  
 N<sub>place</sub> N<sub>place</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> B<sub>n</sub> V  
 stream and Thai village near Huay-Tat Kehpatau two for streams pluralizer be there  
*lè?*  
 Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 for rolled objects
- (180) *tí-mí* *tí qo* *ca* *khā* *né* *mâ* *gà* *la*  
 N P<sub>univ</sub> vV V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 paddy field (irrigated) topicalizer go and do cross over even negative reach come to V  
*šē* , *mû-yè* *là* *qo* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 still rain come if
- (181) *T* : *á-šǎ?* *tê phā* – *nè-á* *chɔ* *tê phā* *qay* *lɛ*  
 . N<sub>time</sub> Q Pron N Q V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 previously the whole group the two of us people the whole group go suspensive

- ca ni pə ā ve Nâ-qhày šê-šī né khi-cí phû*  
<sub>vV Cl<sub>f</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>place</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N M<sub>px</sub></sub>  
 go and do for days send V'ing perfective nominalizer place name sand even knee price  
*qô?-qha-pâ?* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (182) *H : ô-ve ɔ̄ í-kâ? lú yà? la ā ve ô-ve ð-khî*  
 . Det P<sub>unf</sub> N V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Det N  
 that topic water flow descend come to V perfective nominalizer that fertility  
*dâ?* *ve yò* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 mutual action nominalizer declarative
- (183) *tî-mî te qo ɔ̄* .  
 N V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 paddy field (irrigated) do if topic
- (184) *mû-cha-yâ qo šê-šī tí cò , í-kâ? mâ cò , ð-hó ɔ̄* .  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> V N Adv V N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 hot season if sand only be there water negative be there lower part topic
- (185) *T : šê-šī qhe à-thò?-ma ti kâ? â dâ? ve yâ* .  
 . N N<sub>ext</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 sand like whatever plant also negative mutual action nominalizer emphatic
- (186) *H : dâ? à* .  
 . P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 mutual action asseverative
- (187) *qhe tí ti câ ve yò* .  
 N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 like only plant celebrate nominalizer declarative
- (188) *šû ġa câ ve* .  
 Pron <sub>vV</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 others get to celebrate nominalizer
- (189) *nò ca ni la-?* .  
 Pron <sub>vV</sub> Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub>  
 you go and do for days motion toward (imperative)
- (190) *P : lɔ̄lī yà?-qo-phî à? â vî lɛ-ā , nò-hi ɔ̄* .  
 . N N P<sub>n</sub> Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub>  
 motor vehicle roadside accusative negative far interrogative you (pl) topic
- (191) *H : lɔ̄lī qha gâ è gâ ve yò , nô ɔ̄* .  
 . N Adv V P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 motor vehicle all reach only reach nominalizer declarative up there topic
- (192) *T : lɔ̄lī tí qo ô qhe qha gâ è gâ ve cê*  
 . N P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub> Adv V P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 motor vehicle topicalizer like that all reach only reach nominalizer quotative  
*qô?-ma , nò* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> Pron  
 emphatic you



- (193) *P* : *dà?*                      *ò*                      *yâ*                      , *nè*                      *qhe qo*                      *lè*                      .  
 .                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>n</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>                      Pron                      Pron                      P<sub>unf</sub>  
 mutual action                      vocative                      emphatic                      you                      you                      topic
- (194) *H* : *nô*                      *Nâ-qhày*                      *ve*                      *qhâ?-šë-pā*                      *ló*                      *à-thò?-ma*                      *mε*                      *qô?*  
 .                      N<sub>sd</sub>                      N<sub>place</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      N                      B<sub>n</sub>                      N<sub>intg</sub>                      V                      V  
 up there                      place name                      nominalizer                      headman                      sthg big                      whatever                      have a name                      say  
*ve*                      , *ηà*                      *lâ*                      *ò*                      *qô?-ma*                      , *nè*                      .  
 P<sub>univ</sub>                      Pron                      V                      P<sub>n</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>                      Pron  
 nominalizer                      I                      forget                      vocative                      emphatic                      you
- (195) *H* : *èe* , *kānân*                      *cû*                      *yò*                      .  
 .                      N                      V                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 senior headman                      accept                      declarative
- (196) *lālī*                      *cò*                      *ve*                      , *lālī*                      *ló*                      , *pòthô*                      , *jà*  
 N                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      N                      B<sub>n</sub>                      Interj                      V<sub>v</sub>  
 motor vehicle                      be there                      nominalizer                      motor vehicle                      sthg big                      for God's sake!                      very  
*cà?*  
 V<sub>v</sub>  
 very much
- (197) *T* : *lālī*                      *tí qo*                      *nī*                      *khε*                      *cò*                      *qô?-qha-pâ?*                      *ve*  
 .                      N                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      Num                      Cl<sub>f</sub>                      V                      P<sub>uf</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>  
 motor vehicle                      topicalizer                      two                      for animals                      be there                      emphatic                      nominalizer  
*yò*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (198) *P* : *qhe-qo*                      *Lâhū-yâ*                      *qo*                      *ğa*                      *khî?*                      *hé*                      *nè-š*                      .  
 .                      Conj                      N                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      vV                      V                      P<sub>uf</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 so                      Lahu people                      if                      get to                      ride (horse, vehicle)                      maybe                      suppositional
- (199) *H* : *ğa*                      *khî?*                      *ɔ*                      , *ğa*                      *khî?*                      *ɔ*                      .  
 .                      vV                      V                      P<sub>uf</sub>                      vV                      V                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 get to                      ride (horse, vehicle)                      affirmative                      get to                      ride (horse, vehicle)                      affirmative
- (200) *P* : *qhò*                      *pá*                      *š*                      *ve*                      *ci*                      *ca*                      *lò?*                      *e*                      *ve*  
 .                      N<sub>intg</sub>                      M<sub>px</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      V<sub>v</sub>                      vV                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>  
 where?                      side                      topic                      nominalizer                      causative                      go and do                      enter                      motion away                      nominalizer  
*nè-hi*                      *ci-qhɔ*                      *qay*                      *ğâ*                      *qo*                      .  
 Pron                      N                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>  
 you (pl)                      market                      go                      desiderative                      if
- (201) *Cê-dâw*                      *š*                      *lâ*                      .  
 N<sub>place</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 Chiang Dao                      topic                      yes
- (202) *H* : *nô*                      , *cô*                      *Mâ-fá*                      *š*                      *là*                      *ve*                      .  
 .                      N<sub>sd</sub>                      N<sub>sd</sub>                      N<sub>place</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>  
 up there                      way over there                      Farng                      topic                      come                      nominalizer
- (203) *T* : *Mâ-fá*                      *phô*                      *š*                      *qò?*                      *ğa*                      *là*                      *ve*                      *ma*                      , *nè*                      .  
 .                      N<sub>place</sub>                      M<sub>px</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      vV                      vV                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>                      Pron  
 Farng                      side                      topic                      V again                      get to                      come                      nominalizer                      exclamatory                      you

Founding a new village

- (204) *P* : *Mâ-fá phô ̄ lâ .*  
 .  $N_{\text{place}}$   $M_{\text{pfx}}$   $P_{\text{unf}}$   $P_{\text{uf}}$   
 Farnɡ side topic yes
- (205) *H* : *nô ̄ vê ê? hó-ší ló cò kî ̄ ve*  
 .  $N_{\text{sd}}$   $P_{\text{unf}}$   $N$   $P_{\text{uf}}$   $N$   $B_n$   $V$   $P_{v\text{-nom}}$   $P_{\text{unf}}$   $P_{\text{univ}}$   
 up there topic city city rice-mill sthg big be there locative topic nominalizer  
*p̄ la ve yà?-q̄ nô ve yò-ê?*  
 $V$   $P_v$   $P_{\text{univ}}$   $N$   $N_{\text{sd}}$   $P_{\text{univ}}$   $P_{\text{uf}}$   
 penetrate come to V nominalizer road up there nominalizer emphatic declarative
- (206) *ci ̄ Mâ-fá ̄ lò? la kî cò ve .*  
 $V_v$   $P_{\text{unf}}$   $N_{\text{place}}$   $P_{\text{unf}}$   $V$   $P_v$   $P_{v\text{-nom}}$   $V$   $P_{\text{univ}}$   
 causative topic Farnɡ topic enter come to V locative be there nominalizer
- (207) *P* : *Mâ-fá ci ̄ là , lò? la ve lê .*  
 .  $N_{\text{place}}$   $V_v$   $P_{\text{unf}}$   $V$   $V$   $P_v$   $P_{\text{univ}}$   $P_{\text{uf}}$   
 Farnɡ causative topic come enter come to V nominalizer request for assent
- (208) *m̄ ca v̄i ve .*  
 $N$   $vV$   $V$   $P_{\text{univ}}$   
 belongings go and do buy nominalizer
- (209) *H* : *èe , m̄ ca v̄i à-thò?-ma ca v̄i láy-cà .*  
 .  $N$   $vV$   $V$   $N_{\text{intg}}$   $vV$   $V$   $Q$   
 belongings go and do buy whatever go and do buy several kinds
- (210) : *nû kà? v̄i hu ve .*  
 $N$   $P_{\text{unf}}$   $V$   $V$   $P_{\text{univ}}$   
 cattle also buy raise nominalizer
- (211) *nû-lò ġò câ ɲay jâ qô?-ma , nô ̄ .*  
 $N$   $vV$   $V$   $V_{\text{adj}}$   $V_v$   $P_{\text{uf}}$   $N_{\text{sd}}$   $P_{\text{unf}}$   
 ox cart lively action celebrate be easy very emphatic up there topic
- (212) *P* : *ò , qhe-qo chà à hé nē .*  
 . Interj Conj  $V$   $P_v$   $P_{\text{uf}}$   $P_{\text{uf}}$   
 I see so to be clever asseverative maybe emphatic
- (213) *H* : *ɱ , à-thò?-ma kà? à-thò?-ma kà? mâ ġa p̄i*  
 . Interj  $N_{\text{intg}}$   $P_{\text{unf}}$   $N_{\text{intg}}$   $P_{\text{unf}}$  Adv  $vV$   $V$   
 murmur of assent whatever also whatever also negative get to carry on the back  
*câ qô?-ma .*  
 $V$   $P_{\text{uf}}$   
 celebrate emphatic
- (214) *â-t̄ ̄ .*  
 $N$   $P_{\text{unf}}$   
 plain topic
- (215) *chò chē ve ̄ phê? la kî mâ m̄ lē qô?-yò-ê?*  
 $N_{\text{sd}}$   $V$   $P_{\text{univ}}$   $P_{\text{unf}}$   $V_v$   $P_v$   $P_{v\text{-nom}}$  Adv  $V$   $P_{\text{unf}}$   $P_{\text{uf}}$   
 here live nominalizer topic able to come to V locative negative see suspensive emphatic

- (216) *nô šī ̄ ġa chē qo ̄ .*  
*N<sub>sđ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> vV V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>*  
 up there die topic get to live if topic
- (217) *T : tē cā te lē phē? la ġa cā pā-nē la qo ,*  
*. Q V P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>*  
 situation do suspensive able to come to V get to celebrate almost come to V if  
*tē cā qđ? te qay .*  
*Q vV V V*  
 situation V again do go
- (218) *tē cā phē? lē ġa cā pā-nē la qo tē cā qđ? te*  
*Q V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Q vV V*  
 situation able to suspensive get to celebrate almost come to V if situation V again do  
*qay .*  
*V*  
 go
- (219) *nđ qhā ġā? nđ qhā tí ġā? – ġā? tē-tē yđ qđ? qo ̄*  
*Pron Cl<sub>f</sub> V Pron Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>*  
 you for ways hunt you for ways only hunt hunt really declarative say if topic  
 .
- (220) *chi tē pđ? è lē yā-khān lē ġā? a ni šā .*  
*Det Q P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub> N*  
 this again only topic patient suspensive hunt try to animals
- (221) *ô kđ? kđ? mâ qđ? phē? qo mâ ġā? o , nđ*  
*N<sub>sđ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv vV V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> Pron*  
 over there also also negative V again able to if negative hunt emphatic you  
*qhā lē .*  
*Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>*  
 for ways topic
- (222) *H : mâ qay o .*  
*. Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 negative go emphatic
- (223) *nô kđ? ġa ġā qo pđ-lē co-co-tāy-tāy chē lē mđ-šī*  
*N<sub>sđ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV V P<sub>unf</sub> Conj AE V P<sub>unf</sub> V*  
 up there also get to reach if thereupon forever and ever live suspensive die of old age  
*e tū ve yā .*  
*P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 motion away purposive nominalizer emphatic
- (224) *yā-cwe-dū-cwe à? .*  
*Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub>*  
 posterity accusative
- (225) *phē? tū à? dđ ā ve qđ?-ma .*  
*V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 able to purposive accusative think perfective nominalizer emphatic

(226)	<i>qhe-cɛ</i>	<i>a-cí-cí</i>	<i>ca</i>	<i>d̥s̥</i>	<i>gɛ̃</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>mâ hê?</i>	.
	AE	Adv	<sub>v</sub> V	V	V	P <sub>univ</sub>	Adv + V	
	only	a little	go and do	think	visit	nominalizer	not be the case	

## Translation

Dramatis Personae:

H = Headman Cà-bí

T = Teacher Cà-bo

P = Paul Cà-l̥s̥

1. H: Well now, if we talk about how the Lahu people set up a new village, it's like this.
2. If the place where we live is not good for farming, for earning a living from the land, if the place isn't good that's what we do!
3. Since we don't want to stay there, a new — looking for a good new place for growing crops is what we call “setting up a new village,” this time in a good place.
4. T: Well then, haven't you been talking and talking this year about going up north there to Nâ-qhày?<sup>1</sup>
5. Isn't that right?
6. Isn't it said that there are irrigated fields up there — that's what they're saying.
7. H: I've gone there. We've already gone to look and see whether they still have irrigated fields.<sup>2</sup>
8. Everything there is just great.
9. The houses there are very nice too.
10. T: If you pay attention to what people say, they're saying that there's not even any water there!
11. H: For God's sake,<sup>3</sup> as far as water goes, there's a river called Yê-nâ<sup>4</sup> which comes down from the high mountains with so much water that you can't use it all.
12. It's very good. [But] down below to the south, there is a foamy place in the river<sup>5</sup> where the water doesn't reach, in the hot season.
13. T: They've gone and lied to you, I bet — and you're also lying!
14. H: I'm not lying. I've gone to see it and come back!
15. Didn't you just see me [coming back]?
16. T: Oh.
17. P: When you guys set up a new village, what sort of things do you have to consider? [inaudible words]
18. Whether it's a place where you can get water easily, or whether it's very high up in the mountains, or whether there are lots of trees around?
19. Whether it's an easy place to come and go on the paths?
20. What are all the kinds of things that you consider before setting it up, setting up a village like this?

<sup>1</sup>This location remains to be identified.

<sup>2</sup>Note the sequence of Pv's á ò š̥s̥. á (~ t̥ā) 'durative' + ò 'change of state' + š̥s̥ 'still'.

<sup>3</sup>pòthôo: a Tai-derived interjection (“by the Buddha!”), used frequently also by the Christian Lahu.

<sup>4</sup>To be identified.

<sup>5</sup>g̃i-phû-twê?: see DL 1145.

21. T: Well, as for that —
22. P: In other words, whether it's a place where it's pleasant and good to live?
23. H: That's right.
24. When setting up a village, all the good points — er, of — you have to consider the good points before setting up a village, they say.
25. If it's good for cultivation, if water is plentiful, if everything is convenient, then we'd set up a village.
26. T: Where there's plenty of game and fish.
27. H: It's easy, if it's like that.
28. T: We're looking for someplace where it's easy to dam up a stream, to hunt for crabs!
29. When we Lahu are looking for a place for a village —
30. P: Water — if it's far from a place where you can draw water to drink you probably can't make a go of it.
31. T: If it's far from where you draw water to drink, you can't.
32. Our Lahu ancestors used to suffer<sup>6</sup> from that!
33. Since you drink water day after day, if there's no water nearby you can't make it!
34. P: Like when there aren't very many trees, right?
35. T: Yeah, right.
36. H: When there are lots of trees, it's easy to gather wood to burn, easy to chop down bamboo, and all that.
37. P: So, looking at that sort of thing, considering all that, you get to set it up.
38. H: Mm-hm.
39. P: Why is it that when the Lahu set up a village, every year, every time, they only set it up in the mountains?
40. Why don't they go look in the plains?
41. Oh, the plains are tough, for us Lahu it's tougher.
42. Since even in the old days we never used to get to do it or get ahold of [anything].<sup>7</sup>
43. To live in the plains is hard!
44. P: Oh, you are talking about malaria.<sup>8</sup>
45. T: Yes. When we have chills and fever, there's no money to buy medicine to take, for us hillfolk.
46. Well then, our real dwelling place is up there in the high reaches<sup>9</sup> where the mountains are high, yeah, where there are plenty of gibbons, plenty of squirrels<sup>10</sup>, lots of red-cheeked ground squirrels<sup>11</sup>!
47. We love to live in places like that!

<sup>6</sup>bò à: lit. "were tired out".

<sup>7</sup>gā te ve 'get to do'; cō la ve 'come to have'. I.e., we never managed to set up a village in the plains.

<sup>8</sup>nà phê? ve: have any serious disease associated with living in the plains, in which one runs a high fever, especially malaria, but also typhoid, cholera, plague, hemorrhagic fever, dengue fever, etc.

<sup>9</sup>yê qhɔ: 'in the upper reaches of the hills' (yê 'high cold area, very high land').

<sup>10</sup>fā?-thō? 'common squirrel' [*Callosciurus sp.*]

<sup>11</sup>fā?-šwe [*Dremomys rufigensis*].

## Founding a new village

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48. That's what we've been looking for now.
49. H: Yes indeed, that's the way it is!
50. But now those of you haven't gone don't know what Nâ-qhày is like.
51. If you haven't been there, you don't know.
52. I've been there already!
53. I've looked it over carefully!
54. P: Well, when you make a village, how do you divide up the land — I mean the places where you'll build a house?
55. H, T: Well —
56. P: Whatever place each person wants to get, he gets. He can just go look at it and take it<sup>12</sup>, is that right?
57. T: Yep. Whatever place each person wants, if the place pleases him he goes and takes it.
58. P: "I'll build in this place, I'll build a house<sup>13</sup> in this place, in that place I'll make a garden" — is that how it's done?
59. H: Yes, yes, yes.
60. P: When you build a house, how do you do it?
61. Like, do you help each other, one person to another?
62. Or else does each person build his own house by himself?
63. Oh, when we build houses, we certainly help each other! During the year when we're going to set up [a new village] we can't avoid helping each other.
64. If each person does everything he's supposed to do, if he does what he ought to do all by himself, then the whole village will pitch in and help him.<sup>14</sup>
65. Sometimes we can manage to do it in a single day, building a house.
66. P: You can do it in only one day?
67. T: Yes.
68. P: So then in order to build the houses of a whole village properly, I wonder how many days, how many months it takes.
69. T: Oh, it doesn't take many months, you know.<sup>15</sup>
70. P: In order for everybody to have a proper house to live in!
71. T: If everybody properly puts his effort<sup>16</sup> into building his own house, it wouldn't even take a month.
72. It could be done in one or two weeks.
73. P: So when the houses are all built, it's like what other people call it, isn't it?

<sup>12</sup>There is a 4-verb concatenation here: **g̃a ca ni yù** (*g̃a* 'be able', *ca* 'go and', *ni* 'look at', *yù* 'take').

<sup>13</sup>**yè te ve** (OV) 'build a house' ('make a house'), **te** (V) 'do; make'.

<sup>14</sup>A three-verb concatenation: **phô? ga pî** (*phô?* 'do in a group', *ga* 'help', *pî* '3rd p. beneficiary').

<sup>15</sup>The 2nd person pronoun **n̄** is added as an afterthought at the end of the sentence, signaling that the speaker is being attentive to the listener's question.

<sup>16</sup>**ú-khə? cí ve**: lit. "wear a head strap (for carrying)"; used figuratively to mean 'apply elbow grease; put one's shoulder to the wheel; put one's nose to the grindstone'.

74. [I mean,] in Shan and Northern Thai they call it “eating a new village,” don’t they, and they have a big party.
75. T: Well, as for that —
76. P: Don’t they call it “climbing up into a new house”?
77. T: We “grace-begging” Lahu<sup>17</sup> don’t do it that way.
78. As for climbing up into a new house, before other people can climb into it, he [the owner] himself has to go climb up and sleep in it first!
79. That’s what other people say about us Lahu.
80. P: Don’t other people call it *khyn hán màj*?<sup>18</sup>
81. H: Well, that’s Shan —
82. T: In the Shan language they say *khyn hán màj*.
83. We Lahu call it *yè-śí tã?* *ve*, but before anybody else can climb up, he himself [the owner] [60] must climb up first, before anybody else.
84. P: Right
85. T: Well, I’ve heard that in your village<sup>19</sup>, when [you] said “let’s go up there,” some people — some wanted to go, but some didn’t want to go!
86. I just don’t know what we, the two of us<sup>20</sup> can do with people like that [who don’t want to go].
87. H: Everybody will go. They’ll go in their own sweet time.
88. T: If somebody takes so much time about it, later on if he doesn’t get a good place he’ll scold people!
89. H: Well, as for that, the land is broad!
90. Land, now, the land you [could] have to live on, there’s so much of it that you could never run out of places to live!<sup>21 22</sup>
91. T: I’m afraid that<sup>23</sup> — if it’s not a good place, a person wouldn’t want to live there.
92. H: If he doesn’t want to live there, just let him not go!
93. It’s up to him!
94. T: You’re being unreasonable<sup>24</sup> about this!
95. H: I’m right! He took yours, yours.
96. T: Well, the two of us can’t do anything about it.
97. H: So somebody who hasn’t come yet like that—

<sup>17</sup>*śú-tś (n)-pā*: lit. “those who beg for grace.” Epithet used by the animist Lahu for the Christian Lahu, here used ironically by Teacher. The word is < Shan *sun-təŋ* < Bs. *hsu’ tãuN* (WB *chu’ tōŋ*). See DL: 1193.

<sup>18</sup>This is the Shan expression that means “climbing into a new house,” equivalent to Siamese *khyn bāan màj*. The Siamese cognate to Shan *hán* is *ryan*, which also means ‘house; household’, although *bāan* (which also means ‘village’) is now the usual Siamese word for ‘house’.

<sup>19</sup>Even though Teacher and Headman really live in the same village (Huey Tat), the Teacher is pretending to live elsewhere.

<sup>20</sup>I.e. the Teacher and the Headman.

<sup>21</sup>*mā chē pè*: lit. “not finish living” (*mā* ‘negative’, *chē* ‘live’, *pè* ‘V exhaustively’).

<sup>22</sup>Unfortunately this has not been true for the past several decades, as overpopulation has led to land disputes in Thailand between the hillfolk and the plains populations.

<sup>23</sup>This clause is introduced by *à-mù* (Conj.) ‘lest; or else’ (unpleasant hypothesis). See DL 100-101.

<sup>24</sup>*chō khō ā hē?*, lit. “it isn’t human speech”.

98. So if anybody doesn't want to come<sup>25</sup>, wherever he wants to live in the future is up to him!
99. T: But if unfortunately somebody should be unhappy, even a person who had gone up there before other people, he might someday [want to] come back again!
100. It's hard to reason with us Lahu people.
101. H: Oh, if they manage to stay there and not come back, they can make a go of it up there.
102. All of you guys, if you manage to go, you're called *men*, so you must come to a decision!
103. You're not children! Don't fool around!<sup>26</sup>
104. T: Men, men so-called, flap their mouths a lot<sup>27</sup>, you know.
105. H: They won't go back. So we've got to talk things through to a conclusion.
106. Whatever we do, let's go and do it, okay?
107. But for a while at least, stop flapping your mouths and quarreling!
108. There's no point in arguing.
109. I told you that if you wouldn't go before, don't go at all, but you wouldn't listen.<sup>28</sup>
110. And now you say you won't go.
111. Aren't you a man then?
112. T: What I said was, if I would go, every last person should go.
113. H: They *will* go, every last one of them.
114. Even if they wouldn't go [before], now they'll go.
115. T: I tell you they won't go, that bunch of them.
116. H: If they don't go, afterwards [those who have gone] will say "Come!", that's what they'll say.
117. Yes, once you've gone and looked over the good land for cultivation<sup>29</sup>, the really fine land, you won't want to leave.
118. I myself, when I went there to look it over a while ago, I said to them [those in Nâ-qhày], "If they [from Huey Tat] don't go, don't worry about it."<sup>30</sup>
119. What will those who *have* seen it do?<sup>31</sup>
120. I myself have never been there, so I'll listen to what you say, and go.
121. Then if the time comes when there's nothing to eat, you'll know about it.
122. H: If you don't do it you'll starve anyway.
- Somebody: 123. They've gone already, they've gone already!
- 124Y. ou deep thinkers<sup>32</sup> have gone already!

<sup>25</sup>The deictic viewpoint has now changed from going (qay) to the new village to coming to it (lâ).

<sup>26</sup>qô? gî: 'say for fun; talk thoughtlessly'.

<sup>27</sup>mô?-qô vâ? ve: lit. "be fast in the mouth".

<sup>28</sup>tâ qay qô? pî ve nò â na è?: This sentence has a somewhat anomalous pî instead of lâ for 3->2 benefaction.

<sup>29</sup>gâ câ kî (Ndeclaus): "place to get to eat", i.e., 'place to earn a livelihood (by agriculture)'.

<sup>30</sup>mâ qay qo tâ ni qô? pî ve: here ni 'look at' means 'pay attention to; take into consideration'.

<sup>31</sup>ni ò ve 5 qhà-qhe te è: i.e., it's more important to consider what those people who have seen it will do after they move there.

<sup>32</sup>dô-nâ-lî? ve: dô 'think', lî? (Vadj) 'deep' < Tai; nâ (Vadj) is the native Lahu word for 'deep'.



125. T: All of them are just following their hearts!<sup>33</sup>  
 Somebody: 126. Can you guys make a living there?  
 127. H: You mean growing crops?  
 128. The new rice, the new crops are just coming out now.  
 129. If you want to have an increase in rice production.  
 130. T: That's fine then, if that's the way it is.  
 131. What kind of fields<sup>34</sup> do you say they have up there?  
 132. Do you say swiddens or paddy-fields?  
 133. They plan to cultivate paddy fields. The first year I went there they were still living off swiddens in the high mountains.  
 134. While they were still cultivating swiddens they also worked paddy-fields.  
 135. P: What kinds of crops will you plant to eat?  
 136. H: After we prepare the paddy fields we'll plant rice; we'll cultivate swiddens in the hills, and make gardens to grow several kinds of things, and make smelly bean<sup>35</sup> fields.  
 137. We'll grow maize, bananas, and sugar-cane!  
 138. All kinds of pumpkins.  
 139. We'll earn plenty of money up there, I tell you.  
 141. The plains up there in the Nâ-qhày valley are all excellent, they say.  
 142. Other people haven't worked them, so I'll just do it myself.  
 143. P: Are you saying you claimed<sup>36</sup> [that land] first?  
 144. T: I have claimed it already.<sup>37</sup>  
 145. H: But then you won't be able to cultivate all of it by yourself.  
 146. You should just cultivate enough for one person to manage easily.  
 147. T: I want to earn money by selling [stuff] to others.<sup>38</sup>  
 148. H: So you'll sell for a living.  
 149. But you don't have the government's permission, I'll bet.  
 150. T: Down there on the high ground above the river there won't be anybody who could climb up onto the bank on the rocky side to grab it for himself.  
 151. So I've claimed it, down there.  
 152. H: There's plenty [of land] around the rocky cliff, so you go ahead and claim some!  
 153. Wherever you want to claim, claim it!

<sup>33</sup>ni-ma-qa-pi tí têt? ve: "only measure their hearts".

<sup>34</sup>à-thò?-ma ca te câ: short for à-thò?-ma ca te câ kî "what kind of place to go and earn a living".

<sup>35</sup>nô?-qhê: lit. "shit-beans" (also called nô?-kî "rotten beans"): a kind of soybean fermented to make odoriferous condiments.

<sup>36</sup>ve (V) 'lay claim to something, usually by leaving a visible symbol of ownership'.

<sup>37</sup>The Teacher is playing different roles in this conversation. Previously he was reluctant to move up there, but now he's saying that he's been planning to go all along.

<sup>38</sup>hò lêt? ve: 'sell in order to eat', i.e., "sell to earn (money) to live on". Here lêt? 'lick' is used as the informal equivalent of câ 'eat'.

154. There's lots of it [land]. We can't use it all up.
155. The Akha guy said, just you look at it, look at it — it's good.
156. Plenty of game, plenty of monkeys, even if you want to eat fish, for God's sake!
157. When you go there, even though it's called the mountains, the land doesn't go up and down.
158. It's flat and smooth — wherever you go it's very easy to earn a living! <sup>39</sup>
- Somebody: 159. When I went there recently I was awfully<sup>40</sup> thirsty!
160. T: Listen, listen, listen to him!
161. H: You're going to be really hot down there, in the plains, in the hot season.
162. T: It's not flat land. How are we ever going to make a go of cultivating paddy-fields?
163. H: Up there, over there — in the riverbed they've channeled [the water] as it falls from the high mountains so that when it reaches down below there's so much water that you can't use it all.
164. The Nâ-qhày River is no small thing.<sup>41</sup>
165. It has two valleys, Mɛ-thà-lây and Kè-pa-tâw?<sup>42</sup>, <sup>43</sup>
166. As for the paddy-fields, you can't even cross them when it rains.
167. T: Not long ago a bunch of us went there. We had been sent to look it over, and Nâ-qhày was just floating knee-deep in sand!
168. H: That's because the water had come flowing down, and that's a good fertilizer if you're working paddy-fields.<sup>44</sup>
170. In the hot season it's all sand, there's no water down there.
171. T: With sand whatever you plant is no good.
172. H: It's fine! That's just where to plant crops.
173. Other people are earning a living [there]. You just go and check it out.
174. P: Isn't it far from a road for cars, your place?
175. H: Cars can get all the way to it up there.
176. T: So cars can get all the way up there, you see!
177. P: Then that's great for you!
178. H: That senior headman<sup>45</sup> up in Nâ-qhày, what was his name now? I've forgotten it!
179. Yeah, there are a whole group of senior headmen there.
180. They have cars, big trucks<sup>46</sup>, my God, lots of them!

<sup>39</sup>Note the correlative use of **qhò**: **qhò** + V1 + **qhò** + V2 “wherever V1, there V2”.

<sup>40</sup>**ši-e-la-yò** ‘so much one could die’; verb intensifier, undoubtedly calqued on Thai *cətaaj*.

<sup>41</sup>**mā ī ve mā hē?**: “is not the case that it is not big.”

<sup>42</sup>< Thai *kèŋ-pan-tâw* (kèŋ ‘cataract’).

<sup>43</sup>Note the unusual use of the pluralizer **hi** after an inanimate noun.

<sup>44</sup>Paddy-fields, being irrigated, require a handy water-source.

<sup>45</sup>**kānān** (< Thai *kamnan*): a senior headman whose jurisdiction is a *tambol*, or subdistrict, rather than a single village. Translated by the Lahu as **qhâ?-še-lón** ‘great headman’.

<sup>46</sup>**lɔ̄li** (< Brit. Eng. lorry): ‘motor vehicle (of any kind)’. A large vehicle or truck may be specified by adding the augmentative morpheme -lɔ̄.

181. T: Their cars, they have two of them<sup>47</sup>, I tell you!
182. P: So we Lahu will probably get to ride in them, I bet.
183. H: We'll get to ride, we'll get to ride!
184. P: Whereabouts would you go to market, if you wanted to go to a [Thai] market? To Chiang Dao?<sup>48</sup>
185. H: Up there, way up there, you come to Farnng.<sup>49</sup>
186. T: Oh, you'll get to come around to the area around Farnng!
187. P: Oh, the Farnng area, is it?
188. H: Up there in the city there's a road which goes through to a place where there's a big rice-mill, right up there!
189. As for a market, there's a big entrance to it in Farnng.
190. T: Oh, I see.
191. P: So you come to the Farnng market and go right in, is that right?
192. To buy things.
193. H: Yeah, we go buy things, whatever, all kinds of stuff to go buy.
194. You can even buy an ox to raise.
195. It's very easy to get an oxcart to pull things for a living, up there!
196. P: Wow, that's probably all right then!
197. H: Mm-hm, you won't have to carry anything at all on your back to earn a living, on the plains.
198. Staying here I don't see how we can survive!
199. If we can just manage to settle up in that area.
200. T: As soon as one thing has been done and come to pass, and has almost succeeded, another thing comes up to be done.
201. When one thing has come to pass and almost succeeded, another thing comes up to be done.<sup>50</sup>
202. I'll follow your advice.<sup>51</sup> I'll really just keep following your advice!
203. Just this once, I'll be patient and try to follow your advice.
204. But if that place also turns out to be a dud, I'll never take your advice again!
205. H: We'll never leave again [if we move up there].
206. If we do manage to get up there, we'll stay there forever afterwards and die there of old age!
207. For our children's and grandchildren's generations.
208. We have planned to make it succeed!
209. We're not just toying with the idea!<sup>52</sup>

<sup>47</sup> **nī khe**: the animal classifier **khe** is used to count motor vehicles, since they move and make noise.

<sup>48</sup> A town about 60 km. north of Chiang Mai, on the road to Farnng.

<sup>49</sup> A large town about 120 km. north of Chiang Mai.

<sup>50</sup> The Teacher is repeating himself here.

<sup>51</sup> **nṣ qhā**, lit. "your way".

<sup>52</sup> **dṣ gī**: "think for fun".

## 5.7 Marriage and divorce

- (1) *H* : *εεεε* , *âa* , *a-ví-a-ni* *thà?* *kâ* *lâ* *tù* *ð-lɔn*  
 . Interj Interj Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> N  
 ahem! well! brethren accusative hear benefactive (non-3p) purposive matter  
*a-cí* *cò* *qô?ma* .  
 Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 just be there emphatic
- (2) *š* *pà* *mû-šš* *qo* *õ* *Câ-và?* *ε* *Na-phê*  
 N<sub>time</sub> V N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>pers</sub>  
 Sunday (X'n) come to an end morning when topic male name and female name  
*hâ? dà?* *a* *cê* *qô?ma* .  
 V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 get married intentive quotative emphatic
- (3) *tê gâ le-le* *tê* *kà* *tâ* *qay* *mē* .  
 NP<sub>q</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 everybody another for places don't! go persuasive
- (4) *khê? câ* *tù* *ve* *cê* .  
 OV P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 have a feast future nominalizer quotative
- (5) *ha-lê-ha-qa* *pwê* *te* *tù* *ve* *cê* .  
 Elab<sub>adv</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 happily celebration make future nominalizer quotative
- (6) *T* : *âa* , *ð-ví-ð-ni* *tê phā* *ò* , *hâ? dà?* *ve*  
 . Interj Elab<sub>n</sub> Q P<sub>n</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 well! brothers and sisters pluralizer vocative marry relativizer  
*là?-q̄ tō?* *ve* *tê cò* *õ* *ηâ-hi* *Khî?-yâ* *ve* *ð-lî*  
 OV P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N<sub>prop</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 join hands in marriage relativizer one thing topic we (pl) Christian genitivizer custom  
*ī* *jâ* *ve* *tê cò* *phê?* *ve* *yò* *mē* .  
 V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 important very relativizer one thing be a certain way nominalizer declarative persuasive
- (7) *chi thà? pa-tɔ* *tê gâ le-le* *ha-lê-ha-qa* *chê* *tā* *ò?* .  
 NP NP<sub>q</sub> Elab<sub>adv</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 therefore everybody happily stay durative hortatory
- (8) *ð-lɔn qô? qo* *ηâ-hi* *ca* *te* *gî* *ve* *ð-cà* *mâ* *hê?* .  
 Cl<sub>nf</sub> Pron <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Adv V  
 the reason is we (pl) go and do do V for fun relativizer thing negative be the case
- (9) *Ĝî-ša* *ve* *mē?-gû-šī* *ð-hó* *lo* *khān-yù* *ve* *ð-cà*  
 N P<sub>univ</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 God genitivizer presence of under locative receive sthg significant relativizer thing  
*phê?* *ve* *thà? pa-tɔ* , *ηâ-hi* *Khî?-yâ* *tê gâ le-le* *yô-hí-mâ* *ge*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron N<sub>prop</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub>  
 be a certain way nominalizer because we (pl) Christian everybody they (dual) with

- ha-lê-ha-qa* *gã* *te* *cô* *ve* *yò* .  
 Elab<sub>adv</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 happily must do ought to nominalizer declarative
- (10) *H* : *âa* , *và?* *tí* *câ* *tù* *ve* *yò* *lâ* .  
 . Interj N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! pig kill V to eat future nominalizer declarative yes
- (11) *T* : *âa* , *và?* *lê* *gã* *tí* *câ* *ve* *tí* *yò* *nê-5*  
 . Interj N P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! pig topic must kill V to eat nominalizer only declarative suppositional  
*qô?-ma* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (12) *à-šwè* *kà?* *tê co pè* *tê cá* *šú* *hâ?* *dà?* *là* *ve* *5* ,  
 NP<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> Pron V + P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 long ago also from time immemorial other people marry come to V nominalizer topic  
*khê?* *mâ* *câ* *ve* *qô?* *qo 5* , *mì-câ-vâ-câ* *ve* *thô*  
 N Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 wedding feast negative celebrate nominalizer if topic nominalizer also  
*qò?* *mâ-šô-mâ-má* *qô?* *ve* *chô-mô-khô* *5* *chi qhe* *cò*  
<sub>v</sub>V Elab<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V  
 V also unlucky in hunting say nominalizer words of wisdom topic like this be there  
*ve-5* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (13) *H* : *âa* , *qhe-qo 5* , *tê nà?* *te* *cô* *ve* *nê* *lê*  
 . Interj Conj P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! if so topic early do ought to nominalizer emphatic request for assent  
 , *và?* *tí* *ve* *tê gĩ* .  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> Q  
 pig kill nominalizer pluralizer
- (14) *T* : *eeà?* , *a-cí* *nà?-šá* *te* *cô* *ve* *yò* .  
 . Interj Adv AE V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 right! rather early in the morning (ca. 6:00) do ought to nominalizer declarative
- (15) *hà* *š5* *a ni* *qo* , *khò?* *nāli?* *khwê* *tê yān* *và?* *d5?*  
 Pron V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Cl<sub>f</sub> Q N V  
 I calculate try to if six o'clock for halves the time that pig slaughter  
*le* , *šĩ nāli?* *tê yān* *pè* *pĩ* *le* ,  
 P<sub>univ</sub> Q Q V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 slaughter seven o'clock the time that be completed benefactive (3p) benefactive (3p)  
*hí* *nāli?* *thā* *qo* , *là?-q5 tô?* *tù* *ve* *yò* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> OV P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 eight o'clock when when join hands in marriage future nominalizer declarative
- (16) *cô-yè* *qhô* .  
 N M<sub>px</sub>  
 church in

- (17) *và?* *dô?* *pā* *a-šu a-šu* *ca* *tε* *tù* *ve*  
 N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> Pron <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 pig slaughter agentive nominalizer who all go and do arrange for future nominalizer  
*le*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 substantive qst
- (18) *qha-dê?* *ca* *tε* *á* *mē* , *a-šu* *yô-phô-yô* .  
 AE <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron AE  
 properly go and do arrange for perfective urging everybody by himself
- (19) *H* : *âa* , *ηà* *phô* *ve* *̄-qhe* , *Cà-ī* *tê gâ* *le* *Cà-há* *tê gâ*  
 . Interj Pron N P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> , N<sub>pers</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> Q  
 well! my side genitivizer topicalizer one person and and one person  
*le* *Cà-gê* *cò* *ve* *yò* .  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 and male name be there nominalizer declarative
- (20) *šê?* *gâ* *qo* *pê* *ò* *hé* , *ηà* *phô* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron N  
 three for people if enough completed action probably my side
- (21) *T* : *ôo* , *ηà* *phô* *̄* *qo* , *Cà-qā* *tê gâ* *le* *̄* , *ē-khân-pô?*  
 . Interj Pron N P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>prop</sub>  
 oh! my side topic topic male name one person and topic male name  
*tê gâ* *le* *̄* , *Cà-qu-ní* *tê gâ* *chi* *šê?* *gâ* *qo* *pê*  
 Q P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> Q Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub>  
 one person and topic male name one person these three for people if enough  
*ò* *hé* , *ηà* *pá* *tí qo* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron M<sub>pfx</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 completed action probably my side as for
- (22) *H* : *khô?* *gâ* *gà* *ò* *nē* .  
 . Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 six for people reach completed action emphatic
- (23) *pê* *ò* *è?* .  
 V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 enough completed action emphatic
- (24) *qhe-qo* *tà* *ò* *è?* , *chi ma* *qo* *̄* .  
 Conj V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> , NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 then be enough already emphatic this many if topic
- (25) *T* : *âa* , *yâ-mî* *chi* *mε* , *ηà* *qha-dê?-dê?* *â* *šī*  
 . Interj N Det P<sub>n</sub> , Pron AE Adv V  
 well! girl this contrastive topicalizer I very well negative know  
*qô?-ma* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (26) *a-šu* *ve* *yâ* *le* *qô?-ma* .  
 Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 who genitivizer child substantive qst emphatic

- (27) *H* : ôo , Cà-qé Na-dâ? yâ qô? ve â hê? lē-ā  
 . Interj N<sub>pers</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 oh! male name female name child say nominalizer negative be the case yes  
 qô?-ma .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (28) *T* : Cà-qé Na-dâ? yâ .  
 . N<sub>pers</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> N  
 male name female name child
- (29) *H* : eeê? .  
 . Interj  
 yep
- (30) *T* : âa , ô-ve ̄ .  
 . Interj Det P<sub>unf</sub>  
 well! that one topic
- (31) ð-phâ hâ? â phê? šē nē nē .  
 N V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 husband get married negative able to yet probably emphatic
- (32) â ī šē yâ qô?-ma .  
 Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative big yet emphatic emphatic
- (33) *H* : ī ò và , ī ò và , chi-bâ? .  
 . V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>time</sub>  
 big completed action emphatic big completed action emphatic now
- (34) *T* : yô a-šâ? qhâ-ma gâ ò cê le .  
 . Pron N N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 she age how much? reach completed action quotative substantive qst
- (35) *H* : hí qhâ? è? .  
 . Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 eight for years emphatic
- (36) *T* : hí qhâ? è? lè pòthôo , hí qhâ? è? lè šu  
 . Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Interj Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron  
 eight for years emphatic topic good grief! eight for years emphatic topic others  
 ge yî? â phê? nē-̄ .  
 P<sub>n</sub> V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 with sleep negative able to suppositional
- (37) < laughter >
- (38) *H* : tê chi šê? qhâ? , tê chi šê? qhâ? kàn .  
 . Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N  
 thirteen for years thirteen for years for years
- (39) *Boy* : šu bè kə mâ ġa tà .  
 . Pron V V<sub>v</sub> Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 others tempt V into negative be able negative probability

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- (40) *H* : *tê chi šê?* *qhò?* *kàn* *gà* *ò* .  
 . Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub>  
 thirteen for years for years reach completed action
- (41) *T* : *tê chi šê?* *qhò?* .  
 . Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 thirteen for years
- (42) *qhe-qo* *hó-qhâ?* *qhà-nî* *qhò?* *gà* *ò* *cê* *le* .  
 Conj N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 then man how many? for years reach completed action quotative substantive qst
- (43) *H* : *hó-qhâ?* *nî chi ñâ* *qhò?* *qô?* *mò* *và* *nē* .  
 . N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 man twenty-five for years say see or hear of emphatic emphatic
- (44) *T* : *nî chi ñâ* *qhò?* .  
 . Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 twenty-five for years
- (45) *pòthôo* *hó-qhâ?* *ṣ* *qhe-cε-cε* *hên* *ve* *yâ-mî* *ṣ* *hí* *qhò?* *è?*  
 Interj N P<sub>unf</sub> AE V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 for God's sake! man topic so very strong relativizer girl topic eight for years only  
*ve* *à?* *lê* *â* *phê?* *nê-ṣ* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 genitivizer accusative topic negative able to suppositional
- (46) *tê chi šê?* *qhò?* *è?* *tí* *ve* *lê* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 thirteen for years emphatic only nominalizer topic
- (47) *H* : *ī* *ò* *qô?-ma* .  
 . V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 big completed action emphatic
- (48) *phê?* *hé* .  
 V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 able to probably
- (49) *ī* *ò* .  
 V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 big completed action
- (50) *ḍ-šē-ma* *jâ* *ò* .  
 N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 female body plenty big completed action
- (51) *T* : *ḍ-to* *ī* *ve* *lê* *nê-ṣ* .  
 . N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 body big nominalizer topic suppositional
- (52) *ḍ-šē-ma* *cε* .  
 N P<sub>univ</sub>  
 female body just



- (53) *H* : *jâ*            *ò*                            *jâ*            *ò*                            *ḷ-ṣṣē-ma* .  
 .         $V_{adj}$          $P_v$                              $V_{adj}$          $P_v$                              $N$   
 plenty big completed action plenty big completed action female body
- (54) *T* : *chɔ̄* *ī*    *ve*                            *yò*                            *qôḷ-lèḷ* .  
 .         $N$      $V_{adj}$      $P_{univ}$                              $P_{uf}$                              $P_{uf}$   
 guy big nominalizer declarative declarative
- (55) *māhā*            *ve*                            *chɔ̄-qhā* *le* .  
 $N$                              $P_{univ}$                              $N$                              $P_{univ}$   
 great thing genitivizer stock because
- (56) *yḷ*    *mā*            *kṣ?*                            *qôḷ-lèḷ* .  
 $Pron$      $Adv$              $V$                              $P_{uf}$   
 she negative be afraid emphatic
- (57) *ī*            *ò*                            *ve* .  
 $V_{adj}$      $P_v$                              $P_{univ}$   
 big completed action nominalizer
- (58) *Khán-pā* : *a-ṣu* *kā?*    *vân*                            *phè?*            *ò*                            *lā* .  
 $Eth$                              $Pron$              $V$                              $V_v$              $P_v$                              $P_{uf}$   
 Jingpho anybody go for it able to completed action yes
- (59) < *laughter* >
- (60) *H* : *phè?*            *ò*                            *cê*                            *qôḷ-yò-è?* .  
 .         $V$              $P_v$                              $P_{uf}$                              $P_{uf}$   
 able to already quotative emphatic
- (61) *Boy* : *a-ṣu*            *ná* .  
 .         $Pron$              $P_{uf}$   
 whoever wonderment
- (62) *ḡà*    *qha-dèḷ-dèḷ*    *â*                            *ṣī*                            *ṣē*    *yâ-o* .  
 $Pron$      $AE$                              $Adv$              $V$              $P_v$      $P_{uf}$   
 I exactly negative know yet emphatic
- (63) *H* : *Na-phî*                            ,    *Na-phî* .  
 .         $N_{pers}$                              $N_{pers}$   
 female name female name
- (64) *Na-dâ?*            *yâ* .  
 $N_{pers}$                              $N$   
 female name child
- (65) *Boy* : *ḡ* .  
 .         $Interj$   
 oh!
- (66) *T* : *ḡ* .  
 .         $Interj$   
 oh!

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- (67) *yô* *ɔ̄* , *mâ-ná* *chɔ* *lɛ-lâ* .  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N N P<sub>uf</sub>  
 she topic north country person yes
- (68) *H* : *yâ-ò* .  
 . V  
 yeah!
- (69) *mâ-ná* *chɔ* , *nô* *ɔ̄* .  
 N N N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 north country person up there locative
- (70) *vân-nâ* *à-hɔ* *pá* *chê* *ve* *cê* .  
 N<sub>place</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> M<sub>prfx</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 place name south part live nominalizer quotative
- (71) *Boy* : *yâ-ò* *pɔ?* *nê* .  
 . V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 yeah! emphatic emphatic
- (72) *T* : *yô* *ɔ̄* *bon-yâ* *lɛ-lâ* .  
 . Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>uf</sub>  
 she topic Christian yes
- (73) *yô* *ɔ̄* *à-lî-à-ghâ* *a-cí-cí* *šĩ* *ò* *lɛ-lâ* .  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 she topic custom a little know completed action yes
- (74) *H* : *ca* *phè? la* *gê* *šɔ* *ve* *cê* .  
 . <sub>v</sub>V V + P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 go and do become recent still nominalizer quotative
- (75) *bon-yâ* *kà?* .  
 N P<sub>unf</sub>  
 Christian also
- (76) *T* : *qhe-go* *hɔ-ghâ?* *ô-ve* *ɔ̄* *a-šu* *yâ* *cê* *le* *qô?-ma* .  
 . Conj N Det P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 then man that topic whose child quotative substantive qst emphatic
- (77) *H* : *hɔ-ghâ?* *lâ-o* .  
 . N P<sub>uf</sub>  
 man yes
- (78) *T* : *êe* .  
 . Interj  
 yes
- (79) *H* : *Câ-qé* *yâ* *qô?* *mò* *â* *hê?* *lâ* .  
 . N<sub>pers</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name son say see or hear of negative be the case yes
- (80) *T* : *Câ-qé* *yâ* .  
 . N<sub>pers</sub> N  
 male name son

- (81) *H* : *Câ-qé* *yâ* .  
 .  $N_{pers}$  N  
 male name son
- (82) *T* : *Câ-qé* *qô?* *ve*  $\bar{5}$  , *ô* *qé è?* *ve* *le* *nè-5*  
 .  $N_{pers}$  V  $P_{univ}$   $P_{unf}$   $N_{sd}$   $AE_{stat}$   $P_{univ}$   $P_{univ}$   $P_{uf}$   
 male name call nominalizer topic that strange nominalizer because suppositional  
*qô?-ma* .  
 $P_{uf}$   
 emphatic
- (83) *H* : *yò* *è?* .  
 . V  $P_{uf}$   
 be true emphatic
- (84) *ô* *Kól* *ge* *là* *mì* *ve* *yò-è?* .  
 $N_{sd}$  N  $P_n$  N V  $P_{univ}$   $P_{uf}$   
 over there Northern Thai with tea cultivate crops nominalizer emphatic declarative
- (85) *qé è?* *ve* .  
 $AE_{stat}$   $P_{univ}$   
 strange nominalizer
- (86) : *êe* .  
 Interj  
 yes
- (87) *kâ?-ku* *ve* *qô?* *le* *nè-5* *qô?-ma* .  
 N  $P_{univ}$  V  $P_{univ}$   $P_{uf}$   $P_{uf}$   
 sthg abnormal genitivizer say because suppositional emphatic
- (88) *kâ?-ku* *yà-ò* *yà-ò* *yà-ò* .  
 N V V V  
 sthg abnormal yeah! yeah! yeah!
- (89) *T* : *ô* *kâ?-ku* *ve* *à?* *yò* .  
 .  $N_{sd}$  N  $P_{univ}$   $P_n$   $P_{uf}$   
 that one sthg abnormal genitivizer accusative declarative
- (90) *á-ni* *šu* *mô* *ca* *qhô* *lè?* *le* *Kól*  
 $NP_{time}$  Pron N  $vV$  V  $V_v$   $P_{univ}$  N  
 yesterday others' belonging go and do steal do for eating do for eating Northern Thai  
*gà?* *dô?* *mì šē-phâ* *le-hé* *ma* .  
 $vV$  V N  $P_{uf}$   $P_{uf}$   
 chase sthg and V beat up farm laborer probably exclamatory
- (91) *H* : *yò* .  
 . Interj  
 yes!
- (92) *Me-tho-mô*  $\bar{5}$  *šu* *ho-câ?* *ho* *á-khe* *qô-pē* *šo-câ?* *qhô* *le*  
 $N_{place}$   $P_n$  Pron N N N N N V  $P_{univ}$   
 Mehthawmaw locative their elephant-chain elephant rope neck chain steal steal  
*ca* *hô* *lè?* *lo* *qô?* *ve* *ô-ve* *phâ* *yò* .  
 $vV$  V  $V_v$   $P_{uf}$  V  $P_{univ}$  Det N  $P_{uf}$   
 seek to sell do for eating emphatic declarative say nominalizer that fellow declarative

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- (93) *T* : ə , ə , ə , ə .  
 . Interj Interj Interj Interj  
 ah ah ah ah
- (94) *Boy* : ô phî gâ? chè? ve qô?-ma .  
 . N<sub>sd</sub> N vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 that one dog chase sthg and V bite nominalizer emphatic
- (95) *T* : šī ò , šī ò .  
 . V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 know completed action know completed action
- (96) *qhe* yò qô? qo qò? là?-q̄ tō? yân qò? gâ  
 Adv P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV OV M<sub>prfx</sub> vV V  
 just like that declarative topicalizer go on to V join hands in marriage time V finally reach  
 ò  
 P<sub>v</sub>  
 completed action
- (97) *bo-lo-qō* kâ? â dš? pâ?  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 gong topicalizer negative strike lively emphasis
- (98) *dš?* ò le-lâ .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 strike already yes
- (99) *H* : dš? ò dš? ò .  
 . V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 strike already strike already
- (100) *qay* lò .  
 V P<sub>v</sub>  
 go urging
- (101) *qay* lò .  
 V P<sub>v</sub>  
 go urging
- (102) *T* : kâ ò lâ .  
 . V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 hear already yes
- (103) *tê gâ le-le* kâ? .  
 NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 everybody even
- (104) *a-šū* kâ? kâ hě nē lê .  
 Pron V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 everybody hear probably emphatic request for assent
- (105) *H* : kâ ò .  
 . V P<sub>v</sub>  
 hear already

- (106) *T* : *âa* , *kâ* ò *l* *ma* .  
 . Interj V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! hear already emphatic declarative exclamatory
- (107) *Boy* : *kâ* ò *yâ* .  
 . V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 hear already emphatic
- (108) *H* : *hâ?* *te* *le* *qay* *tà-ò* .  
 . Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 quickly do do go be high time to V
- (109) < *bo-yè* *qhɔ* >  
 N M<sub>px</sub>  
 church in
- (110) *T* : *âa* , *yà?-ni* *̄* , *yà?-s̄* *̄* , *ηà-hi* ò-*chô* *chi* *ve*  
 . Interj N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N Det P<sub>univ</sub>  
 well! today topic this morning topic our friend these genitivizer  
*nî gâ* *hâ? dà?* *ve* *̄* , *Ĝi-sa* *ve* ò-*lî-ò-qhâ* *ī* *jâ* ,  
 Q V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 two people marry nominalizer topic God genitivizer laws and customs great very  
*tā-ī-tā-mu* *ve* *thà? pa-tɔ* *le* , *tê gâ le-le* *gà* *la* *pà*  
 Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 respect nominalizer because because everybody arrive motion towards finish V'ing  
*qo* *̄* , *yô-hí-mà* *thà?* *là?-q̄* *cá* *pī* *tù* *ve*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 if topic they (dual) accusative wrist connect benefactive (3p) future genitivizer  
*yò* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (111) *chi* *tê khi* , *Cà-và?* *nò* *̄* , *nò* *ve* ò-*mî-ma* *Na-phî* *chi*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N N<sub>pers</sub> Det  
 this time male name you topic your genitivizer wife female name this  
*hà?* *mâ s̄i tê cwe* *mâ-phâ?-mâ-gî* , *mâ-chî-mâ-bà* , *yô* *khi* *the* *mê? cú*  
 P<sub>n</sub> VP Elab<sub>v</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> Pron N V N<sub>spec</sub> + V  
 accusative until death stay together not abandon she leg get broken blind  
*ve* *mâ qô?* , *yô* *chê-hā-cò-hā* *ve* *mâ qô?* , *s̄i* *qay* *le*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> Adv + V Pron Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv + V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer whether she suffer from illness relativizer whether die V away because  
*gā* *phâ?* *dâ?* *ve* *tê cə* *mâ hê? qo* , *yô* *thà?*  
 vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q Cl<sub>nf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub>  
 must separate mutual action relativizer one thing unless her accusative  
*mâ-phâ?-mâ-gî* , *mâ-chî-mâ-bà* *tê?* *Ĝi-sa* *ve* *mê?-gū-s̄i* ò-*hó* *nò*  
 Elab<sub>v</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> QUOT N P<sub>univ</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub> Pron  
 not separate not abandon embedded quote God genitivizer presence of under you  
*śá-khî? khān* *ve* *yò* *lā* .  
 OV P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 take an oath nominalizer declarative yes
- (112) *Cà-và?* : *khān* *ve* *yò* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name swear nominalizer declarative

Marriage and divorce

- (113) *T* : *khān ve yò* .  
 . V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 swear nominalizer declarative
- (114) *dà?* *ve yò* .  
 V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 good nominalizer declarative
- (115) *qhe-qa , Na-phî ò , nò là?-šɛ ǵǵ? t̄a ve nò*  
 Conj N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>n</sub> , Pron N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron  
 then female name vocative your hand hold onto durative relativizer your  
*ve ð-phô -*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 genitivizer husband
- (116) *H* : *Cà-và? nē !*  
 ! N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name emphatic
- (117) *T* : *Cà-và? chi tê ǵǵ thà? lè , mâ šɛ tê co Ğì-ša nò thà?*  
 . N<sub>pers</sub> Det Q P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> VP N Pron P<sub>n</sub>  
 male name this one person accusative topic until death God you accusative  
*yù lɛ phâ? dà? p̄i ve mâ hê? qa , nà-ve-ǵò-ve khi*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> N  
 take take separate mutual action causative nominalizer unless leg  
*thɛ mē? cú ve mâ qô? , hā-ve-ǵǵ-ve mâ qô? , nò yô*  
 V N<sub>spec</sub>+V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv+V Elab<sub>v</sub> Adv+V Pron Pron  
 get broken blind nominalizer whether poor and wretched whether you him  
*thà? ni-p̄i-ga-p̄i lɛ hà?-šá p̄i tù ve yò*  
 P<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 accusative look after look after take care of benefactive (3p) future nominalizer declarative  
*tè? , šɛ qay lɛ mâ ǵǵ phâ? dà? ve*  
 QUOT V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 embedded quote die V away V away negative must separate mutual action relativizer  
*tê cà mâ hê? qa , tê cwe lè nò ve ð-phô phê? ve*  
 Q Cl<sub>nf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 one thing unless one life topic your genitivizer husband be sthg nominalizer  
*yò tè? , nò Ğì-ša ve mē?-ǵù-šɛ lɛ , cho chi ma*  
 P<sub>uf</sub> QUOT Pron N P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N NP<sub>ext</sub>  
 declarative embedded quote you God genitivizer presence of and people this many  
*ve mē?-ǵù-šɛ ð-hó nò šá-khî? khān ve yò lâ* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub> Pron OV P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 genitivizer presence of under you take an oath nominalizer declarative yes
- (118) *Na-phî* : *khān ve yò* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 female name swear nominalizer declarative
- (119) *T* : *khān ve yò , dà? ve yò* .  
 . V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 swear nominalizer declarative good nominalizer declarative

- (120) *âa* , *qhe-qo* *lê* , *vâ?-šã* *pê* *ve* *tí* *yò* *ma* .  
 Interj Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! if so topic pork divide up nominalizer just declarative exclamatory
- (121) *vâ?-šã* *pê* *ò* *lâ* .  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 pork divide up already yes
- (122) *H* : *tô?* *phô?* *ò* , *tô?* *phô?* *ò* .  
 V V P<sub>v</sub> V V P<sub>v</sub>  
 cut up pile up already cut up pile up already
- (123) *ô* *ni* .  
 N<sub>sd</sub> V  
 over there look at
- (124) *T* : *qhe-qo* *õ* , *qhà-qhe* *te* *tù* *ve* *le* .  
 Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well then topic how? do future nominalizer substantive qst
- (125) *H* : *cá* *câ* *a* *lâ* .  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 boil V to eat intentive yes
- (126) *pê* *a* *lâ* , *yê* *à?* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 divide up intentive yes household accusative
- (127) *Khán-pā* : *pê-?* , *pê-?* .  
 Eth V<sub>imp</sub> V<sub>imp</sub>  
 Jingpho divide! divide!
- (128) *T* : *pê-?*  
*pê-?* V<sub>imp</sub>  
 V<sub>imp</sub> divide!
- (129) *Boy* : *pê-?*  
*pê-?* V<sub>imp</sub>  
 V<sub>imp</sub> divide!
- (130) *T* : *qhà-qhe* *te* *tù* *le* .  
 N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 how? do future substantive qst
- (131) *chõ* *tê* *ca* *ve* *tê* *pun* *te* *tù* *ve* *lâ* .  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 people one couple genitivizer one for shares do future nominalizer yes
- (132) *mâ hê?* *le* *tê* *yê* *ve* *tê* *pun* *te* *tù* *ve* *lâ* .  
 Cl<sub>nf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 or else one for households genitivizer one for shares do future nominalizer yes
- (133) : *tê* *yê* *ve* *tê* *pun* *te* *lò* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 one for households genitivizer one for shares do urging

- (134) *šù?-šà?*      *à*      .  
V                      P<sub>v</sub>  
be a bother    asseverative
- (135) *H* : *âa*    *nē*                      , *ηà*    *chɔ*      *mâ*    *ve-̄5*      *nē*                      , *chɔ*    *nî*    *ca*  
.    Interj P<sub>uf</sub>                      Pron N      V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>                      N      Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
well! emphatic    I      people many emphatic emphatic    people two couple  
*šê?*    *ca*      *ve-̄5*                      , *mâ*    *qo*      *câ*    *mâ*      *gâ*                      *ve*                      *yò*  
Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>                      V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V      V<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
three couple emphatic    many when eat V a lot desiderative nominalizer declarative  
*qô?-ma*      .  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
emphatic
- (136) *T* : *chɔ*      *mâ*      *qo-qô?*                      , *te*      *thâ*    *qo*      *̄5*                      , *mâ*      *te*    *ve*  
.      N      V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>                      V      P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>                      Adv V P<sub>univ</sub>  
people many emphatic topic    work when when topic    negative do nominalizer  
*qô?-ma*    ; *tê gâ*                      *tí*    *te*                      *ve*                      *qô?-ma*    , *chi*                      *̄5*      .  
P<sub>uf</sub>                      Q                      P<sub>univ</sub> V      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>                      Det                      P<sub>unf</sub>  
emphatic    one person only work nominalizer emphatic    this matter topic
- (137) : *eeà?*    *ve*                      *yò*      .  
Interj P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
right! nominalizer declarative
- (138) *te*      *thâ*    *qo*      *tê gâ*                      *tí*    *te*    *ve*                      *yò*      .  
V      P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Q                      P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
work when when one person only do nominalizer declarative
- (139) *T* : *câ*    *thâ*    *qo*      *câ*    *mâ*      *gâ*                      *ve*                      *qô?-ma*      .  
.      V      P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V      V<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
eat when when eat V a lot desiderative nominalizer emphatic
- (140) *chi*    *̄5*                      , *l̄sphà?*    *ī*      *ve*                      *yò*                      *qô?-ma*      .  
Det P<sub>unf</sub>                      N      V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
this topic    greed great nominalizer declarative emphatic
- (141) *H* : *chi*    *̄5*                      , *bon te*                      *ve*                      *qô?*    *ve*                      *â*                      *hê?*  
.      Det P<sub>unf</sub>                      OV                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      V      P<sub>univ</sub>                      Adv V  
this topic    do to make merit nominalizer call nominalizer negative be the case  
*le-lâ*      .  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
yes
- (142) *n̄-hi*    *qo*      *bon te*                      *ve*                      *qo*      *câ*      *c̄*                      *ve*  
Pron      P<sub>unf</sub>      OV                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub> V      V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>  
you (pl) topic do to make merit nominalizer if eat ought to nominalizer  
*yò-è?*  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
emphatic declarative
- (143) *T* : *bon te*                      *ve*                      *bon-kán*                      *te*    *ve*                      *kà?*    *yò*      .  
.      OV                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      N                      V      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
do to make merit nominalizer voluntary work do nominalizer also declarative



- (144) *ηà-hi chɔ qha-pà-è-pà-è mâ te qô?-ma , qhà-thâ?-kà?* .  
 Pron N AE Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> AE  
 we (pl) people all negative work emphatic always
- (145) *H : te ve và nē* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 do nominalizer emphatic emphatic
- (146) *H : tê yè ve tê gâ è , tê gâ* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>n</sub> Q  
 one for households genitivizer one person only one person
- (147) *tê pô?-pô? ê? ca là qô? qo ̄ , ša-gû mâ gà šē kà?*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>n</sub> vV V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 once in a while just go and do come as for topic midday negative reach yet even  
*qò? e ò qô?-ma , kán te ve qo* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 go home motion away already emphatic work do nominalizer topic
- (148) *: mâ te tê nò khān ê?* .  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron V P<sub>n</sub>  
 negative work really V you swear contrastive interrogative
- (149) *T : khān ve yò , ηà lè* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub>  
 swear nominalizer declarative I topic
- (150) *mâ te mò tê pô? ê? kà?* .  
 Adv V V<sub>v</sub> Q P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 negative work see or hear of once even even
- (151) *H : qhe-qo , và?-šā qhà-ma câ tù ve le , qha-pà-è*  
 Conj N N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> AE  
 well then pork how much? eat future nominalizer substantive qst all together
- (152) *Boy : ô-ve à? tâ cā ò? lò* .  
 Det P<sub>n</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 those accusative don't! feed hortatory urging
- (153) *H : šē? chi ηā kīlô , câ ve šē? chi ηā kīlô* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 thirty-five kilogram eat nominalizer thirty-five kilogram
- (154) *T : šē? chi ηā kīlô ò-lī tε ve lâ* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 thirty-five kilogram rule establish nominalizer yes
- (155) *H : ò-lī tε ve yò* .  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 rule establish nominalizer declarative
- (156) *yà?-ni tàn lε ò-gû-šī qay a-šū tê gâ kà? chi qhe tí gā*  
 N<sub>time</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> V Pron Q P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> vV  
 today begin begin in the future continue whoever one person even like this only must

- yê* *ve* *yò* .  
V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
follow a rule nominalizer declarative
- (157) *T* : *chi qhe tí ġa te ve yò lɔ-qo , à-mù*  
. AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Conj  
like this only must do nominalizer declarative emphatic conditional otherwise
- cò pā tí yè-ca-qa-ca tù ve*  
V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
be well-off agentive nominalizer only try to set up a household purposive nominalizer
- phê? pí à* .  
V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
be sthg able to V asseverative
- (158) *hā pā tí qo , hā-pā-ġô-pā thô yè-ca-qa-ca tù*  
V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub>  
poor agentive nominalizer as for poor people also try to set up a household purposive
- ve â phê? lɔ nê-ɔ* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer negative able to emphatic declarative suppositional
- (159) *H* : *chi ɔ-qhe le šu hɔ-phu-hɔ-mô nî phô me dà? le cò* .  
. Det P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Elab<sub>n</sub> Num N V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V  
this topicalizer they in-laws both side agree agree be right
- (160) *là?-qɔ tô? thô khê? mâ cá le ɔ hâ? dà?*  
OV P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub>  
join hands in marriage also wedding feast negative celebrate celebrate topic marry
- ve chɔ thô cò* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> V  
relativizer people also be there
- (161) *ġâ?-mê-cwi tê nî khe tí le là?-qɔ tô? thô cò*  
N Num Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> OV P<sub>unf</sub> V  
one two for animals slaughter slaughter join hands in marriage also be there
- , *nò tɔ dà? qo* .  
Pron N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
your word good if
- (162) *T* : *ò , qhe-qo lè dà? ve yò* .  
. Interj Conj P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
affirmative if that's the way it is topic good nominalizer declarative
- (163) *qhe-qo vâ?-šā chi ɔ qhâ-qhe te pè tù ve le* .  
Conj N Det P<sub>unf</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
so pork this topic how divide up future nominalizer substantive qst
- (164) *mâ hê? qo , yè à? pè pî ô? , qhâ?-šɛ*  
Cl<sub>nf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> N  
otherwise household accusative divide up benefactive (3p) hortatory headman
- ò , yè à? pè pî ô?* .  
P<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
vocative household accusative divide up benefactive (3p) hortatory

- (165) *H* : *hēε* , *yè*      *à?*      *pè-?* , *yè*      *à?*      *pè-?* .  
 . Interj N P<sub>n</sub> V<sub>imp</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V<sub>imp</sub>  
 take it! household accusative divide! household accusative divide!
- (166) *yè*      *à?*      *pè*      *lò* .  
 N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 household accusative divide up urging
- (167) *tê*    *yè*                    *ve*                    *hí*    *mê?*                    *hí*    *mê?*                    *pè*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub>                    P<sub>univ</sub>                    Num Cl<sub>f</sub>                    Num Cl<sub>f</sub>                    V  
 one for households genitivizer eight hundred grams eight hundred grams divide up  
*a ni* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub>  
 try to
- (168) *yù*                    *kə*      *è?*      .  
<sub>v</sub>V                    V      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 take and V sthg put into emphatic
- (169) *thɔ*                    *è?*      .  
 V                    P<sub>uf</sub>  
 make a hole in emphatic
- (170) : *thɔ*                    , *thɔ*                    , *thɔ*                    .  
                   V                    V                    V  
                   make a hole in      make a hole in      make a hole in
- (171) *H* : *kə*      *lò*      , *ô*    *kîlô*                    *à?*      .  
 . V P<sub>v</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
                   put into urging that scale (for weighing) accusative
- (172) *T* : *âa*      , *tê gâ le-le*    *qha-dê?*    *gâ*    *ga*    *ni*                    *pî-?*                    *mē*  
 . Interj NP<sub>q</sub> AE <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
                   well! everybody properly must help try and V benefactive (imperative) persuasive
- (173) *à-mù*      *qô?-dà?-yɔ-dà?*                    *tù*    *dê-dê* *qo* , *šú*    *kâ*    *yô*    *kâ*    *qo* ,  
 Conj Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V Pron V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 otherwise arguing and squabbling future all if others hear they hear if  
*ha-cà-ha-lây à* .  
 Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 embarrassing asseverative
- (174) *šú*    *yâ*      *à?*      *yâ?-tɔ*      *à*      .  
 Pron N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 others people accusative be ashamed asseverative
- (175) *H* : *âa*      , *chɔ*    *là*    *ò*      *lɔ*                    *và*      *nē*      .  
 . Interj N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
                   well! people come already emphatic declarative emphatic emphatic
- (176) *vâ?-šâ* *yù*                    *pî*    *a*      .  
 N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub>  
 pork take and V sthg give hortatory

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- (177) *pè* *pè* *ā* *ve-ṣ* .  
V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
divide up finish V'ing perfective emphatic
- (178) *T* : *kù* *pî* *a* , *kù* *pî* *a* .  
. V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
announce benefactive (3p) intentive announce benefactive (3p) hortatory
- (179) : *vàʔ-ṣā* *yù* *la* *o* , *vàʔ-ṣā* *yù* *la* *o* .  
N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
pork take come to V emphatic pork take come to V emphatic
- (180) *tê-qhâʔ-tê-lò* *ve* *o* .  
Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
the whole village genitivizer emphatic
- (181) : *yù* *la* *ve* *yò* , *yù* *la* *ve* *yò* .  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
take come to V nominalizer declarative take come to V nominalizer declarative
- (182) *T* : *cô* *ṣ* , *Câ-bùʔ* *tê qhô* *ṣ* *â* *là* *mò*  
. N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub>  
over there locative male name one household topic negative come see or hear of  
*ṣê* *và* .  
P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
yet emphatic
- (183) *H* : *ca* *kù* *pî* *a* , *ca* *kù* *pî*  
. <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub>  
go and do call benefactive (3p) hortatory go and do call benefactive (3p)  
*a* .  
P<sub>v</sub>  
hortatory
- (184) *T* : *Câ-bùʔ* *tê qhô* *âʔ* *kù* *pî* *a*  
. N<sub>pers</sub> Q P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
male name one section of a village accusative call benefactive (3p) hortatory  
*cê* .  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
quotative
- (185) : *Câ-bùʔ* *ò* , *vàʔ-ṣā* *yù* *la* *o* *qôʔ* *o* .  
N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
male name vocative pork take come to V emphatic say emphatic
- (186) *Câ-bùʔ* : *là* *tɛ* *dò* *ṣā* .  
N<sub>pers</sub> N V V P<sub>v</sub>  
male name tea put on the fire drink intentional (1p)
- (187) *T* : *là* *tɛ* *dò* *ve* *yâʔ-ṣṣ* *tê ṣṣ* *ve*  
. N V V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> Q P<sub>univ</sub>  
tea put on the fire drink nominalizer this morning one morning genitivizer  
*bûʔ* *thâ* *yò* .  
V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
be more than enough when declarative

- (188) *là?-q̄5 tō?*                      *kì*        *è?*        *mâ*        *là*        , *nò-hi*        *chɔ*        *qô?-ve*  
 OV                                      P<sub>v-nom</sub>    P<sub>unf</sub>    Adv        V            Pron        N            P<sub>n</sub>  
 join hands in marriage    locative    even    negative    come    you (pl)    people    topicalizer  
*mā-hā-šê?-hā*    *ve*                      *chi qhe*    *tí*        *yò*                      *mē*                      .  
 Elab<sub>v</sub>        P<sub>univ</sub>                      AE<sub>ext</sub>    P<sub>univ</sub>    P<sub>uf</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 stubborn        nominalizer    like this    only    declarative    emphatic
- (189) *qhà-thá?-kà?* .  
 AE  
 always
- (190) *Boy* : *yô*    *qo*    *ya-fín*    *lè?*                      *chê*                      *ve*                      *ma*                      .  
 .            Pron    P<sub>unf</sub>    N        V                                      V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 he        topic    opium    smoke (tobacco)    continuous    nominalizer    exclamatory
- (191) *T* : *nā-qā-pi*    *pā-nê è?*        *te*                      *qo*                      .  
 .            N            AE<sub>stat</sub>    V                                      P<sub>unf</sub>  
 forehead    emaciated    be a certain way    topic
- (192) < *laughter* >
- (193) *Cà-bù?*        : *kha*        *pí*                      *à*                      .  
 N<sub>pers</sub>                      V            V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>v</sub>  
 male name        criticize    prone to V    asseverative
- (194) *nò*    *ve*                      *qhe-cà-cà*    *ηà*        *mâ*        *câ*    *ò*                      *mē*                      .  
 Pron    P<sub>univ</sub>                      AE            Pron    Adv        V        P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 your    genitivizer    anything    I            negative    eat    anymore    emphatic
- (195) *T* : *â*                      *câ*    *kà?*    *qhe-cε*    *yò*                      *qô?-ma*                      .  
 .            Adv        V        P<sub>unf</sub>    N<sub>ext</sub>                                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative    eat    even    it doesn't matter    emphatic
- (196) *qha-dê?*    *te*        *cā*    *ha*                      *lε*                      .  
 AE                      vV        V        P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>  
 properly    do and    feed    tentative    because
- (197) *câ*    *mā-yɔ* .  
 V        P<sub>v</sub>  
 eat    don't
- (198) *nò*    *tê gā*                      *šu*        *à?*                      *mâ*        *hō*                      .  
 Pron    Q                      Pron    P<sub>n</sub>                      Adv        V  
 you    one person    others    accusative    negative    cooperate
- (199) *H* : *tā*        *qô? dà?*    , *tā*        *qô? dà?* .  
 .            Adv        V+P<sub>v</sub>                      Adv        V+P<sub>v</sub>  
 don't!    quarrel    don't!    quarrel
- (200) *bon te*                      *šā*                      *lε*                      , *bon te*                      *šā*  
 OV                                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      OV                      P<sub>v</sub>  
 do out of kindness    hortatory (1p)    suspensive    do out of kindness    hortatory (1p)  
*lε*                      , *bon-gā-šín-gā*                      *e*                      *pí*  
 P<sub>univ</sub>                      Elab<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>v</sub>                      V<sub>v</sub>  
 hortatory (1p)    gaining grace and graining blessing    V more and more    benefactive (3p)

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- (201) *T* : *cô* *pū-cô* *tê qhō* *kà?* *â* *là* *qha-pâ?* *šē*  
 . *N<sub>sd</sub>* *N* *Q* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *Adv* *V* *P<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>v</sub>*  
 over there sexton one section of a village also negative come intensifying particle yet  
*yâ* .  
*P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 emphatic
- (202) *qhe* *qay* *ve* *qô?-ve* , *nò-hi* *chɔ* *qô?-ve* *tô yɔ hā*  
*Adv* *V* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *P<sub>n</sub>* *Pron* *N* *P<sub>n</sub>* *N<sub>spec</sub> + V*  
 like this continue nominalizer topicalizer you (pl) people topicalizer stubborn  
*ve* .  
*P<sub>univ</sub>*  
 nominalizer
- (203) *câ* *la* *o* *qô?* *ve* *kà?* *mâ* *qò?* *là* *šē* .  
*V* *P<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>* *V* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *Adv* *<sub>v</sub>V* *V* *P<sub>v</sub>*  
 eat come to V emphatic say nominalizer even negative V instead come yet
- (204) *H* : *nô* *ni* *è?* , *nô* *ni* *è?* , *ɔ-yâ* *là* *mò*  
 . *N<sub>sd</sub>* *V* *P<sub>uf</sub>* *N<sub>sd</sub>* *V* *P<sub>uf</sub>* *N* *V* *V<sub>v</sub>*  
 up there look at emphatic up there look at emphatic son come see or hear of  
*vâ* , *nô* *ni* *è?* *yù* *pî* *a* *è?* .  
*P<sub>uf</sub>* *N<sub>sd</sub>* *V* *P<sub>uf</sub>* *<sub>v</sub>V* *V* *P<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 emphatic up there look at emphatic take and V sthg give hortatory emphatic
- (205) *tê* *thɔ* *yù* *pî* *a* .  
*Num* *Cl<sub>f</sub>* *<sub>v</sub>V* *V* *P<sub>v</sub>*  
 one for pierced bundles take and V sthg give hortatory
- (206) *tê* *thɔ* .  
*Num* *Cl<sub>f</sub>*  
 one for pierced bundles
- (207) *T* : *tê* *thɔ* *yù* *pî* *a* .  
 . *Num* *Cl<sub>f</sub>* *<sub>v</sub>V* *V* *P<sub>v</sub>*  
 one for pierced bundles take and V sthg give hortatory
- (208) *tê* *thɔ* .  
*Num* *Cl<sub>f</sub>*  
 one for pierced bundles
- (209) : *hē* *hē* *hē* .  
*Interj* *Interj* *Interj*  
 take it! take it! take it!
- (210) *yù* *ŋɔ* *və-?* .  
*V* *V<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>v</sub>*  
 take try V'ing away (imperative)
- (211) *Boy* : *ŋà* *nī* *qhe-ce* *ī* *kà?* *mâ hê?* *lɔ* *vâ* .  
 . *Pron* *N* *AE* *V<sub>adj</sub>* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *Adv + V* *P<sub>uf</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 my penis only big even not be the case emphatic declarative emphatic
- (212) < *laughter* >

- (213) *H* : *âa* , *pə̀* *ve* *nē* , *qhe-qo* .  
 . Interj V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Conj  
 well! be completed nominalizer emphatic then
- (214) *khê?* *câ* *ve* *chi* *̄* .  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub>  
 wedding feast celebrate nominalizer this topic
- (215) *và?*-*šā* *pè* *câ* *ve* *à?* *tê* *yè* *le-le* *ve*  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> B<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 pork divide up V to eat nominalizer accusative one for households every genitivizer  
*à?* ; *mā* *là* *ve* *qo* *̄* *mū phà?* *à* ...  
 P<sub>n</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> SV P<sub>v</sub>  
 accusative negative come nominalizer if topic get dark asseverative
- (216) < *a few weeks or months later* >
- (217) *T* : *âa* , *chi tê pə̀?* *̄* *yâ* *qə̀?* *phə-qə̀?* *e*  
 . Interj NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 well! this time topic son V back (to starting point) flee home motion away  
*ve* *à?* *qə̀?* *jè* *dà?* *šē* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 nominalizer accusative V again discuss mutual action still
- (218) *âa* , *ηà* *yâ* *nə̀* *gε* *qə̀?* *e* *ve* *ò*  
 Interj Pron N Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 well! my son you from return motion away nominalizer already  
*lə* *qə̀?*-*ma* , *â* *qə̀?* *la* *mə̀* *le-lâ* ,  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic declarative emphatic negative return motion towards see or hear of yes  
*nə̀* *gε* *̄* .  
 Pron P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 you to topic
- (219) *H* : *â* *qə̀?* *la* *mə̀* *nē* .  
 . Adv V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative return motion towards see or hear of emphatic
- (220) : *chə-khə̀* *mā* *nə̀* *qə̀?*-*ma* , *nə̀* *yâ* *chi* *̄* .  
 N Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> Pron N Det P<sub>unf</sub>  
 people's advice negative be aware of emphatic your son this topic
- (221) *Boy* : *də̀?* *cə̀* *qə̀?*-*ma* *lê* .  
 . V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 thrash ought to emphatic request for assent
- (222) *T* : *yâ* *chi* *qə̀?*-*ve* , *dē* *lâ* *ve* *qə̀?* *ve*  
 . N Det P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 son this topicalizer scold benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer say nominalizer  
*cē* *qə̀?*-*ma* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative emphatic

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- (223) *ηà qô? qo yô à? mâ-dê-mâ-yà? jɔ qô?-ma , tê pô? è?*  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Q P<sub>n</sub>  
 I topicalizer him accusative not scold or rebuke experiential emphatic once even  
*kà?*  
 P<sub>unf</sub>  
 even
- (224) *ηà qô? ve chi yò è?*  
 Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> Det P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 I tell nominalizer this declarative emphatic
- (225) *mâ ĩ šē , tâ ka tâ ka qô? ve*  
 Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> Adv V Adv V V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 negative big yet don't! arrange marriage don't! arrange marriage say nominalizer
- (226) *T : chɔ ka ve mâ hê?*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V  
 people arrange marriage nominalizer negative be the case
- (227) *yô-hi-qhâ-yô-hi te cō və lâ ve*  
 Pron <sub>v</sub>V V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 they by themselves do and fall in love with benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer
- (228) *chɔ ca te ġa ve mâ hê?*  
 N <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V  
 people go and do do be able nominalizer negative be the case
- (229) *chi qhe ve*  
 AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 like this genitivizer
- (230) *: tê ġe yî? mâ khān le phɔ-qô? e ve*  
 Q V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 together sleep negative bear to V because run away motion away nominalizer  
*le nê-5*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer suppositional
- (231) *: â hê? ɔ nê-5*  
 Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative be the case affirmative suppositional
- (232) *: yò*  
 V  
 be true
- (233) *qhe mâ hê? qo , mâ phɔ-qô? e cō*  
 Adv Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 just like that negative be the case if negative run away motion away ought to
- (234) *T : kán khà? le qò? e ve le-nā*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 work be tired of because go home motion away nominalizer indirect question marker  
 , *šú kán à? le*  
 Pron N P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 others' work accusative because



- (235) : *ká* *̄* *qhe-cà-cà* *mâ* *cò* *mò* .  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> AE Adv V V<sub>v</sub>  
 work topic so much negative be there see or hear of
- (236) *H* : *yì?* *qhe* *le* , *yì?* *qhe* *le* , *bò* *jâ* *le*  
 . V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 sleep to excess to excess sleep to excess to excess be lazy very because  
*chi* *̄* .  
 Det P<sub>unf</sub>  
 this one topic
- (237) : *mâ* *hê?* *ɔ* , *yâ-mî-qê?* *mâ* *khân* *ve* *qô?-ma* .  
 Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> N Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative be the case affirmative woman negative endure nominalizer emphatic
- (238) *T* : *âa-à-â* , *nì* *yâ* *qô? qo* *lè* *mâ-hâ-šê?-hâ* *ve* , *šû*  
 . Interj Pron N P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron  
 oh dear! our children topicalizer topic stubborn nominalizer others'  
*yâ* *l* *qô? qo* *è* *â* *šû* *tâ*  
 N M<sub>prfx</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 children situation topicalizer even negative be the same as negative probability  
*nâ* *le* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 wonderment because
- (239) *chò* *mâ* *qo* *ô* *qay* .  
 N<sub>sd</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> V  
 here advise if there go
- (240) *ô* *mâ* *qo* *chò* *là* .  
 N<sub>sd</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> V  
 there advise if here come
- (241) *ôo-ò-ò* *phê?* *kà?* *phê?* *bò* *cì-à?* .  
 Interj V P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 my goodness! exist also exist be tired of very
- (242) *šû* *yâ* *à?* *yà?-tɔ* *cì-à?* .  
 Pron N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 others' children accusative be ashamed very
- (243) *H* : *yâ* *chi* *tê* *mâ* *qô?-ve* *qo* *̄* *chɔ-bò-chɔ-phî* *è*  
 . N Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 son this one for people (informal) topicalizer if topic lazybones only  
*yò* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (244) *ká* *te* *mô* *te* *câ* *ve* *mâ* *hê?* .  
 N V N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V  
 work do thing do V for a living nominalizer negative be the case
- (245) *T* : *qhe-cɛ ve yò* , *qhe-cɛ ve yò* .  
 . NP<sub>ext</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub>  
 it's just like that it's just like that

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- (246) : *a-lô* , *nò* *yâ* *chi* *qô?* *lê* *nī* *lón* *kà?* *là?-ğš* *hi* *te-qa* ...  
 Interj Pron N Det V P<sub>unf</sub> N B<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 wow! your son this speak topic penis sthg big also forearm as big as because  
 < laughter >
- (247) *T* : *âa* .  
 Interj  
 oh, come now!
- (248) *Boy* : *âa* , *cha* *lón* *cha* *lón* *kà?* *ī* *ve* *qô?-ma*  
 Interj N B<sub>n</sub> N B<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! vagina sthg big vagina sthg big also big nominalizer emphatic  
*lê*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 request for assent
- (249) *T* : *âa* , *ηà* *yâ* *chi* *ō* *te* *mâ* *ğa* *ò* *ma* .  
 Interj Pron N Det P<sub>unf</sub> V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! my son this topic do negative be able already exclamatory
- (250) *qhâ?-še* *ge* *qay* *tí* *yò* .  
 N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 headman to go only declarative
- (251) *qhâ?-še* *ge* *qay* *tí* *yò* .  
 N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 headman to go only declarative
- (252) *qhâ?-še* *ò* , *kù-phòn* *a* *lò* , *chɔ* *chi ma* *ve*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> N NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 headman vocative call together hortatory urging people this many genitivizer  
*à?*  
 P<sub>n</sub>  
 accusative
- (253) *te* *mâ* *ğa* *o* .  
 V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 do negative be able emphatic
- (254) *H* : *hâə* , *chi-há* *ηà* *á-qhɔ* *lo* *chɔ* *tê gâ le-le* *là* *ò?* *mē* .  
 Interj N<sub>time</sub> Pron N P<sub>n</sub> N NP<sub>q</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 hey! tonight my home locative people everybody come hortatory urging
- (255) *ə-lɔn* *cə* *ve* *mē* .  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 matter be there nominalizer persuasive
- (256) *mâ* *là* *mâ* *phê?* *mē* .  
 Adv V Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative come negative able to emphatic
- (257) \*\*\*

- (258) : *âa* , *yâ?-pé* *nô* *ᵛ* *chə* *kù* *pâ?* .  
 Interj N<sub>time</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub>  
 well! tonight up there topic people shout lively emphasis
- (259) *à-thò?-ma te* *lɛ-nā* .  
 Adv<sub>interrog</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 why wonderment
- (260) *T* : *ôo* , *šu* *yâ* *ᵛ-lɔn* *cê* .  
 Interj Pron N N P<sub>uf</sub>  
 oh! somebody's son about quotative
- (261) *šu* *yâ* *šu* *gɛ* *mâ* *chê* *phê?* *lɛ* .  
 Pron N Pron P<sub>n</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 somebody's son they with negative live able to because
- (262) : *qhà-thâ?-kà?* *šu* *yâ* *ᵛ-lɔn* *tí* *yò* .  
 AE Pron N N P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 always others' son about only declarative
- (263) : *âlô* , *na* *kà?* *na* *bò* *cì-à?* .  
 Interj V P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 ah! listen even listen be tired of very
- (264) *qhe* *šu* *yâ* *ᵛ-lɔn* *tí* *lɛ* .  
 Adv Pron N N P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 like this others' son about only because
- (265) *Boy* : *âlô* *ᵛà* *lè* *mâ* *qay* *o* , *mâ* *qay* *o* .  
 Interj Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 ah! I topic negative go emphatic negative go emphatic
- (266) *T* : *mâ* *qay* *ve* *mâ* *phê?* *mē* , *yâ* *tê* *ḡḡ* *ò* .  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> N Q P<sub>n</sub>  
 negative go nominalizer negative able to urging guys pluralizer vocative
- (267) *nā-qā-pi* *à?* *tē* *ā* *ve* *mē* .  
 N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 forehead accusative pound down durative nominalizer emphatic
- (268) *ḡa* *qay* *ve* *yò* *mē* .  
 vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 must go nominalizer declarative persuasive
- (269) *qhe* *a-šu-yô* *ó-qō* *à?* *tē* *ā* *ve* , *mâ* *qay*  
 Adv Pron N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V  
 like this everybody's head accusative pound down durative nominalizer negative go  
*mâ* *phê?* *mē* .  
 Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative able to urging
- (270) *tê* *nī* *qo* *nì-hi* *ᵛ-lɔn* *šu* *na* *lâ*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N Pron V P<sub>v</sub>  
 one for days when we (pl) matter others listen benefactive (non-3p)  
*pā* *mâ* *cò* *mē* .  
 P<sub>v-nom</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 agentive nominalizer negative be there emphatic

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- (271) *qay le na cō , mâ yɔ mâ te gâ thō* .  
V P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> Adv V Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
go go listen ought to negative speak negative do desiderative even
- (272) *H : ôo , gâ la pə ò lâ* .  
. Interj V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
oh! arrive motion towards finish V'ing completed action yes
- (273) *T : eeà? , nì-hi chɔ tí qo , chi ma tí cɔ ve*  
. Interj Pron N P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
right! we (pl) people topicalizer this many only be there nominalizer  
*yò hé* .  
P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
declarative probably
- (274) *H : gâ la ò? , gâ la*  
. V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
come in motion towards urging imperative come in motion towards  
*ò?*  
P<sub>v</sub>  
urging imperative
- (275) *: jè dà? qha ni ò è?* .  
V + P<sub>v</sub> AE P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
discuss until it's figured out completed action emphatic
- (276) *H : yà?-pí-há ò-lɔn chi ɔ , yâ chi tê ca ve ò-lɔn*  
. N<sub>time</sub> N Det P<sub>unf</sub> N Det Q P<sub>univ</sub> N  
this evening matter this topic children this one couple genitivizer matter  
*qô?-ma* .  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
emphatic
- (277) *yâ chi qhe qay lɔ qô?-ma* .  
N AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
children like this go a certain way emphatic declarative emphatic
- (278) *chɔ chi ma ve dɔ a ni qhà-qhe te tù le* .  
N NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
people this many genitivizer think try to how? do future substantive qst
- (279) *T : â-â* .  
. Interj  
my goodness!
- (280) *qhe-cɔ-cɔ te dà? ve-ɔ* .  
AE V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
to this extent squabble emphatic
- (281) *Ğì-ša mē?-ğû-šī hɔ ɔ , ğa khān ğa hâ?*  
N N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> vV V vV V  
God presence of under locative experience V'ing swear experience V'ing get married  
*ğa te dà? ô-ve ɔ , â dà? nē-ɔ* .  
vV V + P<sub>v</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
experience V'ing squabble that topic negative good suppositional

- (282) *Ĝì-ša à-lō á cō nē-ṽ* .  
 N N Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 God will negative be in accordance with suppositional
- (283) *chi qhe te ve-ṽ* .  
 AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 like this do emphatic
- (284) *ŋà tí qo šālà? phè? ve le nò-hi à? tū mā*  
 Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> Adv V  
 I topicalizer pastor be sthg nominalizer because you (pl) accusative for free teach  
*lā a*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p) intentive
- (285) *na gā qo nē à? cō yò* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 listen desiderative if you (pl) accusative be responsible for declarative
- (286) *mā na gā qo nē à? cō yò* .  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative listen desiderative if you (pl) accusative be responsible for declarative
- (287) *Ĝì-ša à-lō mā cō mē* .  
 N N Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 God will negative be in accordance with emphatic
- (288) *H : āa , yā chi qô?-ve qô? qo ̄ nò ge pho-qô? e nò*  
 . Interj N Det P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> Pron  
 well! son this topicalizer topicalizer topic you to run away motion away you  
*š ná nò-mā-nò-š le qhe qay ve*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 teach V selfishly you teach and instruct because thus go a certain way nominalizer  
*yò*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (289) *mā qô? la pə lā ve nò*  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron  
 negative return motion towards send smn to V benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer you  
*à? cō ve qô?-ma* .  
 P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 accusative be responsible for nominalizer emphatic
- (290) *T : āa , yā chi qô?-ve mā ġa mā mā ġa š* .  
 . Interj N Det P<sub>n</sub> Adv V<sub>v</sub> V Adv V<sub>v</sub> V  
 well! son this topicalizer negative get to teach negative get to instruct
- (291) *mā-hā-šê?-hā ve qô? qo ô-thā tê ni qô? qo nò-hi thō šī ā*  
 Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 stubborn nominalizer topicalizer long since topicalizer you (pl) also know durative  
*ve yò*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative

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- (292) *te mâ ġa o* .  
 V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 do negative be able emphatic
- (293) *yâ ġa qo yâ à? t̄ā l̄ē m̄ā ve tí*  
 N V P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 son have available topic son accusative put on trial because teach nominalizer only  
*yò-è?*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic declarative
- (294) *H : ôo , yâ à? š̄ε-qò? e ve l̄áy ní*  
 . Interj N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 oh! son accusative lead back home motion away nominalizer several for days  
*ḡà-ò ve qò?-m̄ā* .  
 V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 reached (already) nominalizer emphatic
- (295) *qh̄à-qhe te th̄ō n̄ē š̄ī c̄ō qò?-m̄ā* .  
 Cl<sub>nf</sub> Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 anyway you know ought to emphatic
- (296) *n̄ē yâ qò?-m̄ā* .  
 Pron N P<sub>uf</sub>  
 your son emphatic
- (297) *T : âa , qhe-qo ” š̄é a-? ” qò? ve l̄ε-l̄ā , n̄ē*  
 . Interj Conj V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron  
 well! then pay compensation hortatory say nominalizer yes you  
*m̄ε*  
 P<sub>n</sub>  
 contrastive topicalizer
- (298) *: mâ h̄â? ve qo ġa š̄é l̄ā*  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub>  
 negative stay married nominalizer if must pay compensation benefactive (non-3p)  
*ve yò* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (299) *H : tâ? tâ? tâ? tâ?* .  
 . V<sub>imp</sub> V<sub>imp</sub> V<sub>imp</sub> V<sub>imp</sub>  
 decide! decide! decide! decide!
- (300) *: š̄ī-š̄ī t̄è?-t̄è? k̄â? mâ h̄â? o* .  
 Cl<sub>nf</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 whether alive or dead negative want to stay married emphatic
- (301) *H : âa , a-ví-a-ni t̄ē ġī ò , n̄ē , à-š̄wè th̄ā cho-m̄ô*  
 . Interj Elab<sub>n</sub> Q P<sub>n</sub> Pron NP<sub>time</sub> N  
 well! brothers and sisters pluralizer vocative you (pl) long time ago ancestors  
*ȳé j̄o ve ò-l̄í à? d̄ô a ní l̄ε te tí*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 observe a custom experiential relativizer custom accusative think try to try to do only

- yò* *lê* .  
P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
declarative request for assent
- (302) *qhe ð-phô ð-mî-ma bà dà? ve qô?-ve qô? qo ̄ , a-šu lè*  
Conj N N V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub>  
so husband wife divorce nominalizer topicalizer topicalizer topic whoever topic  
*mâ hâ? gâ lē chî-bà qô? qo ̄ , chi*  
Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Det  
negative stay married desiderative desiderative cast away topicalizer topic this one  
*gâ pà ve tí yò-ê?*  
<sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
must pay nominalizer just emphatic declarative
- (303) *chɔ-mô ð-lî-ð-khô chi qhe cò ā ve yò* .  
N Elab<sub>n</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
ancestors precepts like this be there durative nominalizer declarative
- (304) *T : eeâ? , ” chɔ ī hî? mâ ī ,” chɔ qô? ve*  
. Interj N V<sub>adj</sub> M<sub>px</sub> Adv V<sub>adj</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
right! people great laws negative great person say nominalizer  
*thô , hî? ð-hó tí chē ve dē yò-ê?*  
P<sub>unf</sub> M<sub>px</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
even though laws under only live nominalizer all emphatic declarative
- (305) *a-šu kà?* .  
Pron  
everybody
- (306) : *cô ve yò* .  
V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
be right nominalizer declarative
- (307) *cô ve yò* .  
V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
be right nominalizer declarative
- (308) *qhà-qhe te thô* .  
Cl<sub>nf</sub>  
in any case
- (309) *T : tâ? a tí te lò* .  
. V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
decide a legal case hortatory just do urging
- (310) : *te mâ lâ ò* .  
V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
do negative succeed in completed action
- (311) *ð-bon ī à* .  
N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
obligation great asseverative
- (312) : *âa , ð-lî-ð-lɔn tí qo à-šwè chɔ-mô tê co yê*  
Interj Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V  
well! traditions topicalizer long ago ancestors one for eras observe a custom

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- jɔ ve àʔ te a lê , ð-ví-ð-ni*  
P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub>  
experiential nominalizer accusative do hortatory request for assent brothers and sisters
- tê phā ò .*  
Q P<sub>n</sub>  
pluralizer vocative
- (313) *chɔ-m̄ yê jɔ ve ɔ-qhe lɛ , a-ʃu*  
N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron  
ancestors observe a custom experiential nominalizer topicalizer topicalizer whoever
- tê ġâ lè mâ hâʔ ġâ lɛ chí-bà ve*  
Q P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
one person topic negative stay married desiderative because cast away nominalizer
- qôʔ-qo-pòʔ , tê chi ñâ thêʔ ġâ ʃé cê .*  
P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>uf</sub>  
topicalizer (lively) fifteen kyat must pay compensation quotative
- (314) *lɛ yâ cò ā ve qôʔ-qo-pòʔ , ʃéʔ khán*  
Conj N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Q  
and children be there perfective nominalizer topicalizer (lively) thirty (esp. money)
- cê mē .*  
P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
quotative emphatic
- (315) *yâʔ-pí-há ñ-ñi ɔ ð-lɔn chi ɔ a-ʃu tê ġâ bà ve*  
N<sub>time</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N Det P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Q V P<sub>univ</sub>  
this evening you (pl) topic matter this topic whoever one person divorce nominalizer
- qo ɔ chí à-ʃwè chɔ-m̄ ve ð-lí chí yê ā ve*  
P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Det NP<sub>time</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> N Det V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
if topic this long ago ancestors genitivizer custom this observe perfective nominalizer
- qhe kə a-ʔ .*  
N<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub>  
like put up money hortatory
- (316) : *kə pí a-ʔ , kə pí a-ʔ .*  
V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub>  
put up money benefactive (3p) hortatory put up money benefactive (3p) hortatory
- (317) *Husband : hē , hē , hē .*  
Interj Interj Interj  
take it! take it! take it!
- (318) : *ġɔ a ni , qhâʔ-ʃɛ ò , ġɔ a ni .*  
V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub>  
count try to headman vocative count try to
- (319) *T : tê ha ñâ chí lɔ qo , tê chí ñâ bàʔ ɔ pà lɛ*  
Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
one hundred fifty emphatic declarative if fifteen baht topic pay pay
- yù jɔ ve yò mē .*  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
keep experiential nominalizer declarative emphatic



- (320) *kâ-phû* .  
N  
listening fee
- (321) *hê?* , *nð-hi* *̄* *tê* *ha* *šê? chi ñâ* *bà?* *yù* *və*  
Interj Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
take it! you (pl) topic one hundred thirty-five baht keep transportatory motion  
*lò* .  
P<sub>v</sub>  
urging
- (322) *chi* *tê chi ñâ* *bà?* *̄* *kâ-phû* , *chə* *chi ma* *ve* *ğa* *mi phû*  
Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N , N NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V M<sub>prfx</sub>  
these fifteen baht topic listening fee people this many genitivizer get to sit cost  
*lâ phû* *šú* *phû* *yù* *á* *ve* *yò* .  
N M<sub>prfx</sub> N M<sub>prfx</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
tea cost tobacco cost deduct perfective nominalizer declarative
- (323) *háa* , *hē* *hē* *hē* *yù* *è?* , *è?* *è?* *qô?-ma* *qô?-ma*  
Interj Interj Interj Interj V P<sub>uf</sub> , P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
ah! take it! take it! take it! take emphatic emphatic emphatic emphatic emphatic
- (324) : *šé* *lâ* *ò* *qo* *qhe-ce* *yò-è?* , *nð-hi* *̄* .  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub>  
pay compensation benefactive (non-3p) already if that's all you (pl) topic
- (325) *T* : *âa* , *pə* *ve* *yò* , *ð-lə* *chi* *tê* *mà* .  
Interj V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
well! be completed nominalizer declarative matter this one for things

## Translation

- (H) Ahem, well, I have a little announcement<sup>1</sup> to make to you, brothers and sisters. On Monday morning<sup>2</sup> Java and Naphui are planning to get married! Now don't any of you go off anyplace!<sup>3</sup> We're going to celebrate the wedding, you see. We'll have a feast in joy and gladness, I tell you.
- (T) Well, my brothers, getting married – the joining of hands in marriage – is a very important thing according to our Christian customs. Therefore let everyone remain [in the village] in joy and gladness. For this is no laughing matter for us. Since they are to take one another in marriage in the sight of God, we Christians must all observe the occasion with the two of them in joy and gladness.
- (H) Well, will they slaughter a pig [to eat]?
- (T) Well, I daresay they'll have to slaughter a pig, all right. Even in times past –from time immemorial<sup>4</sup> – there has been a wise saying to the effect that when people get married, if they don't celebrate it with a wedding feast, there will be no luck and no success with the crops, either.

<sup>1</sup>*kâ lâ tù ð-lə*: lit. “a matter to let you hear”.

<sup>2</sup>*ší pə mû-šó qo ̄*: lit. “on the morning when the week is finished”. Sunday is *ší-ni*.

<sup>3</sup>The expression *tê kâ qay ve*, lit. “go to a place”, means “go off someplace else”.

<sup>4</sup>*tê co pə tê cá*: lit. “having finished one generation, another generation”.

5. (H) Well, in that case, it ought to be done early in the morning, the whole business of killing the pig.<sup>5</sup>
6. (T) Yes, we ought to do it rather early. According to my plans we'll kill the pig at six-thirty, finishing with it at seven, then at eight o' clock we'll join their hands [in marriage]. In the church. Who all will be in the pig-slaughtering party? Make the arrangements properly, each side by itself.<sup>6</sup>
7. (H) Well, on my side, Ja-ui is one, and Jaha is another, and Jageh is another. Three people ought to be enough, for my side.
8. (T) Now on my side, Jaqa is one, and Ehkhapaw<sup>7</sup> is another, and Jaqunyi is another – with these three people it should be enough, as far as my side goes.
9. (H) It comes to six people. That's plenty. We have enough then, with that many.
10. (T) Well, this girl now, I don't really know her. Whose child is she anyway?
11. (H) Oh, don't they say that she's the daughter of Jaqeh and Nada?
12. (T) Jaqeh and Nada's daughter, eh?
13. (H) Yep.
14. (T) Aha, so that's the one. But I doubt if she can take a husband yet! She's not big [enough] yet!
15. (H) She's big enough, she's big enough now.
16. (T) How old has she gotten to be, do they say?
17. (H) She's eight.
18. (T) Eight! Good grief, if she's only eight, how can she sleep with a man!
19. (H) [*laughing*] She's thirteen, thirteen and a half!
20. (Boy) I bet you can't tempt her into it yet.
21. (H) She's thirteen and a half already.
22. (T) Thirteen, huh? And how old do they say the man is?
23. (H) I heard them say the man is twenty-five.
24. (T) Twenty-five. Wow, a man that strong can't make it with a girl who's only eight! I mean, a girl who's only *thirteen*.
25. (H) She's big, I tell you. I'll bet she can. She's big [enough] already. Her body is a good size.<sup>8</sup>
26. (T) I wonder just how big her body is. Her build, I mean.
27. (H) It's plenty big, plenty big.
28. (T) The guy is big, you know! Because he's from great stock.
29. (H) Oh, she's not afraid, they say. Since she's big already.
30. (Kachin) Could anybody make it with her now?
- [*laughter*]
31. (H) They say she can, I tell you!

<sup>5</sup>tê g̃i is a group classifier: "all the various things connected with the pig-killing." Eating a pig is a very special event for the impoverished Lahu, something that was possible only a few times a year.

<sup>6</sup>That is, the bride's side and the groom's side each designate several men for the job or honor of serving on the team of slaughterers.

<sup>7</sup>A Shan name.

<sup>8</sup>ᵛ-ᵛē-ma 'a female body.' Cf. ᵛ-ᵛē-phâ 'a male body.' ᵛ-to 'body' is a Shan borrowing.

32. (Boy) I still don't really know who she is.
33. (H) Naphui, Naphui! Nada's daughter.
34. (boy) Oh.
35. (T) I see. She's a north-country person, isn't she?
36. (H) Right. A north-country girl, from up there. She lives south of Vanna,<sup>9</sup> they say.
37. (Boy) Yeah, for sure!<sup>10</sup>
38. Is she a Christian?
39. (H) I hear she became one not long ago – she's a Christian.
40. Has she learned a little about our ways and customs already?
41. (T) Well then, about the man – whose son do they say he is?
42. (H) You mean the groom?
43. (T) Yes.
44. (H) Didn't you hear me say he was Jaqeh's son?<sup>11</sup>
45. (T) Jaqeh's son?
46. (H) Jaqeh's son.
47. (T) I bet they call him Jaqeh because he's an oddball.<sup>12</sup>
48. (H) Exactly. He grows tea with the Thais. He's peculiar.
49. Yeah.
50. Because they say he acts like some kind of nut,<sup>13</sup> I bet.
51. He's a nut, all right, all right.
53. (T) He's what you [call] a nut.
54. He's probably the farm laborer who went and stole those people's things yesterday to feed his face and who the Thais chased and beat up.
55. (H) Of course. He's the guy they were talking about who stole their elephant-chains at Mehthawmaw<sup>14</sup> – the elephant-ropes and the neck-chains and went and sold them to fill his belly!
56. (T) Ah, ah, ah, ah.
57. (Boy) The one who the dogs were chasing to bite!
58. (T) Now I know, now I know. Well then, the time has now come to join their hands in marriage. Haven't they beaten the gong yet?<sup>15</sup> Have they beat it already?
59. (H) They've beat it, they've beat it. Let's go, let's go.

<sup>9</sup>A village in Shan State, Burma.

<sup>10</sup>The boy is imitating the way of saying 'yes' in north-country dialect.

<sup>11</sup>The Headman is confused (see sentence 11); either he forgot that Jaqeh was the *bride's* father or else both fathers-in-law have the same name.

<sup>12</sup>*qé è ve* means 'to be peculiar, strange.' It is common to assign nicknames by using the prefix *cà-* (for men) or *na-* (for women) to nouns or adjectives describing salient aspects of the individual's character or appearance.

<sup>13</sup>*kâ?-ku ve* (slang) "an eccentric, a nut." Lit: 'something cold and dried out,' as in *ŋâ kâ?-ku* 'dried fish,' *õ kâ?-ku* 'dried boiled rice.'

<sup>14</sup>A place not far from the village where the Thai keep elephants to work in the teak-forests.

<sup>15</sup>To summon the villagers to the church.

60. (T) You've heard it? Everybody hears it.<sup>16</sup> I suppose everyone has heard it, eh?

61. (H) We've heard it.

62. (T) Ah, now I hear it [too]!

63. (Boy) I hear it now!

64. We ought to make it snappy and go.

\* \* \*

[*In the church*]

65. (T) Well, since our two friends are getting married today, this morning, this magnifies and elevates the very great laws and ways of God. If all of us have indeed arrived, He<sup>17</sup> will join their hands in marriage. Now, do you, Java, swear in the sight of God and in the sight of all these people that you will not separate or stray from this your wife Naphui as long as you shall live, that you shall not abandon or reject her, even should she become crippled or blind, even should she become sick or unwell; that until you must be separated by death you will not separate or stray from her, neither abandoning nor rejecting her?

66. (Java) I swear it.

67. (T) He swears it. It is well.

Now then, Naphui, [do you swear that] your husband who is now holding your hand – er –

68. [prompting] Java!

69. (T) This man Java – do you swear in the sight of God and in the sight of all these people that as long as you live, unless God should take you away and cause you to separate from one another, whether he should become ill and diseased, or crippled and blind, or poor and wretched, that you will look after him, and help him, and take care of him, and that until you must be separated by death he will be your husband forever?

70. (Naphui) I swear it.

71. (T) She swears it. It is well.

Well, then, [now] we just have to divide up the pork! Has the pork been divided yet?

72. (H) It's [all] cut up and stacked, it's [all] cut up and stacked. Look over there!

73. (T) Well, how shall we do it?

74. (H) Shall we cook and eat it [all together]? Or shall we divide it up, among the various houses?

75. (Jingpho) Divide it, divide it!

76. (T) Divide it!

77. (Boy) Divide it!

78. (T) How shall we do it? Shall we make it one share per couple? Or else shall we make it one share per household?<sup>18</sup>

79. Make it one share per household. It's too much trouble [otherwise].

80. (H) But look, I have many people [in my house], two or three couples, and if there are lots of them they want a lot to eat!

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<sup>16</sup>I.e., 'everybody except me.'

<sup>17</sup>We know that God is the subject because of the 3p > 3p benefactive verb *pī*. If the pastor were the subject, the verb particle *lā* (1p > 3p benefaction) would be used instead.

<sup>18</sup>A household may include grandparents and/or collateral relations.

81. (T) Even if you do have lots of people, when it's time to work, they don't do it! Only one person [from your house] did any work with this business.<sup>19</sup>
82. Right! When it's time to work, only one person does it.
83. (T) [But] when it's time to eat, they want to eat a lot! That's what [I call] being greedy!
84. (H) Shouldn't this be what you call "acting out of voluntary charity"?<sup>20</sup> If you were being charitable, [everyone] ought to eat!
85. (T) To receive such charity, one should also do some work! There are always some of us who don't do the work!
86. (H) We *do* work!
87. (T) Only one person from your whole house, *one person*. And when he does happen to come once in a while, he goes home before noon! When it comes to working.
88. Would you swear that they don't work?
89. (T) I would swear to it. I never once saw them working.
90. (H) Well then, how much pork will we eat, in all?
91. (Boy) Don't give those guys anything to eat!
92. (H) Thirty-five kilos, we'll eat 35 kilos.
93. (T) Are you setting up a rule<sup>21</sup> [that it should be] 35 kilos?
94. (H) I *am* making it a rule. Starting from today and in the future everyone will have to observe<sup>22</sup> it, and it alone.
95. (T) If that is the only way it may be done, I'm afraid<sup>23</sup> that only those who are well-off will be able to set up housekeeping. If you're poor – the poor and penniless won't be able to set up housekeeping like them.
96. (H) As for that, that's something that both sides – the groom's parents and the bride's parents – should agree on. There are people who join hands [in marriage] even without having a wedding-feast. There are also those who just kill a little tree partridge<sup>24</sup> or two and get married. If your word is good.<sup>25</sup>
97. (T) Oh, well in that case it's all right. So, how shall we divide up this pork? If no one objects,<sup>26</sup> distribute it to the [various] houses, headman – give it out to the houses!
98. (H) Here, give it out to the houses, to the houses. Give it out to the houses! Try dividing it up so each house gets eight hundred grams.<sup>27</sup> Take it and put it in [the scales]! Spear<sup>28</sup> [the meat]!
99. Spear it, spear it, spear it!
100. (H) Put it in, into that scale.

<sup>19</sup>I.e., helping with the preparations for the wedding.

<sup>20</sup>**bo te ve**: 'do out of charity; perform a Christian religious ceremony'.

<sup>21</sup>**ḥ-lí tē ve**. It is the headman's prerogative, subject to approval by the village at large, to lay down general guidelines of this sort.

<sup>22</sup>**ḥ-lí yê ve**: lit. "use the rule".

<sup>23</sup>**ā-mù** ... (**pí à**) serves to introduce warnings or unpleasant predictions.

<sup>24</sup>**gā?-mē-cwi** is said to be a Red Lahu word. **gā?-mē-wí** is the 'quail-tailed chicken'. See DL:1122.

<sup>25</sup>The Headman leaves the rest of his thought unsaid: "As long as you are a man of your word, any arrangement you might make will be all right." The Headman has retreated from his previous hasty statement which was interpreted as laying down a blanket rule of 35 kilograms of pork per wedding. He only meant to say, he now claims, that if a pig is slaughtered by a wealthy bridal pair, it should be of a standard size.

<sup>26</sup>**mā hē? qo** 'if not; otherwise.' Here elliptical for something like **ni-ma mā cō pā cō ve mā hē? qo** 'if there is no one who disagrees.'

<sup>27</sup>A **mē?** is 1/10 of a kilogram.

<sup>28</sup>**thō ve**: 'pierce a hole in a piece of meat and put a bamboo strip through the hole for a handle'.

## Marriage and divorce

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101. (T) Ah, everybody must lend a hand<sup>29</sup> in the proper spirit. Otherwise, if we're all arguing and squabbling about it, if they should overhear us, if the others overhear us, it would be very embarrassing. We'd be ashamed in front of them.

102. (H) Ah, here come the people! Give out the pork. It's already divided up.

103. (T) Announce it, announce it!

104. Come and get the pork, come and get the pork! It's for the whole village!

105. We're coming to get it, we're coming to get it.

106. (T) I don't see them coming from over there yet, from Jabvuh's part of the village.<sup>30</sup>

107. (H) Go call them, go call them!

108. (T) He says to go call Jabvuh's part of the village.

109. Jabvuh! Come and get your pork, I tell you!

110. (Jabvuh) [*lazily*] Let me make some tea first.

111. (T) There was plenty of time to make tea this morning! You didn't even come to the wedding ceremony. People like you are hard to teach to and hard to preach to, that's all there is to it! It never fails.

112. (Boy) He's just smoking his opium!

113. (T) He has no meat on his bones,<sup>31</sup> you know.

[*laughter*]

114. (Jabvuh) Fault-finding bastards! I wouldn't eat anything of yours now anyway!

115. (T) It's all the same to us if you don't eat! Since we've tried to offer it to you properly.

116. Don't eat it then! You're the only one who doesn't get along with the others.

117. (H) Don't quarrel, don't quarrel. Let's do this good deed, let's do this good deed, gaining grace and gaining blessings.

118. (T) I don't hear the sexton's part of the village coming either!<sup>32</sup> Carrying on this way, you people are hard to reason with. Even when we say "Come and eat!" you still don't come.

119. (H) Look up there, look up there, I see his son coming, look up there! Give it to him. Give him a skewer [of meat]. One bundle.

120. (T) Give it to him, one bundle.

121. Here, here, here you are. Take<sup>33</sup> it away!

121A. (Boy playing Jabvuh's son) It's not even as big as my dick. [*laughter*]

122. (H) Well, it's all over then, this wedding-feast. We've finished giving out the pork, each house's share. If anybody hasn't come, it's dark out already.<sup>34</sup>

[*A few weeks or months later*]

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<sup>29</sup>The four-verb sequence **gā ga ni pī** literally means "must try helping".

<sup>30</sup>A **qhō** is a subdivision of a village, including two or three houses connected by location or familial ties.

<sup>31</sup>**nā-qā-pī pā-nē è te ve**: lit. "to have it near the forehead/to have one's forehead flat" (**pā** 'flat,' (**pā**-)**nē** 'near'), i.e., "be scrawny/emaciated" (e.g., of an opium addict).

<sup>32</sup>The intensifying particle **qha-pā?** (or simply **pā?**) is used especially when auditory perception is at issue.

<sup>33</sup>**yū ŋó vā-?**: **ŋó** is Yellow Lahu for the post-head versatile verb **ni** ('V and see'). The dialect mixture is intended to be humorous.

<sup>34</sup>I.e., if somebody hasn't come to pick up his meat yet, it's too late now.

123. (T) Well, this time we've got to discuss my son's running back home [and abandoning his wife]. Ah, my son has gone away from you!<sup>35</sup> And you haven't seen him come back to your house yet?

124. (H) I don't see him coming back!

124A. He can't be reasoned with, that son of yours!

125. (Boy) He ought to be thrashed, right?

126. (T) That boy says that I scolded him, that's what he's saying! But I have never scolded or rebuked him, not once!

127. I told you so! "They're not old enough yet, don't marry them off, don't marry them off!" I told you.

128. (T) Nobody married them off. They went and fell in love on us all by themselves.<sup>36</sup> There was nothing anybody could do about it. A thing like that.

129. I'll bet he ran away [from her] because he couldn't stand sleeping with her.

130. That's probably not true.

131. Sure. If that wasn't it, he shouldn't have run away.

132. (T) I wonder if he left because he was tired of the work. Since he was working for other people.

133. There wasn't all that much work, as far as I could see.

134. (H) He's always sleeping, always sleeping. He's as lazy as they come, that one.

135. That's not true. He just couldn't stand the woman.

136. (T) Oh, good God! Our children are hard to teach to and hard to preach to! I doubt if they'll ever come up to the standard of other people's children.<sup>37</sup> If you tell them [to come] *here*, they'll go *there*. If you tell them [to go] *there*, they'll come *here*. Ah, me, me! I'm tired of living. I'm ashamed [to compare them to] other people's children.

137. (H) If you mean that son [of yours], he's a lazy good-for-nothing puppy. He doesn't earn his living by working and toiling.

138. (T) That's just it, that's just it.

139. Wow, speaking of that son of yours, he's got a prick the size of somebody's forearm, so...

[laughter]

140. (T) Come now.

141. (Boy) Well, her big pussy, her big pussy was large enough, wasn't it?

142. (T) Well, I can't do anything about that son of mine anymore. I'll just have to go to the headman. I'll just have to go to the headman. Headman! Call all these people together, please. I can't cope.

143. (H) Hey there! Let everyone come to my house tonight! Here's a matter that has come up. You may not stay away!

\* \* \*

144. Say, I wonder why there are people shouting up there tonight.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>35</sup>The speaker is addressing the bride's father.

<sup>36</sup>*c̣ə̄ v̄ə̄ l̄ə̄ ve:* 'to fall in love', lit. "be transported by harmonious feelings".

<sup>37</sup>*ʃū ȳə̄ l̄ə̄ ʃū̄ ve:* 'to be the same as others' children's matters.' Usually simply *ʃū l̄ə̄ ʃū̄ ve* 'to be up to other people's standards.'

<sup>38</sup>See footnote 32.

145. (T) [*playing the role of a bystander*] Oh, they say it's about somebody's son. Somebody's son can't stay with his in-laws.<sup>39</sup>

146. Always, always, it's about somebody's son!

147. God, I'm tired to death of listening to stories about somebody's son!

148. (Boy) No, sir, I'm not going. I'm not going.

149. (T) You can't stay away, boys. That's been pounded into your heads!<sup>40</sup> You've really got to go. Like it's been drummed into everybody's head: you cannot absent yourselves. Somebody if *you* have a case for discussion you won't have anybody to listen to you. You ought to go and listen, even if you don't say anything or want to do anything.

150. (H) Well, has everybody arrived?

151. (T) Yes, we're all that there will be, I guess.

152. (H) Come in, come in!

153. Let's discuss it till we get to the bottom of it.

154. (H) Our business this evening concerns this pair of young people. These young people have behaved thus-and-so. All of you consider what is to be done.

155. (T) [*in role of pastor*] Dear Lord! After swearing and vowing in the sight of God, and taking each other and marrying one another, how could it be good for them to squabble like this!<sup>41</sup> How could it be in accordance with the will of God, acting in this manner! I am your Pastor, so let me give you some words of instruction. If you wish to listen, that's up to you. If you don't want to listen, that's up to you. I say it is not in accordance with the will of God!

156. (H) [*addressing the young man's father*] Well, as far as this son [of yours] running back to you goes, it's because of *your* upbringing and *your* teaching and *your* instruction that he acts this way. You are to blame for not sending him back [to his wife].

157. (T) [*playing role of groom's father*] Ah, this son of mine is unteachable and incorrigible! All of you have known long since that he's hard to teach to and hard to preach to. There's nothing to be done. Since you've got the son here you've just got to put him on trial and tell *him* what to do.<sup>42</sup>

158. (H) Well, it has been several days now since you led<sup>43</sup> your son back to your house. Whatever is going on, you ought to know all about it. It's your son, after all.

159. (T) Well, then, you're telling me [that I've got] to pay compensation, aren't you!

160. If you don't stay married, you've got to pay compensation.

161. (H) Decide the case! Decide the case!

162. (The groom) Whether I live or die I don't want to stay married [to that woman]!

163. (H) Well, my brothers, let's all try to bear in mind the principles which our ancestors used to observe of old, and act accordingly, shall we? Like when a husband and wife say they will get divorced, whichever one it is who doesn't want to stay married and [who wants to] cast the other off, he is the one who must pay for it. Our ancestors have had such a rule and such a precept.

164. (T) Yes, although some say that "people are greater than the law," we are all under the law. Everybody is.

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<sup>39</sup>šū yâ šu ge mâ chê phè?: lit. "somebody's son can't stay with somebody."

<sup>40</sup>Lit: 'pounded into your foreheads'. ó-qō 'head' is also usable in this idiom. See below.

<sup>41</sup>This rhetorical question translates the final unrestricted particle nê-5 'supposition or wonderment'.

<sup>42</sup>Without wasting time trying to blame the father for his son's behavior.

<sup>43</sup>The speaker uses the expression še qô? e ve 'to lead back home,' implying that the son left his wife on the father's instigation.



165. That's right, that's right. However you slice it.<sup>44</sup>
166. (T) Come on and give the verdict!
167. There's nothing he can do now.<sup>45</sup> His obligation<sup>46</sup> is too great.
168. (H?) Well, let us act according to the traditions and principles which were observed in the days of our ancestors, shall we not, my brothers? According to the practice of our ancestors, whenever anyone wanted to cast off [a spouse], he had to pay fifteen rupees.<sup>47</sup> And in case there were children, it was thirty rupees.<sup>48</sup> Tonight you all [should settle] this matter according to the rule observed by our forefathers that "He who abandons [his spouse] must pay for it."
169. Pay the money, pay the money!
170. (The husband) Here, here, here [it is].
171. Count it, Headman, count it.
172. (T) If it comes to 150 baht, it's customary [for the headman] to deduct 15 baht, you know. The "listening-cost." Here, you take 135 baht with you. These 15 baht are taken out to cover the "sitting expenses" for all these people – the tea money and the tobacco money.
173. So here, take it, take it, take it already!<sup>49</sup>
174. [*chuckling*] Since you've paid me my compensation, that's all there is to it.
175. (T) Well, this business is over and done with.

<sup>44</sup>Lit: "however you do."

<sup>45</sup>Except pay the compensation.

<sup>46</sup>*bo* is a very abstract word with several distinct senses that are interrelated in complex ways. See DL:186-187.

<sup>47</sup>*thè?*: a Burmese unit of currency. One *thè?* equalled 5 Thai baht. The total fine at the time was thus approximately 75 baht, or US\$3.75.

<sup>48</sup>Three *khá*. One *khá* (< Shan) is worth 10 *thè?*, or 50 baht. The total fine in this case was thus equal to 150 baht, or US\$7.50.

<sup>49</sup>The speaker is carried away in a plethora of particle-repetitions.

## 5.8 Wooing the maidens (Part I)

- (1) *Yâ-pâ-é* : *Thû-yì* , *nð* *yâ?-pí* *qhð* *qay* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> Pron N<sub>time</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> V  
 male name you tonight where? go
- (2) *Thû-yì* : *âa* , *yâ?-pí* *yâ-mî-há* *ca* *mâ?* *ni* *a*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Interj N<sub>time</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 male name well! tonight unmarried young woman go and do flirt try and V intentive  
*dš* *ve* *qô?-ma*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 think nominalizer emphatic
- (3) *P* : *qhð* *ve* *tê* *qhâ* .  
 N<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 which? genitivizer one for directions
- (4) *T* : *âa* , *cô* *yâ-mî* *qha* *cò* *kì* *tê* *qhâ* *ḡ* *qay*  
 Interj N<sub>sd</sub> N Adv V P<sub>v-nom</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V  
 well! over there girl all be there locative one for directions locative go  
*ni* *a* *dš* *ā* *ve* *yò* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 try and V intentive plan perfective nominalizer declarative
- (5) *P* : *nð* *qay* *thâ* *ḡà* *à?* *kù* *a* *mē* .  
 Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 you go when me accusative call hortatory persuasive
- (6) *ḡ* *a-cí* *câ* *a* *šā* .  
 N Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 meal just eat intentive first
- (7) *T* : *âa* , *nè-á* *tí* *ḡ-chô* *dâ?* *ve* *le* , *tê ge*  
 Interj Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q  
 well! the two of us as for friend good relativizer because together  
*šī dâ?* *le* *qay* *ve* *yò-a* .  
 V+P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 go along together suspensive go nominalizer emphatic declarative
- (8) *P* : *šī dâ?* *le* *tê ge* *te* *cô* *ve* *yò* ,  
 V+P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 go along together because together do ought to nominalizer declarative  
*nè-á* *ḡ* .  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub>  
 the two of us topic
- (9) *Cà-lš* : *ḡà* *mâ* *kù* *lâ* , *qhe-go* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Pron Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> Conj  
 male name me negative call yes then
- (10) *T* : *âa* , *nð* *kâ?* *qay* *phê?* *ve* *yò* , *phâ* *ò* .  
 Interj Pron P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 well! you also go able to nominalizer declarative buddy vocative

- (11) *šê?* *gâ* *cò* *ɔ* *qô?*-*ma* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 three for people be there affirmative emphatic
- (12) *C* : *èe* .  
 Interj  
 yes
- (13) *P* : *a-cí* *ī* *ve* *tê* *mà* *ŋà* *ve* *nè-5*  
 Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 more older relativizer one for people (informal) my genitivizer suppositional  
*qô?*-*ma* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (14) *T* : *ôo* , *a-cí* *dâ?* *ve* *tê* *mà* *ŋà* *ve*  
 Interj Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub>  
 hey! more good-looking relativizer one for people (informal) my genitivizer  
*yò* *è?* *nē* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative emphatic emphatic
- (15) *P* : *â* *phê?* *nē* , *qhe-5* .  
 Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> Conj  
 negative be possible emphatic in that case
- (16) *T* : *qhe* *mâ hê?* *qô?*-*ma* , *phâ* *ò* .  
 Adv Adv+V P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 like this not be the case emphatic buddy vocative
- (17) *nò* *ve* *ô-ve* *yâ-mî* *ŋà* *a-ló* *gĕ* *ā* *ò* *ve-5* .  
 Pron P<sub>univ</sub> Det N Pron Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 your genitivizer that girl I first visit perfective completed action emphatic
- (18) *P* : *nò* *a-ló* *gĕ* *ā* *kà?* , *nò* *mâ* *gĕ* *mò* *qô?*-*ma* .  
 Pron Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 you first visit perfective although you negative visit see or hear of emphatic
- (19) *T* : *ô-ve* *ŋà* *ka-tî?* *qha-dê?* *te* *ā* *ve* *qô?*-*ma* .  
 Det Pron N AE V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 that I promise properly make perfective nominalizer emphatic
- (20) *P* : *pòthôo* *ka-tî?* *ca* *šō* *qo* *lè* , *nò* *ŋà* *ma*  
 Interj N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Pron N<sub>ext</sub>  
 for God's sake! promise go and do calculate if topic you me as much as  
*mâ* *cò* .  
 Adv V  
 negative be there
- (21) *T* : *âa* , *qhe-qo* *ŋà* *cô* *ò-ni-ma* *tê* *mà*  
 Interj Conj Pron N<sub>sd</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 well! if that's the way it is I over there younger sister one for people (informal)  
*qò?* *vân* *a* .  
<sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub>  
 V again go for it intentive

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- (22) *nò vâŋ qo .*  
 Pron V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 you go for it if
- (23) *P : vâŋ lò vâŋ lò .*  
 . V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 go for it urging go for it urging
- (24) *T : ð-ví-ma tê mà nò vâ-? , ð-ni-ma tê*  
 . N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Pron V<sub>imp</sub> N Num  
 elder sister one for people (informal) you go ahead and do it! younger sister one
- mâ ñà vâŋ a .*  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub>  
 for people (informal) I go for it intentive
- (25) *p : vâ-? , vâ-? .*  
 . V<sub>imp</sub> V<sub>imp</sub>  
 go ahead and do it! go ahead and do it!
- (26) *ñà kâ? qhe d̄s ā ve yò .*  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 I also like this think perfective nominalizer declarative
- (27) *T : phâ , nò ê?*  
 . N Pron P<sub>n</sub>  
 buddy you contrastive interrogative
- (28) *C : ñà lâ-o .*  
 . Pron P<sub>uf</sub>  
 I yes
- (29) *T : eeê?*  
 . Interj  
 yeah
- (30) *C : qha-dê? kâ? â ġa yɔ dà? šē nē .*  
 . AE P<sub>unf</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 properly topicalizer negative get to speak mutual action yet emphatic
- (31) *P : yɔ a ni , qhe-qo ̄ .*  
 . V P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub> Conj P<sub>unf</sub>  
 speak try to then topic
- (32) *T : âa , à-mù tê khi qo , qay a ni yò-a .*  
 . Interj NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! a short time from now when go try to emphatic declarative
- (33) *âa , chi tê khi ̄ ô phâ ̄ câ šā .*  
 Interj NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub>  
 well! this time topic that buddy food eat first
- (34) *lɔ pî šā .*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 wait for benefactive (3p) first

- (35) *Cà-bo* : *chi phâ tê gâ à? šu cĕ-cì â mâ?*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Det N Q P<sub>n</sub> Pron Adv Adv V  
 male name this guy one person accusative she (not) very much negative flirt  
*gâ lĕ-nā , phâ ò .*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 desiderative indirect question marker buddy vocative
- (36) *T* : *â šĭ qô?-ma .*  
 Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative know emphatic
- (37) *šu qô? ve ca qhō na qo ̄ , yō ̄-qhe*  
 Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> vV vV V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub>  
 others say relativizer go and do V secretly ask for a date when topic she topicalizer  
*nà?-ú kâ? qha-dê?-dê? è mâ te*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> AE Prt Adv V  
 conversation even properly adverbializer negative treat a certain way  
*lâ , qô? lâ qô?-ma .*  
 P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p) say benefactive (non-3p) emphatic
- (38) *nà?-ú qha-dê? â te pĭ khō nē ,*  
 N AE Adv V V<sub>v</sub> N P<sub>uf</sub>  
 conversation properly negative make benefactive (3p) probable reason why emphatic  
*nò .*  
 Pron  
 you
- (39) *C* : *ŋà nà?-ú te pĭ ve lĕ jâ*  
 Pron N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub>  
 I conversation make benefactive (3p) nominalizer topic excessive  
*ò ve .*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 completed action nominalizer
- (40) *yō ̄ mâ te lâ qô?-ma .*  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 she topic negative treat a certain way benefactive (non-3p) emphatic
- (41) *yà?-tò ve hĕ qô?-ma .*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be embarrassed nominalizer maybe emphatic
- (42) *P* : *a-cĭ mâ mâ? dâ? šĕ lĕ .*  
 Adv Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 a little negative be acquainted with mutual action yet because
- (43) *C* : *yà-ò hĕ , qhe yò hĕ .*  
 V P<sub>uf</sub> Adv P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 yeah! maybe like this declarative maybe
- (44) *P* : *nĭ há šĕ? há qhe qo lĕ mâ?*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 two for nights three for nights like when topic be acquainted with

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- e* *ve* *yò* .  
P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
V more and more nominalizer declarative
- (45) *T* : *âa* , *ɲà* *tí qo* *nàʔ-ú* *qo* *lè* *ɲà* *qay* *qôʔ qo* *á-qhɔ* *mâ*  
. Interj Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv  
well! I topicalizer conversation topic topic I go if home negative  
*lòʔ* *e* *mì-châ* *chê* *ve* *kàʔ* *te* *lâ*  
V P<sub>v</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
enter motion away ground stay nominalizer even treat a certain way benefactive (non-3p)  
*qôʔ-ma* .  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
emphatic
- (46) *C* : *qhà-qhe* *te* *ve* *le* *ɲà* *a-cí* *qāw* *mā*  
. N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron Adv V V<sub>v</sub>  
how? do nominalizer substantive qst I please tell teach to V  
*lâ* *a* *nē* .  
P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
benefactive (non-3p) hortatory emphatic
- (47) *mâ* *kâ* *jɔ* *le* *qôʔ-ma* .  
Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
negative hear experiential because emphatic
- (48) *T* : *alôo* .  
. Interj  
oh boy!
- (49) *C* : *nò* *qay* *thâ* *a-lɔ-pí* *qhà-qhe* *qôʔ* *pî* *ve* *le* ,  
. Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv N<sub>intg</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
you go when first how? say benefactive (3p) nominalizer substantive qst  
*yâ-mî-há* *àʔ* .  
N P<sub>n</sub>  
unmarried young woman accusative
- (50) *P* : *á-tà* *yù* *le* *go* *hɔ* *ɔ̄* *júʔ* *kə*  
. N V P<sub>unf</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
stick take suspensive ramp into a house under locative stick into V into  
*pî* *ve* *yò* *nē* .  
V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative emphatic
- (51) *tɔʔ* *la* *qo* ” *nàʔ-ú* *te* *a ni* ” *qôʔ* *pî*  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
come out motion towards if conversation make try to say benefactive (3p)  
*ve* *èʔ* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer emphatic
- (52) *C* : ” *nàʔ-ú* *te* *a ni* ” *qhe* *qôʔ* *pî* *ve* *lâ* .  
. N V P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
conversation make try to just like that say benefactive (3p) nominalizer yes

- (53) *P* , *T* : *êe* .  
 . Interj  
 yes
- (54) *C* : *qhe-qo yô qhà-qhe vâñ lâ le* .  
 . Conj Pron N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 so she how? go for it benefactive (non-3p) substantive qst
- (55) *T* : *yô qô? ve ɔ̄ , ” nò a-ló te a ni šē ” qô? ve*  
 . Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> , Pron Adv V P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 she say nominalizer topic you first do try to first say nominalizer  
*yò*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (56) ” *nò qhà-qhe dō ā le ” qô? ve* .  
 . Pron N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 you how? think perfective substantive qst say nominalizer
- (57) *yà?-qhâ nê-á dō ā kî ġa tho pî qô?-ma , yô*  
 . Conj Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron  
 but the two of us think durative locative must tell benefactive (3p) emphatic her  
*à?*  
 P<sub>n</sub>  
 accusative
- (58) *C* : *qhà-qhe ve le* .  
 . N<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 what kind? genitivizer substantive qst
- (59) *T* : *yô à? hà? lâ mâ hà? lâ* .  
 . Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 her accusative love benefactive (non-3p) negative love benefactive (non-3p)
- (60) *yô chi qhe na lâ ve nê-má à?* .  
 . Pron AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub>  
 she like this listen benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer both of us accusative
- (61) *P* : *nê-má thô ” hà? ɔ̄ ” ġa qô? ve yò mē* .  
 . Pron P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 we two also love affirmative must say nominalizer declarative persuasive
- (62) *C* : ” *hà? ɔ̄ ” ġa qô? ve lâ* .  
 . V P<sub>uf</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 love affirmative must say nominalizer yes
- (63) *P* : *èe* .  
 . Interj  
 yes
- (64) *C* : ” *mâ hà? ɔ̄ ” qô? â phè? lâ* .  
 . Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative love affirmative say negative able to yes
- (65) *P* : ” *mâ hà? ” qô? qo pò? , šu qò? nê-há à?*  
 . Adv V V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron vV Pron P<sub>n</sub>  
 negative love say if emphatic others V in turn the two of us accusative

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- mâ qəʔ hàʔ ve yò* .  
 Adv vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative V in return love nominalizer declarative
- (66) C : *m* .  
 Interj  
 murmur of sympathy
- (67) T : *yàʔ-qhá hêʔ-pí-qhə gə qo nə-há ġa na-ni ve , ” yàʔ-pí*  
 Conj N V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron vV V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub>  
 but woods reach when the two of us must ask nominalizer tonight  
*nə à-thòʔ-ma dš lɛ , chò kàʔ là le* .  
 Pron N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 you what think suspensive here locative come substantive qst
- (68) *ŋà àʔ ni-ma qhə cš jâ lɛ là ve lâ .”*  
 Pron P<sub>n</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 me accusative heart in find favor with very because come nominalizer yes
- (69) ” *âa , nə àʔ dš ā lɛ chò kàʔ là ve*  
 Interj Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 well! you accusative think durative because here locative come nominalizer  
*yò* .”  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (70) *nàʔ-ú qha-dêʔ te gâ lɛ ” yš chi qhe qôʔ*  
 N AE V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron AE<sub>ext</sub> V  
 conversation properly make desiderative because she like this say  
*lâ ve yò* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer declarative
- (71) C : *qhe-qo , qhà-qhe qəʔ te dàʔ ve le* ,  
 Conj N<sub>intg</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 then how? go on to V do mutual action nominalizer substantive qst  
*qhəʔ-nó š* .  
 M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 afterwards topic
- (72) *láy-cə-láy-yān qôʔ dàʔ ve lâ* .  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 all kinds of things discuss mutual action nominalizer yes
- (73) T : *âa , qhe qôʔ pə qo lɛ , tân-vân qo liʔ bùʔ*  
 Interj Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V  
 well! like this talk finish V'ing when topic all day when letter (epistle) write  
*dàʔ ve mû phəʔ qo ġɛ e ve yò* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> SV P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 mutual action nominalizer night falls when visit motion away nominalizer declarative
- (74) C : *nə hâʔ a qôʔ ve qhə tê ġâ le qôʔ-ma* .  
 Pron V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> Q P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 you get intentive say nominalizer which? one person substantive qst emphatic



- (75) *nò gĕ chĕ ve ě?*  
 Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 you visit continuous nominalizer contrastive interrogative
- (76) *T : ô phâ qò? yù və ò và nĕ*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> N V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 that guy V instead take transportatory motion completed action emphatic emphatic
- (77) *C : pòthôo qhe hí dâ? chĕ ve â phĕ?*  
 Interj Adv V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V  
 gee! thus compete mutual action continuous nominalizer negative be possible  
*le nĕ-5*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 because suppositional
- (78) *T : âa , chi-phâ tĕ lĕ chə à? šù?-šà?*  
 Interj N P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V  
 well! this guy emphatic topicalizer topic people accusative be annoying  
*lâ jâ qò?-yò-ě? qò?-ma*  
 P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p) very emphatic emphatic
- (79) *Cà-bo : chi-phâ tĕ mà khwĕ kâ? khwĕ pĭ jâ*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 male name this guy one for people (informal) jealous also jealous prone to V very  
*mĕ*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (80) *P : khwĕ ve mâ hĕ?*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv + V  
 jealous nominalizer not be the case
- (81) *šū thô ñà à? ni-ma qhə cō qò? le , ñà thô cō*  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> V V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 she also me accusative heart in find favor with say because I also like  
*ve-5*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (82) *C : ôo , yâ-mĭ chi tĕ ĝâ dâ? jâ le-ā*  
 Interj N Det Q V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 wow! girl this one person beautiful very yes
- (83) *qhà-qhe te le chə chi ma-ma hí dâ? ve le*  
 Cl<sub>nf</sub> N N<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 how come? people so many compete mutual action nominalizer substantive qst
- (84) *T : âa , ð-to lĕ dâ? à*  
 Interj N P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 well! body topic beautiful asseverative
- (85) *yô ni-ma mâ à lo*  
 Pron N<sub>spec</sub> + V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 she fickle asseverative emphatic declarative

Wooing the maidens (Part I)

- (86) *mâ phê? šē chi tē pō? .*  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> NP<sub>q</sub>  
 negative be possible yet right now
- (87) *P : ð-to tí qo lè dà? ve yò .*  
 . N P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 body topicalizer topic beautiful nominalizer declarative
- (88) *ni-ma lè mâ ve yò .*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 heart topic fickle nominalizer declarative
- (89) *C : a-šâ? qhà-nî qhò? gà ò le qô? ve .*  
 . N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 age how many? for years reach completed action substantive qst say nominalizer
- (90) *T : a-šâ? à? ca šō qo , šī?-hō? šī?-cê? qhe*  
 . N P<sub>n</sub> vV V P<sub>unf</sub> Num Num N<sub>ext</sub>  
 age accusative go and do calculate if sixteen (Thai) seventeen (Thai) about  
*ce tí šō nê nē .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> + P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 only durative probably emphatic
- (91) *P : tē chi šī qhò? qhe-ce yò hé .*  
 . Num Cl<sub>f</sub> AE P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 seventeen for years about declarative probably
- (92) *C : lì? šī ā lâ , yô .*  
 . N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> Pron  
 writing know durative benefactive (non-3p) she
- (93) *P : âa , lì? thô šī ve yò .*  
 . Interj N P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! writing also know nominalizer declarative
- (94) *C : qhà-nî mō gà ò le , lì?*  
 . Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N  
 how many? for grades (in school) reach completed action substantive qst writing  
*hên ve-ō .*  
 V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 study emphatic
- (95) *P : Lâhū ō , lì? ð-mō mâ cò qô?-ma , chi .*  
 . N P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> Conj  
 Lahu topic grade (year in school) negative be there emphatic you see
- (96) *kâ?-khâ?-ŋâ? šī ve qhe ce tí cò qô?-ma .*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> + P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 alphabet know nominalizer like only be there emphatic
- (97) *T : âa , yô pò? lì? bù? lâ ve kâ? dà?*  
 . Interj Pron P<sub>uf</sub> OV P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub>  
 well! she emphatic write sthg down benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer also good  
*à qô?-ma , là?-mâ tí qo lè .*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 asseverative emphatic handwriting topicalizer topic

- (98) *C* : *qhà-qhe* *bù?* *lâ* *ve* *le* .  
 . N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 what kind? write benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer substantive qst
- (99) *a-cí* *gǒ* *qāw* *mā* *a* *šā* *nē* .  
 Adv V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 please read tell indicate by V'ing hortatory first emphatic
- (100) *T* : *yô* *qô?* *ve* *ṣ-qhe* *le* , ” *chi-bà?* *yô* *dô-nô* *jà* *ve*  
 . Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 she say nominalizer topicalizer now she think highly of very relativizer  
*ḡ-qhō* *lo* *nà?-ú* *a-cí* *te* *lâ* *šā* , ” *qô?* *ve*  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 while locative conversation please make benefactive (non-3p) first say nominalizer  
*qô?-ma* , *ḡà* *à?* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub>  
 emphatic me accusative
- (101) *ḡ-lon* *lè* *chi qhe* *yò* *qô?* *ve* , *yô* *lè* ” *tê-ni-tê-há* *lè*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 thing topic like this declarative say nominalizer she topic night and day topic  
*nò* *thà?* *tí* *dô* *chê* *ve* *yò* , ” *yô* *chi qhe* *qô?*  
 Pron P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron AE<sub>ext</sub> V  
 you accusative only think continuous nominalizer declarative she like this say  
*ve* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer
- (102) *C* : *chi máy* *tí* *yò* *lâ* .  
 . N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 only this much only declarative yes
- (103) *â* *hê?* *lō* *nè-ṣ* .  
 Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative be the case emphatic declarative suppositional
- (104) *yì* *à* *šē* *nè-ṣ* .  
 V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be long asseverative still suppositional
- (105) *T* : *âa* , *tê* *tō* *lè* *cò* *šō* *ve* *yò* .  
 . Interj Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! one for sections topic be there still nominalizer declarative
- (106) *C* : *qha-pà* *qāw* *mā* *lâ* *nē* .  
 . AE V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 everything tell indicate by V'ing benefactive (non-3p) emphatic
- (107) *na* *gâ* *ve-ṣ* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 listen desiderative emphatic
- (108) *T* : *yô* *qô?* *ve* *ṣ* , ” *nò* *qo* *tê-ni-tê-há* *le-le* *ḡà* *à?*  
 . Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> B<sub>n</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub>  
 she say nominalizer topic you topic night and day every me accusative

Wooing the maidens (Part I)

- mâ d̂ ɛ-hé ” qô? ve yô qo ” n̂ à? d̂*  
 Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> V  
 negative think probably say nominalizer she topic you accusative think  
*ve ̄ kà? câ mâ gà ,” qô? ve qô?-ma .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V Adv V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer topic also eat negative manage to say nominalizer emphatic
- (109) *ɲà kà? qô? p̄ ve yò , ” âa , n̂ à?*  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Interj Pron P<sub>n</sub>  
 I also say benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative well! you accusative  
*tĥ ɲà d̂ ve l̂ tê-ni-tê-há le-le , yì? tĥ m̄*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> B<sub>n</sub> V Temp Nom V  
 also I think nominalizer topic night and day every sleep the time when sit  
*tĥ tĥ d̂ ve yò .*  
 Temp Nom P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 the time when also think nominalizer declarative
- (110) *yà?-qĥ n̂-má ni-ma tê š̄ tí t̄ ɛ tê ge ġa*  
 Conj Pron N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Q vV  
 but we two heart one for round objects only establish suspensive together get to  
*cĥ t̄ tĥ? tí te ô? m̄ ” qô? ve qô?-ma .*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 live future accusative only behave hortatory persuasive say nominalizer emphatic
- (111) *P : yô qô? ve ̄ cĥ?-phu câ kà? cĥ?-pĥ câ*  
 . Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> N V  
 she say nominalizer topic white rice (highest quality) eat although chaff eat  
*qhe yò qô? ve qô?-ma .*  
 N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 like declarative say nominalizer emphatic
- (112) *ġi-k̂ d̂ kà? ġi-t̄ d̂ qhe yò qô? ve*  
 N V P<sub>unf</sub> N V N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 pure water drink although muddy water drink like declarative say nominalizer
- (113) *C : è*  
 . Interj  
 yes
- (114) *T : yà?-qĥ cĥ tê pĥ-pĥ l̂ m̂?-q̂ ĉ tí è qô? p̄ ve*  
 . Conj N NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> + P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 but people some (of) topic mouth only only say prone to V nominalizer  
*, ni-ma mâ ĥ?*  
 N Adv V  
 heart negative love
- (115) *P : tê pĥ l̂ ð-to ni-ma ĥ? ve yò , qha-p̂-è .*  
 . Q P<sub>unf</sub> N N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> AE  
 some topic body heart love nominalizer declarative completely
- (116) *m̂?-q̂ kà? qô? ɛ , tê pĥ l̂ qhe mâ ĥ? ve*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> Adv Adv + V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 mouth even say suspensive some topic like this not be the case nominalizer

- yò*  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
declarative
- (117) *T* : *âa* , *qhe-qo*                      *ṡ*    *qay* *yò*                      *nē* .  
          Interj    Conj                              P<sub>unf</sub>    V    P<sub>uf</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
          well!    if that's the way it is    topic    go    declarative    emphatic
- (118) *nò*    *ṡ*    *câ*    *pə̀*                      *qo*    *yâ-mî*    *mâ?*    *e*                      *ve-ṡ* .  
          Pron    N        V    V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>    N        V    P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
          you    meal    eat    finish V'ing    when    girl    flirt    motion away    emphatic
- (119) *P* : *qay* *yò-a* .  
          V    P<sub>uf</sub>  
          go    emphatic declarative
- (120) *C* : *qhà-nî*                      *nāli?*                      *gà-ò*                      *le*                      , *chi-bà?* .  
          Num                      Cl<sub>f</sub>                      V + P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>                      ,                      N<sub>time</sub>  
          how many?    for hours    reached (already)    substantive    qst                      now
- (121) *T* : *âa*                      , *chi-bà?*    *ṡ*                      *hò?* *mon*                      *gà-ò*                      *nè*                      *nē* .  
          Interj                      N<sub>time</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      Q                      V + P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
          well!                      now                      topic    six o'clock (Tai)    reached (already)    probably    emphatic
- (122) *C* : *ha-pa*    *â*                      *tṡ?*                      *la*                      *ṡē*    *le-â* .  
          N                      Adv                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>v</sub>    P<sub>uf</sub>  
          moon    negative    come out    motion towards    yet    yes
- (123) *P* : *hò?* *mon*                      *tí*    *lè*    *â*                      *hè?*                      *nè*                      *nē* .  
          Q                      P<sub>univ</sub>    P<sub>unf</sub>                      Adv                      V                      P<sub>uf</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
          six o'clock (Tai)    only    topic    negative    be the case    probably    emphatic
- (124) *ṡī* *nāli?*                      ,    *ṡī* *nāli?* .  
          Q                      Q  
          seven o'clock    seven o'clock
- (125) *T* : *âa*                      , *nāli?*    *mâ*                      *cò*                      *qo*                      ,    *mâ*                      *ṡi*                      *o*                      *ve*  
          Interj                      N                      Adv                      V                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      Adv                      V                      P<sub>uf</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>  
          well!                      watch    negative    be there    if                      negative    know    emphatic    nominalizer
- yò*  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
declarative
- (126) *nāli?*    *ṡ*                      *lù*                      *ṡē*                      *te-qo*                      ,    *àa?* .  
          N                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      Interj  
          watch    topic    break down    regrettably    because    damn it!
- (127) *P* : *ṡà*    *ve*                      *kà?*    *lù*                      *ṡē*                      *le*                      *yò* .  
          Pron    P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>    V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
          my    genitivizer    also    break down    regrettably    because    declarative
- (128) *qhe-thô*                      ,    *ḡa*    *yê*    *jò*                      *â*                      *ve*                      *le*                      *ḡ-yân*    *ṡi*                      *à*  
          Conj                      vV    V    P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      N                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>  
          however    get to    use    experiential    durative    nominalizer    because    time    know    asseverative

Wooing the maidens (Part I)

- (129) *C* : *yâ-mî-há* *cò* *ā* *lâ* , *nālî?* , *yô-hi* *ge* .  
 . N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N Pron P<sub>n</sub>  
 unmarried young woman have durative yes watch they with
- (130) *T* : *nālî?* , *yâ-mî-há* *lâ-o* .  
 . N N P<sub>uf</sub>  
 watch unmarried young woman yes
- (131) *âa* , *yô* *tí qo* *mâ* *cò* *qô?* *ve* .  
 Interj Pron P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 well! her as for negative have say nominalizer
- (132) *hâ?* *gâ* *qo* *ηâ* *Cê-mây* *mâ* *gâ* *qay* *mâ* *gâ* *vì*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N<sub>place</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V V Adv <sub>v</sub>V V  
 get desiderative topic I Chiang Mai negative get to go negative get to buy  
*pî* *šē* *qô?* *ve* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 benefactive (3p) yet say nominalizer
- (133) *C* : *qhe* *qô?* *á* *ve* *lâ* .  
 . Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 like this say perfective nominalizer yes
- (134) *T* : *chi tê pô?* *Cê-mây* *qay* *thâ* *qo* *tê* *mâ* *ca* *vì*  
 . NP<sub>q</sub> N<sub>place</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V  
 next time Chiang Mai go when when one for things go and do buy  
*lâ* *tù* *dô* *ā* *ve* *qô?-ma* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p) future plan perfective nominalizer emphatic
- (135) *qhâ-ma* *gâ* *pî* *nā* *mâ* *šî* , *nālî?* *tê* *mâ*  
 N<sub>intg</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V N Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 how much? must pay indirect question marker negative know watch one for things  
*chi háy* *è* *ve* .  
 NP<sub>ext</sub> Prt P<sub>univ</sub>  
 only this big adverbializer genitivizer
- (136) *P* : *nî* *ha* *šê?* *ha* *qo* *gâ* *nè* *nē* .  
 . Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 two hundred three hundred if get probably emphatic
- (137) *T* : *gâ* *o* , *nî* *ha* *šê?* *ha* *qo* .  
 . V P<sub>uf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 get affirmative two hundred three hundred if
- (138) *P* : *ò-câ?* *dâ?* *ve* *mâ* *hê?* *qo* .  
 . N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 machinery good nominalizer negative be the case if
- (139) *ò-câ?* *qha cê-cê* *dâ?* *ve* *qo* *ō* *ò-phû* *a-cí* *mâ* *ve*  
 N AE V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 machinery quite well good nominalizer if topic cost a little more nominalizer  
*yò* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative

- (140) *yâ-mî-qê?* *ve* *nâli?* *lâ-o* .  
 N P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>uf</sub>  
 woman genitivizer watch yes
- (141) *à-ma te le* *Kóló-ma* *à?* *mâ* *ca* *mâ?* *ve*  
 Cl<sub>nf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 why Northern Thai woman accusative negative go and do court nominalizer  
*le*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 substantive qst
- (142) *â* *mâ?* *jo* *le-ā* .  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative court experiential yes
- (143) *T* : *Kóló* *lâ-o* .  
 . N P<sub>uf</sub>  
 Northern Thai yes
- (144) *ôo* , *á-šî?* *thâ* *tê pō?* *mâ?* *ve* , *Kóló* *à?* .  
 Interj N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q V P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 oh! previously when once court relativizer Northern Thai accusative
- (145) *C* : *êe* , *a-cí* *qāw* *mā* *lâ* *nē* .  
 . Interj Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 okay please tell indicate by V'ing benefactive (non-3p) emphatic
- (146) *qhâ-qhe* *qhâ-qhe* *qay* *le* , *qô?* *qo* *ō* .  
 N<sub>intg</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 how? how? go substantive qst topicalizer topic
- (147) *T* : *ô-ve* *lâ-o* .  
 . Det P<sub>uf</sub>  
 that yes
- (148) *ô-ve* *yo* *qo* , *Kóló* *tê cā* *ō* *Kóló* *ò-lí* *ō* *á-qho* *tí*  
 Det V P<sub>unf</sub> N Q P<sub>unf</sub> N N P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub>  
 that speak if Northern Thai the type topic Northern Thai custom topic home only  
*gā* *mâ?* *ve* *qô?-ma* .  
<sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 get to court nominalizer emphatic
- (149) *šaphô* *a-cí* *mâ* *gā* *ve-ō* .  
 N Adv Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 desire at all negative reach emphatic
- (150) *nê-á* *Lâhū* *qhe* *šî dà?* *le* *hê?-pí-qho* *ō* *gā* *qay*  
 Pron N N<sub>ext</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V  
 the two of us Lahu like go along together suspensive woods locative get to go  
*ve* *mâ hê?* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> Adv + V  
 nominalizer not be the case
- (151) *P* : *Kóló* *chi* *qo* *è* , *a-šu* *qay* *qo* *chi* *à?* *hà?*  
 . N Det P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>unf</sub> Det P<sub>n</sub> V  
 Northern Thai these topic topicalizer whoever go topic this one accusative love

Wooing the maidens (Part I)

- ve* , *Kól* *tè-tè* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer Northern Thai emphatic topic
- (152) *T* : *à-mù* *nè-má qha-dè?* *gê chê* *kà?* , *ô tê gâ*  
 . Conj Pron AE V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> Q  
 if worst comes to worst we two properly visit progressive even that one person  
*phâ qò?* *qay* , *ô tê gâ* *à?* *nà?-ú* *qò?* *te* *nè-á*  
 N V<sub>v</sub> V N<sub>sd</sub> Q P<sub>n</sub> N V<sub>v</sub> V Pron  
 guy V also go that one person accusative conversation V also make the two of us  
*bà?* *jâ* *qò?-ma* .  
 V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 angry very emphatic
- (153) *P* : *qhe-go è là?-chê?-pi* *te* *le* *vân* *dà?* *gâ*  
 . Conj P<sub>n</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 then also fist make suspensive go at it mutual action desiderative  
*ve* *yò* *mē* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative emphatic
- (154) *T* : *chi qhe* *ve* *yò* , *Kól* *dò?* *dà?* *ve* .  
 . AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 like this genitivizer declarative Northern Thai hit mutual action nominalizer
- (155) *C* : *ni-ma mâ* *à* *qò?* *ve* *lâ* , *Kól-ma* .  
 . N<sub>spec</sub>+V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N  
 fickle asseverative say nominalizer yes Northern Thai woman
- (156) *T* : *ni-ma mâ* *jâ* , *Kól* *tê cò* .  
 . N<sub>spec</sub>+V V<sub>v</sub> N Q  
 fickle very Northern Thai the type
- (157) *C* : *hê?-pí-qhɔ* *ɔ̄* *mâ* *gâ* *šī* *qay* *qò?* *ve* *lâ* .  
 . N P<sub>n</sub> Adv V<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 woods locative negative get to lead along V along say nominalizer yes
- (158) *T* : *mâ* *gâ* *qay* .  
 . Adv V<sub>v</sub> V  
 negative get to go
- (159) *C* : *šī* *qay* *qo* *qhà-qhe* *qay* *le* *qò?-lè?* .  
 . V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 lead along V along if how? go substantive qst emphatic
- (160) *T* : *yê-hi* *qò?* *ve* *ɔ̄* *yê-hi* *ɔ̄-lī* *chi qhe* *mâ* *cò* , *qò?*  
 . Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N AE<sub>ext</sub> Adv V V  
 they say nominalizer topic their custom like this negative be there say  
*ve* *qò?-ma* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer emphatic
- (161) *á-qhɔ* *gê* *chê* *le* *ɔ̄-qhe* *le* *nà?-ú* *te* *dà?*  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub>  
 home visit continuous suspensive topicalizer conversation make mutual action





Wooing the maidens (Part I)

- (173) *tê pô? tê pô?*                      *yâ-mî-há*                      *ca*                      *mâ?*                      *e*                      *qo*  
 NP<sub>q</sub>                      N                      <sub>v</sub>V                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>  
 each and every time    unmarried young woman    go and do    court    motion away    when  
*qhà-nî*                      *kâ?*                      *pà*                      *le*                      ,                      *Klɛ-thô?-lón*  
 Num                      Cl<sub>f</sub>                      V                      P<sub>uf</sub>                      N  
 how many?    for small packets    use up    substantive qst    Gold Flake cigarette (large)
- (174) *T* : *âa*                      ,                      *tê*                      *há*                      *ve*                      *tê kâ?*                      *tê kâ?*                      *pà*                      *qô?-ma*                      ,  
 .                      Interj                      Num                      Cl<sub>f</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      Q                      Q                      V                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well!                      one                      for nights    genitivizer    one packet    one packet    use up    emphatic  
*Klɛ-thô?-lón*                      *chi*                      *è*  
 N                      Det                      P<sub>unf</sub>  
 Gold Flake cigarette (large)    these    topicalizer
- (175) *C* : *yâ-mî-há*                      *kà?*                      *dò*                      *ve*                      *lâ-o* .  
 .                      N                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 unmarried young woman    also    smoke (tobacco)    nominalizer    yes
- (176) *T* : *tê phā*                      *qo*                      *dò*                      *ve*                      *tê phā*                      *qo*                      *mâ*                      *dò*  
 .                      Q                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      Q                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      Adv                      V  
 some    topic    smoke (tobacco)    relativizer    some    topic    negative    smoke (tobacco)
- (177) *P* : *mâ*                      *dò*                      *kà?*                      ,                      *nè-á*                      *tɔ*                      *pî*                      *qo*  
 .                      Adv                      V                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      Pron                      V                      V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>  
 negative    smoke (tobacco)    even if    the two of us    give to smoke    benefactive (3p)    if  
*dò*                      *ve*                      *yò*  
 V                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 smoke (tobacco)    nominalizer    declarative
- (178) *T* : *mâ*                      *dò*                      *kà?*                      *te*                      *mâ*                      *ğa*                      *è?*                      *nē*  
 .                      Adv                      V                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      V                      Adv                      V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative    smoke (tobacco)    even if    do    negative    be able    emphatic    emphatic
- (179) *nè-má*                      *dò*                      *qo*                      *yô*                      *kà?*                      *ğa*                      *dò*                      *ve*  
 Pron                      V                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      Pron                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      <sub>v</sub>V                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>  
 we two    smoke (tobacco)    if    she    also    must    smoke (tobacco)    nominalizer
- (180) *ğa*                      *hō*                      *dà?*                      *ve*                      *qô?-ma*                      ,                      *qha šwí*                      *è?*  
<sub>v</sub>V                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>                      AE                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 must    harmonize with    mutual action    nominalizer    emphatic    in the same way    emphatic
- (181) *Cà-bo*                      :                      "                      *nò*                      *mâ*                      *dò*                      *qo*                      ,                      *ηà*                      *à?*                      *mâ*                      *hà?*                      "  
 N<sub>pers</sub>                      Pron                      Adv                      V                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      Pron                      P<sub>n</sub>                      Adv                      V  
 male name                      you    negative    smoke (tobacco)    if    me    accusative    negative    love  
*qô?*                      *pî*                      *ve*                      *lâ-o* .  
 V                      V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 say    benefactive (3p)    nominalizer    yes
- (182) *T* : *yò-a*  
 .                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic declarative
- (183) *P* : *ηà-hi*                      *tê pa*                      *šê?*                      *ğâ*                      *Tatôn*                      *qay*                      *thâ*                      *kà?*                      *qha šū*  
 .                      Pron                      Q                      Num                      Cl<sub>f</sub>                      N<sub>place</sub>                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      AE  
 we (pl)    group    three    for people    town in N. Thailand    go    when    also    in the same way

yò  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
declarative

- (184) *šú šú mâ d̂-d̂ ve àʔ šu ġò*  
Pron N Adv V<sub>redup</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron vV  
she tobacco negative smoke habitually nominalizer accusative others V vigorously
- tɔ lɛ šu šú ġò búʔ ve*  
V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N vV V P<sub>univ</sub>  
give to smoke suspensive she tobacco V vigorously get dizzy nominalizer
- (185) *nàʔ-wē-šī kàʔ tē thīʔ qòʔ pə šō qôʔ-ma , nàʔ-wē-šī*  
N P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N  
candy also one for packages V also use up still emphatic candy

### Translation

1. Pā-é: Thû-yì, where are you going tonight?
2. Ty: Well, I guess I'll go try courting the girls tonight.
3. Pā-é: Whereabouts?
4. Ty: Oh, over there where all the girls are. I've been planning to have a go at it.
5. Pā-é: When you go, call me, too, please. I'll just have something to eat first.
6. Ty: Well, the two of us are good friends, so let's join up and go.
7. Pā-é: People like us ought to join up and do it together.
8. P: Won't you invite me, too, then?
9. Ty: Oh, you can go, too, pal!<sup>1</sup> Now there are three!
10. P: Yep.
11. Pā-é: The oldest one is mine!
12. Ty: Oh, the best-looking one is mine!
13. Pā-é: It's impossible then.
14. Ty: That's not right, old buddy. I'm the one who visited that girl of yours first, you know!
15. Pā-é: You say you visited her first, but I never saw you do it!<sup>2</sup>
16. Ty: I've made a regular engagement with that one!
17. Pā-é: Come on, now, as far as betrothals go,<sup>3</sup> you're not committed as much as I am.<sup>4</sup>
18. Ty: Well, in that case, I'll switch to that younger sister of hers.<sup>5</sup> If you take *her* on.
19. Pā-é: Go for it then, go for it!
20. Ty: You take on the older one, I'll take on the younger one.

<sup>1</sup>phâ ò: a friendly address term used to a young man.

<sup>2</sup>Lit: "although you visited her first, no one has ever seen you visit her!"

<sup>3</sup>Lit: "if you go mentioning betrothals"

<sup>4</sup>Lit: "you do not have it to my extent"

<sup>5</sup>vâ is used as a pro-verb for mâʔ. The prehead versatile verb qòʔ 'again' indicates that the action is an *alternative one*.

Wooing the maidens (Part I)

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21. Pā-é: Fine, fine.<sup>6</sup> That's how I had it planned anyway.
22. Ty: What about you, my friend?
23. P: Me, you mean?
24. Ty: Yeah.
25. P: I haven't even managed to have a proper talk [with anybody] yet!
26. Pā-é: Have a try at talking then.
27. Ty: Well, let's get going in a few minutes... Oh, our friend is going to eat first now. Let's wait for him.
28. T: [*to Thû-yì*] Apparently this fellow's girl hasn't been much in the mood for courting with him, my friend.<sup>7</sup>
29. Ty: I don't know. He told me that when he went to ask her out,<sup>8</sup> she wouldn't even chat with him the way she should. [*To Câlô*] It's probably because *you* didn't do a very good job of making conversation with her!
30. P: The thing is I said too much to her. She didn't talk to *me*! She must've been embarrassed, I guess.
31. Pā-é: Because you just haven't gotten to know each other yet.
32. P: Probably so, that's probably it.
33. Pā-é: After two or three nights, she'll probably get friendlier.
34. Ty: Well, with me now, as far as conversation goes, when I go over there she talks to me even if I sit on the ground without even going into her house!
35. P: Won't you please explain to me how you do it? Since I've never heard [anything about how it's done]!
36. Ty: Oh, boy!<sup>9</sup>
37. P: When you go, what's the first thing you say to the girl?
38. Pā-é: You take a stick and poke it through from underneath the floor.<sup>10</sup> When she comes out you say "Have a chat with me!"
39. P: You say "Have a chat with me," eh?
40. Pā-é, Ty: Right, right.
41. P: Then what does she say<sup>11</sup> to you?
42. Ty: She says, "You say something first! What have you been thinking about?" But *we* have to tell her about our feelings.<sup>12</sup>
43. P: What sort of thing?
44. Ty: Whether we love her or not. She listens to what we say to her.
45. Pā-é: We've got to tell her, "I love you!"

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<sup>6</sup>Lit: "do it, do it!"

<sup>7</sup>Lit: "She (*šû* - the other one) doesn't want to court this fellow very much, my friend." I.e., Jalaw must have had a bad experience with his girlfriend before, which explains his timidity this time.

<sup>8</sup>*na*: lit. "ask" or "listen", is used here in the special sense of asking a girl for some private time.

<sup>9</sup>The interjection *alôo* implies "My God, how stupid can you get!"

<sup>10</sup>Lahu houses are on stilts, and there are cracks between the floorboards. The traditional signal seems not to be devoid of sexual significance.

<sup>11</sup>*vâ* is here a pro-verb for *qô?*.

<sup>12</sup>I.e., we can't be coy like her, but must lay over cards on the table first.

46. P: You've got to say, "I love you," huh?
47. Pā-é: Yes.
48. P: Can't you say, "I don't love you"?
49. Pā-é: If we say, "I don't love you," then they won't love us either.
50. P: Hmm.
51. Ty: But once we get her into the woods, we've got to ask, "What's your real reason for coming out here [with me] tonight?"<sup>13</sup> Did you come because you like me? Then she says, "Well, I came here because I've been thinking about you. I wanted to have a good talk with you."
52. P: Then how do you continue with it after that? Do you talk about all sorts of things?
53. Ty: Well, after you've had your talk, you write letters to each other all day, and at night you go visit her.
54. P: Which one is it that you say you'll marry? The one you visit all the time?
55. Ty: That guy<sup>14</sup> has taken her away from me now!
56. P: Gee, there's no sense competing with each other like that, is there?<sup>15</sup>
57. Ty: Oh, that guy really causes people<sup>16</sup> a lot of trouble!
58. T: And the fellow is also very jealous, you know.
59. Pā-é: I am not jealous. She likes me, so I like her!
60. P: Wow, is this girl so beautiful then? Why is it that so many people are fighting over her?
61. Ty: Well, her body is beautiful. But her heart is fickle.<sup>17</sup> There's nothing that can be done with her right now.
62. Pā-é: Her body's beautiful, all right. But her heart is fickle.
63. P: How old did you say she is?
64. Ty: If you figure her age, I'd say she's around *sixteen* or *seventeen*.<sup>18</sup>
65. Pā-é: She's probably about seventeen.
66. P: Can she read and write?<sup>19</sup>
67. Pā-é: Oh, she can read and write, too.
68. P: How many grades did she finish, in her studies?
69. Pā-é: The Lahu don't have school-grades like that! All we know is our ABC's!<sup>20</sup>
70. Ty: Well, when she writes letters to me, they're very nice, too! The handwriting, I mean.
71. P: What sort of thing does she write you? Won't you just read me a little so I'll know?

<sup>13</sup>Lit: "tonight, you having thought what, came out here?"

<sup>14</sup>I.e., Pā-é.

<sup>15</sup>Lit: "one probably cannot be competing like that"

<sup>16</sup>That **cho** 'people' is here being used to mean 'me' is shown by the verb particle **lâ** (3rd > 1st person benefaction).

<sup>17</sup>**ni-ma mâ ve**, lit: "the heart is numerous". I.e., the affections are not focused on a single object.

<sup>18</sup>For some reason (comic effect?) the original has the numbers "16 or 17" in Thai.

<sup>19</sup>Lit: "does she know letters?"

<sup>20</sup>Lit: **kâ?**, **khâ?**, **ṅâ?** (the first three important letters of the Burmese alphabet).

## Wooing the maidens (Part I)

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72. Ty: She writes me things like “Now, amidst my constant thoughts of you, I send you these few words.<sup>21</sup> This is what I want to say,” she says. “Night and day I think only of you.”<sup>22</sup>
73. P: Is that all? It couldn’t be. It must be longer.
74. Ty: Well, there’s still another part.
75. P: Tell me all of it! I want to hear.
76. Ty: She says, “*You* probably don’t think of *me* day and night. But I can’t even eat from thinking about you!” For my part I write to her, “Oh, I think of you also day and night, whether I sleep or whether I sit.”<sup>23</sup> But please, let us firmly resolve our hearts<sup>24</sup> and behave so that we may live together.”
77. Pā-é: She’ll say, “Even if I eat pure white rice, it is like chaff in my mouth! Even if I drink pure water, it is as though I drank a foul draught.”<sup>25</sup>
78. P: I see.
79. Ty: But some people just say those things with their mouths. In their hearts they’re not in love.
80. Pā-é: Some people love with their body and soul, completely. Others may say it with their mouths, but it isn’t so.
81. Ty: Well, let’s go then! If you’re through eating we’ll go a-courting!
82. Pā-é: Let’s go.
83. P: What time is it now?
84. Ty: Oh, it’s probably about six o’clock<sup>26</sup> now.
85. P: The moon hasn’t come out yet, has it?
86. Pā-é: I certainly wouldn’t think so, since it’s only six o’clock. Seven, seven o’clock.
87. Ty: Well, I don’t have a watch,<sup>27</sup> so I don’t know anymore. Because my watch is on the blink,<sup>28</sup> damn it.
88. Pā-é: Mine is busted, too. But i’m used to it, so I can still tell the time from it.<sup>29</sup>
89. P: Do the girls have watches on them [too].
90. Ty: Does my girl have a watch? Well, she told me she didn’t. When [I found out] she wanted one I told her I wouldn’t be able to buy her one until I could go to Chiang Mai.<sup>30</sup>
91. P: Is that what you said?
92. Ty: I’ve been planning to buy her one the next time I go to Chiang Mai. I wonder how much I’ll have to pay, for a little tiny watch like that.

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<sup>21</sup> **nàʔ-ú** ‘conversation’ is conventionally used in letters to mean ‘epistolary communication,’ and in lovers’ talk to mean ‘amatory converse.’

<sup>22</sup> Throughout the ‘quotations’ from the letters, **Thû-yì** uses the pronouns appropriate for *indirect* discourse, though we translate them as if they were direct quotations.

<sup>23</sup> **yìʔ-thâ-mi-thâ**, lit: “when I sleep and when I sit”; i.e., ‘night and day.’

<sup>24</sup> **ni-ma tê sî tí tã ve** “to establish a single heart.” Opposite of **ni-ma mâ ve** (note XX). (note 18 in Jim’s original)

<sup>25</sup> From a Lahu lovesong. **chêʔ** is an archaic or poetic word for ‘food, rice.’ It now means ‘bite’ in colloquial Lahu. If a metrical translation is preferred: “This fine white rice I eat, it tastes like chaff, Like muddy dregs pure water that I quaff!”

<sup>26</sup> “Six o’clock” is said in Thai in the original. See note 17.

<sup>27</sup> The word **nāliʔ** (< Shan < Burmese < Pali) is used for ‘o’clock/hour,’ or ‘watch/clock/timepiece’, i.e. anything connected with the precise measurement of time.

<sup>28</sup> **lû ve**: ‘be broken, ruined, non-functioning’.

<sup>29</sup> Lit: “however, because I have had the experience of getting to use it, I do know the time.” This is apparently a joke.

<sup>30</sup> Lit: “I don’t manage to go to Chiang Mai, I don’t manage to buy her one yet.”

93. Pā-é: I'll bet you can get one for two or three hundred [baht].
94. Ty: I can. For two or three hundred.
95. Pā-é: If the machinery [inside] isn't very good. If the works are fairly good it will cost a little more.
96. P: A woman's watch, eh? Say, why don't you go court a Thai girl? Haven't you ever done it?
97. Ty: A Thai? Oh, once I did court a Thai, a while ago.
98. P: Aha! Tell me about it, won't you? Tell me all about how it went.
99. Ty: About that? Well, the Thai now,<sup>31</sup> they have a custom that you can only court inside the house. That doesn't suit me at all. They can't get together and go out into the woods like us Lahu.
100. Pā-é: Those Thai, they'll love whoever goes to them, really!
101. Ty: Sometimes<sup>32</sup> even, while we're visiting them all nice and proper, some other guy comes too, and she talks to *him* at the same time. That really gets us mad!
102. Pā-é: Then we feel like clenching our fists and having a fight!
103. Ty: That's right. [That's why] the Thai are [always] fighting with each other.
104. P: You say they're fickle, the Thai girls?
105. Ty: Very fickle, the Thai race.
106. P: You say you can't lead them out into the woods?
107. Ty: You can't go [there].
108. P: What would happen if you *did* take her into the woods?
109. Ty: They say that that isn't their custom! They say you've got to do your visiting in the house, and have your conversation [there]. But we Lahu have no experience doing it in the house, so we don't dare to!
110. Pā-é: Well, *I* dare to.
111. Ty: I'm embarrassed in front of the parents.
112. Pā-é: The parents ought to help us too, for their part.
113. P: Really?
114. Pā-é: The parents ought to help us too, for their part. Once we've gone [to visit].
115. Ty: But we use up a lot of cigarettes!<sup>33</sup>
115. P: [laughs]
116. Pā-é: Oh, you don't have to tell me about that cigarette business!
117. Ty: Whenever we earn a little [spending money] from picking tea, we just have to spend it all on that!
118. P: [laughing] Each time you go courting a girl how many packs do you use up, of [those] big Gold Flakes?<sup>34</sup>
119. Ty: Well, I use up a pack of the big Gold Flakes every night.

<sup>31</sup> *ô-ve yə qo* "if we speak about that, the Thai..."

<sup>32</sup> The word *à-mù* introducing a *kà?-clause* implies that one is conveying disturbing information.

<sup>33</sup> The word *šú-kê?lê?* 'cigarette' is a jocularly folk-etymologized loan from English. The first syllable has been altered to sound like the native Lahu *šú* 'tobacco'. The more standard Lahu word for 'cigar' or 'cigarette' is *šú-lè?* 'tobacco-roll.'

<sup>34</sup> A popular brand of Thai cigarettes: *Klèt Thəŋ*, lit. "Gold Flakes".

Wooing the maidens (Part I)

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120. P: Do the girls smoke, too?

121. Ty: Some of them smoke and some don't.

122. Pā-é: Even if they don't smoke, if we offer<sup>35</sup> one they'll smoke it.<sup>36</sup>

123. Ty: Even if she doesn't smoke, there's nothing she can do [to avoid it]. If *we* smoke, then she has to smoke, too. We've got to harmonize with each other, completely.

124. T: Do you tell her, "If you don't smoke you don't love me"?

125. Ty: Right you are.

126. Pā-é: The time those three of us went to Thaton<sup>37</sup> it was just like that. Even though the girl<sup>38</sup> had never smoked, we insisted that she smoke the tobacco we offered her, and she got dizzy as hell from it. And we had to put out for a whole package of candy [to console her] — candy!

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<sup>35</sup> **ᄃ** 'drink' is used for smoking, too. Similarly, the causative **ᄃ** 'give to drink' is also used for 'to offer a smoke to someone.'

<sup>36</sup> Lit: "if we offer one, it'll go."

<sup>37</sup> Thaton is a village about 200km north of Chiang Mai, on the Burmese border, the terminus of the road through Farnng. Here the Lahu from Huey Tat usually spend the night before going on to visit their brethren in the Christian village of Shatodo, then a two and a half hour walk to the east.

<sup>38</sup> The girl is referred to simply by the pronoun **ᄃ** 'remote 3rd person.'



## 5.9 Wooing the maidens (Part II)

- (1) *Somebody* : *ao44 meε55 yau?53 nε?21 mai55* .  
 V N P<sub>v</sub> Prt P<sub>uf</sub>  
 take (Shan) wife (Shan) already (Shan) or (Shan) y
- (2) *Cà-bo* : *âa , te phê? ò , te phê? ò* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Interj V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 male name well! do able to completed action do able to completed action
- (3) *Pā-é* : < *selection on the jew's-harp* >  
 N  
 male name
- (4) *Cà-bo* : *âa , ð-khô dà? cà? yâ-o* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Interj N V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name well! sound good very emphatic
- (5) *h̃ , â cò ve khô* .  
 Interj Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 hm negative be there nominalizer probable reason why
- (6) *Cà-lô* : *You have rubbed out* –  
 N<sub>pers</sub>  
 male name
- (7) *Thū-yì* : < *jew's-harp selection* >  
 N<sub>pers</sub>  
 male name
- (8) *Cà-bo* : *âa , ð-khô dà? jâ* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Interj N V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 male name well! sound good very
- (9) *Headman* : *âa , ηà-hi Lâhū-yâ á-thâ chi qhe yê ve ̄ ,*  
 Interj Pron N N AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 well! we (pl) Lahu people jew's-harp like this use nominalizer topic  
*chō-há yâ-mî-há yê tù ve qô?-ma* .  
 N N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 young man unmarried young woman use purposive nominalizer emphatic
- (10) *á-thâ m̃? ve chi ̄ , yâ-mî-há thà? m̃?*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V  
 jew's-harp blow nominalizer this topic unmarried young woman accusative court  
*p̃ ve t̃-khô qô?-ma , ηà-hi Lâhū yê ve ð-lî chi*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>uf</sub> Pron N V P<sub>univ</sub> N Det  
 benefactive (3p) relativizer language emphatic we (pl) Lahu use relativizer custom this  
*̄ , " nā-kū-qá-nā-kū-qō-lô? " qô? ve chi ̄ , ð-khô*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Adv<sub>onomat</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 topic jewsharp twanging during courting call nominalizer this topic sound  
*cē tí* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> + P<sub>univ</sub>  
 only

Wooing the maidens (Part II)

- (11) *nā-kū-qá* *ce tí* *ca* *qô?* *ve* ,  
 Adv<sub>onomat</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> + P<sub>univ</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 jewsharp twanging during courting only go and do mean nominalizer  
*yâ-mî-há* *à?* " *là* *ò?* " *qô?* *ā* *ve*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 unmarried young woman accusative come hortatory mean durative nominalizer  
*yò* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (12) *cí-kì* *lè* , " *Lāhū-ma* *ò* , *ηà* *qhā* *mā* *qhā* *ve*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> Pron V<sub>adj</sub> Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 meaning topic Lahu girl vocative I skillful negative skillful nominalizer  
*thō* *là* *ò?* .  
 P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 even if come hortatory
- (13) *nà?-ú* *te* *dà?* *a ni* *a* , " *qô?* *ve* *yò* .  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 conversation make mutual action try to intentive mean nominalizer declarative
- (14) *chi qhe* *mā hē? qo* *ō* , *á-thā* *ca* *mā?* *tō* *le*  
 AE<sub>ext</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 like this otherwise topic jew's-harp go and do blow go around V'ing suspensive  
*ca* *te* *ve* *mā hē? qo* , *ηà-hi* *chō-há* *qô?*  
 vV V P<sub>univ</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub> Pron N V  
 go and do perform (as a song) nominalizer unless we (pl) young man say  
*kà?* , *šū* *mā* *kā* .  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Adv V  
 no matter what they negative listen
- (15) *qhā?-qò?-qhā?-le* *tān-khīn* *thā* *mē?* *mā* *mò* , *ca* *gī* *tō* *kà?*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Adv V vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 the whole village at night when when negative see go and do visit V for fun even if  
*á-thā* *khō* *šī? è* *te* *a* *qo* , " *ô* ,  
 N N AE<sub>stat</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub>  
 jew's-harp sound loudly make vigorous action when over there  
*chō-há-pā* *là* *ò* *lō* " *qô?* *le* ,  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 unmarried young man come completed action emphatic declarative say suspensive  
*yâ-mî-há* *tē phā* *là* *gā* *ve* .  
 N Q V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 unmarried young woman pluralizer come desiderative nominalizer
- (16) *yâ-mî-há* *là* *thā* *nà?-ú* *gā* *te* *dà?* *ve*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> N vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 unmarried young woman come when conversation get to make mutual action nominalizer  
*yò* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (17) *ò-lī* *chi* *ō* , *á-thā* *mā?* *ve* *chi* *ō* , *šū* *chō-mō* *kā* *qhe-qo*  
 N Det P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 custom this topic jew's-harp blow nominalizer this topic others elders hear if

- tí qo* , *yà?-tɔ* *tù* *ve* *yò* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 topicalizer be embarrassed purposive nominalizer declarative
- (18) *yà?-qhâ* *yè* *ò-qhɔ* *mâ* *mâ?* .  
 Conj N N<sub>loc</sub> Adv V  
 but house inside negative blow
- (19) *tân-khîn* *thâ* *mû phò?* *yè* *ò-bà-phô* *mì-châ* *õ* *yâ-mî-há*  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> SV N N<sub>loc</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> N  
 at night when night falls house outside ground locative unmarried young woman  
*à?* *nà?-ú* *te* *thâ* *mâ?* *pî* *ve* .  
 P<sub>n</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 accusative conversation do when blow benefactive (3p) nominalizer
- (20) *yâ-mî-há* *gã* *kâ* *thâ* *õ* , *yô* *lê* *qhà-qhe* *šĩ* *lɛ*  
 N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 unmarried young woman get to hear when topic she topic somehow know suspensive  
 , ” *âa* , *chɔ-há-pā* *là* *qha-pâ?* ,” *yô* *ni-ma* *qhɔ* *chi qhe*  
 Interj N V P<sub>v</sub> Pron N M<sub>px</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub>  
 well! unmarried young man come intensifying particle she heart in like this  
*dô* *tù* *yò* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 think future declarative
- (21) *chɔ-há-pā* *à?* *yô* *mâ?* *gã* *ve* *qo* , *yô* *kán* *te*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N V  
 unmarried young man accusative she flirt desiderative nominalizer if she work do  
*chê* *ve* *ò-cà* *cò* *thô* *bà* *á* *lɛ* , ”  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 progressive relativizer thing be there even though abandon perfective suspensive  
*âa* , *á-qà?* *tê khi* *qay* *šã* , *qhê* *ca* *qò* *e*  
 Interj N Q V P<sub>v</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub>  
 well! outside for a while go intentional (1p) feces go and do defecate motion away  
*šã* ” *qhe* *qô?* *ve* *yò* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 intentional (1p) thus say nominalizer declarative
- (22) *qhe* *chɔ-há-pā* *à?* *mâ?* *gã* *ve* *pa-tɔ* .  
 Adv N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 like this unmarried young man accusative flirt desiderative nominalizer because of
- (23) *ôo* , *mâ?* *dâ?* *qay* *ve* .  
 N<sub>sd</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 way over there flirt mutual action go off to V nominalizer
- (24) *hê?-pí-hê?-qhɔ* *à?* *tân-khîn* *chɔ* *yì?* *thô* *mâ* *yì?* *šẽ* .  
 N P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>time</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 deep woods accusative at night people sleep even though negative sleep yet
- (25) *qhe* *chɔ-há-pā* *á-thâ* *mâ?* *ve* *ò-khô* *yô* *gã* *kâ* *thâ* ,  
 Conj N N V P<sub>univ</sub> N Pron <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 so unmarried young man jew's-harp blow relativizer sound she get to hear when

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- ni-ma hā jā le , yō ni-qhā šī ve qhe nà?-ú te*  
 N<sub>spec</sub> + V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N<sub>spec</sub> + V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv N V  
 plaintive very suspensive she satisfied nominalizer thus conversation make  
*dà? chē ve yò .*  
 P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 mutual action continuous nominalizer declarative
- (26) *tê phā-phā lē á-thā mâ? dà? le , ġa dà? ve thō cò*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 some (of) topic jew's-harp blow well because get married nominalizer also be there  
*ve yò .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (27) *Lāhū-yā chi chō-há yā-mī-há qo á-thā mâ? ve*  
 N Det N N P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 Lahu people these young man unmarried young woman topic jew's-harp blow relativizer  
*ò-khō tê phā-phā ò-khō dà? jā .*  
 N NP<sub>q</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 sound some (of) sound beautiful very
- (28) *mâ? pí jā .*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 blow able to V very much
- (29) *tê phā-phā qo ̄ , šu te mō le , te tō ve*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 some (of) topic topic others do see or hear of suspensive do V aimlessly nominalizer  
*qhe-cē yò .*  
 NP<sub>ext</sub>  
 it's just like that
- (30) *cí-kì , ò-khō mā šī .*  
 N N Adv V  
 meaning sound negative know
- (31) *ŋà-hi Lāhū chi ̄ chō tê phā-phā yā-mī-há ̄*  
 Pron N Det P<sub>unf</sub> N NP<sub>q</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub>  
 we (pl) Lahu these topic people some (of) unmarried young woman topic  
*chō-há-pā mā dà?-dà? è thō , láy-cà lé-tū-qā mâ?*  
 N AE P<sub>unf</sub> Q N V  
 unmarried young man in spite of being ugly even several kinds flute (transverse) blow  
*pí , nō mâ? pí , qa-mì-khō te*  
 V<sub>v</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> N V  
 good at V'ing gourd-flute blow good at V'ing song perform (as a song)  
*pí , á-thā mâ? pí , chi qhe ve è? cē*  
 V<sub>v</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 good at V'ing jew's-harp blow good at V'ing like this genitivizer emphatic just  
*hâ? ġā ve chō thō cò ve yò .*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 get married desiderative relativizer people also be there nominalizer declarative

- (32) *tê phā-phā qo chə-há-pā ô-ve tèt-chí mâ cò thô , mâ*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Det Adv Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv  
 some (of) topic unmarried young man that nothing negative have even though negative  
*dà? thô , yô hâ? gâ ve mô ð-cà ,*  
 V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N N  
 good-looking even though she get desiderative relativizer belonging kind  
*yâ-mî-há hâ? gâ ve mô ð-cà , tê cə-cə cò*  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N N NP<sub>q</sub> V  
 unmarried young woman get desiderative relativizer belonging kind any kind be there  
*qo , hâ?*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 if get married
- (33) *ð-to à? mâ hâ? gâ thô , mô thà? hâ? gâ*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 body accusative negative get desiderative even if thing accusative get desiderative  
*le hâ? dà? ve chə thô cò ve yò .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 because marry relativizer people also be there nominalizer declarative
- (34) *Lāhū-yā chi ð-lī chi qhe cò ve yò .*  
 N Det N AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 Lahu people these custom like this be there nominalizer declarative

## Translation

1. Somebody: ao<sup>44</sup> mee<sup>55</sup> yau<sup>55</sup> ne<sup>22</sup> mai<sup>551</sup>

take wife already or not

Are you married yet?

2. T (Cà-bo): Well, we can get started now, we can do it now.

3. Yā-pā-é<sup>2</sup>: [*Selections on the jewsharp*]

4. T: Ah, that sounds really great! Hmm — maybe it wasn't recorded.<sup>3</sup>

5. P (Cà-lô): [IN ENGLISH] You have rubbed out —

6. Thū-yì<sup>4</sup>: [*Jewsharp selection*]

7. T: Wow, that sounds great!

8. H: Well, the way we Lahu use the jewsharp<sup>5</sup>, it's for the young men and marriageable girls<sup>6</sup> to use!

9. This blowing of the jewsharp is a language for courting the girls!

10. When we call this Lahu custom of ours *nā-kū-qá nā-kū-qō-lò?* that's just [imitating] the sound.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup>This sentence was uttered in Shan with a Lahu accent by someone fooling around. It is roughly transcribed as in my field notebook (1966).

<sup>2</sup>*Yā-pā-é* ("Sonny") was an unmarried teenager when this was recorded. He was the chief consultant during my 1977 fieldtrip.

<sup>3</sup>*khô* 'voice, sound, noise, words' is used in two senses in #4: *ð-khô dà? jâ* 'the sound is very good', then *â cò ve khô* 'probably not there' (i.e., probably not recorded), where *khô* means 'the probable reason why'. See DL pp. 380-383.

<sup>4</sup>*Thū-yì*, another young man who was a good friend in 1965-6, died soon after, reputedly because of black magic. See DL: 681.

<sup>5</sup>Now often euphemistically called "jawharp" in English. For details on this Lahu musical instrument see DL: 85 and Plate 2.

<sup>6</sup>*chə-há* 'young man, bachelor'; *yā-mî-há* 'marriageable young woman'

<sup>7</sup>These seven syllables are meant to imitate the twanging of the jewsharp, as the Headman says. But some people etymologize the syllables *nā-kū* as *na kū* (*na* Bn 'morpheme in female names'), *kū* (V) 'call', i.e. "girl-calling".

11. If you just say *nā-kū-qá* it means telling the girls ‘Come!’
12. The meaning is, “Oh, Lahu maid,<sup>8</sup> whether I’m worthy or not,<sup>9</sup> do come! Let’s try to have a conversation!”
13. Otherwise, unless we go around blowing the jewsharp, unless we go and do that, no matter what our guys say, they won’t listen.
14. All around the village, at night<sup>10</sup> when you can’t see anything, even if we just go walking around,<sup>11</sup> when the sound of the jewsharp is heard twanging in the distance, all the girls say, “Oh, the guys are coming!”, and they want to come [out of their houses.]
15. When a girl comes, they can have a conversation with each other.
16. This custom, this blowing the jewsharp, if an older person should hear it, would be embarrassing.
17. But one doesn’t blow it inside the house.
18. At night, when it’s dark, when you’re outside the house sitting on the ground chatting with the girl, that’s when you blow for her.
19. A girl — when a girl hears it, she knows “Ah, I hear<sup>12</sup> the guys coming!”, that’s what she’ll think in her heart.
20. If she wants to flirt with the guy, even if she had been doing some work she’ll put it aside, and say “I’ll just go outside for a while, I’ll just take a poop.”
21. So, since she wants to flirt with the guy, well, she just goes off to flirt with him.
22. In the deep woods, at night even though people are sleeping, they’re not sleeping yet.
23. So when they hear the sound of a guy blowing the jewsharp, it’s very melancholy, and they converse with each other to their heart’s content.<sup>13</sup>
24. There are even some people who marry each other because of good jewsharp blowing.
25. Among us Lahu young men and women, the sound of some of them blowing the jewsharp is very pretty, they can blow pretty well.
26. [But] some others, seeing other people doing it, just fool around when they do it.
27. They don’t know the meanings or the sounds.
28. Among us Lahu, there are even some people, some girls, who even if the guy is quite ugly, if he can do various things like play the sideways flute,<sup>14</sup> sing, blow the gourd-flute,<sup>15</sup> make songs, blow the jewsharp, then that’s just who they want to marry.
29. Some the girls, even if the guy has nothing, even if he’s ugly, if he has just one thing, a possession that she would like to have, a thing that the girl wants, then she’ll marry him.

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<sup>8</sup>*Lāhū-ma ò?*: a formulaic term of address in courtship.

<sup>9</sup>*qhā mā qhā thō*: “worthy-not-worthy-even”. *qhā* (Vadj) ‘have good qualities’.

<sup>10</sup>*tā-khī* ‘at night’ < Shan (cf. Si. *thāj khyyn*) is sometimes used instead of native Lahu *mū phò? thā* (lit. “when the heavens are revealed”). See DL: 998.

<sup>11</sup>I.e., without going into any girl’s house.

<sup>12</sup>The intensifying particle *qha-pâ?* is used in situations where hearing or not hearing is the issue. (See DL: 272).

<sup>13</sup>*nī-qhā šī ve*: lit. “heart’s path is stable”.

<sup>14</sup>*lé-tū(-qâ)*: single-tubed wind instrument, held sideways like a Western transverse flute.

<sup>15</sup>*nō*: musical instrument with a gourd as resonating chamber, to which five bamboo tubes are attached with beeswax. See DL: 794 and PLATE #42.

30. There are also people who get married even if they don't want to have the guy's body, but just want the things he has.

31. We Lahu have customs like this.

## 5.10 Courting banter

- (1) *Thû-yì* : *âa* , *Khú-mô* *nò* *qhò* *qay* *a te* *le* *qô?ma* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Interj N<sub>pers</sub> Pron N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name well! male name you where? go try to substantive qst emphatic
- (2) *Kh* : *ca* *gê* *la* *ve* *yò* *nē* .  
 . <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 go and do visit come to V nominalizer declarative emphatic
- (3) *Ty* : *cô* *ca* *gê* *a te* *ve* *â* *hê?* *lâ* , *nò* ,  
 . N<sub>sd</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> Pron  
 over there go and do visit try to nominalizer negative be the case yes you  
*chi tê khi* .  
 NP<sub>q</sub>  
 this time
- (4) *Ph* : *mâ hê?* *o* , *chò* *ca* *gê* *la* *ve* .  
 . Adv + V P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 not be the case affirmative here go and do visit come to V nominalizer
- (5) *Ty* : *Pā-é* *nò* *è?* .  
 . N Pron P<sub>n</sub>  
 male name you contrastive interrogative
- (6) *H* : *ca* *gê* *tô* *tí* *yò* *nè-õ* *nē* , *yà?-ni qhe*  
 . <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> N<sub>ext</sub>  
 go and do visit V aimlessly only declarative suppositional emphatic today like  
*õ* , *št-ni* *õ* .  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub>  
 topic Sunday topic
- (7) *gê* *chê* *dê* *le* *yî?* *chê* *qo* *mê?-qú-lú è?* *te*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> N<sub>lim</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE V  
 play around continuous in vain suspensive lie around continuous if with puffy eyes do  
*chê* *lè* *â hê? o* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> VP  
 continuous topic should not do
- (8) *gê tô* *ve* *nè-õ* .  
 V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 hang around aimlessly nominalizer suppositional
- (9) *Ph* : *cô-pá* *õ* *yâ-mî-há* *mâ?* *e* .  
 . N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub>  
 over there locative marriageable girl court motion away
- (10) *H* : *yâ-mî-há* *mâ?* *e* *lâ-o* .  
 . N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 girl court motion away yes
- (11) *Kh* : *nò-hi* *â* *qay* *gâ* *o* *lê-â* .  
 . Pron Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 you (pl) negative go desiderative mildly exclamatory yes



- (12) *Ty* : *qhò kà?* *qô?ma* .  
 . NP<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 where? emphatic
- (13) *Ph* : *cô-pá* *̄* *nē* .  
 . N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 over there locative emphatic
- (14) *Ty* : *cô-pá* *̄* *Mê-cwè?* *̄* *yò-è?* *nē* , *nò* *qô?*  
 . N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> , Pron V  
 over there locative Me-jwe topic emphatic declarative emphatic you say  
*kà?*  
 P<sub>unf</sub>  
 topicalizer
- (15) *H* : *nô* *Vên-pā-máy* *pá* *̄* *nē* , *nô* *kà?* *nā-qú-cè* *lón*  
 . N<sub>sd</sub> N<sub>place</sub> M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> , N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N B<sub>n</sub>  
 up there town name area locative emphatic up there locative banyan sthg big  
*hó* *̄* *̄-ti* *é* *te* *chê* *ā* *ve* *nē* .  
 M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 under locative place little do continuous perfective nominalizer emphatic
- (16) *̄-phô* *ā* *šī* *le-ā* .  
 N Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 area negative know yes
- (17) *Ty* : *ηà* *qay* *yò* *mē* .  
 . Pron V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 I go declarative emphatic
- (18) *Yā-pā-é* : *šē?* *gā* *̂* *gā* *cò* *và* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 man's name three for people four for people be there emphatic
- (19) *H* : *šī dà?* *le* *qay* , *šī dà?* *le* *qay* , *nò-hi*  
 . V+P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V+P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V Pron  
 go along together suspensive go go along together suspensive go you (pl)  
*yā-nē*  
 N  
 unmarried young men
- (20) *nò-hi* *qhe* *thā* *qay* *jò* *ve* *và* , *ηà* *qhe* .  
 Pron N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron N<sub>ext</sub>  
 you (pl) like when go experiential nominalizer emphatic me like
- (21) *Khán-pā* : *ηà* *kà?* *tē gē* *pē* *pî* *a* *mē* .  
 Eth Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Q V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 Jingpho I also together share benefactive (3p) hortatory urging
- (22) < *gì* *ve* >  
 V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 laugh nominalizer
- (23) *H* : *qhò-nī* *gā* *le* *qô?* *ve* , *yā-mī-há* *cò* *qô?*  
 . Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N V V  
 how many? for people substantive qst say nominalizer girl be there say

- ve*  
P<sub>univ</sub>  
nominalizer
- (24) *Yâ-pā-é* : *ô* *ğâ* *ŋâ* *ğâ* *cò* *ve* *yò*  
N<sub>pers</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
man's name four for people five for people be there nominalizer declarative
- (25) *H* : *ô* *ğâ* *ɛ* *ŋâ* *ğâ*  
ğâ Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
Cl<sub>f</sub> four for people or five for people
- (26) *Yâ-pā-é* : *èe*  
N<sub>pers</sub> Interj  
man's name yes
- (27) *Ty* : *dà?* *ve* *qhà-nî* *ğâ* *cò* *è*  
V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
good-looking nominalizer how many? for people be there substantive qst
- (28) *Yâ-pā-é* : *dà?* *ve* *dê-dê* *yò*  
N<sub>pers</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
man's name good-looking nominalizer all declarative
- (29) *Ty* : *šu* *a-ké* *a-cí* *khên* *ve* *tê* *mà* *qô?-ma*  
Pron N<sub>ext</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
others more than a little less bad relativizer one for people (informal) emphatic
- (30) *Yâ-pā-é* : *tê* *ğâ* *cò* , *šu* *a-ké* *khên* *ve*  
N<sub>pers</sub> Q V Pron N<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
man's name one person be there others more than less bad nominalizer
- (31) *Ty* : *ô-ve* *yò* *nè-ḡ* *qô?-ma* , *ŋà* *ve* *ḡ*  
Det P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
that declarative suppositional emphatic my genitivizer topic
- (32) : *â* *hê?* , *â* *hê?* , *â* *hê?* *ŋà* *ve*  
Adv V Adv V Adv V Pron P<sub>univ</sub>  
negative be the case negative be the case negative be the case my genitivizer  
*mē*  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
emphatic
- (33) : *thô* *khô* , *nò* *ve* *ḡ*  
Interj N Pron P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
for God's sake! empty words your genitivizer topic
- (34) *Yâ-pā-é* : *ŋà* *ve* *ḡ* !  
N<sub>pers</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
man's name my genitivizer affirmative
- (35) *nò-hi* *à?* *ḡ-hó* *ḡ* *pè?* *lá* *a*  
Pron P<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
you (pl) accusative inferior one topic give benefactive (non-3p) intentive

- (36) *Ty* : *ôo* , *qhe-qo* *ηà* *â* *qay* , *â* *qay* .  
 . Interj Conj Pron Adv V Adv V  
 hey! well then I negative go negative go
- (37) *H* : *ηà* *pè* *lâ* *a* , *ηà* *pè* *lâ*  
 . Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub>  
 I divide up benefactive (non-3p) intentive I divide up benefactive (non-3p)  
*a* .  
 P<sub>v</sub>  
 intentive
- (38) *thì-nì* *̄-qhe* *chi-phâ* *ve* *qô?-ma* .  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 number one (Thai) topicalizer this guy genitivizer emphatic
- (39) *thì-šš* *ô-ve* , *thì-šá* *chi-phâ* *hâ?* .  
 N Det N N V  
 number two (Thai) that one number three (Thai) this guy get
- (40) *Ty* : *thôo* , *qhe* *lè* *â* *hê?* , *thì-nì* *ηà*  
 . Interj Adv P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V N Pron  
 for God's sake! like this topic negative be the case number one (Thai) I  
*ve* *qô?-ma* *nē* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 genitivizer emphatic emphatic
- (41) *T* : *ôo* , *qhe* *lè* *â hê? o* *nē* .  
 . Interj Adv P<sub>unf</sub> VP P<sub>uf</sub>  
 oh! like this topic should not do emphatic
- (42) *T* : *ôo* , *yà?-to* *phô* *kà?* *â* *šī* *ò* *yâ*  
 . Interj V M<sub>prfx</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 oh! be embarrassed aspect even negative know completed action emphatic  
*ma* *nē* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic emphatic
- (43) : *thì-nì* *ηà* *ve* *yâ* .  
 N Pron P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 number one (Thai) my genitivizer emphatic
- (44) *Ty* : *âa* *qhe* *tâ* *te dâ?* *nē* .  
 . Interj Adv Adv V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! this way negative imperative fight over emphatic
- (45) *Yâ-pâ-é* : *thì-nì* *tê* *mâ* *ηà* *ve* *ɔ* ,  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 man's name number one (Thai) one for people (informal) my genitivizer affirmative  
*nò* *ve* *mâ hê?* .  
 Pron P<sub>univ</sub> Adv + V  
 your genitivizer not be the case
- (46) *Ty* : *nò-hi* *tê pa* *à-chô te* *dâ?* *ve-š* .  
 . Pron Q OV P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 you (pl) group be friends mutual action emphatic

- (47) *ò-chô qhe-lê mâ šũ* .  
 N N<sub>ext</sub> Adv V  
 friend like negative be the same as
- (48) *Yâ-pâ-é : yâ-mî-há ve dà? ve*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 man's name unmarried young woman stake out a claim mutual action nominalizer  
*lê*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 request for assent
- (49) *T : yâ-mî-há ve dà? ve cê* .  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 unmarried young woman stake out a claim mutual action nominalizer quotative
- (50) *Khán-pā : âa , nò-hi mâ hâ? gâ qô? qo ñà à? pè-?*  
 Eth Interj Pron Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> V<sub>imp</sub>  
 Jingpho well! you (pl) negative get desiderative topicalizer I accusative divide!  
*lâ nē*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p) emphatic
- (51) *Ty : chi máy ve qô? pî qô?-ma* .  
 N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 so small genitivizer say benefactive (3p) emphatic
- (52) *thì-nì yô ve qô? ve-̄* .  
 N N<sub>poss</sub> + ve V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 number one (Thai) his say emphatic
- (53) *Yâ-pâ-é : yò , thì-nì ñà ve yò mē* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Interj N N<sub>poss</sub> + ve P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 man's name yes! number one (Thai) mine declarative persuasive
- (54) *Ty : yù lò , nè-á mâ? gâ ve tí qo lè* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 take urging the two of us court manage to nominalizer topicalizer topic
- (55) *H : ô ̄ , chi thì-nì ̄ chi híy tí nē* .  
 N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Det N P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 over there locative this number one (Thai) topic only this big only emphatic
- (56) *Yâ-pâ-é : nò-hi lè mâ phè? o , mâ phè?*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V  
 man's name you (pl) topic negative be as it should emphatic negative be as it should  
*o nē*  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic emphatic
- (57) *tô yô ve chi qhe te ve mâ phè? dà?*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 words speak nominalizer like this do nominalizer negative able to mutual action  
*o*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic

- (58) *T* : *vân* *dâ?* *tù* *yò* *lâ* .  
 . V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 go at it mutual action future declarative yes
- (59) *Yâ-pā-é* : *vân* *dâ?* *e* *ve* *yò* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 man's name go at it mutual action motion away nominalizer declarative
- (60) *T* : *a-šũ* *a-qó-ló* *mò* *á* *ve* *le* , *yâ-mí-há* *ô-ve* *à?*  
 . Pron Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N Det P<sub>n</sub>  
 whoever first see perfective nominalizer substantive qst girl that accusative
- (61) *Yâ-pā-é* : *ηà* *a-qó-ló* *mò* *á* *ve* *yò* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Pron Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 man's name I first see perfective nominalizer declarative
- (62) *Ty* : *yô* *mò* *á* *le* *ηà* *lò* *hâ?* *qo* *ηà* *à?* *pè?*  
 . Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> V  
 he see perfective suspensive I ask to V get if me accusative give  
*lâ* *a* *qô?* *ve* *qô?-ma* , *cô* *yâ?-qo-qá* *õ*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p) intentive say nominalizer emphatic over there one's route locative
- (63) *T* : *qhe-qo* *a-šũ* *a-qó-ló* *mò* *qo* , *dâ?* *ve* *tê*  
 . Conj Pron Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Num  
 so whoever first see topic good-looking relativizer one  
*mà* *chi-phá* *hâ?* .  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> N V  
 for people (informal) this guy get
- (64) *chi* *ò-hó-hó* *ve* *mâ* *dâ?-dâ?* *ve* *chi* *Cà-qu-ní* *qhe*  
 Det N P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V<sub>redup</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Det N<sub>pers</sub> N<sub>ext</sub>  
 these very inferior one genitivizer negative quite pretty nominalizer this male name like  
*ve* *à?* *qha-pè* *pè* *pî-?* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> AE V V<sub>imp</sub>  
 genitivizer accusative all divide up give
- (65) < *gã* *ve* >  
 V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 laugh nominalizer
- (66) *Pā-é* : *chi* *Khán-pā* *hâ?* *a* *qô?* *ve* .  
 N Det Eth V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 male name this Jingpho get intentive say nominalizer
- (67) *Ty* : *âa* , *chi qhe* *qo* *a-šũ* *hâ?* *gâ* *qo* *hâ?* .  
 . Interj AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 well! like this if whoever get desiderative topic get

Courting banter

- (68) *Pā-é nê-á tê kà qđ? ca gđ e*  
 N Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> vV vV V P<sub>v</sub>  
 male name the two of us another for places go on to V go and do visit motion away  
*vđ*  
 P<sub>v</sub>  
 hortatory
- (69) *chò kà? tê kà tí cđ ve mâ hê? lē*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> + P<sub>n</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 here only one place be there nominalizer negative be the case because
- (70) *à-mù qha-dê?-dê? qô? dà? tê qo-kà? , gā dđ?*  
 Conj AE V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV V  
 otherwise in exactly the right way speak mutual action really V even if must fight  
*dà? tū yò , đ-chđ dē-dē thđ*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 mutual action future declarative friend all even though
- (71) *Yâ-pā-é : Pa-lón Pa-mâ? ô šĩ kà? cđ ve*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N<sub>place</sub> N<sub>place</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 man's name village name village name over there place also be there nominalizer  
*yđ*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (72) *H : pē cì-à? nê-đ ô tí qo lē*  
 V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 plentiful very suppositional over there topicalizer topic
- (73) *Yâ-pā-é : pē à , pē à*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 man's name plentiful asseverative plentiful asseverative
- (74) *H : ôđ , nđ qha-dê?-dê? šĩ ve lē-ā*  
 Interj Pron AE V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 oh! you very well know nominalizer yes
- (75) *Yâ-pā-é : šĩ tê đ vđ*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 man's name know really V affirmative emphatic
- (76) *Ty : ni-ma â dđ? nê-đ*  
 N Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 character negative good suppositional
- (77) *Khán-pā : ñà né šĩ šđ*  
 Eth Pron P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 Jingpho I also know still
- (78) *Yâ-pā-é : dđ? kà? cđ , mâ dđ? kà? cđ ve*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V Adv + V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 man's name good-looking also be there not pretty also be there nominalizer  
*yđ-qo ...*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic declarative

- (79) *T* : *âa* , *ð-šē-ma* *kán* *te* *ve* *tân-hê?-tân-câ?* *ni* *a*  
 . Interj N N V P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 well! female body work do nominalizer accomplishments pay attention to intentive  
*qo* *šī* *nè* *nē* , *ni-ma* *dâ?* *â* *dâ?* *ve* *lê* .  
 P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 if know probably emphatic heart good negative good nominalizer topic
- (80) *H* : *qha-dê?* *ca* *mē* , *yâ* *tê* *gī* *ò* .  
 . AE V P<sub>uf</sub> N Q P<sub>n</sub>  
 properly look for urging guys pluralizer vocative
- (81) *qhá-pū-qhá-lu* *mâ* *hê?* *lɛ* .  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> Adv + V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 baskets not be the case because
- (82) *yà?-ni* *hâ?* *šó-pō* *bâ* *mâ* *hê?* *mē* .  
 N<sub>time</sub> V N<sub>time</sub> V Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 today get tomorrow throw away negative be the case emphatic
- (83) *Yâ-pā-é* : *qhá-pū* *yò* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N P<sub>uf</sub>  
 man's name basket declarative
- (84) *H* : *yè-vê?-qa-vê?* *qô?* *ve* *šu* *chɔ-mô-khô* *qo* .  
 . Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N P<sub>unf</sub>  
 flower of hearth and home call nominalizer their proverb topic
- (85) *T* : *te-thāy-te-gī* *gâ* *kâ?* *nò* *à?* *cò*  
 . Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> V  
 split up (as married couple) desiderative also you accusative be responsible for  
*yò-è?* , *chi qhe* *ve-ō* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic declarative like this emphatic
- (86) *H* : *phê-gū-lū* *ve* *ð-qu-ni* *vì* *ve* *mâ* *hê?* , *âa* , *qha-dê?*  
 . N P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv + V Interj AE  
 rabid dog genitivizer sthg naked buy nominalizer not be the case well! properly  
*mâ* *lâ?-hâ?* *qo* , *hâ?* *bò* *ph-à* .  
 Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub>  
 negative choose a spouse if stay married be tired of warning marker
- (87) *qha-dê?* *ni* .  
 AE V  
 properly think over
- (88) *T* : *bâ* *gâ* *qo* *bâ-hâ?* *gâ* *qo* *hâ?* *phê?*  
 . V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 divorce desiderative if divorce one's spouse desiderative if get married able to  
*ve* *yò-è?* , *chi qhe* *ve-ō* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer emphatic declarative such a emphatic
- (89) *Yâ-pā-é* : *ni-ma* *mâ* *dâ?* *qo* *qhá-pū-qhá-lu* *yò* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 man's name heart negative good if baskets declarative

- (90) *ni-ma dà? qo qhá-pū-qhá-lu mâ hê?* .  
 N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> Adv + V  
 heart good if baskets not be the case
- (91) *H : ñ̃ , qhe-qo l̃ , qhe-qo ñ-hi ð-l̃ chi ̃*  
 . Interj Conj P<sub>unf</sub> Conj Pron N Det P<sub>unf</sub>  
 murmur of assent if that's the way it is topic then you (pl) matter this topic  
*a-cí j̃ ā š̃* .  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 please stop durative right away
- (92) *ñà à-pū t̃ mà ṽ m̃ l̃ a*  
 Pron N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 I story one for things tell vigorously indicate by V'ing benefactive (non-3p) intensive  
*m̃* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (93) *na ā m̃* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 listen perfective persuasive
- (94) *è-l̃ ?*  
 Interj  
 okay?
- (95) : *è* .  
 Interj  
 okay

## Translation

1. Ty: Well, Khumaw, where would you like to go anyway?
2. K-m: I've come to visit.
3. Ty: Aren't you planning to go visit over *there* now?<sup>1</sup>
4. K-m: No, I came to visit *here*.
5. Ty: Pa-eh, what about you?
6. H: He's probably going to go around visiting on a day like today, Sunday. There's no sense in just hanging around.<sup>2</sup> You shouldn't<sup>3</sup> just lie around blinking your eyes sleepily! You're just wasting time!
7. K-m: We'll go court the girls over there.
8. H: So you're going courting, huh?
9. K-m: Don't you guys want to go?
10. Ty: Where to?
11. Over there—you know.
12. T: Over there, at Me-jwe, like you said!

<sup>1</sup>I.e., 'wouldn't you rather go find some girls?'

<sup>2</sup>*g̃i ch̃* 'be doing for pleasure, be fooling around' vs. *ca g̃i t̃o* 'go around for pleasure, go on a round of visits.'

<sup>3</sup>Clause + (m)̃â h̃ê? o 'one shouldn't Clause'; lit. "it is not (a case of) clause."



13. H: Up there around Ven-pa-may, up there under a big banyan tree there's a little place where they do it! Don't you know the way [to get there]?
14. Ty: I'm definitely going to go!
15. Pà-é: We have three or four people [who want to go]!
16. H: Get together and go, get together and go, you young fellows. When I was your age<sup>4</sup> I used to go, all right!
17. Kachin: You should please cut me in on the deal!<sup>5</sup>  
[Laughter. Everybody talks at once.]
18. H: How many are there, did you say? How many girls?<sup>6</sup>
19. Pà-é: There are four or five of them.
20. H: Four or five?
21. Pà-é: Yes.
22. Ty: How many good-looking ones are there?
23. Pà-é: They're all good-looking.
24. Ty: There's one who isn't so bad as the others anyway!<sup>7</sup>
25. Pà-é: There is one—she's a little better than the others.
26. Ty: That's the one! The one for me!
27. : No, no, no! ... She's mine!
28. : Like hell she's yours<sup>8</sup>!
29. Pà-é: She's mine. I'll give you guys the second-rate<sup>9</sup> ones.
30. Ty: Well, in that case I'm not going—I won't go.
31. H: I'll divide them up for you, I'll divide them up for you. As for Numero Uno<sup>10</sup>, she'll be for this gentleman. Numero Dos is for that guy, and this guy gets Numero Tres.
32. Ty: Hey, that's no good, Numero Uno is mine!
33. H: Oh, you can't act that way!
34. T: Good grief, you have no sense of shame<sup>11</sup>!
35. Pà-é: Numero Uno is mine!
36. Ty: Well, don't fight about it like that!
37. Pà-é: The one who is Numero Uno is mine, I tell you! She's not yours.
38. Ty: You guys are friends, and there you are fighting! You're sure not acting like friends.

<sup>4</sup>Lit. "when I was like you."

<sup>5</sup>Lit: "Please share together with me." The Kachin (Jingpho) was an older man, something of a clown. He was still single, since Lahu girls hesitated to marry members of different ethnic groups.

<sup>6</sup>Less colloquially: *yâ-mî-há qhà-ní ġâ cò le qô? ve.*

<sup>7</sup>*khê ve* < Shan *khen* 'superior': 'be the best of a poor lot; be comparatively good.'

<sup>8</sup>*thôo khô* + X: "what nonsense to say X!" *thôo* = *pòthôo* (Interj.), *khô* 'words.'

<sup>9</sup>*h-hô* 'that which is below; something inferior.'

<sup>10</sup>The headman uses Thai numbers for the rankings, for comic effect. This is approximated by the Spanish translations.

<sup>11</sup>Lit. "you don't even know the way of shame."

39. Pà-é: We're laying conflicting claims to a girl, see?<sup>12</sup>
40. T: He says they're each claiming the same girl.
41. Kachin: Well, if you people don't want her, why don't you parcel her out to me!
42. Ty: She's tiny, why don't you tell him! That "Numero Uno" of his.
43. Pà-é: Yes, Numero Uno certainly *is* mine.
44. Ty: Let's take her—if only we succeed in courting her.
45. H: Well, so this Numero Uno is a tiny one, is she!
46. Pà-é: You guys are impossible, just impossible! We can't go on arguing this way.
47. T: Are you going to have a fight?
48. Pà-é: We'll have a fight.
49. T: Who was the first one to see that girl?
50. Pà-é: I saw her first.
51. Ty: After he saw her he said he'd give her to me if I wanted her! Right there on the road [was where he said that]!
52. T: Then whoever saw her first, that fellow gets the good-looking one. As for the inferior ones, the ugly ones, we'll give them all to the Little Red Savage<sup>13</sup> here!
- [Laughter]
53. Pà-é: The Kachin said he'd take one like that.
54. Ty: Well, whoever wants that kind can have them.<sup>14</sup> Pà-é, let's you and me go visiting someplace else! It's not as if there were no other fish in the sea<sup>15</sup>, you know. Otherwise<sup>16</sup>, no matter how nicely we discussed it, we'd have to come to blows, friends that we all are.
55. Pà-é: There are some over around Pá-lón and Pá-mà?
56. H: There are millions of them, I bet, when it comes to that.
57. Pà-é: Plenty of 'em, plenty of 'em.
58. H: Oh, so you're very well informed, are you?<sup>17</sup>
59. Pà-é: I know whereof I speak!<sup>18</sup>
60. Ty: I'll bet they're probably not very good-hearted.
61. Kachin: I know a thing about it too.
62. Pà-é: Since there are pretty ones *and* ugly ones—
63. T: Well, if you observe how a female<sup>19</sup> does her work, and her behavior<sup>20</sup>, then you'll know!—whether she has a *kood*<sup>21</sup> character or not.

<sup>12</sup> **ve dà? ve** (V + Pv): 'to vie; dispute a claim with one another.'

<sup>13</sup> **Cà-qu-ní** "The Red Naked One." This is Thû-yì's nickname.

<sup>14</sup> "If it's that kind, whoever wants to get them, gets them."

<sup>15</sup> Lit: "because it is not the case that there are [girls] only in this one place here."

<sup>16</sup> I.e., if there were no girls anywhere else.

<sup>17</sup> Lit. "Do you know very well?"

<sup>18</sup> Lit. "I really know!"

<sup>19</sup> **ṣ-sē-ma**, lit. 'a female body.'

<sup>20</sup> **tâ-hê?-tâ-cà?** 'behavior; what one has accomplished in life' < Shan.

<sup>21</sup> Càbo says **tâ?** instead of **dâ?** 'good', imitating the Kachin's tendency to devoice Lahu stops.

64. H: Look carefully [for a wife], my boys! It's not as if [you were buying] a basket or something, you know. You don't get one today and throw it away tomorrow! <sup>22</sup>

65. Pà-é: They *are* like baskets!

66. H: According to the wise old saying, [a wife] is the "flower of the hearth and home."<sup>23</sup>

67. T: If you want to split up from somebody like that, it's your responsibility!

68. H: You're not buying a naked rabid dog, so if you don't choose carefully, you're liable to get tired of being married to her. So watch your step!

69. T: If you want to break up after you're married just go ahead and marry someone like that.

70. Pà-é: If she doesn't have a good character then she's an old basket. If she does have a good character, she's not a basket.

71. H: Hm, well, then, why don't you fellows stop this business now. Let me tell you a story. Just listen. How about it?

72. Pà-é: O.K.

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<sup>22</sup>hâ? means both 'get' and 'marry.' bà means both 'throw away' and 'divorce.'

<sup>23</sup>yè-vê?-qa-vê?: vê? 'flower'; yè...qa 'elaborate couplet for 'house'.

## 5.11 Dividing a slaughtered pig fairly

- (1) : à-šwè thā Šá-to-dō chɔ vâ? tê khe tí cá ve  
 AE N<sub>place</sub> N N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 once upon a time village name people pig one for animals slaughter V to eat relativizer  
 ð-lɔn chi tê khi a-cí qô? mā lâ šā .  
 N NP<sub>q</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 matter right now just say indicate by V'ing benefactive (non-3p) intentional (1p)
- (2) : qô? mā ni-qhâ qha šĩ è .  
 V + V<sub>v</sub> N<sub>spec</sub> + V  
 explain until one is satisfied
- (3) : qhe-te-ɛ ɔ vâ? chi tí ve ɔ , pò là thā kâ? tê khe  
 Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N Det V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 so topic pig this slaughter nominalizer topic recently also one for animals  
 tí pð ò .  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 slaughter finish V'ing completed action
- (4) yâ?-ni tê khe qð? tí ve ɔ-qhe , ñà-hi ð-qhɔ  
 N<sub>time</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N<sub>loc</sub>  
 today one for animals V again slaughter nominalizer topicalizer we (pl) amongst  
 lo a-cí-cí mâ pè dà? ɛ ni-ma yĩ? ɛ-hé , chɔ  
 P<sub>n</sub> Adv Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>uf</sub> N  
 locative a little negative share mutual action because heart be angry probably people  
 tê phā-phā .  
 NP<sub>q</sub>  
 some (of)
- (5) : eeâ? ve yò .  
 Interj P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 right! nominalizer declarative
- (6) à-šɛ-thā chɔ tê gā vâ?-šā ca yù-qò? e ɛ  
 NP<sub>time</sub> N Q N V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 recently person one person pork go and do take back home motion away suspensive  
 qð? yù qhð? e lâ mð à?  
 V<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 V back (to starting point) take do back motion away benefactive (non-3p) see perfective
- (7) : ô-ve tê gā , yô ni-ma qhɔ mâ cô ve yò .  
 Det Q Pron N M<sub>prfx</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 that one person he heart in negative find favor with nominalizer declarative
- (8) : mâ cô ve yò .  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative find favor with nominalizer declarative
- (9) : mâ cô ve yò , ñà thô è .  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 negative find favor with nominalizer declarative I also even

- (10) : *qhe te tù mâ hê?* , *qha-dê? pè câ tù*  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> Adv V AE V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 thus do future negative be the case properly divide up V to eat purposive  
*ve*  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer
- (11) : *á-šĩ?-ni thâ tê khe tí ve nê-ḡ , và?-gũ-tê?*  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N  
 a while ago when one for animals slaughter nominalizer suppositional pig intestines  
*tí šē-phâ tí hâ? šē*  
 N<sub>dvb</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 slaughterer only get yet
- (12) *ó-qō-šĩ kà? – ð-gĩ-qú è mâ cò*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> Adv V  
 head also skin even negative be there
- (13) *ð-mù?-ká-ku tí è? tê khô-bá yù e lâ mð*  
 N P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V  
 bone as for emphatic one for halves take motion away benefactive (non-3p) see  
*à?*  
 P<sub>v</sub>  
 perfective
- (14) : *mâ cò ve qhà-ní ġâ le*  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative find favor with nominalizer how many? for people substantive qst
- (15) : *šē ġâ*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 three for humans
- (16) : *mâ ve yò-è?*  
 V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 many nominalizer emphatic declarative
- (17) *mâ yò-è?*  
 V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 many emphatic declarative
- (18) : *mâ ve yò , mâ cò ve tí qo lê*  
 V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 many nominalizer declarative negative find favor with nominalizer only topic topic
- (19) : *èè , qhe-qo ḡ ni-ma qhō mâ cò ve qo ḡ ,*  
 Interj Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 yes well then topic heart in negative find favor with nominalizer if topic  
*á-šĩ? thâ tê pḡ? ḡ qô? lâ tù ve*  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 recently when that time topic say benefactive (non-3p) purposive nominalizer
- (20) *mâ qô? lâ ve pa-tō , chí-bè? ḡ ñà-hi mâ*  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Adv  
 negative say benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer because of now topic we (pl) negative

Dividing a slaughtered pig fairly

- te* *ğ̃a* *š̃ē* *ò*  
V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
do get to regrettably completed action
- (21) *chi-bà?* *à-ğ̃ù-tê?* *kà?* *mâ* *cò* *ò*  
N<sub>time</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
now intestine even negative be there completed action
- (22) *câ* *š̃ē* *ò*  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
eat regrettably completed action
- (23) : *qhe-̄* , *šu* *̄* *qha šū* *pè* *câ-?* *qô?* *lâ* *ò*  
Conj Pron P<sub>unf</sub> AE V V<sub>imp</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
so then they topic equally divide up eat! say benefactive (non-3p) completed action  
*ve-̄* , *tâ?-nò?*  
P<sub>uf</sub> N  
emphatic policeman
- (24) : *chi ve* *̄-qhe* *à-qh̄* *ó-q̄* *a-šu* *te* *pā* *câ-?*  
Det P<sub>unf</sub> N N Pron V P<sub>v-nom</sub> V<sub>imp</sub>  
this topicalizer innards head whoever do the slaughtering agentive nominalizer eat!  
*qô?* *ve* *è?* *nē*  
V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
say nominalizer emphatic emphatic
- (25) : *yà?-ni* *tàn* *à-ğ̃ù-š̃ē* *qo* *̄* *à-ğ̃ù-tê?* *kà?* *à-qh̄* *ó-q̄* *kà?* *pè*  
N<sub>time</sub> V N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N N P<sub>unf</sub> V  
today start in the future when topic intestine also innards head also divide up  
*dà?* *mē*  
P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
mutual action persuasive
- (26) : *tè?-chí mâ hê?*  
VP  
never mind
- (27) *yà?-ni* *tàn* *à-ğ̃ù-š̃ē* *qay qo* – *chi tê p̄?* *̄* *nà-hi* *mâ* *qô?*  
N<sub>time</sub> V N<sub>time</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Adv V  
today start in the future go if this time topic you (pl) negative say  
*lâ* *ve* *pa-t̄* , *nà-hi* *à?* *cha* *ve*  
P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer because of you (pl) accusative be at fault nominalizer  
*yò*  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
declarative
- (28) : *chi p̄*  
Det P<sub>unf</sub>  
this emphatic topicalizer
- (29) *šu* ” *qha šū* *pè* *câ-?* ” *qô?* *le* *qô?* *lâ* *ve*  
Pron AE V V<sub>imp</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
they equally divide up eat! say suspensive say benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer

- à?      ġa      kâ      ò                      ve      le                      ,      a-cí-cí      qo      dš  
 P<sub>n</sub>          vV      V      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>                      Adv      P<sub>unf</sub>      V  
 accusative   get to   hear   completed action   nominalizer   suspensive   a little   topic   think  
 mâ      cš  
 Adv      V  
 negative   find favor with
- (30) :    nò-hi      ni-ma      qhɔ      mâ      cš                      ve                      qo      ,      šaphô      mâ  
          Pron      N      M<sub>px</sub>      Adv      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>      N                      Adv  
          you (pl)   heart   in   negative   find favor with   nominalizer   if   willingness   negative  
 cš      ve                      qo      ,      à-ma te      á-šĩ?-ni      tê      khɛ      tí      le  
 V      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>      Cl<sub>nf</sub>      N<sub>time</sub>      Num      Cl<sub>f</sub>      V      P<sub>unf</sub>  
 be there   nominalizer   if   why   a while ago   one   for animals   slaughter   suspensive  
 mâ      pè      ve                      kà?      mâ      qô?      ve                      le                      .  
 Adv      V      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>      Adv      V      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative   divide up   nominalizer   even   negative   say   nominalizer   substantive qst
- (31)    chi-bə?      ɔ-qhe                      qô?      ve                      ɔ-yân      mâ      cò      ò                      .  
          N<sub>time</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>                      V      P<sub>univ</sub>                      N      Adv      V      P<sub>v</sub>  
          now      topicalizer   say   relativizer   time   negative   be there   completed action
- (32)    qhe-qo      ɔ-ğũ-šĩ-phô      qo      ɔ-qhe                      ,      qô?      ġa      pí      à  
          Conj      N<sub>time</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>                      vV      V      V<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>v</sub>  
          so      in the future   topic   topicalizer   V again   get   able to V   asseverative  
 lo-qo                      ɔ                      ,      qha sũ è      pè                      cá-?      ,      té cə le-le      è                      .  
 P<sub>unf</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>      AE<sub>stat</sub>      V                      V<sub>imp</sub>      NP<sub>q</sub>      P<sub>n</sub>  
 emphatic conditional   topic   fairly   divide up   eat!   every kind   just
- (33)    qhe-tí                      qô?      dà?      qo      ɔ                      ,      ɔ-ğũ-šĩ-phô      qo      ɔ                      ,      mâ      ġa      cá  
          AE                      V + P<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>      N<sub>time</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>      Adv      vV      V  
          just like this   quarrel   if   topic   in the future   when   topic   negative   get to   eat  
 o                      ,      nò-hi      qhe      qô?      qo      lè                      .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>                      Pron      Adv      V      P<sub>unf</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>  
 emphatic   you (pl)   thus   say   topic   topic
- (34) :    qhe-tí                      qô?      qo      ,      tã-nò?      nã-pɔ      qhɔ      lò?      e                      qo      lè                      ,      mâ  
          AE                      V      P<sub>unf</sub>      N      N      M<sub>px</sub>      V      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>      Adv                      P<sub>unf</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>      Adv  
          just like this   say   if   police   ear   into   enter   motion away   if   topic   negative  
 ġa      cá      o                      mē                      ,      ɔ-ğũ-šĩ-phô      lè                      .  
 vV      V      P<sub>uf</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>                      N<sub>time</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>  
 get to   eat   emphatic   persuasive   in the future   topic
- (35) :    âa                      ,      chi qhe      tí      qo      tã      qô?      dà?      šē                      .  
          Interj      AE<sub>ext</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>      Adv      V + P<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>v</sub>  
          well!      like this   only   if   don't!   quarrel   still
- (36)    tê ġa                      nĩ ġa                      tí      mâ      cš                      ve                      le                      ,      chɔ  
          Q                      Q                      P<sub>univ</sub>      Adv      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      N  
          one person   two people   only   negative   find favor with   nominalizer   suspensive   people  
 chi ma      ɔ      cš                      à                      šš      ve                      le                      .  
 NP<sub>ext</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>  
 this many   topic   find favor with   asseverative   still   nominalizer   because

Dividing a slaughtered pig fairly

- (37) : *ɔ̌-qhɔ* *ó-qō-šĩ* *qhâ-ma* *qay* *hɛ́* *le* .  
 N N N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 innards head how much? go a certain way probably substantive qst
- (38) : *qhe-ɔ̌* *qhâ-ma-ô-ma* *qay* *kì* *mâ* *cò* .  
 Conj Elab<sub>adv</sub> V P<sub>v-nom</sub> Adv V  
 in that case (not) so much go a certain way locative negative be there
- (39) : *ó-qō-šĩ* *qô?* *qo* *ɔ̌* *ɔ̌-šā* *ɛ̀* *mâ* *cò* .  
 N V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> Adv V  
 head say topic topic meat even negative be there
- (40) *khi-qò?* *qô?* *qo* *ɔ̌* *tɔ̌-nɛ́?* *lɛ* *ɔ̌-šā* *gɛ*  
 N V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 leg from thigh to toes say topic topic chop small suspensive meat with  
*qò?* *khò-dɔ̌?* *pà* *ve* *yò* .  
 vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 V after doing sthg else mix by beating finish V'ing nominalizer declarative
- (41) *nò-hĩ* *ni-ma* *qhɔ* *ɔ̌* *mâ* *cò* *qô?* *qo* *ɔ̌* , *qhò* *na*  
 Pron N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Adv V V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> V  
 you (pl) heart in locative negative find favor with say topic topic where? ask  
*gâ* *kà?* *na* *e-?* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub>  
 desiderative also ask motion away (imp.)
- (42) *tè?-chĩ* *mâ* *hê?* .  
 VP  
 never mind
- (43) : *ó-qō-šĩ* *ɔ̌* *câ* *tù* *nɛ́* *mâ* *cò* .  
 N N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
 head cooked rice eat purposive even negative be there
- (44) *cô* *ni-?* *- thĩ* *qhô?* *tɛ* *ā* *ve* .  
 N<sub>sd</sub> V<sub>imp</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 over there look! storage rack on top of put down perfective nominalizer
- (45) *ɔ̌-gì-qú* *nɛ́* *mâ* *cò* .  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
 skin even negative be there
- (46) : *qhò-qhe* *ɔ̌* *na* *ci* *lâ* *thò* *na* *e*  
 N<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 however topic ask causative benefactive (non-3p) even ask motion away  
*yò-a* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic declarative
- (47) : *yà?-ni* *ɔ̌-gũ-šĩ* *qo* *nò-hĩ* *qò?* *dɔ̌?* *mɛ́* .  
 N<sub>time</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron vV V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 today in the future when you (pl) V for a change hit urging
- (48) *ɲà-hĩ* *mâ* *dɔ̌?* *o* .  
 Pron Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 we (pl) negative slaughter emphatic



- (49) : *mâ te ò ve , yà?-ni ð-ǵû-š̄ lè* .  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 negative do anymore nominalizer today in the future topic
- (50) *ǵa câ p̄í à qô? ve kà?* .  
<sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 get to eat able to V asseverative say nominalizer even
- (51) : *mâ câ ò ve yò* .  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative eat completed action nominalizer declarative
- (52) *ni-ma qhɔ mâ c̄ô p̄ā qò? te-? , qha š̄ū è* .  
 N M<sub>px</sub> Adv V P<sub>v-nom</sub> M<sub>px</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V<sub>imp</sub> AE<sub>stat</sub>  
 heart in negative find favor with agentive nominalizer V for a change do! fairly
- (53) *ǵà-hi ̄ chi tē p̄ô? mâ te ǵā ve kán ǵa te š̄ē*  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V V  
 we (pl) topic this time negative do desiderative nominalizer work get to do unpleasantly  
 ò  
 P<sub>v</sub>  
 completed action
- (54) *ǵa te p̄h̄i? š̄ē ò* .  
<sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 experience V'ing do offend by V'ing regrettably completed action
- (55) *ǵà-hi qha-dê? mâ te lɛ-̄ , n̄-hi ni-ma qhɔ mâ c̄ô*  
 Pron AE Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N M<sub>px</sub> Adv V  
 we (pl) properly negative do causal you (pl) heart in negative find favor with  
*ve lɔ*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer emphatic declarative
- (56) < *pause* >
- (57) : *ð-ǵù-tê? ̄ p̄è â ǵa n̄-̄ qô?-ma* .  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 intestine topic divide up negative be able suppositional emphatic
- (58) : *tē ǵā chi š̄t̄é ǵa n̄-̄ , p̄è d̄à? qo ̄* .  
 Q NP<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 one person only this long get suppositional divide up mutual action if topic
- (59) : *chɔ chi ma-ma ve ̄ , â ǵa n̄ē* .  
 N N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 people so many genitivizer topic negative succeed emphatic
- (60) : *qhe-̄ n̄a-ph̄è? â ph̄è? o n̄ē* .  
 Conj N Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 in that case condiment (fish sauce, offal) negative be possible emphatic emphatic
- (61) : *á-thɔ ǵú-pi te tí qo ǵa ɔ h̄é*  
 N N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 knife wound-around fastener make only topic succeed affirmative possibly

Dividing a slaughtered pig fairly

- lê*  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
request for assent
- (62) : *qhe te tí qo ġa ɔ nê-ɔ*  
Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
thus do just if succeed affirmative suppositional
- (63) : *và?-ġù-tê? ɔ tâ-lɛ ġò dà? qô? pî-?*  
N P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> V + V<sub>v</sub>  
pig intestines topic don't! pull mutual action tell (imperative to 3rd person)
- (64) *mâ yî*  
Adv V<sub>adj</sub>  
negative be long
- (65) : *và?-ġù-tê? ɔ chê? šē la lɔ*  
N P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
pig intestines topic break regrettably come to V emphatic declarative  
*ġò dà? qo*  
V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
pull against each other if
- (66) *yê-mí-twê? ð-ġù-tê? mâ hê? ve-ɔ*  
N N Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
bear (animal) intestine negative be the case emphatic
- (67) : *yê-mí-twê? ð-ġù-tê? tí qo , vâ qhó kâ? , a-šu ġò kâ?*  
N N P<sub>univ</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>unf</sub>  
bear (animal) intestine topicalizer bamboo more than even whoever pull even  
*mâ chê?*  
Adv V  
negative break
- (68) *ġò thô mâ chê? ve*  
V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub>  
pull even negative break nominalizer
- (69) : *âa , chi qhe tɔ-tɔ ɔ qô? dà? tù mâ hê?*  
Interj AE<sub>ext</sub> M<sub>prfx</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> Adv + V  
well! like this degree topic quarrel purposive not be the case
- (70) *šu à? kâ? yà?-tɔ à*  
Pron P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
others accusative also be ashamed asseverative
- (71) *câ-tù chi má-ê ve à? pa-tɔ , nâ-hi qhe-tɔ-tɔ qô? dà?*  
N<sub>divb</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron NP<sub>ext</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub>  
food such a tiny bit genitivizer accusative because of we (pl) like this quarrel  
*ve*  
P<sub>univ</sub>  
nominalizer
- (72) *và?-ġù-tê? chi ɔ ni a qo , pè mâ ġa ηɔ-ηɔ*  
N Det P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V Adv V<sub>v</sub> Adv  
pig intestines these topic look at intentive if divide up negative be able nearly



- qo* , *mô*      *qhâ?-šɛ*      *á-qhɔ* ̄      *ha-chi-qō* *lón*      *yù*      *tɛ*  
 P<sub>unf</sub>    N<sub>sd</sub>      N      N    P<sub>n</sub>      N      B<sub>n</sub>      vV      V  
 if      down there    headman    home    locative    wok      sthg big    take and V sthg    put down
- a*      *ɛ*      ,      *tê* *kà* *tí*      *qha-pà-è*      *à-ğù-tê?*      *kà?*      *à-šā*      *kà?*  
 P<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>      ,      NP<sub>q</sub>      AE      N      P<sub>unf</sub>    N      P<sub>unf</sub>  
 vigorous action    suspensive      in the same place    everything    intestine    also    meat    also
- khi-qà?*      *ó-qō*      *kà?*      *pâ?*      *kə*      *a*      *ɛ*      ,  
 N      N      P<sub>unf</sub>    V      V<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>  
 leg from thigh to toes    head    also    chop up fine    V into    vigorous action    suspensive
- qà?*      *pî*      *phê*      *yù*      *ɛ*      ...  
 vV      V      V<sub>v</sub>      V<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>  
 V after doing sthg else    give    launch vigorous action    V to good effect    suspensive
- (82) : *qhe-te-qo*      *tê khi*      *qo*      *mâ*      *câ*      *la*      *o*      ,      *yà?-tɔ*  
          Conj      Q      P<sub>unf</sub>    Adv      V      P<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>      V  
          in that case    at the same time    if      negative    eat    come to V    emphatic      be embarrassed
- ve* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer
- (83) : *mâ*      *câ*      *ve*      *chɔ*      *qo*      *yà-pî* .  
          Adv      V      P<sub>univ</sub>      N      P<sub>unf</sub>    VP  
          negative    eat    relativizer    people    if      never mind!
- (84) : *pè*      *â*      *ğā*      *nè-š* .  
          V      Adv      V<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>  
          divide up    negative    be able    suppositional
- (85) : *âa*      ,      *ηà*      *qhe-qo*      *à-ğù-tê?*      *qhe*      *â*      *pè?*      *lá*      *kà?*  
          Interj      Pron      Conj      N      N<sub>ext</sub>    Adv      V      P<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>  
          well!    I      if so      intestine    like    negative    give    benefactive (non-3p)    even
- qhe-cɛ* *yò-è?* .  
 N<sub>ext</sub>  
 it doesn't matter
- (86) : *ηà*      *thô*      *à-ğù-tê?*      *qhe*      *mâ*      *ğā*      *câ*      *thô*      *yà-pî* .  
          Pron      P<sub>unf</sub>    N      N<sub>ext</sub>    Adv      vV      V      P<sub>unf</sub>    VP  
          I      also    intestine    like    negative    get to    eat    even    never mind!
- (87) : *mâ*      *hâ?* .  
          Adv      V  
          negative    get
- (88) *qhe*      *ve*      *tí qo*      *yà?-tɔ*      *à* .  
          Adv      P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>      V      P<sub>v</sub>  
          like this    genitivizer    topicalizer    be embarrassed    asseverative
- (89) : *à-qhê*      *nù-qhâ* .  
          N      V  
          excrement    have a bitter stench
- (90) : *ηà*      *thô*      *mâ*      *hâ?*      *gā* .  
          Pron      P<sub>unf</sub>    Adv      V      P<sub>v</sub>  
          I      also    negative    get    desiderative

- (91) *qhâ?-šc qô? ve yô á-qhō ̄ kâ? ” tâ pè la ” qô?*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> V  
 headman say relativizer his home locative also don't! divide up come to V say  
*ve ɔ*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer affirmative
- (92) ” *yâ?-ni tân ð-ğû-šĩ qo , mô tâ-nò? chê-kì ̄*  
 N<sub>time</sub> V N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> N N<sub>dvb</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 today start in the future when down there police place where one stays locative  
*pè-? ” qô? ve mē*  
 V<sub>imp</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 divide! say nominalizer persuasive
- (93) : *chō qhê ò á ve lè? ve yâ qô?-ma*  
 N OV P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 people defecate perfective nominalizer eat nominalizer emphatic emphatic
- (94) *ð-ğû-tê? qhe-̄ nù-qhâ*  
 N Conj V  
 intestine topicalizer have a bitter stench
- (95) : *qhe-qo ̄ yâ?-ni tân ð-ğû-šĩ ̄ , ð-bon dà? lē ġa*  
 Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> V N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV  
 so topic today start in the future topic good luck good suspensive get to  
*qò? câ p̄ la qo ̄ a-šũ te è*  
 vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 V again eat able to V come to V if topic who do substantive qst
- (96) : *qha-pà-è ve phô? te-?*  
 AE P<sub>univ</sub> vV V<sub>imp</sub>  
 everybody genitivizer join forces to do do!
- (97) : *qhe te qo ̄ nò-hi châ? ā lē te lâ*  
 Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub>  
 thus do if topic you (pl) bear a grudge durative suspensive treat (non-3p)  
*ve yò-è?*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer emphatic declarative
- (98) : *ð-mō jè dà? lē te-? , tē p̄? qo , qhe mâ hê?*  
 N V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>imp</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> Adv Adv V  
 group discuss suspensive do! next time if like this negative be the case  
*qhe mâ hê?*  
 Adv Adv V  
 like this negative be the case
- (99) *cô kán te pà ò mû phà? è , mô a-kí*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> SV P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> N  
 over there work do finish V'ing completed action get dark just down there pitch pine  
*tú ā lē pè dà? p̄ lò è?*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 burn sthg perfective suspensive divide up mutual action benefactive (3p) urging emphatic

Dividing a slaughtered pig fairly

- , *šaphô mâ cš qo* .  
 N Adv V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 desire negative be in accordance with if
- (100) : *mê? â mð qo à-mù phî chè? šê? qo šā*  
 N Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> Conj N V V P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 eye negative see if if worst comes to worst dog bite scatter about if meat  
*à? , šù?-šā? šš* .  
 P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 accusative be annoying still
- (101) *á-tho tš? la nê-š , à-mù mû phà? qo , mê? â mð qo*  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Conj SV P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 heavy knife cut come to V suppositional or else get dark if eye negative see if
- (102) : *qhe te qo nê-á te pā tí qo qhe qay ve*  
 Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 thus do if we two slaughter agentive nominalizer topicalizer thus go nominalizer  
*yò* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (103) : *ni ā ve le mâ chè? šê? hē*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 pay attention to durative nominalizer because negative bite scatter about probably  
*nē , a-kí tú ā ve le* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 emphatic pitch pine burn sthg perfective nominalizer because
- (104) : *qhe-qo š , à-še-thā cho tē gā thà? šā-pun ca*  
 Conj P<sub>unf</sub> Temp Nom N Q P<sub>n</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V  
 so topic a while ago person one person accusative portion of meat go and do  
*yù pî le , yâ-é ca yù pî ve*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 take benefactive (3p) suspensive small child go and do take benefactive (3p) nominalizer  
*kà? , " tã yù là , tã yù là !*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V V Adv V V  
 although don't! take come don't! take come
- (105) *ô phî à? hâ? bà pî šē , " qô?*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V  
 over there dog accusative quickly throw away benefactive (3p) right away say  
*le , a-šū ca pî kâ? mâ hâ? , qhâ? e*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Pron <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V V P<sub>v</sub>  
 suspensive whoever go and do give even negative accept take back motion away  
*lâ ve* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer

- (106) *cô hú ā* .  
 N<sub>sd</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 over there hang sthg up durative
- (107) *cô ni-?* .  
 N<sub>sd</sub> V<sub>imp</sub>  
 over there look!
- (108) *cô ve ̄ qhò-qhe te tù ve le* .  
 N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 over there genitivizer topic how future nominalizer substantive qst
- (109) : *a-šu phá le , qhe qô? ve-̄* .  
 Pron N P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 who fellow substantive qst like this say emphatic
- (110) : *Cà-gê* .  
 N  
 male name
- (111) : *pè cā le â câ qo , ñà vān cε tí*  
 V V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> + P<sub>univ</sub>  
 divide up feed suspensive negative eat if I eat enthusiastically just  
*yò-è?*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic declarative
- (112) : *âa , ñà mâ šĩ le qô?-ma* .  
 Interj Pron Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! I negative know because emphatic
- (113) *ñà šĩ qhe-qo , chi qhe va-la va-la mâ ġa te tō*  
 Pron V P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> AE AE Adv <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub>  
 I know if only like this vacillate vacillate negative experience V'ing do V aimlessly  
*o*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (114) *yù le ô phĩ à? cā šē ò né-̄* ,  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> Conj  
 take suspensive those dog accusative feed right away completed action even that way  
*ò-bon a-cí dà? ò* .  
 N Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 usefulness more good would be
- (115) : *tā cā* .  
 Adv V  
 don't! feed
- (116) *ñà vān a qô?-ma* .  
 Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 I eat enthusiastically intentive emphatic
- (117) : *êe , qhe-qo ̄ , tê cà cò š̄* .  
 Interj Conj P<sub>unf</sub> Q V P<sub>v</sub>  
 okay then topic one thing be there still

Dividing a slaughtered pig fairly

- (118) ð-ví-ð-ni                      tē phā                      ò                      , chē-ša                      ɔ                      lâ ?  
 Elab<sub>n</sub>                      Q                      P<sub>n</sub>                      V                      P<sub>uf</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 brothers and sisters pluralizer vocative healthy affirmative yes
- (119) : chē-ša                      ɔ                      .  
 V                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 healthy affirmative
- (120) : vâ?-šā mē                      à                      lâ ?  
 N                      V<sub>adj</sub>                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 pork taste good asseverative yes
- (121) : mē                      à                      .  
 V<sub>adj</sub>                      P<sub>v</sub>  
 taste good asseverative
- (122) : mē                      à                      .  
 V<sub>adj</sub>                      P<sub>v</sub>  
 taste good asseverative
- (123) qhe-go                      ɔ                      ñà-hi                      qhâ?                      chi                      ɔ                      , dâ?-la-kê-la                      tū                      ve                      qhâ-qhe  
 Conj                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      Pron                      N                      Det                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      Elab<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      N<sub>intg</sub>  
 so                      topic                      we (pl)                      village                      this                      topic                      become clean                      purposive                      nominalizer                      how?  
 ġa                      te                      le                      qô?                      qo                      , á-qâ?-á-ji                      ġa                      šī?                      ve  
 vV                      V                      P<sub>uf</sub>                      V                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      Elab<sub>n</sub>                      vV                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>  
 get to do substantive qst say topic                      outside one's home                      must wipe clean                      nominalizer  
 cê  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative
- (124) yè-qhɔ-qa-qhɔ                      qha-dê?                      ġa                      šī?                      chē                      ve                      cê                      .  
 Elab<sub>n</sub>                      AE                      vV                      V                      V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 inside the house properly must wipe clean continuous nominalizer quotative
- (125) tē cā                      qo                      qhē-qò-yè                      kâ?                      ġa                      dū                      ve                      cê                      .  
 Q                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      N                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      vV                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 another thing topic latrine also ought to dig nominalizer quotative
- (126) vâ?-khô?                      ġâ?-khô?                      kâ?                      ġa                      te                      ve                      cê                      .  
 N                      N                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      vV                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 pigsty chicken coop also ought to build nominalizer quotative
- (127) a-šū-yô                      ð-to                      vâ?-qâ                      tē phā                      kâ?                      qha-dê?                      kē-kē                      lē  
 Pron                      N                      N                      Q                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      AE                      V<sub>redup</sub>                      adverbial particle (P<sub>adv</sub>)  
 one's own body clothes pluralizer also properly very clean very clean  
 chē-vâ?                      ve                      tē yān thā                      chē-ša-cò-ša                      la                      tū                      yò  
 V                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      NP<sub>time</sub>                      Elab<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 wash in order to wear relativizer when                      be in good health                      become future declarative  
 cê  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative
- (128) : qhē-qò-yè                      tí qo                      â                      dū                      šē                      pò?                      .  
 N                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      Adv                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 latrine topicalizer negative dig yet emphatic



- (129) : *á-šǎ-ni thâ mô šu dû ā ve né šǎ-šǎ*  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 a while ago when down there others dig perfective nominalizer even though sand  
*qǎ? lú kə bǎ ò*  
<sub>v</sub>V V + V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 V instead flow into fill up completed action
- (130) : *èe , qhe-qo chɔ tē phā-phā yǎ-kǎ cā-kǎ kǎ? tē kǎ tí te*  
 Interj P<sub>unf</sub> N NP<sub>q</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> V  
 yes because people some (of) bedroom eating place also in the same place make  
*ɛ , tē pǎ-pǎ? ve qo , lú-qu-pǎ kǎ? á-bǎ? thǎ?*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 suspensive sometimes nominalizer when ladle even blanket accusative  
*hǎ-thǎ? ā la ve yò*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 wrap together durative come to V nominalizer declarative
- (131) : *chi ɔ Lāhū-yā ve ǎ-lǎ yò*  
 Det P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>uf</sub>  
 this topic Lahu people genitivizer custom declarative
- (132) < *laughter* >
- (133) : *tē phā-phā ɔ cā ve tē yān thā , chɔ kǎ? tē ge mi qo phǎ kǎ?*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> Q V P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub>  
 some (of) food eat relativizer when people also together sit if dog also  
*tē ge mi ni ā ɛ , te cā chē ve*  
 Q V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 together sit try and V durative suspensive do and eat continuous nominalizer  
*yò*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (134) *phǎ ɛ chɔ kǎ? qhǎ-nɔ phǎ-tɔ dà? ɛ cā chē*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> M<sub>prfx</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 dog and people also behind turned to face sthg mutual action suspensive eat progressive  
*ve kǎ? mǎ jɔ ve yò*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer even see experiential nominalizer declarative
- (135) : *qhe qay ve yò , phǎ ɔ chɔ hu ā ve*  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 thus go nominalizer declarative dog topic people raise durative nominalizer  
*ɛ*  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 because
- (136) *qhe ve ɔ ηà thǎ cò hǎ*  
 Adv P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 like this genitivizer topic I also have an experience probably

Dividing a slaughtered pig fairly

- (137) : *mā pī ve â hê? , qhe ve tí qo* .  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V Adv P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 teach benefactive (3p) nominalizer negative be the case thus genitivizer topicalizer
- (138) : *yò p̄* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative emphatic
- (139) : *qhê-qò-yè tí qo mâ dû* .  
 N P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V  
 latrine as for negative dig
- (140) *ɲà phî šê? khɛ cò ɔ* .  
 Pron N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 I dog three for animals be there affirmative
- (141) ( *gĩ ve* )  
 V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 laugh nominalizer
- (142) : *a-šũ hên ā qo a-šũ te cō hɛ nē* .  
 Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 whoever study perfective topic whoever do ought to probably emphatic
- (143) *qhê-qò-yè thô lô à* .  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 latrine also need asseverative
- (144) : *te cō ve yò* .  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 do ought to nominalizer declarative
- (145) : *te cō ve yò p̄ nê-š* .  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 do ought to nominalizer declarative emphatic suppositional
- (146) : *šũ hên qò? la ve qhe te thô , mô ni-?* .  
 Pron V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> V<sub>imp</sub>  
 others study return come to V nominalizer thus do even down there look!
- (147) *šũ mā lâ ve ” vâ?-khô? gâ?-khô? te ” qô?*  
 Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N N V V  
 others teach benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer pigsty chicken coop build say  
*ve , te te ā ve kâ?*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 nominalizer build set up perfective nominalizer although
- (148) *lâthâbân têt?-chí kâ? â yù e lâ*  
 N Adv P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 government nothing even negative bring to be used motion away benefactive (non-3p)  
*mò*  
 V<sub>v</sub>  
 see or hear of
- (149) *à-qô-lê bà ā ve* .  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 empty thing abandon perfective nominalizer

- (150) *bù? kà? bù? šē ò* .  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 rot also rot regrettably completed action
- (151) : *à-yân mâ gà šē lɛ-hé* .  
 N Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 time negative reach yet probably
- (152) *mô ve tí qo yù e lâ*  
 N<sub>sđ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 down there genitivizer topicalizer bring to be used motion away benefactive (non-3p)  
*tù ve yò* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 future nominalizer declarative
- (153) : *šú lâthâbân mâ yù qò lâ šē lɛ*  
 Pron N Adv <sub>v</sub>V + V<sub>h</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 they government negative deliver benefactive (non-3p) yet because  
*yò-ê? nē* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic declarative emphatic
- (154) *mâ yù lâ šē lɛ-hé* .  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative bring to be used benefactive (non-3p) yet probably
- (155) : *â pè? lâ-lâ ve lɛ-hé* .  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative give benefactive (dubitative) nominalizer probably
- (156) : *mâ yù qò lâ ve ɔ̄ šú à?*  
 Adv <sub>v</sub>V + V<sub>h</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub>  
 negative deliver benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer topic them accusative  
*cò* .  
 V  
 be responsible for
- (157) *mâ te ve qo ñà-hi à? cò ve*  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 negative build nominalizer topic us accusative be responsible for nominalizer  
*yò* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (158) : *yò pò?* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative emphatic
- (159) : *èe , qhe te qo ɔ̄ , chi-bà? câ-ve-dò-ve ò-lɔn lɛ chê-ša-cò-ša*  
 Interj Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub>  
 yes like this do if topic now food and drink matter and be in good health  
*ve ò-lɔn chi ma qhe tí yò hé* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N NP<sub>ext</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 relativizer matter this much like only declarative probably

(160) <i>pə</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>yò</i>	.
V	P <sub>univ</sub>	P <sub>uf</sub>	
be completed	nominalizer	declarative	

## Translation

Šá-to-dō Village

1. Now I'd just like to tell you all about how the folks in Šá-to-dō used to slaughter a pig to eat.
2. Tell us until we're satisfied!<sup>1</sup>
3. Well, then, as for slaughtering pigs, we also just recently killed one. Today when we killed another one there were a few parts that we didn't divide up among us, so some people are probably angry.
4. That's right. A while ago a person took some pork and went home with it, but then I saw him bring it back again.
5. That guy was not happy about it.
6. He wasn't satisfied.
7. Hey, I'm not satisfied either!
8. We shouldn't do it that way. We ought to divide it up fairly to eat.
9. Even with the one that we slaughtered the other day, the butcher took the intestines all for himself. The head too. Even the skin was gone. Just the bones. I saw him take half of the head for us.<sup>2</sup>
10. How many people are there who don't agree?
11. Three people.
12. That's a lot, that's a lot!
13. That is a lot—those who don't agree.
14. Yeah, so if you're not happy about it you should have said something to us before now. Since you didn't say anything we can't do anything about it now. Now there aren't even any intestines left. They've all been eaten up.
15. But they—the police—told us to divide it up fairly!<sup>3</sup>
16. Yes, but the insides and the head are for whoever does the slaughtering to eat!
17. From today on we'll definitely divide up the intestines, the innards, and the head also!
18. Never mind what we do from today onwards—right now you didn't tell us that, so it's all your fault.
19. That's right! About their saying "Divide it up fairly!" when I heard what they said to us, I disagree with you a little bit.<sup>4</sup>
20. If you guys aren't satisfied, if things aren't according to your wishes, why didn't you say anything when that animal was slaughtered without dividing up the intestines?
21. When you say that now it's too late.
22. So in the future, if we're able to get another one, just divide it up equally to eat, every single part!

<sup>1</sup>Emendation of text from *qô? mā qha ni è?* to *qô? mā ni-qhâ qha ši è*.

<sup>2</sup>For us' translates the verb-particle *lâ* 'action benefitting a non-3rd person', here used ironically, since the butcher is benefitting only himself.

<sup>3</sup>The pig in question was apparently donated to the village by a local squad of the Border Police.

<sup>4</sup>I.e., about the interpretation of the policeman's admonition.

23. If you just keep quarreling about it, in the future you won't get anything to eat, you guys.
24. If we quarrel like this, when it reaches the ears of the police we won't get anything to eat anymore, in the future!
25. Oh, let's just stop worrying about this. Even if one or two people aren't satisfied, most people are still perfectly happy with it.
26. I wonder how much there is to eat in the innards and the head?
27. Well, it doesn't amount to very much.
28. As for the head, there's not even any meat on it.
29. As far as the feet go, we should chop them into small pieces and mix them up thoroughly with the rest of the meat.<sup>5</sup>
30. If you guys aren't satisfied, go ask anybody you want!<sup>6</sup> I don't care.
31. On the head there's nothing to eat. Look over there at the one on the storage-rack. There isn't even any skin on it.
32. Wherever you make me ask, I'll ask!
33. From now on, you guys can be the ones to do the butchering! We're not going to kill them anymore.
34. We won't do it anymore. Starting from today. Even if we do get another one to eat.
35. Now we *won't* get any more to eat.
36. Let those who aren't satisfied do it next time, fairly. This time we managed to do a job that we didn't want to do. We made a mistake. Since we didn't do it right, you guys aren't satisfied.
- [A pause]
37. I bet you can't even divide up the intestines!
38. Each person would get such a short piece, if we divide it up.
39. We can't do it with so many people!
40. So we wouldn't even get enough to make *náam phr̀k*.<sup>7</sup>
41. I suppose we could use it to wind around a knife-sheath<sup>8</sup>, eh?
42. I guess that's what we could do with it!
43. Come on, tell them not to have a tug-of-war<sup>9</sup> with the pig guts! They're not long enough.
44. Pig-guts would break if you pulled them like that—they're not bear-guts, you know!
45. Bear-guts, even more than bamboo, no matter who pulls it, it won't break.
46. Oh, we shouldn't quarrel over this so much.<sup>10</sup>
47. We'd be embarrassed before other people.

<sup>5</sup>'Thoroughly' translates the post-head versatile verb *p̀ə* 'finish V'ing; V to a conclusion'.

<sup>6</sup>Lit. "Where you want to ask, go ask!" I.e., other people will vouch for the fairness of our behavior.

<sup>7</sup>A spicy condiment made of salty fish sauce, hot peppers, and bits of vegetables or offal.

<sup>8</sup>*á-tho-gú-pi* 'coils (of string, bamboo-fiber, or metal) holding together the two halves of a knife sheath.

<sup>9</sup>*g̀ə d̀à? ve* (lit. "pull mutually").

<sup>10</sup>*q̀ə d̀à? ve* can mean either 'talk to each other' or 'quarrel' (*d̀à?* (Pv) 'mutual action').

48. Since it's such a tiny amount of food, for us to talk about it at such length—if you look at those pig-guts, you practically can't divide them up at all, just enough for those who did the slaughtering, maybe four people.
49. Because there are lots of people.
50. With 58 people<sup>11</sup> how can you go divide it up!
51. This time it's a done deal, it's all finished, there's nothing to be done about it. They're all eaten up.
52. Yep.
53. From today on let's divide up the intestines and the head [along with everything else].<sup>12</sup>
54. That's what we ought to do. From today onward. There have been lots of people who are discontented.
55. Otherwise, if we have a chance to do it again in the future, we should set up a big *wok* down there in the headman's house, and all in the same place we should chop up all the intestines, and the meat and the feet and the head and put it all in and then give it out for everybody to take<sup>13</sup>, and—
56. If we do it that way people wouldn't come to get their food all at the same time—they'd be embarrassed.
57. If there are people who won't eat, the hell with them!
58. We probably wouldn't manage to divide it up.
59. Well, for my part, even if they don't give me stuff like the guts, it's all the same to me.
60. Me too, even if I don't get to eat the guts—
61. —I'd be embarrassed about that!
62. They stink of shit.<sup>14</sup>
63. I don't want any either. The headman says not to come divide it up in his house! From now on he says we should divide it down there at the police station!
64. They eat people's shit<sup>15</sup> [*giggles*]! The inside of their guts stinks like hell.
65. So from now on if we're lucky enough to get a chance to eat a pig again, who will slaughter it?
66. Let's all do it together!
67. If that's what you guys do you're just bearing a grudge against us.<sup>16</sup>
68. You should do it after talking it over with the whole community—in the future it shouldn't be done like it was this time, not like this time.
69. If you don't agree with us, after you finish working over there<sup>17</sup>, when it gets dark you can go down and light pine-torches and divide it up there.
70. If we can't see what we're doing, the dogs might bite into the meat and scatter it around<sup>18</sup>, a real pain in the ass. You could cut your hands with the knives. If it's dark and you can't see.

<sup>11</sup>**ŋā chi hí gā (ve)**: This phrase taken out of context has two totally different meanings. The sense here is “58 people” (**ŋā chi hí** “58”, **gā** “classifier for people”), or “catch this fish by competing” (**ŋā** “fish”, **chi** “this”, **hí** “compete, vie for”, **gā** “catch”).

<sup>12</sup>The phrase in square brackets translates **kà?** (Punf) ‘also’.

<sup>13</sup>This is a four-verb concatenation: **qǝ?** ‘perform a new action’, **pī** ‘give’, **phê** ‘send forth’, **yù** ‘take’.

<sup>14</sup>**nù-qhā**: lit. “stink-bitter”, i.e. have a bitter stench.

<sup>15</sup>**qhê ò ve ~ qhê qò ve**: ‘take a crap’ (plainspoken but not vulgar).

<sup>16</sup>**châ?** ‘bear a grudge’; the verb particle **lâ** ‘non-3rd p. beneficiary’ does not specify number, but is here interpreted as plural since more than one person did the slaughtering.

<sup>17</sup>The work in question is “Building an airstrip”. See Text 6.5.

<sup>18</sup>This idea is concisely expressed by the two-verb sequence: **chê?** ‘bite’ + **šê?** ‘scatter’.

71. If we do it that way [i.e., at night] that's what will happen to us who do the killing.
72. With us watching, they probably wouldn't grab at the meat, if we've got torches lit.
73. Well, a while ago when we gave out a portion of meat to this guy, even when we sent a kid to take it to him<sup>19</sup>, he said, "Don't come bringing me that, don't bring me that! Better to give it to the dogs!" No matter who offered it to him he wouldn't take it. He sent it back to me. It's hanging up there, see it?! What are we going to do with it?
74. Who is it that you're talking about?
75. Cà-gê—.
76. After dividing it up for him<sup>20</sup> if he won't eat it, I'll gobble<sup>21</sup> it up myself, if that's the way it is!
77. Well, I didn't know about this! If I had known, we wouldn't have gone back and forth aimlessly like this. Let's take it and just feed it to the dogs. Even that would be better [than giving it to that guy].
78. Don't feed it to them. I'll tuck into it!
79. Yes, well, there's still another thing. Brothers<sup>22</sup>, are you feeling good? You're feeling good. Is the pork tasty?
80. (Two people): It's good!
81. Well then, if we talk about what we should do in order to clean up this village of ours, we must first sweep up all around the houses.<sup>2324</sup>
82. We should keep sweeping the insides of our houses clean.
83. Another thing is, we should dig latrines.
84. And we should build sties for the pigs and coops for the chickens.
85. And if everybody washes all his clothes properly, we'll all be healthy and fit.
86. I'm not going to dig a latrine yet. Not long ago somebody dug one down there, but sand flowed into it and filled it up.
87. Yeah, then some people have their bedroom and kitchen in the same place. Sometimes ladles and blankets are all wrapped up together.
88. That's normal for a Lahu! [*laughter*]
89. When some people eat their meals, the dogs sit together with them and watch, and they're eating too. I've actually seen the dogs and the people sitting back to back and eating away!
90. That's what happens. Since those people raise dogs. I guess I've had that experience too. You can't teach them anything, people like that.
91. Right you are! You could say it's insulting to the dog's owner. Absolutely!
92. As for a latrine, I won't dig one. I have three dogs.<sup>25</sup>

[*laughter*]

<sup>19</sup>Evidently sending a child to deliver the meat was an attempt to mollify the hurt feelings of some villagers.

<sup>20</sup>**pè cā le:** **pè** 'divide' + **cā** 'feed' + **le** 'suspensive non-final unrestricted particle'.

<sup>21</sup>**vā** 'go at it vigorously'. This is a vivid pro-verb, here used instead of **cā** 'eat'.

<sup>22</sup>Lit. "older and younger siblings."

<sup>23</sup>**á-qà?-á-ji:** "outside between [the houses]."

<sup>24</sup>This sentence, as well as the four following ones, all end with the quotative **Punf cê**, the function of which here is to stress that others (the Thai authorities) have told the headman what the villagers must do to improve hygiene.

<sup>25</sup>Dogs are known for their coprophagic propensities.

## Dividing a slaughtered pig fairly

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93. Those who have studied [in a Thai town] ought to do it, I guess. We need latrines.
94. We ought to do it.
95. We re-a-ally<sup>26</sup> ought to do it, I suppose!
96. Even though we've done what those returning students have told us to, look down there!<sup>27</sup>
97. They're instructing us to build pigsties and chicken-coops, but once we've built them the government doesn't bring us any [animals to put in them]. They've been abandoned, all empty. And they're actually rotting away.
98. Maybe the time hasn't come yet, for those down there. They'll bring them to us.
99. The government won't give them to us! I doubt they'll ever give them to us.
100. They'll probably never give anything to us.
101. It's their fault for not giving us anything.
102. If we hadn't built them [the pigsties and chicken coops] it would have been *our* fault.
103. You're right!
104. Yeah, since that's the way it is, our food and our health will probably now be just like the way it's always been.
105. We're done.
- 

<sup>26</sup>Spoken with exaggerated intonation on the final particle.

<sup>27</sup>I.e., at the Thai authorities down in the plains.



## 5.12 I'm feeling sad

- (1) *yà?-ni ñà Na-lí ɔ̄ ɛ-ɛ-ɛ , ð-chô mâ cò-ɔ̄-ɔ̄ ni-ma hā*  
 N<sub>time</sub> Pron N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv V N<sub>spec</sub> + V  
 today I village name locative topicalizer friend negative be there sad  
*ve ši-la-o .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> VP  
 nominalizer to death
- (2) *qa-mì le-ɛ-ɛ nô ɔ̄ qa-ā-ay , ni-ma hā ve le-ɛ-ɛ ši tù*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V N<sub>spec</sub> + V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 sing suspensive up there topic go sad nominalizer suspensive die future  
*kà? qay yo-ò-o .*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 even go declarative
- (3) *Na-lí qay qò? la le , ð-chô è mâ cò-ɔ̄-ɔ̄ , ð-chô*  
 N<sub>place</sub> V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V N  
 village name go return come to V suspensive friend even negative be there friend  
*è mâ cò-ɔ̄-ɔ̄ , chê bð le-ɛ-ɛ , ši kà? qay .*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 even negative be there tired of living suspensive die even go a certain way
- (4) *qò? la le-ɛ-ɛ á-qhɔ̄ mð te á le ,*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 return motion towards suspensive home belongings put down perfective suspensive  
*í-kà?-gì ca bì e .*  
 N<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 river go and do swim motion away
- (5) *gì ca bì le-ɛ-ɛ , cho-há kà? tê gâ chê ā*  
 N<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 river go and do swim suspensive young man also one for humans be there durative  
*lɔ-ɔ̄-ɔ̄ , ———*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (6) *ní ko šé? ko-mon qay , ní ko šé? ko-mon qò?*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V  
 two hour (Tai) three hour (Tai) go two hour (Tai) three hour (Tai) return  
*a le-ɛ-ɛ á-qhɔ̄ mð te á le , nô*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub>  
 vigorous action suspensive home belongings put down perfective suspensive up there  
*kà? qay á le , nà?-ú te dà? tù qay*  
 P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V  
 locative go perfective suspensive conversation do mutual action purposive go  
*yò .*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative

I'm feeling sad

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### Translation

[Told in Red Lahu in a chanting style; the speaker was more than a bit tipsy, and from Sentence 5 on was chewing betel.]

1. Today I went to Na-lí a-a-and there were no friends the-e-ere, and I'm so sad I could die.<sup>1</sup>
2. Si-i-inging up there I we-e-nt, [but now] my heart is sa-a-ad and I'm going to di-i-ie.
3. I went to Na-lí and came back, but no friends were the-e-re, not a single friend was the-e-re, and I feel so cra-a-ppy<sup>2</sup> I could just die.
4. I came ho-o-me and put my stuff in the house, and went to take a dip in the river.
5. I went into the wa-a-ater, and there was another young guy there—<sup>3</sup>
6. It took two or three hours<sup>4</sup> to go up there [to Na-lí], and two or three hours to come ba-a-ack, and I put my stuff in the house—[but] I went up there, I just went to have a chat.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>**ši-la-o**: 'so much one could die; to death'. An emphatic sentence-final tag, probably calqued on Thai V + **cətaaj**.

<sup>2</sup>**chê bō**: lit. "be weary of living", i.e. 'be totally wretched'.

<sup>3</sup>The last clause of this sentence was inaudible because of the speaker's betel-chewing.

<sup>4</sup>**ko-mon**: the speaker uses the Tai word for 'hour' (cf. Si. **chûamɔŋ**), or simply its first syllable **ko-** (cf. Si. **chûa-**), instead of the usual Lahu word **nāli** (< Bs < Indic).

<sup>5</sup>At this point the speaker lapses into incoherence.

### 5.13 Playing ball and spinning the top at New Year's

- (1) *P* : *âa* , *šālā* ò , *ŋà* *a-cí* *na* *gâ* *qôʔ-ma* .  
 . Interj N P<sub>n</sub> , Pron Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! pastor vocative I just hear about desiderative emphatic
- (2) *Lâhū-yâ* *chi* *cà-šĭ-ŵ* *câ* *pə* *qhòʔ-nó* , *bó-šĭ* *dôʔ*  
 N Det N V V<sub>v</sub> M<sub>px</sub> N V  
 Lahu people these New Rice Festival celebrate finish V'ing afterwards ball hit  
*ve* *qôʔ* *ve* *lâ* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer say nominalizer yes
- (3) *qhà-qhe* *te* *dôʔ* *ve* *le* .  
 Cl<sub>nf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 how hit nominalizer nominalizer
- (4) *nò* *a-cí* *qôʔ* *mā* *phêʔ* ɔ *lâ* .  
 Pron Adv V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 you please say teach to V able to affirmative yes
- (5) *T* : *âa* , *eeàʔ* , *qôʔ* *mā* *lâ* *phêʔ* ɔ *qôʔ-ma* .  
 . Interj Interj V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! right! say teach to V benefactive (non-3p) able to affirmative emphatic
- (6) *cà-šĭ-ŵ* *gĕ* *pə* *qo* , *bó-šĭ* *dôʔ* *ve* *yò* , *ŋà-hi*  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron  
 New Rice Festival feast on finish V'ing when ball hit nominalizer declarative we (pl)  
*Lâhū-yâ* *qôʔ* *ve* *ŵ* , *tê* *qhòʔ* *le-le* *ha-lê-ha-qa* *te* *ve* *qôʔ*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> Elab<sub>adv</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> V  
 Lahu people call nominalizer topic every year happily do nominalizer say  
*ve* *qôʔ-ma* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer emphatic
- (7) *qhe-qo* *ŵ* *yàʔ-ni* *ŵ* *bó-šĭ* *gā* *dôʔ* *tù* *ve* *yò* .  
 Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 so topic today topic ball get to hit future nominalizer declarative
- (8) *P* : *a-šu* *a-šu* *dôʔ* *tù* *ve* *le* .  
 . Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 who all hit future nominalizer nominalizer
- (9) *H* : *âa* , *qhâʔ* *chi* *hó-qhâʔ-pā* *tê* *gā* *le-le* *dôʔ* *ve* *tí* *yò*  
 . Interj N Det N NP<sub>q</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! village this men everybody hit nominalizer only declarative  
*nē* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (10) *bó-šĭ* *ŵ* *a-šu* *kàʔ* *dôʔ* *gâ* *ve* *ŵ* .  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 ball topic anybody hit desiderative nominalizer topic

Playing ball and spinning the top at New Year's

- (11) *vâ*                      *ô?*                      *nē*                      , *qhe-qo* *̄* .  
V                              P<sub>v</sub>                              P<sub>uf</sub>                              Conj                      P<sub>unf</sub>  
act in a lively way    hortatory    emphatic    so                      topic
- (12) *vâ*                      *ô?*                      *è?*                      .  
V                              P<sub>v</sub>                              P<sub>uf</sub>  
act in a lively way    hortatory    emphatic
- (13) *nê?*                      *phē* *ē*                      *vâ*                      *ô?*                      *è?*                      .  
N                              V                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      V                              P<sub>v</sub>                              P<sub>uf</sub>  
net (for ball game)    tie    suspensive    act in a lively way    hortatory    emphatic
- (14) *P* : *yâ-mî-qê?* *â*                      *dô?* *phê?*                      *lâ* .  
.                      N                      Adv                      V                      V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
women                      negative    hit    able to    yes
- (15) *T* : *yâ-mî-qê?* *hâ-qhâ?-pâ* *ge*                      *kh̄*                      *dô?* *mâ*                      *phê?*                      *qô?-ma* .  
.                      N                      N                              P<sub>n</sub>                      N                              V                      Adv                      V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
women                      men                      with    top (for spinning)    hit    negative    able to    emphatic
- (16) *hâ-qhâ?-pâ* *chî*                      *lâ?*                      *ǰ?*                      *pí-à*                      *qô?-ma* .  
N                              Det                      N                      V                      V + P<sub>v</sub>                              P<sub>uf</sub>  
men                              these    hand    itch    warning marker    emphatic
- (17) *Yâ-pâ* : *hē-hē-hē*                      !  
N                              Interj  
boy                              sound of laughter
- (18) *H* : *yâ-mî-qê?* *qhâ yâ-mî-qê?*                      *tē p̄?*                      *dô?* *nē* .  
.                      NP    Q    V                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
women all by themselves    at a different time    hit    emphatic
- (19) *hâ-qhâ?-pâ* *ge*                      *tâ*                      *kh̄?*                      , *yâ-mî-qê?* *̄* .  
N                              P<sub>n</sub>                      Adv                      V                              N                              P<sub>unf</sub>  
men                              with    don't!    mingle with    woman    topic
- (20) *T* : *kh̄?*                      *gâ*                      *ve*                      *lē-ā* , *qhe-qo* *n̄-hi*                      *yâ-mî-qê?* *kâ?* .  
.                      V                              P<sub>v</sub>                              P<sub>univ</sub>                              P<sub>uf</sub>                      Conj                      Pron                      N                              P<sub>unf</sub>  
mingle with    desiderative    nominalizer    yes                      so                      you (pl)    women    also
- (21) *qhâ?-šē* *ve*                      *ǰ-mî-ma* : *vâ*                      *ve*                      *yò* .  
N                              P<sub>univ</sub>                              N                              V                              P<sub>univ</sub>                              P<sub>uf</sub>  
headman    genitivizer    wife                      go for it    nominalizer    declarative
- (22) *T* : < *ǰ*                      *ve*                      >  
>                      V                              P<sub>univ</sub>  
laugh    nominalizer
- (23) *P* : *tē*                      *pá*                      *̄*                      *qhâ-nî*                      *ǰâ*                      *chē*                      *tù*                      *lē* .  
.                      Num                      M<sub>px</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      Num                              Cl<sub>f</sub>                              V                              P<sub>v</sub>                              P<sub>uf</sub>  
one    side    topic    how many?    for people    be there    future    future
- (24) *H* : *tē*                      *pá*                      *̄*                      *hí*                      *ǰâ*                      *qô*                      *ǰâ*                      *chē*                      *qo*                      *dâ?*                      *ve*  
.                      Num                      M<sub>px</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      Num                              Cl<sub>f</sub>                              Num                              Cl<sub>f</sub>                              V                              P<sub>unf</sub>                      V<sub>adj</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>  
one    side    topic    eight    for people    nine    for people    be there    if    good    nominalizer

- yò nē* .  
P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
declarative emphatic
- (25) *bó-šī dš? ve ̄ ð-ti qè ve-̄* .  
N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
ball hit nominalizer topic place wide emphatic
- (26) *T : hí ġâ ɛ qš ġâ qo ̄-qhe ɛ cho-khš â hê? ò*  
. Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> SV P<sub>v</sub>  
eight for people and nine for people if topicalizer ridiculous completed action  
*nē , nò ve ̄* .  
P<sub>uf</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
emphatic you genitivizer topic
- (27) *qhe-te tê pá tí chi ma-ma ve-̄* .  
Conj Num M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
well then one side only too many emphatic
- (28) *H : qha-pà-è qo qš ġâ è? , qha-pà-è qš ġâ è?* .  
. AE P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> AE Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
all together if nine for people emphatic all together nine for people emphatic
- (29) *Lâhū-khš chi nò qha-dê? na-?* .  
N Det Pron AE V<sub>imp</sub>  
Lahu language this you properly listen!
- (30) *hí ġâ ɛ qš ġâ qo , qš ġâ ve à? qô?*  
Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V  
eight for people and nine for people if nine for people genitivizer accusative mean  
*ve yò* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer declarative
- (31) *T : qhe-qo ...*  
... Conj  
so
- (32) *JAM : ŋà kà? dš? phê? lâ* .  
. Pron P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
I also hit permitted to yes
- (33) *T : dš? phê? ɔ* .  
. V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
hit able to affirmative
- (34) *Kâlâ-phu kà? tê ge dš? ġâ ve yò* .  
N<sub>prop</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Q V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
Caucasian also together hit desiderative nominalizer declarative
- (35) *P : dš? lò* .  
. V P<sub>v</sub>  
hit urging
- (36) *qhe-qo a-šū dš? tū le* .  
Conj Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
so who hit future future

Playing ball and spinning the top at New Year's

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- (37) *H* : *âa* , *yù* *a-ʔ* .  
 . Interj V P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub>  
 well! take imperative
- (38) *bó-šī* *yù* *a-ʔ* .  
 N V P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub>  
 ball take imperative
- (39) *T* : *èe* , *hē* .  
 . Interj Interj  
 okay take it!
- (40) *H* : *qha-dèʔ* *nī* *tā* *mē* .  
 . AE V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 properly pay attention to durative emphatic
- (41) *vâ* *a-lâ* *ve* *mē* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 go at it lively action nominalizer emphatic
- (42) *páp* !  
 Onomat  
 sound of swatting a ball
- (43) < *gǝ* *ve* >  
 V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 laugh nominalizer
- (44) *ð-bà* *ṽ* *ce* *l* , *ð-bà* *ṽ* .  
 N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 out of bounds locative fall (from a height) emphatic declarative out of bounds locative
- (45) *T* : *tàʔ-í* *chē* , *tâ* *gǝ* *kə* *šē* , *yâ* *ò* .  
 . Adv V Adv V V<sub>v</sub> V N P<sub>n</sub>  
 quietly stay don't! laugh V into unpleasantly guys vocative
- (46) *P* : *qhà-nī* *mà* *gà* *ò* *le* .  
 . Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 how many? for points (in a game) reach completed action completed action
- (47) : *alôo* , *alôo* .  
 Interj Interj  
 oh boy! oh boy!
- (48) *H* : *ð-bà* *ce* *šṽ* *l* .  
 . N<sub>loc</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 out of bounds fall (from a height) still emphatic declarative
- (49) *tê* *mà* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 one for points (in a game)
- (50) *šī* *e* *ve* *yò* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 stop motion away nominalizer declarative

- (51) *ô* , *nò-hi* *qò?* *vâ* .  
Interj Pron <sub>v</sub>V V  
mm you (pl) V again go at it
- (52) *ôo* , *ò-bà* *qò?* *ce* *chi tê khi* *kà?* .  
Interj N<sub>loc</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
oh! out of bounds V again fall (from a height) this time also
- (53) *P* : *nò-hi* *phô* *qhà-nî* *mà* *gà* *ò* .  
Pron N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
your (pl) side how many? for points (in a game) reach completed action  
*le* .  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
completed action
- (54) *H* : *gà* *phô* *šê?* *mà* *gà* *ò* .  
Pron N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
my side three for points (in a game) reach completed action
- (55) *P* : *šê?* *mà* *lâ* .  
Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
three for points (in a game) yes
- (56) *qhà-nî* *mà* *qo* *gã* *ve* *le* .  
Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
how many? for points (in a game) when win nominalizer nominalizer
- (57) *H* : *nî chi tê* *mà* .  
Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
twenty-one for points (in a game)
- (58) *P* : *nî chi tê* *mà* .  
Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
twenty-one for points (in a game)
- (59) *T* : *ô* *tê* *phô* *õ* *tê* *mà* *kà?* *mâ* *gã* *qo* *õ* .  
N<sub>sd</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
that one for sides topic one for points (in a game) even negative get if topic  
*tê chi nî* *mà* *à?* *dô?* *ve* *ma* .  
Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
twelve for points (in a game) accusative hit nominalizer exclamatory
- (60) *H* : *yò* , *yô-hi* *mâ* *gã* *šê* .  
Interj Pron Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
that's right! they negative score (in a game) yet
- (61) *tê chi tê* *mà* *à?* *gã* *dô?* *tù* *ve* *yò* .  
Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
eleven for points (in a game) accusative must hit future nominalizer declarative
- (62) *gã-thè?* *dô?* *lò* .  
Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
energetically hit urging
- (63) : *â* *hê?* *yâ* .  
Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
negative be the case emphatic

- (64) *tê chi tê ê? yâ* .  
 Num P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 eleven only emphatic
- (65) : *tê chi tê ê? dâ? ve yò* .  
 Num P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 eleven just hit nominalizer declarative
- (66) *P : chi-bâ? qhâ-nî mà gà ò le* .  
 . N<sub>time</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 now how many? for points (in a game) reach completed action completed action
- (67) *H : qô mà gà ò , chi tê khi 5* .  
 . Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 nine for points (in a game) reach completed action this time topic
- (68) *P : qô mà gà ò lâ* .  
 . Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nine for points (in a game) reach completed action yes
- (69) *H : ñ* .  
 . Interj  
 murmur of assent
- (70) < *some time has presumably elapsed* >
- (71) *T : ñà ge tê chi ñà mà š̄5* .  
 . Pron P<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 me with fifteen for points (in a game) already
- (72) *P : èe , à-lâ-qhe gâ la ò mē* .  
 . Interj Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 yes almost win come to V completed action emphatic
- (73) *H : à-na-phô thô ve yò nē , qhe-qo 5* .  
 . N<sub>loc</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Conj P<sub>unf</sub>  
 upper limit touch nominalizer declarative emphatic if so topic
- (74) *ñà phô ve kâ? , nò* .  
 Pron N P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Interj  
 my side nominalizer also you see
- (75) *T : à-mù tê khi nò š̄i tù ve yò* .  
 . NP<sub>q</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 a short time from now you know future nominalizer declarative
- (76) *hâ? te-? , hâ? te-?* .  
 Adv V<sub>imp</sub> Adv V<sub>imp</sub>  
 quickly do! quickly do!
- (77) *vâ kə a lâ ve tí te-?* .  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V<sub>imp</sub>  
 go at it V into vivid action nominalizer only do!



- (78) *H* : *vâ lâ ve yò mē* .  
 . V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 go at it benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer declarative emphatic
- (79) *tát* !  
 Onomat  
 sound of swatting a ball
- (80) < *gĩ ve* >  
 V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 laugh nominalizer
- (81) *T nò-hĩ , ð-qó-ji ̄ cà? kə-?* .  
 . Pron N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>imp</sub>  
 you (pl) center locative push put in!
- (82) *ð-qó-ji ̄* .  
 N P<sub>n</sub>  
 center locative
- (83) *H : vâ kə , ð-qó-ji ̄* .  
 . V V<sub>v</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 go at it V into center locative
- (84) *T : chò-pá-ò-pá tâ cà? bà* .  
 . Elab<sub>n</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub>  
 this way and that way don't! push away
- (85) *H : ð-qó-ji tí d̄s? kə lò* .  
 . N P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 center only hit V into urging
- (86) *P : qhà-nĩ mà gâ ò le , chi-b̄?*  
 . Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>time</sub>  
 how many? for points (in a game) reach completed action completed action now  
*̄*  
 P<sub>unf</sub>  
 topic
- (87) *nĩ chi qhe â gâ šē lâ* .  
 Num N<sub>ext</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 twenty about negative get yet yes
- (88) *H : tê chi qô mà gâ ò mē , ñà* .  
 . Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron  
 nineteen for points (in a game) reach completed action emphatic I
- (89) *p̄ šáw gâ e la yò* .  
 Conj Num V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 and (Shan) twenty (Shan) reach motion away nearly V declarative
- (90) *T : ñà tê chi hí mà gâ ò* .  
 . Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 I eighteen for points (in a game) reach completed action

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- (91) *P* : *èe* , *tê pɔʔ lɛ* *tê* *mà* *tí* *cò* *šɔ̃* .  
 . Interj NP<sub>q</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 yes right now one for points (in a game) only be there still
- (92) *T* : *Cà-lɔ̃* *dɔʔ* , *Cà-lɔ̃* *dɔʔ* .  
 . N<sub>pers</sub> V N<sub>pers</sub> V  
 male name hit male name hit
- (93) *P* : *èe* , *ɲà* *dɔʔ* *a* .  
 . Interj Pron V P<sub>v</sub>  
 okay I hit intensitive
- (94) *H* : *vâ* *lò* .  
 . V P<sub>v</sub>  
 go for it urging
- (95) *P* : *vâ* *ò* .  
 . V P<sub>v</sub>  
 go for it completed action
- (96) *T* : *ɲ̩* , *ò-pá* *ce* *ve* *yá* .  
 . Interj N<sub>loc</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 hm that side fall (from a height) nominalizer emphatic
- (97) *H* : *nî chi* , *nî chi tê* .  
 . Num Num  
 twenty twenty-one
- (98) *gâ* *e* *la* *yò* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 win motion away nearly V declarative
- (99) *tê* *mà* *ɛ̃* *tí* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 one for points (in a game) only only
- (100) *P* : *gâ* *e* *la* *yò* .  
 . V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 win motion away nearly V declarative
- (101) *H* : *hâʔ* *qɔʔ* *vâ* *a* .  
 . Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub>  
 quickly V again go at it hortatory
- (102) *hâʔ* *qɔʔ* *vâ* *a* .  
 Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub>  
 quickly V again go at it hortatory
- (103) *T* : *chi tê pɔʔ* *Mɔ̃* *qɔʔ* *vâ* , *Mɔ̃* .  
 . NP<sub>q</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V N<sub>pers</sub>  
 this time male name V for a change go at it male name
- (104) *H* : *vâ* *lâ* *o* *mɛ̃* .  
 . V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 go at it benefactive (non-3p) emphatic emphatic

- (105) *qha-dê?* *na* *mē* .  
 AE V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 properly listen urging
- (106) < *ə-khə* *bù* *ve* >  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 sound make a sound nominalizer
- (107) *T* : *âa* , *Cà-lə* *phâ-qā* *lò?* *e* *ve* *yâ*  
*lè?* Interj N<sub>pers</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 P<sub>uf</sub> well! male name space between the legs enter motion away nominalizer emphatic  
*lè?*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (108) *H* : *âa* , *mâ* *yù* *ğā* *lə* , *nə-hi* .  
 Interj Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron  
 well! negative handle be able emphatic declarative you (pl)
- (109) *mâ* *ğā* *te* *mə* *le* *qô?*-*ma* *lê* .  
 Adv <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative get to do long time V'ing because emphatic request for assent
- (110) *P* : *èe* .  
 Interj  
 yes
- (111) *H* : *là?*-*še* *hə* *jâ* *le* .  
 N<sub>spec</sub> + V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 heavy-handed very because
- (112) *T* : *Thû-šwè* , *à-thò?*-*ma* *te* *chê* *le* *qô?*-*ma* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name what do progressive progressive emphatic
- (113) ” *bə-ši* *yù* ” *qô?* , *ô qhe* *ca* *mi* *chê* *ve* *câ?*-*mì* *ši-ši* *è* .  
 N V V NP<sub>ext</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V AE<sub>stat</sub>  
 ball take say like that go and do sit continuous nominalizer arrogant really
- (114) *P* : *ə* , *tê pə?* *lê* *ğā* *ò* *hé* , *tê* *pá* .  
 Interj NP<sub>q</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 affirmative this time win completed action maybe one for sides
- (115) *H* : *ğā* *ò* *tê pə?* *lê* , *ğā* *ò* *tê pə?* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> Q  
 win completed action this time win completed action now
- (116) *P* : *èe* , *də?* *kì* *qə?* *pa* *dâ?* *a* .  
 Interj V P<sub>v-nom</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 yes hit locative V for a change switch around mutual action hortatory
- (117) *H* : *qə?* *pa* *ve* *yò* .  
<sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 V for a change switch around nominalizer declarative

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- (118) *P* : *qò?* *pa* *ve* *yò* .  
 . <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 V for a change switch around nominalizer declarative
- (119) *H* : *ḡ* .  
 . Interj  
 murmur of assent
- (120) *chò-pá* *chê* *ve* *ḡà-hi* *mû-cha* *hɔ* *jâ* .  
 N<sub>loc</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 this side stay nominalizer we (pl) sunlight hot very
- (121) *ô-pá* *chê* *gâ* *ve* *yò* .  
 N<sub>loc</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 that side stay desiderative nominalizer declarative
- (122) *mê? khê* *jâ* .  
 N<sub>spec</sub> + V V<sub>v</sub>  
 have one's eyes dazzled very
- (123) *T* : *mê? khê* *à* *qô?-ma* *lê* .  
 . N<sub>spec</sub> + V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 have one's eyes dazzled asseverative emphatic request for assent
- (124) *H* : *ḡ* .  
 . Interj  
 murmur of assent
- (125) *mê? khê* *jâ* .  
 N<sub>spec</sub> + V V<sub>v</sub>  
 have one's eyes dazzled very
- (126) *mû-cha* *hɔ* *jâ* .  
 N V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 sunlight hot very
- (127) *P* : *èe* , *dô?* *pà* *ò* *lê* , *tê pô?* *lê* .  
 . Interj V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub>  
 okay hit finish V'ing completed action request for assent right now
- (128) *H* : *dô?* *pà* *ò* .  
 . V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 hit finish V'ing completed action
- (129) < a pause >
- (130) *H* : *èe* , *nò-hi* *bó-šĩ* *dô?* *pā* *qha-pà-è* *ve* *à?*  
 . Interj Pron N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> AE P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 hey you (pl) ball hit agentive nominalizer everybody genitivizer accusative  
*ḡà* *là?-šɔ* *pĩ* *lá* *tù* *yò* *mē* .  
 Pron N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 I gift give benefactive (non-3p) future declarative emphatic

- (131) *a-šū* *ğâ* *pá* *qo* *chi ve* *ð-phû* *a-cí* *ğä* *mâ* *tù* *yò* .  
 Pron V M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Det N Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 whoever win side topic this value more get V more future declarative
- (132) *nð-hi* *ð-po* *ŋà* *khàw-mô* *ŋâ chi* *bà?* *phû* *vì* *lɛ* *pî*  
 Pron N Pron N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> M<sub>px</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 your (pl) behalf I cake fifty baht price buy suspensive give  
*lâ* *tù* *yò* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p) future declarative
- (133) *ğâ* *ve* *chɔ* *nî* *pu* *ğä* *ve* , *mâ* *ğâ* *ve*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> , Adv V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 win relativizer people two for shares get nominalizer negative win relativizer  
*chɔ* *tê* *pu* *ğä* *câ* *ve* *yò* .  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 people one for shares get to eat nominalizer declarative
- (134) *pè* *câ* *lò* *mē* , *chi ve* .  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> , Det  
 share V to eat urging persuasive this
- (135) *chò* *tê gɛ* *tɛ* *ā* *lɛ* .  
 N<sub>sd</sub> Q V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 here together put down durative suspensive
- (136) *P* : *ha-lê-ha-qa* *lê* .  
 . Elab<sub>adv</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 happily request for assent
- (137) *H* : *èe* .  
 . Interj  
 okay
- (138) *T* : *ŋà* *lê* *mâ* *câ* *ò* .  
 . Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 I topic negative eat completed action
- (139) *mâ* *ğâ* *lɛ* .  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 negative win because
- (140) *H* : *ôo* , *ŋà-hi* *lê* *vâ* *ve* *yò* , *ha-lê-ha-qa* .  
 . Interj Pron P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> , Elab<sub>adv</sub>  
 oh! we (pl) topic eat enthusiastically nominalizer declarative happily
- (141) *nð-hi* *mâ* *qhâ* *ve* *yò* .  
 Pron Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 you (pl) negative skillful nominalizer declarative
- (142) *T* : *vâ* *kə* *ô?* , *vâ* *kə* *ô?* , *nð*  
 . V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> , V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> , Pron  
 eat enthusiastically V into hortatory eat enthusiastically V into hortatory you  
*tí* *qha bû?* *è* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> AE<sub>stat</sub>  
 only to satiety

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- (143) *P* : *né-qhò?* *qo* *qò?* *vâ* *qô?* *ve* *lé* .  
 . N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 next year when V again go for it say nominalizer request for assent
- (144) *H* : *né-qhò?* *nò* *qhà-ma* *tô?* *tù* *le* , *qhe-qo* .  
 . N<sub>time</sub> Pron N<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Conj  
 next year you however much contribute future future then
- (145) *T* : *tê* *ha* *ηâ chi* *š̄* .  
 . Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num P<sub>v</sub>  
 one hundred fifty still
- (146) *H* : *cì-qhò?* *ηà* *ηâ chi* *bà?* .  
 . NP<sub>time</sub> Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 this year I fifty baht
- (147) *nò* *chɔ* *qhà-nî* *gâ* *hâ?* *tù* *le* , *nò* *phô* *ve* .  
 Pron N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron N P<sub>univ</sub>  
 your people how many? for people get future future your side genitivizer
- (148) *T* : *hí* *gâ* *ɛ* *qô* *gâ* .  
 . Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 eight for humans or nine for humans
- (149) *H* : *hí* *gâ* *qô* *gâ* .  
 . Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 eight for people nine for people
- (150) *ηà* *phô* *ve* *ɔ̄* *chɔ* *mâ mâ* *lɔ* .  
 Pron N P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv + V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 my side genitivizer topic people not many emphatic declarative
- (151) *khò?* *gâ* *cɛ tí* *cò* *ve* *yò* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> + P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 six for people only be there nominalizer declarative
- (152) *qhe* *nò* *tê* *ha* *ηâ chi*  
 Conj Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num  
 so you one hundred fifty
- (153) *tɛ* *ve* , *a-šu* *gâ* *qo* *qha-pà-è-pà-è* *pî* *tù* *ve* *lá* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron V P<sub>unf</sub> AE V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 put down nominalizer whoever win if everything give future nominalizer yes
- (154) *T* : *èe* , *qha-pà-è* *pî* *ve* *yò* .  
 . Interj AE V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 yes everything give nominalizer declarative
- (155) *H* : *nò* *bà?* *la* *nē* , *chi ma-ma* , *nò* *mâ* *gâ* *qo* ,  
 . Pron V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> Pron Adv V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 you angry become emphatic this much you negative win if  
*à-mù* .  
 Conj  
 if worst comes to worst

- (156) *T* : *bà?* *thô* *yà-pî* *è* *nē* .  
 . V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> VP P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 angry even if never mind! just emphatic
- (157) *bà?* *thô* *nò* *à?* *mâ* *yà?* *ve-5* .  
 V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 angry even if you accusative negative do harm to emphatic
- (158) *H* : *nò* *ni-ma* *mâ* *ša* *ɔ* , *mâ* *gã* *qo* *lè* .  
 . Pron N Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> , Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 you heart negative contented affirmative negative win if topic
- (159) *T* : *ni-ma* *mâ* *ša* *thô* , *ɲà-qhâ-ɲà* *ɲ-qhɔ* *cò* *ve* .  
 . N Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE N<sub>loc</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 heart negative contented even if to myself inside be there nominalizer
- (160) *nò-hi* *à?* *mâ* *yà?* .  
 Pron P<sub>n</sub> Adv V  
 you (pl) accusative negative do harm to
- (161) *H* : *ôo* , *vâ* *lò* , *qhe-qo* *lè* , *vâ* *lò* .  
 . Interj V P<sub>v</sub> Conj P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 oh! go for it urging then topic go for it urging
- (162) *ɲà-hi* *gã* *tù* *ve* *yò* .  
 Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 we (pl) win future nominalizer declarative
- (163) *á-ni-qhò?* *tê pò?* *vâ* *ve* , *nò* *ɲá chi* *bà?* *pà* *ve* *á*  
 NP<sub>time</sub> Q V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv  
 last year once go at it nominalizer you fifty baht spend nominalizer negative  
*hê?* *lɛ-ā* .  
 V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be the case yes
- (164) *T* : *ɲá* *bà?* *è?* *nè-5* .  
 . Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 five baht only suppositional
- (165) *H* : *yâ-nè* *yâ-é* *à?* *kà?* *mâ* *gã* *lɔ*  
 . N N P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 young men kids accusative even negative overcome emphatic declarative  
*và* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic declarative
- (166) *nò-hi* *chɔ-mô-pā* *dê-dê* *kà?* .  
 Pron N N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 you (pl) elders all although
- (167) *mâ* *thɔ* *lɔ* *và* .  
 Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative skillful emphatic declarative emphatic declarative
- (168) : *ôo-ô* , *nò-hi* *chɔ-mô* *cí-kì* *mâ* *cò* .  
 Interj Pron N N Adv V  
 oh! you (pl) elders ability negative be there

Playing ball and spinning the top at New Year's

- (169) *qə̀?* *vâ* *gâ* *kà?* *vâ* *šē* .  
<sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 V again go for it desiderative topicalizer go for it still
- (170) *qhà-ma* *tàn* *kà?* *tàn-?* .  
 N<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>imp</sub>  
 however much bet even bet!
- (171) *T* : *tê* *ha* *tà* *lɛ* *ə̀-qhò* *tâ?* *e* *ve* *mâ* *hê?* *qo*  
 . Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub>  
 one hundred begin suspensive above go up motion away nominalizer unless  
*mâ* *te* *gâ* *o* *qô?*-*ma* .  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative do desiderative emphatic emphatic
- (172) *H* : *nə̀* *chə* *chə* *jâ* *ve* *a-šú-šú* *le* .  
 . Pron N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 your people good for sthg very nominalizer who all who all
- (173) *hâ?* *ca* *šī* *ê?* .  
 Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quickly go and do summon emphatic
- (174) *T* : *ηà* *chə* *ηà* *pá* *ve* *qhe* *mâ* *chə* *tê* *gâ* *kà?*  
 . Pron N Pron M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> Adv V Q P<sub>unf</sub>  
 my people my side genitivizer like negative good for sthg one person even  
*mâ* *cə̀* .  
 Adv V  
 negative be there
- (175) *tê* *gâ* *le-le* *chə* *ve* *dê-dê* *ə̀* .  
 NP<sub>q</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 everybody be worth sthg nominalizer all affirmative
- (176) : *Kâlâ-phu* *kà?* *nī* *mà* *lâ* .  
 N<sub>prop</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 Caucasian also two for people (informal) yes
- (177) *T* : *Kâlâ-phu* *kà?* *qə̀?* *cə̀* *šə̀* , *ηà* *pá* *ə̀* *lè* .  
 . N<sub>prop</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> Pron M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 Caucasian also still V be there still my side locative topic
- (178) *H* : *ηà* *pá* *ə̀* *Kól* *kà?* *cə̀* *ve* *qô?*-*lè?* .  
 . Pron M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 my side locative Northern Thai also be there nominalizer nominalizer
- (179) *Kól-pā* *hê* *jâ* .  
 N V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 Northern Thai man strong very
- (180) : *à-thò?*-*ma* *mɛ* *ve* *le* .  
 N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 what have a name nominalizer nominalizer
- (181) *H* : *ηà* *phə* *Kól-pā* *lâ* .  
 . Pron N N P<sub>uf</sub>  
 my side Northern Thai man yes



- (182) *H* : *èe* .  
 . Interj  
 yes
- (183) *ηà phô Kóló-pā* *̄* *Āy-šwē me ve nē* ,  
 Pron N N P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 my side Northern Thai man topic male name have a name nominalizer emphatic  
*Āy-šwē* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub>  
 male name
- (184) *chà* *jâ qô? ve* .  
 V V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 good for sthg very say nominalizer
- (185) *qhô chê cê le* , *yô* .  
 N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron  
 where? live quotative quotative he
- (186) *ôo* , *Pà-ta-nà-pâ?* *̄* *chê ve cê* .  
 Interj N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 oh! place name (made up) locative live nominalizer quotative
- (187) < *laughter* >
- (188) *H* : *ca gî là ve* , *ηà-hi ge ̄* .  
 . <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 go and do visit come to V nominalizer us with locative
- (189) *P* : *Pà-ta-nà-pâ?* *qô? ve à-thò?-ma qô? ve le* .  
 . N<sub>place</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 place name (made up) say nominalizer what mean nominalizer nominalizer
- (190) *H* : *Pà-ta-nà-pâ?* *Kóló-khô* *̄* —  
 — N<sub>place</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub>  
 place name (made up) Northern Thai language topic
- (191) *T* : *yô qô? ve mô Pà-ta-lâ-pâ? qô? ve*  
 . Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> N<sub>place</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 he mean nominalizer down there place name (made up) say nominalizer  
*ma* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 exclamatory
- (192) *H* : " *nà-pâ?* " *qô?-ma* .  
 . P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (193) *là-pâ?* *mâ hê?* .  
 N Adv + V  
 mouthful of tea not be the case
- (194) *P* : *là-pâ?* *qô? ve lâ* .  
 . N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 mouthful of tea say nominalizer yes

- (195) *H* : " *nà-pâ?* , *nà-pâ?* " *qô?*-*ma* .  
 . P<sub>uf</sub>  
emphatic
- (196) *Pà-ta-nà-pâ?* .  
N<sub>place</sub>  
place name (made up)
- (197) *T* : *Pà-ta-nà-pâ?* *qô?* *ve* *chi* *čí-kì* *̄* *qhà-qhe* *le* .  
 . N<sub>place</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Det N P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
place name (made up) say nominalizer this meaning topic how? how?
- (198) *H* : " *nà-pâ?* " *qô?* *ve* *mô* *šu* *yè-yâ-qa-yâ* *šu* *khô* " .  
 . V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> Pron Elab<sub>n</sub> Pron N  
say nominalizer down there they household members their language  
*nà-pâ?* " *qô?* *qo* , *í-kâ?* *pû* , *í-kâ?* *qho* *kì* *qô?*  
V P<sub>unf</sub> N V N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> V  
say when water carry on the back water draw water locative mean  
*nā* *â* *ši* *ò* , *Lāhū-khō* *̄* .  
P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub>  
wonderment negative know completed action Lahu language topic
- (199) *yò* *hé* , *šu* *qô?* *ve* *lè* .  
P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
declarative probably they mean nominalizer topic
- (200) : *í-kâ?* *qho* *e* *ve* *yà?-qo* *qô?* *ve* *nè-̄* .  
N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
water draw water motion away relativizer way mean nominalizer suppositional
- (201) *H* : *hāy* .  
 . Interj  
say what?
- (202) : *í-kâ?* *qho* *e* *ve* *yà?-qo* *qô?* *ve* .  
N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
water draw water motion away relativizer way say nominalizer
- (203) *H* : *â* *ši* *ò* *qô?-ma* .  
 . Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
negative know completed action emphatic
- (204) *šu* *khô* *le* *nè-á* *qha-dè?-dè?* *â* *ši* *qô?-ma* ,  
Pron N P<sub>univ</sub> Pron AE Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
others' language because we two in exactly the right way negative understand emphatic  
*čí-kì* .  
N  
meaning
- (205) *T* : *í-kâ?* *qho* *ve* *̄* *chi qhe* *qô?* *ve* *â* *hè?*  
 . N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V  
water draw water nominalizer topic like this say nominalizer negative be the case  
*nē* .  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
emphatic

- (206) *Kól-khō*                      ̄                      “ *paj*                      *ták*                      *nám*                      ” *qô?* *ve*  
 N                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      V                      V                      N                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>  
 Northern Thai language    topic    go (Thai)    scoop up (Thai)    water (Thai)    say    nominalizer  
 ̄  
 P<sub>unf</sub>  
 topic
- (207) *H* : *paj-tá-na-pâ?*                      *qô?* *ve*                      *yò* .  
 .                      VP                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 go scoop up water (Thai)    say    nominalizer    declarative
- (208) *í-kâ?*    *qho*                      *e*                      *ve*                      *qô?*    *ve*                      *yò* .  
 N                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 water    draw water    motion away    nominalizer    mean    nominalizer    declarative
- (209) *í-kâ?*    *ca*                      *pû*                      *e*                      *ve*                      *qô?*    *ve*  
 N                      vV                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>  
 water    go and do    carry on the back    motion away    nominalizer    mean    nominalizer  
*l*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic declarative    exclamatory
- (210) *í-kâ?*    *ca*                      *pû*                      *e*                      *ve*                      *qô?*    *ve* .  
 N                      vV                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>  
 water    go and do    carry on the back    motion away    nominalizer    mean    nominalizer
- (211) *yò*                      *lê* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative    request for assent
- (212) *P* : *qhe-qo chà*                      *à*                      *lâ* , *yô*    *bó-šī*    *dô?* *ve*                      , *chi* –  
 .                      Conj    V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>                      Pron    N                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      Det  
 so                      skillful    asseverative    yes    he    ball    hit    nominalizer    this  
*Kól-pā*                      *chi*    ̄ .  
 N                      Det    P<sub>unf</sub>  
 Northern Thai man    this    topic
- (213) *H* : *chà*                      *à* .  
 .                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>  
 skillful    asseverative
- (214) *yô*                      *gā*                      *te*    *jɔ*                      *cê* .  
 Pron                      vV                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 he                      get to    do    experiential    quotative
- (215) *yô*                      *vên*    *qhɔ*                      *tê* *kà* *le-le*                      *lî?*                      *gā*                      *hê*                      *jɔ*                      *ve* .  
 Pron    N                      M<sub>px</sub>    NP<sub>q</sub>                      N                      vV                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>  
 he                      town    in    every place    writing    get to    study    experiential    nominalizer
- (216) *T* : *qhe-qo yô*                      *nābà?*    *qhà-nī*                      *mà*                      *gā*                      *cò*                      *le* .  
 .                      Conj    Pron    N                      Num                      Cl<sub>f</sub>                      vV                      V                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 then    he                      rank    how many?    general classifier    get to    have    have
- (217) *H* : *áa* , *yô*                      *lê*                      *hà-hi*    *Lāhū-khō*                      *lê*                      ” *nanbà?* ”    *qô?* *ve*                      *lê*  
 .                      Interj    Pron    P<sub>unf</sub>    Pron    N                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      N                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>  
 well!    he                      topic    our    Lahu language    topic    number    call    nominalizer    topic

- , *mâ* *cò* .  
 Adv V  
 negative be there
- (218) *Kâlâ-phu-khô* *lê* " *nanbâ?* *thû* " *yò* , *yô* .  
 N<sub>prop</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Num P<sub>uf</sub> Pron  
 English language topic number two (English) declarative he
- (219) *T* : " *nanbâ?* *thû* " *ḡ* *cî-cî* *â* *chà* *nē* .  
 N Num P<sub>unf</sub> Adv Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 number two (English) topic (not) very much negative be worth sthg emphatic
- (220) " *nanbâ?* *wân* " *nē* , *chà* *ve-ḡ* .  
 N Num P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 number one (English) emphatic be worth sthg emphatic
- (221) *H* : *qha cî-cî* *è* *ve* *è?* *nē* , " *nanbâ?* *thû* " *ḡ*  
 AE P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N Num P<sub>unf</sub>  
 quite well even nominalizer emphatic emphatic number two (English) topic
- (222) *T* : *ḡà-hi phô* *cò* .  
 Pron N V  
 our side be there
- (223) *ḡà-hi phô* *ḡ* " *nanbâ?* *wân* " *ḡa* *ve* *dê-dê* *qô?-ma* .  
 Pron N P<sub>unf</sub> N Num V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 our side topic number one (English) get nominalizer all emphatic
- (224) *H* : *qhe-qo* *nò-hi* *â* *ḡâ* *nē* .  
 Conj Pron Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 even so you (pl) negative win emphatic
- (225) *ḡà-hi* " *nanbâ?* *wân* " *ḡâ* *ve* *ḡ* , *yâ?-ni* *ḡ* .  
 Pron N Num V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 we (pl) number one (English) win nominalizer topic today topic
- (226) *T* : *ḡà-hi chò* *qha-dê?* *mâ* *te* *lê* *yâ* , *nò* .  
 Pron N AE Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Interj  
 our people properly negative do because emphatic you see
- (227) *H* : *ôo* , *nò-hi* *nanbâ?* *wân* , *ḡà-hi* *nanbâ?* *thû* —  
 Interj Pron N Num Pron N Num  
 oh! you (pl) number one (English) we (pl) number two (English)
- (228) *T* : *ḡà-hi chò* *Kâlâ-phu* *kâ?* *cò* *ve* *ḡ* .  
 Pron N N<sub>prop</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 our people Caucasian also be there nominalizer topic
- (229) *H* : *nò-hi* *Kâlâ-phu* *nanbâ?* *wân* *kâ?* *ḡà-hi* *nanbâ?* *thû*  
 Pron N<sub>prop</sub> N Num P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N Num  
 you (pl) Caucasian number one (English) even we (pl) number two (English)  
*à?* *mâ* *ḡâ* *lò* *vâ* , *yâ?-ni* *ḡ* .  
 P<sub>n</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 accusative negative win emphatic declarative emphatic declarative today topic

- (230) *nə̌-hi* *̄* *nanbà?* *wân* *phê?* *ve* *ηà-hi* *nanbà?* *thû*  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N Num V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N Num  
 you (pl) topic number one (English) be sthg nominalizer we (pl) number two (English)  
*gã* *ve* *yò* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 get nominalizer declarative
- (231) *èe* , *ηà-hi* *nanbà?* *wân* *gã* *ve* , *nə̌-hi* *nanbà?* *thû*  
 Interj Pron N Num V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N Num  
 er we (pl) number one (English) get nominalizer you (pl) number two (English)  
*gã* *ve* *yò* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 get nominalizer declarative
- (232) *T* : *né-qhò?* *mâ hê?* *qo* *mâ* *šĩ* .  
 . N<sub>time</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub> Adv V  
 next year unless negative know
- (233) *né-qhò?* *mâ hê?* *qo* *mâ* *šĩ* .  
 N<sub>time</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub> Adv V  
 next year unless negative know
- (234) : *ηà* *pá* *̄* *šathê-ló* *kà?* —  
 Pron M<sub>prfx</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub>  
 my side topic big boss even
- (235) *P* : *chi* *bó-šĩ* *dó?* *ve* *qô?* *ve* *tê qhò?* *ve* *qhà-nĩ*  
 . Det N V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>univ</sub> Num  
 this ball hit nominalizer say nominalizer one year genitivizer how many?  
*pô?* *dó?* *ve* *le* .  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 for times hit nominalizer nominalizer
- (236) *T* : *âa* , *bó-šĩ* *dó?* *ve* *tí qo* *̄* —  
 — Interj N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 well! ball hit nominalizer topicalizer topic
- (237) *T* : *chê* *a* *qo* *̄* *tê-há* *tê-há* *dó?* *ve* *qô?-ma* .  
 . V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be in the village vigorous action if topic every evening hit nominalizer emphatic
- (238) *H* : *chê* *a* *chê* *qo* , *tê ni le-le* *dó?* *ve*  
 . V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 be in the village vigorous action be in the village if every day hit nominalizer  
*yò* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (239) *T* : *tê-há* *tê-há* *dó?* *ve* *̄* *ò-phû* *mâ* *yù* *qô?-ma* .  
 . NP<sub>q</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 every evening hit nominalizer topic stakes in a wager negative take emphatic
- (240) *yà?-ni* *qhe* *cà-šĩ-̄* *câ* *ve* *qo* *tê* *ni* *dó?* *ve*  
 N<sub>time</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 today like New Rice Festival celebrate nominalizer when one for days hit nominalizer

- qo*  $\bar{5}$   $\delta$ -*phú* *qò?* *kə* *dâ?* *ve*  
P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
if topic stakes in a wager V for a change put up money mutual action nominalizer  
*qô?*-*ma* .  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
emphatic
- (241) *H* : *âa* , *bó-šĩ* *dô?* *ve* *chi* *tí qo* *lè* *chà* *jâ* *ve* *lè*  
. Interj N V P<sub>univ</sub> Det P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
well! ball hit nominalizer this topicalizer topic skillful very nominalizer topic  
*Kâlâ-phu* *yò* *lê* .  
N<sub>prop</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
Caucasian declarative request for assent
- (242) *Kâlâ-phu* *chà* *jâ* .  
N<sub>prop</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
Caucasian skillful very
- (243) *P* : *bó-šĩ* *thê?* *ve*  $\bar{5}$  *â* *te* *jɔ* *lɛ-ā* , *qhe-qo* .  
. N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Conj  
ball kick nominalizer topic negative do experiential yes then
- (244) *H* : *thê?* *ve* , *qhɔ-qhò*  $\bar{5}$   $\delta$ -*t̥ʰ* *mâ* *cò* *lɛ* ,  
. V P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> N Adv V P<sub>univ</sub>  
kick nominalizer in the mountains locative plain negative be there because  
*thê?* *mâ* *phê?* .  
V Adv V<sub>v</sub>  
kick negative able to
- (245) *thê?* *tí qo* *thê?* *kì* *cò* *qo* , *thê?* *phê?* *ve* *yò* .  
V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v-nom</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
kick topicalizer kick locative be there if kick able to nominalizer declarative
- (246) *thê?* *jɔ* *ve* *Lâhū-yâ* *kâ?* .  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub>  
kick experiential nominalizer Lahu people even
- (247) *T* : *eeà?* *qô?*-*ma* .  
. Interj P<sub>uf</sub>  
right! emphatic
- (248)  $\delta$ -*t̥ʰ* *cò* *qhe-qo* *Kâlâ-phu* *tê* *pá* *te* , *Lâhū-yâ* *tê* *pá* *te*  
N V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>prop</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> <sub>v</sub>V  
plain be there if Caucasian one for sides do Lahu people one for sides do and  
*thê?* *dâ?* *gâ* *qô?*-*ma* , *bó-šĩ* .  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N  
kick mutual action desiderative emphatic ball
- (249) *H* : *Kâlâ-phu* *à?* *lè* *mâ* *gâ* *tà* .  
. N<sub>prop</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
Caucasian accusative topic negative win negative probability
- (250) : *gâ*  $\bar{ɔ}$  *gâ*  $\bar{ɔ}$  .  
V P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
win affirmative win affirmative

- (251) *H* : *Kâlâ-phu chà jâ , pí jâ .*  
 .  $N_{prop}$  V  $V_v$  V  $V_v$   
 Caucasian skillful very good at very
- (252) *T* : *tê pô?-pô? qo —*  
 —  $NP_q$   $P_{unf}$   
 once in a while if
- (253) *H* : *ηà-hi Lâhū-yâ cî-cî mâ pí .*  
 . Pron N Adv Adv V  
 we (pl) Lahu people (not) very much negative good at
- (254) *P* : *chi lê Lâhū-yâ ve lē-gî kî ve ð-qhə yò lâ ,*  
 . Det  $P_{unf}$  N  $P_{univ}$   $N_{dwb}$   $P_{univ}$  N  $P_{uf}$   $P_{uf}$   
 this topic Lahu people nominalizer game genitivizer tradition declarative yes  
*qô? ve chi ɔ̄ .*  
 V  $P_{univ}$  Det  $P_{unf}$   
 call nominalizer this topic
- (255) *T* : *âa , ð-qhə ġa qô? thâ tí qo Kâlâ-phu ve ð-qhə*  
 . Interj N  $vV$  V  $P_{univ}$   $P_{univ}$   $N_{prop}$   $P_{univ}$  N  
 well! tradition must say when topicalizer Caucasian genitivizer tradition  
*qô?-ma , chi .*  
 $P_{uf}$  Det  
 emphatic this
- (256) *P* : *Lâhū-yâ lē-gî-tù ð-qhə tē-tē lê , qhà-qhe ve à?*  
 . N  $N_{dwb}$  N  $M_{pfx}$   $P_{unf}$   $N_{intg}$   $P_{univ}$   $P_n$   
 Lahu people game tradition a real one topic what kind? nominalizer accusative  
*le .*  
 $P_{uf}$   
 accusative
- (257) *T* : *âa —*  
 — Interj  
 well!
- (258) *P* : *kh̄ d̄s? cε lâ .*  
 . N V  $P_{univ}$   $P_{uf}$   
 top (for spinning) hit just yes
- (259) *T* : *kh̄ d̄s? ve qô?-ma , ηà-hi Lâhū-yâ .*  
 . N V  $P_{univ}$   $P_{uf}$  Pron N  
 top (for spinning) hit nominalizer emphatic we (pl) Lahu people
- (260) *P* : *kh̄ d̄s? ve chi , Lâhū-yâ ve ð-cà tē-tē*  
 . N V  $P_{univ}$  Det N  $P_{univ}$  N  $M_{pfx}$   
 top (for spinning) hit nominalizer this Lahu people genitivizer thing a real one  
*yò , qô? ve chi .*  
 $P_{uf}$  V  $P_{univ}$  Det  
 declarative say nominalizer this
- (261) *T* : *ð-cà tē-tē yò .*  
 . N  $M_{pfx}$   $P_{uf}$   
 thing a real one declarative

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- (262) *P* : *chi tē cə tí yò lâ* .  
 . Det Q P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 this one kind only declarative yes
- (263) *T* : *yò , kh̄̄ d̄̄? ve* .  
 . P<sub>uf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 declarative top (for spinning) hit nominalizer
- (264) *P* : *qh̄̄-th̄̄? d̄̄? ve chi , kh̄̄ d̄̄? ve ̄̄* .  
 . N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Det N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 when? hit nominalizer this top (for spinning) hit nominalizer topic
- (265) *T* : *kh̄̄ d̄̄? ve lâ* .  
 . N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 top (for spinning) hit nominalizer yes
- (266) *H* : *qh̄̄? c̄̄ th̄̄ yò* .  
 . OV P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 celebrate New Year's when declarative
- (267) *T* : *qh̄̄? c̄̄ th̄̄* .  
 . OV P<sub>univ</sub>  
 celebrate New Year's when
- (268) : *pwê-ha-lê te th̄̄ nê-̄̄*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 Christmas celebrate when suppositional
- (269) *T* : *qh̄̄? c̄̄ th̄̄ le pwê-ha-lê te th̄̄ d̄̄? ve*  
 . OV P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 celebrate New Year's when and happy festival celebrate when hit nominalizer  
*qô?-ma* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (270) *P* : *qh̄̄-n̄̄ ni te d̄̄? ve le , ô-ve* .  
 . Num Cl<sub>f</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Det  
 how many? for days do and hit nominalizer nominalizer that
- (271) *T* : *âa , n̄̄ , tē š̄-š̄ d̄̄? ve yò qô?-ma* .  
 . Interj Interj NP<sub>q</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! you see about one week hit nominalizer declarative emphatic
- (272) *P* : *chi , kh̄̄ d̄̄? ve ð-l̄ a-cí qāw mā phê?*  
 . Det N V P<sub>univ</sub> N Adv V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 this top (for spinning) hit nominalizer story a little tell teach to V able to  
 ɔ  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 affirmative yes
- (273) *qh̄̄-qhe te d̄̄? ve le* .  
 Cl<sub>nf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 how hit nominalizer nominalizer
- (274) *T* : *âa , kh̄̄ d̄̄? ve ̄̄ qāw mā lâ*  
 . Interj N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 well! top (for spinning) hit nominalizer topic tell teach to V benefactive (non-3p)



- phê?* *ve* *yò* *qô?-ma* , *nè* .  
V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Interj  
able to nominalizer declarative emphatic you see
- (275) *P* : *a-šú* *qhà-qhe te* *gâ* *ve* *le* , *a-šú* *qhà-qhe te* *dô?*  
. Pron Cl<sub>nf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron Cl<sub>nf</sub> V  
anybody how win nominalizer nominalizer anybody how hit  
*ve* *le* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer nominalizer
- (276) *T* : *ð-cε ð-cε* *te* *ve* *qô?-ma* , *kh̄* *dô?* *ve* *qô?*  
. N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> V  
in pairs do nominalizer emphatic top (for spinning) hit nominalizer say  
*ve* .  
P<sub>univ</sub>  
nominalizer
- (277) *H* : *ð-cε ð-cε* *te* *ε* *g̃w-tε* *ve* *qô?-ma* .  
. N V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
in pairs do suspensive set it spinning nominalizer emphatic
- (278) *T* : *nè* *ε* *ηà-hí-mà* *tê* *cε* *te* *ε* *dô?* .  
. Pron Conj Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V  
you and we two one for pairs make suspensive hit
- (279) *nè* *tε* *qo* *ηà* *vâ* *ve* *qô?-ma* .  
Pron V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
you put down when I go at it nominalizer emphatic
- (280) *chɔ* *qhà-ma qhà-ma* *pè* *kə* *a* *ε* , *cô-phô-ô-phô* .  
N AE<sub>ext</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub>  
people as many as there are divide up V into vigorous action suspensive on either side
- (281) *H* : *g̃dò?-khe-câ?* *qha-dê?* *yù* *ε* , *kh̄-tû* *kà?* , *š̄l?-tà-du*  
. N AE V P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N  
piece of string properly take suspensive stick for spinning top also stick  
*qha-dê?* *yù* *ε* *phε* *š̄* *ε* , *kh̄-š̄* *ô-ve* *à?*  
AE V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Det P<sub>n</sub>  
properly take suspensive tie first suspensive top (for spinning) that accusative  
*qha-dê?* *h̄?* *ε* , *g̃w-tε* *ε* , *ð-cɔ ð-cɔ* *te*  
AE V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> vV  
properly wrap around suspensive set it spinning suspensive around and around do and  
*ph̄?* *qha-lâ* *qo* , *te* *t̄* *vâ* *kə* *p̄*  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
turn around lively action if do and pit against go at it V into benefactive (3p)  
*ve* *qô?-ma* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer emphatic
- (282) *P* : *qhe* ” *ð-cε* *te* ” *qô?* *ve* *nè* *qô?* *ve* *̄* .  
. Conj N V V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
then pair make say nominalizer you say nominalizer topic

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- (283) *T* : *tê cɛ qôʔ ve nò lɛ ɲà-hí-mà tê cɛ qôʔ-ma* .  
 . Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron Conj Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 one for pairs call nominalizer you and we two one for pairs emphatic
- (284) *H* : *nò lɛ ɲà tê cɛ te ve* .  
 . Pron Conj Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 you and I one for pairs make nominalizer
- (285) *nò tɛ qo ɲà dɔʔ ve* .  
 Pron V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 you put down when I strike nominalizer
- (286) *H* : *ô-pá tê chi ġâ qòʔ dɔʔ qo nò tɛ ve* .  
 . N<sub>loc</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> vV V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 that side ten for people V in turn hit when you put down nominalizer
- (287) *nò tɛ ô-phâ dɔʔ qhe te ve* .  
 Pron V N V N<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 you put down that guy hit like do nominalizer
- (288) *tê pá ve chɔ cò mâ qo mâ dɔʔ phêʔ*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub>  
 one for sides genitivizer people be there be many if negative hit able to  
*ve*  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer
- (289) *ní ġâ kàʔ dɔʔ phêʔ ve* .  
 Q P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 two people also hit able to nominalizer
- (290) *šɛʔ ġâ kàʔ dɔʔ phêʔ ve* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 three for people even hit able to nominalizer
- (291) *P* : *dɔʔ lɛ mâ hâʔ qo —*  
 — V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 hit suspensive negative negative if
- (292) *H* : *mâ hâʔ qo mâ ġâ* .  
 . Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
 negative negative if negative win
- (293) *T* : *mâ ġâ ve yò qôʔ-ma* .  
 . Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative win nominalizer declarative emphatic
- (294) *H* : *dɔʔ lɛ hâʔ ve šu ve — ɔɔ — pɔʔ*  
 . V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> Interj V  
 hit suspensive suspensive nominalizer the other guy genitivizer ah jump  
*qay ve pɔʔ pɔʔ pɔʔ ve pɔʔ qay* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V V V P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 V away nominalizer jump jump jump nominalizer jump V away
- (295) : *ð-qɔ-ð-lɔ pɔʔ qay ve* .  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 sideways jump V away nominalizer

- (296) *nə* *ve* *qha chē?* *ŋà* *vâ* *kə* *ve* .  
 Pron P<sub>univ</sub> AE Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 you genitivizer until it breaks I go at it V into nominalizer
- (297) *J* : *yâ-é* *kà?* *vâ* *ve* *lâ* .  
 . N P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 kids also go at it nominalizer yes
- (298) *H* : *chə-mə* *kà?* *vâ* *ve* *yò* .  
 . N P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 elders also go at it nominalizer declarative
- (299) *T* : *yâ-é* *kà?* *vâ* *ve* *yò* .  
 . N P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 kids also go at it nominalizer declarative
- (300) *H* : *te* *pí* *ve* *chə* *qha-pə-è* *vâ* *ve* *yò* .  
 . V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N AE V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 do able to V relativizer people everybody go at it nominalizer declarative
- (301) *P* : *mâ* *gã* *ve* *chə* *gã* *gə-tə* *ve* *lâ* .  
 . Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative win relativizer people must set it spinning nominalizer yes
- (302) *H* : *gã* *gə-tə* *qhà-thâ?-kà?* *gə-tə* *tù* *ve* *yò* .  
 . <sub>v</sub>V V AE V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 must set it spinning always set it spinning future nominalizer declarative
- (303) *tê* *ni* *mû qha phə?* *thô* , *gã* *tə* *ve* *yò* , *mâ*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> AE P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Adv  
 one for days until it gets dark also must put down nominalizer declarative negative  
*gã* *ve* *chə* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 win relativizer people
- (304) *gã* *ve* *chə* *lê* *hə?-hə?* *le* *gã-thə?* *vâ* *qò*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>redup</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub>  
 win relativizer people topic keep winding suspensive energetically go at it V back  
*pí* *ve* *yò* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative
- (305) *qha jê* *qha jê* *vâ* *qò* *ve* .  
 AE AE V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 with all one's might with all one's might go at it V back nominalizer
- (306) *T* : *Kâlâ-phu* *khə* *â* *də?* *nê-ə* .  
 . N<sub>prop</sub> N Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 Caucasian top (for spinning) negative hit suppositional
- (307) *JAM* : *â* *də?* .  
 . Adv V  
 negative hit
- (308) *P* : *â* *də?* *nê-ə* .  
 . Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative hit suppositional

- (309) *yâ-nè tí ca lē-gí ve* .  
 N P<sub>univ</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 young man only go and do play nominalizer
- (310) *T : ðò* .  
 Interj  
 I see
- (311) *H : Lâhū lè mâ hê?* .  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> Adv + V  
 Lahu topic not be the case
- (312) *chɔ-m̄ kà? ġâ-thè? vâ ve yò* .  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 adult also energetically go at it nominalizer declarative
- (313) *mû-cha a-cí è - tâ-vâ pâ-nê ġâ-thè? vâ yâ* .  
 N Adv P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>v</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 sunlight a little even all day nearly energetically go at it emphatic
- (314) *ha-lê-ha-qa kī šò? è te le ha-lê te-te ve*  
 Elab<sub>adv</sub> N V P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>redup</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 happily sweat wipe away even do suspensive happy keep on doing nominalizer  
*yò , Lâhū-yâ chi* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> N Det  
 declarative Lahu people these
- (315) *T : nā-qā-pi kà? ní è te t̄ā ve qô?-ma* .  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> AE V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 forehead also red be a certain way durative nominalizer emphatic
- (316) *kī t̄ɔ? kà? p̄ɔ-nê? qay ve yò-a* .  
 N V P<sub>unf</sub> M<sub>prfx</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 sweat come out also a sticky mess go a certain way nominalizer emphatic declarative
- (317) *kī t̄ɔ? šá è? qay ve yò* .  
 N V AE<sub>stat</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 sweat come out copiously (intensifying) go nominalizer declarative
- (318) *kī t̄ɔ? la ve* .  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 sweat come out come to V nominalizer
- (319) *P : kh̄ d̄ɔ? ve qh̄ð-qhe t̄ê kà d̄ɔ? ve*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 top (for spinning) hit nominalizer where? one for places hit nominalizer  
*le , n̄-hi ɔ* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub>  
 nominalizer you (pl) topic
- (320) *H : ð-t̄ɔ , cō qhe* .  
 N N<sub>sd</sub> N<sub>ext</sub>  
 flat place over there like
- (321) *T : ð-t̄ɔ d̄ɔ? ve qô?-ma , ô qhe ɔ , ð-t̄ɔ*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N  
 flat place hit nominalizer emphatic over there like locative flat place

	à?	.								
	P <sub>n</sub>									
	accusative									
(322)	H	:	ð-pá	qha-dê?	š̄	ɛ	ð-tà?	kà?	qha-dê?	máy
	.		N <sub>loc</sub>	AE	V	P <sub>unf</sub>	N	P <sub>unf</sub>	AE	V
			side	properly	choose	suspensive	boundary line	also	properly	make a mark
	a		ɛ	ð-tà?	chi	ð-hó-pá	ce tí	ǵa	chê	
	P <sub>v</sub>		P <sub>unf</sub>	N	Det	N <sub>loc</sub>	P <sub>univ</sub> + P <sub>univ</sub>	vV	V	
	vigorous action		suspensive	boundary line	this	lower side	only	must	stay	
	ve		qô?-ma	.						
	P <sub>univ</sub>		P <sub>uf</sub>							
	nominalizer		emphatic							
(323)	ð-na	̄	mâ	ǵa	nâ?	,	ð-qhō	tâ?	e	ve
	N <sub>loc</sub>	P <sub>unf</sub>	Adv	vV	V		N	V	P <sub>v</sub>	P <sub>univ</sub>
	upper part	topic	negative	get to	step on		above	go up	motion away	nominalizer

## Translation

1. Càlô: Well, Pastor, there's something I'd like to hear about. You say that the Lahu play ball<sup>1</sup> after they finish celebrating<sup>2</sup> the New Rice Festival?<sup>3</sup> How do you play? Can you explain it to me a little?
  2. T: Well, sure, I can explain it to you. When we've finished gobbling<sup>4</sup> the New Rice feast, we hit the ball around. We Lahu do it every year, and we have a great time!<sup>5</sup> So today we'll get to play ball.
  3. C: Who all will play?
  4. H: Oh, all the men in the village play. When it comes to ball games, everybody wants to play.
  5. T: Let's go to it, then! Let's go! Hang up the net and let's go!
  6. C: Can't the women play?
  7. T: Women aren't allowed to mix in and play along with the men. The men might get itchy hands!<sup>6</sup>
  8. Boy: Ha, ha, ha.
  9. H: The women play among themselves<sup>7</sup> at a different time. They don't mix in with the men, the women.
  10. T: Would you like to mix it up then, you women?
  11. His wife: I'm game!
- [T laughs]
12. C: How many people will be on a side?
  13. H: It's good if there are about eight or nine people on a side. The place where we play is wide.

<sup>1</sup>bô-ši d̄s̄? ve: lit. "hit a ball". The first syllable of bô-ši is from English 'ball'. The game in question is a kind of volleyball, played on a small patch of relatively level land in the middle of the village.

<sup>2</sup>câ: lit. "eating". The festival is marked by a feast, and constitutes one of the few days in the year that the Huey Tat villagers would get meat to eat.

<sup>3</sup>Câ-ši-ô: lit. "rice from new paddy". A harvest celebration in October, apparently of great antiquity, and still observed by the Christian Lahu in a secularized form.

<sup>4</sup>gê is a vivid pro-verb (like vâ, below), here used for câ 'eat'. The literal meaning is 'pierce/stick into'.

<sup>5</sup>ha-lê-ha-qa te ve: "do in joy and gladness".

<sup>6</sup>I.e., they might become sexually aroused.

<sup>7</sup>N1 qhâ N1: 'all by N-self'. See GL:3.37.

Playing ball and spinning the top at New Year's

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14. T: [*pretending to misunderstand*] Eight plus nine people<sup>8</sup> – that's ridiculous,<sup>9</sup> what you're saying. There would be too many people on one side!
15. H: Nine people *all together*, nine all together! Can't you understand simple Lahu?<sup>10</sup> When I said "eight or nine people," I meant nine people at most.<sup>11</sup>
16. T: In that case –
17. JAM: Can I play too?
18. T: Sure you can. The white man<sup>12</sup> wants to play together [with us].
19. C: Let's play! Well, who's going to serve?
20. H: Oh, I'll take it! I'll take the ball!
21. T: Okay, here!
22. H: Keep your eye on it now! I'm going to hit it at you! Pap!  
[*He imitates the sound of smacking the ball. Laughter.*]  
It fell out of bounds, out of bounds!
23. T: Keep quiet! Don't break in with your laughter, boys!<sup>13</sup>
24. C: What's the score now?<sup>14</sup>
25. : Oh boy, oh boy!
26. H: This one still went out of bounds. A point [for them]. The ball has stopped.<sup>15</sup> Hey, again, you guys, hit it again! Oh, it fell out of bounds this time, too.
27. C: How many points for your side now?
28. H: My side has three points now.
29. C: Three, eh? How many points do you need to win?
30. H: Twenty-one.
31. C: Twenty-one.
32. T: If the other side doesn't get a single point we only play up to twelve.<sup>16</sup>
33. H: Right, they haven't scored yet. We're going to get our eleven points. Give it a good whack!
34. : You're wrong! It's only eleven [points that you need for a shutout].
35. : We only play up to eleven [if the other team hasn't scored].
36. C: Now what's the score?

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<sup>8</sup>I.e., seventeen on one side.

<sup>9</sup>Lit: "it is not human speech."

<sup>10</sup>Lit: "you listen carefully to this Lahu language!"

<sup>11</sup>The pretended misunderstanding rests on the fact that numerical approximation can be expressed in Lahu by a numeral plus classifier followed by *le* and the next higher numeral, using the particle *le* 'and,' where logically 'or' is meant.

<sup>12</sup>**Kâlâphu**: lit. "white Indian". All non-Asians used to be called **Kâlâ** 'Indians' by the Lahu. When they first encountered Europeans, they were characterized as 'white-Kâlâ'. An African American anthropologist working among the Lahu at the same time as me received the appellation **Kâlâphu-nâ**? 'black white-Kâlâ'. Color designations for foreigners are very much in keeping with the naming practices observed by Southeast Asian peoples in describing their own subgroups, e.g. Black, Red, and Yellow Lahu; Blue and White Hmong.

<sup>13</sup>This remark was addressed to the audience in the house where the playlet was being enacted.

<sup>14</sup>"How many has it reached already?"

<sup>15</sup>Lit: "It has died", i.e., it has come to rest. This is a cause for satisfaction, since the ground slopes sharply down from the playing field on all sides, and any out-of-bounds ball is likely to roll a considerable distance before coming to rest against some obstacle.

<sup>16</sup>The Pastor asserts that 12-0 is a shutout. He is contradicted by the Headman in the next few lines.

37. H: We've got nine points now.

38. C: Nine points, eh?

39. H: Mm-hm.

[*Some time has presumably elapsed*]

40. T: My side has 15 points already!<sup>17</sup>

41. C: Yeah, you've almost won now!

42. H: They're near the top then!<sup>18</sup> But my side is too, remember.

43. T: In a minute you'll know.<sup>19</sup> Hurry up and play, come on! Just serve it in here!

44. H: I'll sock it to you! Tat!

[*He imitates the sound of hitting the ball. Laughter.*]

45. T: You guys, push it into the middle [of their court]! Into the middle.

46. H: Hit it in, right into the middle.

47. T: Don't push it away off to one side or the other.

48. H: Just hit it right into the middle.

49. C: What's the score now? Isn't it about twenty by this time?

50. H: Nineteen for my side. And we're going on twenty!<sup>20</sup>

51. T: Eighteen for us.

52. C: Well, there's only one point to go now.

53. T: You serve, Jalaw, you serve.

54. C: Okay, I'll serve.

55. H: Hit it!

56. C: There it goes.<sup>21</sup>

57. T: Hm, it landed way over on that side!

58. H: Twenty, then twenty-one. We've almost won. Just one point [more].

59. C: They've almost won.

60. H: I'll rap it right back at you! I'll rap it right back!

61. T: This time let Maw return the serve – Maw!

62. H: I'm hitting it now. Just listen to this!

[*sound-effect*]

63. T: Oh, it went right between Jalaw's legs!

64. H: Well, you couldn't handle it, you guys. Probably because you haven't played in a long time, right?

<sup>17</sup>The verb particle ʃ5 'still' is used here to emphasize that the fifteen points are something to be reckoned with.

<sup>18</sup>ʃ-na-ph5 th5 ve y0 nē: lit. "touch the upper part".

<sup>19</sup>I.e., 'you'll soon see who will beat whom.'

<sup>20</sup>The headman jocularly lapses into Shan with the words pə ʃáw 'and twenty.'

<sup>21</sup>"I've hit it already."

65. C: Yeah.

66. H: Because you're awfully heavy-handed.

67. T: Thushwe, what the hell were you doing anyway! I told you to get [the ball], and you go and take it easy<sup>22</sup> like that – it's really disgusting.<sup>23</sup>

68. C: Well, I guess they've won this time, those guys.

69. H: We've won now – we win!

70. C: All right, let's switch sides and play again.<sup>24</sup>

71a. H: We'll switch sides.

71b. C: We'll switch sides.

72. H: Hm. The sun is awfully hot for us on this side. We want to be on the other side. The sun's really in our eyes.

73. T: [*presumably having gone over to the sunny side*] It does dazzle your eyes, doesn't it?

74. H: Yeah, it's really blinding. And the sun is awfully hot.

75. C: Okay, we're all through playing now, right?

76. H: We're all through playing.

[*A pause*]

77. H: Well, I'm going to give all of you ball-players a prize! If you were on the winning side you'll get something a little more valuable.<sup>25</sup> I've bought you a cake that's worth fifty baht, and I'm going to give it to you. The winners get two-thirds, and the losers get to eat one-third of it. So divide it up and eat it! It's all put down here for you.

78. P: This is fun, isn't it?

79. H: Yeah.

80. T: Well, I'm not eating anymore. Since I didn't win.

81. H: Ha-ha, we're eating away, having a great time. You guys are no good [at the game].

82. T: Stuff yourself, stuff yourself,<sup>26</sup> eat your fill all by yourself!

83. P: You say you'll play again next year, right?

84. H: How much money are you going to put out next year then?<sup>27</sup>

85. T: As much as a hundred and fifty.

86. H: I [put up] fifty baht this year. How many of you people will be sharing [in the prize], on your side?

87. T: Eight or nine.

88. H: Eight or nine people, eh? On my side there aren't too many people, you see. There are only six. Well, so this 150 that you're contributing, will you give all of it to the winners?

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<sup>22</sup>ca mi chê: lit. "go around sitting."

<sup>23</sup>câ?-mì šì-šì è: "disgusting up to here."

<sup>24</sup>I.e., 'let's switch the teams around to the opposite sides of the net.' Lit: "let's exchange playing-places this time."

<sup>25</sup>Lit. "whoever is the winning side, the value of it [the prize] will be a [little] more to get." a-cí is an adverb meaning 'a little', but it has acquired the function of forming the comparative degree of adjectives.

<sup>26</sup>vâ kə: this phrase comprises the vigorous pro-verb vâ, here used for 'eat,' plus the post-head versatile verb kə 'into', i.e., 'pack it away, stuff oneself.'

<sup>27</sup>I.e., for prize-money.



89. T: Yep. I'll give [them] the whole thing.
90. H: I bet you'll get mad! Suppose you don't win, [after putting up] such an amount!<sup>28</sup>
91. T: What do you care if I'm mad! It's no skin off your nose if I'm mad, you know.<sup>29</sup>
92. H: You'll be very upset if you lose.
93. T: Even if I'm upset, I'll keep it inside myself. You people won't suffer for it.
94. H: Okay, go ahead, then, go ahead! We'll beat you. When we played that time last year, didn't you lose fifty baht?
95. T: It was more like five baht, I'd say.
96. H: You couldn't even beat the boys, the children! Even though you were all grown men. No skill, that's all.
97. : Oh, you 'grown men' are no good for anything. If you want to play again, just go right ahead. Bet as much as you like!<sup>30</sup>
98. T: Unless it's at least a hundred I wouldn't want to do it at all.
99. H: Who are all the best people that you've got? Hurry up and go bring them!
100. T: There isn't a single person on my side who isn't good. Every last one of them is fine!
101. : [*laughing*] Does that include the two white men?<sup>31</sup>
102. T: I'll still have the white men on my side.
103. H: On my side I've got a Northern Thai too! This Thai guy is very strong.
104. : What's his name?
105. H: The Thai on my team?
105. A : Yeah.
106. H: The Thai on my team is called Aishwe – Aishwe. He's really good, I tell you.
107. : Where did you say he lives?
108. H: Uh, I hear he lives at Pà-ta-nà-pê?<sup>32</sup>
- [*laughter*]
- He's coming over to us for a visit.
109. P: What does this “Pà-ta-nà-pê?” mean?
110. H: “Pà-ta-nà-pê?” means, in Northern Thai –
111. T: What he means is the place down there called “Pà-ta-lâ-pê?”!
112. H: “nà-pê?”, I tell you! It's not a “mouthful of tea”!<sup>33</sup>
113. P: Did you say “lâ-pê?”?
114. H: “nà-pê?, nà-pê?”! “pà-ta-nà-pê?”!

<sup>28</sup> **à-mù** is an adverb expressing a possible future unpleasantness, like English 'lest'.

<sup>29</sup> Lit: “even if I'm angry, it does not harm you.”

<sup>30</sup> Lit: “however much you bet, bet!”

<sup>31</sup> The author's prowess at volleyball was less than legendary in the village.

<sup>32</sup> A made-up name that sounds rather like a real place in the vicinity. See below.

<sup>33</sup> **lâ-pê?** (first syllable in low-falling tone) means 'tea-mouthful.'

Playing ball and spinning the top at New Year's

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115. T: What's the meaning of this "pà-ta-nà-pê?" then?

116. H: When those householders down there say "nà-pê?" in their language it might possibly mean "carry water" or "draw water" in Lahu. That's probably true, that's what they mean by it.

117. : It might mean "the path you go on to fetch water."

118. H: What?

119. : I said "the path you go on to fetch water."

120. H: I don't know at this point. Since it's a foreign language we don't know the meanings properly.

121. T: That's not the way you say "go fetch water." In Northern Thai you say *paj ták náam*.

122. H: They say "paj-tá?-na-pê?." It means "go fetch water." It means "go to carry water (back)," I tell you! It means "go carry water." That's true!

[Having run this into the ground, the speakers return to the ball game.]

123. P: So he's a pretty good ball-player, this Thai of yours?

124. H: He's great. He says he's had practice. He's managed to get schooling in all sorts of places in the city.

125. T: What rank<sup>34</sup> did he get [in school] then?

126. H: Well, in Lahu we have no way of saying what his rank was. In white man's language he was "Number Two."

127. T: "Number Two" isn't so wonderful! What's good is "Number One."

128. H: "Number Two" is still pretty damn good.

129. T: On our side we have them. On our side everybody's got a "Number One"!

130. H: Well, you didn't win! *We* were "Number One" today.

131. T: Because our people were a little off their form, you see.<sup>35</sup>

132. H: Ha! You're Number One, and we're Number Two!<sup>36</sup>

133. T: We had a white man on our side.<sup>37</sup>

134. H: Even your Number One white man couldn't beat us Number Two people today. You're Number One and we get Number Two. No I mean *we* get Number One and *you* get Number Two.<sup>38</sup>

135. T: We won't know until next year. We won't know till next year.

136. : As for my side, even the Big Boss<sup>39</sup> –

137. P: How many times a year do you have this ball-playing of yours?

138. T: Well, this ball-playing goes on every evening, if there are people around.<sup>40</sup>

140. H: If only there are people around, we play every day.

<sup>34</sup>nābà? < Burmese < English 'number'. Lahu in Thailand usually use the word ð-mə for a grade in school.

<sup>35</sup>"Because our people did not do it properly, you [see]."

<sup>36</sup>This is meant to be witheringly sarcastic.

<sup>37</sup>It is not clear whether this is meant to be an excuse for losing, or a claim of intrinsic superiority in spite of having lost.

<sup>38</sup>The Headman got confused with the foreign numerals wān and thū.

<sup>39</sup>sa-thê ló: the rich Thai planter on whom the Huey Tat people used to depend for a living. Perhaps the speaker was about to say that the Big Boss' "smart money" favored his team.

<sup>40</sup>I.e., if the men are not off in the fields. Naturally ball-playing is impossible in the rainy season, when the village is a sea of mud.

141. T: When we play every evening we don't make bets on it.<sup>41</sup> But when we play on a day like today, as we're celebrating our New Rice Festival, then we also match some money against each other.
142. H: Well, the best ones at this ball-playing are the white men, aren't they? The white men are very good at it.
143. P: Haven't you ever played football<sup>42</sup> then?
144. H: Kicking, you know – since there aren't any flat places up here in the mountains, we can't do any kicking. But as far as kicking itself goes, if we had a place to kick, we could kick all right. Even the Lahu have done some kicking in their time.
145. T: Yes, indeed! If we had a flat place, we'd love to kick a ball around, the white men on one side and the Lahu on the other!
146. H: We'd never beat the white men.
147. : We'd win, we'd win!
148. H: The white men are awfully good. They're very clever.
149. T: Once in a while –
150. H: We Lahu aren't very clever.
151. P: Is this<sup>43</sup> really a traditional Lahu game that we've been talking about?
152. T: Well, if you must bring up the tradition question, it's really a white man's custom.
153. P: What about really traditional Lahu games, what sort of things are there?
154. T: Well –
155. P: Is it just spinning the top?<sup>44</sup>
156. T: We certainly do spin the top, we Lahu.
157. P: You say that this top-spinning is a genuine Lahu thing, eh?
158. T: It's the real thing.
159. P: Is it the only kind [of sport that is really Lahu]?
160. T: Yes, spinning the top.
161. P: When do you play it, this top-game?
162. T: You mean spinning the top?
163. H: When we celebrate New Year's.
164. T: At New Year's.
165. : At Christmas<sup>45</sup> too, I'll bet.
166. T: We play both at New Year's and at Christmas.<sup>46</sup>
167. P: How many days do you do it?

<sup>41</sup> **ṣ-phû yù ve:** lit. "take a price".

<sup>42</sup> **bṣ-ṣi thê? ve** 'kick a ball'. They are referring to soccer, not American-style football.

<sup>43</sup> I.e., the version of volleyball they play.

<sup>44</sup> **khṣ dṣ? ve:** lit. "beating the top."

<sup>45</sup> **pwê ha-lè** "happy festival" is the Baptist missionaries' translation of 'Christmas.'

<sup>46</sup> The New Rice and New Year's festivals are feasts, so the verb for 'celebrate' is **câ** 'eat.' With Christmas the verb **te** 'do, perform' is used.

## Playing ball and spinning the top at New Year's

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168. T: Well, we play it for about a week, see?<sup>47</sup>
169. P: Can you tell me a little bit about this top-spinning? How do you go about it?
170. T: Oh, I can certainly tell you all about spinning tops, my friend.
171. P: How do you win at it, how do you play it?<sup>48</sup>
172. T: This top-spinning is done in pairs.
173. H: You pair off and set it spinning!
174. T: Let's say you and I, the two of us, are paired and we play. When you set it spinning,<sup>49</sup> I have a go at it [with my own top]. Everybody gets divided up, into one side or the other.
175. H: You take a good piece of string,<sup>50</sup> and a spinning-stick as well, and you carefully take this stick and tie it, wrapping the string carefully around the top, and you send it off spinning by turning around and around<sup>51</sup> and hurling it against the other top.
176. P: But what's that you said about "pairing off"?
177. T: "A pair" means "you and me, the two of us"!
178. H: [*simultaneously with 177*] You and I make "a pair." When you set it up, I strike at it.<sup>52</sup>
179. H: Let's say ten people on the other side have had their turn<sup>53</sup> striking, and then it's your turn to set one up. You set it up, and one of their fellows strikes at it – that's how it's done. When there are many people on one side, they can't [all] strike out [at once]. There's no time for them to each have a turn one after the other. But two people could strike [at the same time]. Even three people could strike [at the same time].
180. P: Suppose you strike at it but don't hit it –
181. H: If you don't hit it you lose.
182. T: You just lose!
183. H: When you strike and do hit it, then the other fellow's [top] goes jumping away. Ah! It jumps, jumps, jumps, jumps away!
184. : It jumps off every which way. I'll let fly at yours until it breaks!
185. JAM: Do children play too?
186. H: Grown-ups also play.
187. T: Children also play.
188. H: Everybody who's good at it plays.

<sup>47</sup> Parenthetical *nə* 'you' is thrown in as a sort of cementer of rapport with one's interlocutor. Here it is translated 'see?', and below as 'my friend'.

<sup>48</sup> Lit: "who wins how, who hits how?"

<sup>49</sup> *khəʔ te ve*: "set up a top," i.e. 'to fling a top off its string and set it spinning.' One's adversary then takes his own top and tries to fling it so that it hits the first one. If the two tops collide, the one which remains spinning longer wins. If the second player fails to hit the first top, he loses the round.

<sup>50</sup> Lit: 'nicely making a piece of string.'

<sup>51</sup> I.e., by a sharp swooping of the stick through a 360 degree arc, as the player's body makes a full turn. The top flies off the string and travels about 50 feet through the air before landing.

<sup>52</sup> These are technical terms of the game: *khəʔ te ve* 'to set the first top spinning ("set up the top"),' *khəʔ dəʔ ve* 'try to hit the first top with a second top' ("strike at the top"). This last expression also has the more general meaning "to play the top game." *khəʔ həʔ ve* means 'to be successful in hitting the first top'.

<sup>53</sup> 'Had their turn' translates the pre-head versatile verb *qəʔ* 'one after the other.'

189. P: The losers have to do the setting-up, right?<sup>54</sup>

190. H: Once they're forced to be setters-up, they'll do the setting up forever. Even if [the game lasts] the whole day long, the losers have got to [keep] setting 'em up. While the winners keep on winding up [the string around their tops] and firing off strikes with all their might. They play until they're ready to drop.

191. T: White men probably don't play with tops, I daresay.

192. JAM: No, they don't.

193. P: They probably don't. Only the children play around with them.

194. T: I see.

195. H: It's not that way with the Lahu. Even the adults play with all their might. As long as there's a little light – almost the whole day long we play as hard as we can. In joy and gladness, until we're wiping away our sweat, we Lahu have a great time at it.

196. T: Our foreheads get red as fire!

197. H: And the sweat comes dripping off us! The sweat pours off us! The sweat comes out.

198. P: Where is it that you people play the top game?

199. H: In a flat place like over there.

200. T: We play in a flat place, like over there, in a flat place.

201. H: We choose up sides properly, and carefully draw the boundary-line, then you can only stay below that line! You mustn't step over it, or go up beyond it.

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<sup>54</sup>Striking is the prerogative of those who have won previously. It's not as interesting to be hit as it is to hit someone else.

## 5.14 Christmas and the New Rice Festival

- (1) *H : âa , ñà-hi Lâhū-yâ Hwè-tà? chē ve lē Hkì?-yâ ò-mō tē*  
 . Interj Pron N N<sub>place</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N Num  
 well! our Lahu people Huey Tat live nominalizer topic Christian group one  
*mō tē hín qô ha khò? chi ñâ qhò? pòn qay pâ-nē*  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> M<sub>prfx</sub>  
 for groups one thousand nine hundred sixty-five for years exceed continue V'ing near  
*thâ , tē hí qô ha khò? chi khò? qhò? mâ gà šē thâ ,*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 when one thousand nine hundred sixty-six for years negative reach yet when  
*ñà-hi Khîšâmâ? te tù yò lē*  
 Pron N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 our Christmas celebrate purposive declarative request for assent
- (2) *ñà-hi tē gâ le-le ve , ñà-hi à-šwè thâ kà? tàn lē yà?-ni*  
 Pron NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron AE P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub>  
 we (pl) everybody genitivizer we (pl) once upon a time also begin suspensive today  
*qha-gà ñà-hi ò-lí chi tē mà tē co pà tē co*  
 N<sub>time</sub> Pron N Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> B<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 until our custom this one for things one life after each other one life  
*yê chē ve yò*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 observe a custom continuous nominalizer declarative
- (3) *chi thà? pa-tò diyēbà ha-pa-ší nî chi ô tâ? thâ ñà-hi*  
 NP N N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron  
 therefore December next month twenty-four for days of the waxing moon when our  
*Khîšâmâ? gà ve yò mē*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 Christmas reach nominalizer declarative emphatic
- (4) *tē gâ le-le chi ò-gû-šī diyēbà ha-pa nî chi ô tâ? thâ mâ gà šē*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> Det N<sub>time</sub> N N Num V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 everybody this before December month twenty-four go up when negative reach yet  
*ò-gû-šī ñà-hi tē cà le-le ve cà-qha , šī? , ñà-hi qha yê tù*  
 N<sub>time</sub> Pron NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N N Pron Adv V P<sub>v-nom</sub>  
 before we (pl) every thing genitivizer hulled rice firewood our all use purposive  
*ve ò-cà tē cà le-le ve tē gâ le-le qha-dê? gu tã*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> AE V P<sub>v</sub>  
 relativizer thing every kind genitivizer everybody properly prepare durative
- (5) *cà-šī cà-qha thô qha-dê?-dê? gu lē , ñà-hi Khîšâmâ?*  
 N N P<sub>unf</sub> AE V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N  
 paddy hulled rice also in exactly the right way prepare suspensive our Christmas  
*ò-pon câ tù tē gâ le-le qha-dê? gu mē*  
 N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> AE V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 for N's sake eat purposive everybody properly prepare urging
- (6) *ò-yân gà thâ ñà-hi kán mâ gâ te*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N Adv <sub>v</sub>V V  
 time reach when our work negative ought to do

- (7) *tê gâ le-le thà? ñà chi qhe qô? lâ ve yò* .  
 NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 everybody accusative I like this say benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer declarative
- (8) *Cà-bo : âa , eeà? , gu-tā-hên-tā cō ve yò* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Interj Interj Elab<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name well! right! prepared in advance ought to nominalizer declarative
- (9) *Khîšāmā? qô? ve-ō nî chi ô ni mû phà? ò lò? e ve*  
 N V P<sub>uf</sub> Num M<sub>prfx</sub> SV P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 Christmas say emphatic twenty-four day night falls topic enter motion away nominalizer  
 ɔ lâ-o .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 affirmative yes
- (10) *H : yâ-ò* .  
 V  
 yeah!
- (11) *Khîšāmā? nî chi ô ni mû phà? thâ lò? e ve yò* .  
 N Num M<sub>prfx</sub> SV P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 Christmas twenty-four day get dark when enter motion away nominalizer declarative
- (12) *C : ô* .  
 Interj  
 oh!
- (13) *H : Yěšû? pɔ la ve* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 Jesus born come to V nominalizer
- (14) *C : Yěšû? pɔ la ve dō-nô ve qô? ve*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 Jesus born come to V nominalizer commemorate nominalizer say nominalizer  
 ɔ lâ-o .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 affirmative yes
- (15) *qhe-qo ñà-hi Lāhū-khō qhà-qhe ġa qô? tū le* .  
 Conj Pron N N<sub>intg</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 so our Lahu language how? ought to say future substantive qst
- (16) *Khîšāmā? qô? ve ò Kālā-phu-khō ò* .  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>prop</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 Christmas say nominalizer topic English language topic
- (17) *H : âa , qhò?-ší Yěšû? pɔ la ve à? hâ?-yù*  
 Interj N N<sub>pers</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V  
 well! New Year's Jesus born come to V nominalizer accusative welcome warmly  
 ve qô? ve yò , ñà-hi Lāhū-khō .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron N  
 nominalizer say nominalizer declarative our Lahu language
- (18) *C : âa , ñà-hi Lāhū-khō ñà dō a ni qo , pwê-ha-lê qô? cō*  
 Interj Pron N Pron V P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub>  
 well! our Lahu language I think try to if happy festival say ought to

- hé* .  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
probably
- (19) *pwê-ha-lè* .  
N  
happy festival
- (20) *Yěšú? pɔ la ve ha-lè ve le , tê gâ le-le pwê-ha-lè*  
N<sub>pers</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> N  
Jesus born come to V nominalizer happy nominalizer because everybody happy festival  
*qô? mē* .  
V P<sub>uf</sub>  
say urging
- (21) *âa , qhò? qhà-thâ? câ tù le* .  
Interj N N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
well! New Year's when? celebrate future substantive qst
- (22) *H : qhò? câ ve lâ-o* .  
. OV P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
celebrate New Year's nominalizer yes
- (23) *C : eeè?* .  
. Interj  
yep
- (24) *H : âa , qhò? câ ve chi tê ni ̄ , dìyêbà ha-pa*  
. Interj OV P<sub>univ</sub> Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N  
well! celebrate New Year's relativizer this one for days topic December month  
*nî chi ̄ tâ? pwê-ha-lè te-qo ̄-qhe , nî chi nâ*  
Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num  
twenty-four for days of the waxing moon happy festival if topicalizer twenty-five  
*tâ? qo ̄ ha-lè-ha-qa te ve yò-è?* .  
Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>adv</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
for days of the waxing moon when topic happily do nominalizer emphatic declarative
- (25) *tân-vân ̄* .  
N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
all day topic
- (26) *C : yò* .  
. Interj  
yes!
- (27) *H : chi pè thâ qhà-nî ni qò? chē*  
. Det V P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> vV V  
this come to an end when how many? for days keep on V'ing refrain from work  
*tù ve le , nò-hi dō a ni qo* .  
P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
future nominalizer substantive qst you (pl) think try to if
- (28) *C : âa , nâ dō ve ̄ tê-ghò?-ú tê pò? tí*  
. Interj Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> NP<sub>q</sub>  
well! I think nominalizer topic beginning of the year only once



- (29) *chê ve lɛ , qhò? chê ve ɔ̄ .*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>spec</sub> + V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 refrain from work nominalizer because take time off for New Year's nominalizer topic
- (29) *šɛ̄ ni ô ni chê cô hé , dô qô?-ma .*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 three for days four for days refrain from work ought to probably think emphatic
- (30) *H : ɔ̄ .*  
 . Interj  
 affirmative
- (31) *qhò?-šɛ̄ qhò? ní qhò? ve kâ? šɛ̄ ni ô ni cɛ lâ ,*  
 N N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 New Year's year two for years genitivizer also three for days four for days only yes  
*nò qô? lê .*  
 Pron V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 you say topic
- (32) *C : â hê? nê .*  
 . Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative be the case emphatic
- (33) *pwê-ha-lê šɛ̄ ni è? .*  
 N Num M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 happy festival three day emphatic
- (34) *H : ɔ̄ .*  
 . Interj  
 affirmative
- (35) *C : qhe-qo ɔ̄ qhò?-šɛ̄-ni à? qò? chê thâ gà qo*  
 . Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 so topic New Year's day accusative V again refrain from work when reach when  
*ɔ̄ šɛ̄ ni ô ni qò? chê qô? ve*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> vV V V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 topic three for days four for days keep on V'ing refrain from work say nominalizer  
*qô?-ma .*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (36) *H : šɛ̄ ni lɛ ô ni .*  
 . Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 three for days and four for days
- (37) *ôo , nò qhe-qo ɔ̄ šɛ̄ ni gà ò yâ .*  
 Interj Pron Conj P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 oh! you then topic seven for days reach completed action emphatic
- (38) *šɛ̄ ni lɛ ô ni qo ɔ̄ .*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 three for days and four for days topic topic
- (39) *C : šɛ̄ ni gà qo qha-dê?-dê? chê a*  
 . Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> AE V P<sub>v</sub>  
 seven for days reach when in exactly the right way refrain from work intentive

- qôʔ-yò-èʔ* , *ŋà-hi* *ɔ̄* .  
P<sub>uf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub>  
emphatic we (pl) topic
- (40) *H* : *chê* *gâ* *ve* *dê-dê* *nè-ɔ̄* *qôʔ-ma* .  
. V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
refrain from work desiderative nominalizer all suppositional emphatic
- (41) *yâ* *tê gî* *hi* *kàʔ* .  
N Q B<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
guys pluralizer pluralizer also
- (42) *Yâ-pā-é* : *chê* *gâ* *ve* *dê-dê* *yò* .  
N<sub>pers</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
little son refrain from work desiderative nominalizer all declarative
- (43) *Khán-pā* : *chê* *gâ* .  
Eth V P<sub>v</sub>  
Jingpho refrain from work desiderative
- (44) *H* : *ôo* , *chê* *gâ* *lɔ* .  
. Interj V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
oh! refrain from work desiderative emphatic declarative
- (45) *Cùn-phòʔ* , *nò* *kàʔ* *chê* *gâ* *lâ* ,  
Eth Pron P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
Jingpho you also refrain from work desiderative benefactive (non-3p)  
*qhòʔ câ* *ve* , *šĩ* *ni* .  
OV P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
celebrate New Year's nominalizer seven for days
- (46) *Khán-pā* : *chê* *gâ* , *chê* *gâ* .  
Eth V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
Jingpho refrain from work desiderative refrain from work desiderative
- (47) *H* : ( *gî* *ve* )  
) V P<sub>univ</sub>  
laugh nominalizer
- (48) *C* : *qhe-qo* *vàʔ* *a-šu* *ve* *dôʔ* *tù* *le* , *pwê-ha-lê* *thâ* .  
. Conj N Pron P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub>  
well then pig whoever genitivizer kill future substantive qst Christmas when
- (49) *Yâ-pā-é* : *nò* *ve* .  
N<sub>pers</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub>  
little son you genitivizer
- (50) *C* : *ŋà* *ve* *lâ-o* .  
. Pron P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
I genitivizer yes
- (51) *ŋà* *ve* *ɔ̄* *pè* *â* *gâ* *hế* *qôʔ-ma* .  
Pron P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
I genitivizer topic divide up negative be able probably emphatic

- (52) *a-cí â ĩ qô?-ma , vâ?* .  
 Adv Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N  
 at all negative big emphatic pig
- (53) *Yâ-pā-é : ġa , ġa* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> V V  
 little son be possible be possible
- (54) *: Khú-mô kâ? tê mà dô? a nē* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name also one for things kill hortatory emphatic
- (55) *pè â ġa qo ̄* .  
 V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 divide up negative be able if topic
- (56) *H : âa , ð-ma-qê? qô?-ma* .  
 Interj N P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! emphatic
- (57) *ŋà ve ̄ ð-šā mâ mē hē qô?-ma* .  
 Pron P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 I genitivizer topic meat negative taste good probably emphatic
- (58) *T : Khú-mô ve kâ? qô? dô? qo , tê pô? qhò? thâ qo*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV V P<sub>unf</sub> Q N P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 male name genitivizer also V in addition kill if again New Year's when when  
*dô? tù â cò yâ , à-mù* .  
 V P<sub>v-nom</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> Conj  
 kill purposive negative be there emphatic otherwise
- (59) *Khán-pā : ŋà kâ? tê khe dô? a* .  
 Eth Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 Jingpho I also one for animals kill intensitive
- (60) *H : âa , nò ve lò? nē-̄ , Cùn-phò? ò* .  
 Interj Pron P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> Eth P<sub>n</sub>  
 well! you genitivizer be enough suppositional Jingpho vocative
- (61) *T : nò ve ð-pā lē-lâ* .  
 Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>uf</sub>  
 you genitivizer male yes
- (62) *Khán-pā : ð-pā kâ? cò , ð-ma kâ? cò ve yò* .  
 Eth N P<sub>unf</sub> V N P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 Jingpho male also be there female also be there nominalizer declarative
- (63) *T : ò* .  
 Interj  
 affirmative
- (64) *H : a-cí ĩ ve tê khe dô? mē* .  
 Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 more big relativizer one for animals kill persuasive

- (65) *T* : *ôo* , *qhe-qo* *̄* , *qhâ?-še* *nò* , *qhà-ní* *kîlô* *hâ?* *tù*  
 . Interj Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 oh! well then topic headman you how many? kilogram get future  
*ve* *le* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer substantive qst
- (66) *H* : *âa* , *ɲà* *ɲâ* *kîlô* *yù* *qô?-ma* *nē* .  
 . Interj Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! I five kilogram take emphatic emphatic
- (67) *cì-qhò?* *thâ* *qô?* *ve-̄* , *ha-lè-ha-qa* *te* *ve-̄* , *cá* *tɛ* *cá*  
 NP<sub>time</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> Elab<sub>adv</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> V  
 this year when say emphatic happily do emphatic boil set aside to V boil  
*tɛ* *ā* *ɛ* *vân* *tù* *ve-̄* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 set aside to V perfective perfective eat enthusiastically purposive emphatic
- (68) *Yâ-pâ-é* : *má* *ò* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 man's name son-in-law vocative
- (69) *tê chi kîlô-lô* *â* *hâ?* *nè-̄* .  
 NP<sub>q</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 about ten kilograms negative get suppositional
- (70) *T* : *tê chi kîlô* *lâ-o* .  
 . Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 ten kilogram yes
- (71) *Yâ-pâ-é* : *êe* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Interj  
 man's name yes
- (72) *H* : *nò* *è?* , *nò* *è?* .  
 . Pron P<sub>n</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub>  
 you contrastive interrogative you contrastive interrogative
- (73) *T* : *âa* , *ɲà* *thô* *ní* *kîlô* *ɛ* *šê?* *kîlô* *lè* *hâ?* *a*  
 . Interj Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 well! I also two kilogram kilogram three kilogram topic get intensive  
*nè-̄* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 suppositional
- (74) *H* : *âa* , *qhe-qo* *̄* *ɲâ* *kîlô* *gâ* *ò* *lɔ*  
 . Interj Conj P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! well then topic five kilogram reach completed action emphatic declarative  
*nē* , *tâ* *ní* *a* *qo* *̄* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 emphatic begin to V look at intensive if topic
- (75) *T* : *qhe-qo* *̄* *Câ-qú-nê?* *nò* *qhà-ní* *kîlô* *hâ?* *è* .  
 . Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 so topic man's name you how many? kilogram get substantive qst

- (76) *Thû-yì* : *ô kîlô lɛ ηâ kîlô hâ? a* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 male name four kilogram and five kilogram get intensitive
- (77) *H* : < *gî ve* > *ô kîlô lɛ ηâ kîlô* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 laugh nominalizer four kilogram and five kilogram
- (78) *T* : *qô kîlô* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 nine kilogram
- (79) *H* : *pòthô , jâ à nē , qhe-qo ̄* .  
 Interj V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Conj P<sub>unf</sub>  
 for God's sake! plenty asseverative emphatic if so topic
- (80) *T* : *mâ lə? tà ma* .  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative be enough negative probability exclamatory
- (81) *tê khe qə? ca šē , tê khe* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 one for animals still V look for still one for animals
- (82) *và? tê khe qə? ca šē* .  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> <sub>v</sub>V <sub>v</sub>V P<sub>v</sub>  
 pig one for animals still V go and do still
- (83) *âa , d̄s a ni a-šu ve ca t̄u le* .  
 Interj V P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! think try to whoever genitivizer look for future substantive qst
- (84) *H* : *Cà-l̄s ve d̄s? t̄i yò nē* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name genitivizer kill just declarative emphatic
- (85) *Cà-l̄s , n̄ ve d̄s? a n̄-̄* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name you genitivizer kill intensitive suppositional
- (86) *T* : *̄-pā lón* .  
 N B<sub>n</sub>  
 male sthg big
- (87) *Cà-l̄s* : *d̄s? ve yò* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name kill nominalizer declarative
- (88) *H* : *̄* .  
 Interj  
 affirmative
- (89) *T* : *Cà-l̄s ve tê khe kà? d̄s? a c̄* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name genitivizer one for animals also kill intensitive quotative

- (90) *qhe-qo lə?*                      *ò*                                      *ma*                      .  
 Conj    V                      P<sub>v</sub>                                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 if so    be enough    completed action    exclamatory
- (91) *H : ĩ      jâ      lê*                      .  
 .                      V<sub>adj</sub>    V<sub>v</sub>    P<sub>uf</sub>  
                     big    very    request for assent
- (92) *T : jâ      à*                      , *jâ      à*                      , *qhe-qo lè*                      .  
 .                      V<sub>adj</sub>    P<sub>v</sub>                      ,                      V<sub>adj</sub>    P<sub>v</sub>                      ,                      Conj    P<sub>unf</sub>  
                     plenty    asseverative                      plenty    asseverative                      if so    topic
- (93) *tê gâ le-le ̄*                      , *qhə?*                      *mâ      t̄?*                                      *e*                      *ce-ce ̄*  
 NP<sub>q</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      N                      Adv    V                                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>    P<sub>unf</sub>  
 everybody    topic                      New Year's    negative    be over (of a holiday)    motion away    until    topic  
*tê      kà      tâ                      te      qay mē*                      , *a-šu kà?*                      .  
 Num    Cl<sub>f</sub>                      Adv                                      vV    V    P<sub>uf</sub>                      Pron  
 another    for places    negative imperative    do and    go    urging                      everybody
- (94) *tê gâ      tí      qo      ha-lê      kî      mâ      cò*                      .  
 Q                      P<sub>univ</sub>    P<sub>unf</sub>    V<sub>adj</sub>    P<sub>v-nom</sub>    Adv    V  
 one person    only    if    happy    locative    negative    be there
- (95) *tê gâ      mâ      chē                      thô      bò                      ve                      yò*                      .  
 Q                      Adv    V                                      P<sub>unf</sub>    V<sub>adj</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 one person    negative    refrain from work    also    depressing    nominalizer    declarative
- (96) *chē                      ve                      qô? ve                      tê cə*                      .  
 V                                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      V    P<sub>univ</sub>                      Q  
 refrain from work    nominalizer    say    relativizer    one thing
- (97) *qhà-qhe jè dâ?*                      *qo      chi qhe      te*                      .  
 N<sub>intg</sub>                      V + P<sub>v</sub>    P<sub>unf</sub>                      AE<sub>ext</sub>    V  
 how?    discuss    topic    like this    do
- (98) *H : ɦ*                      .  
 .                      Interj  
                     mm
- (99) *T : qhà-qhe jè dâ?*                      *le*                      *chi qhe      mâ      te      qô?-ve      ̄      mâ      phè?*                      .  
 .                      N<sub>intg</sub>                      V + P<sub>v</sub>    P<sub>unf</sub>                      AE<sub>ext</sub>    Adv    V    P<sub>n</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>    Adv    V  
                     how?    discuss    suspensive    like this    negative    do    topicalizer    topic    negative    able to
- (100) *chi tê khi kà?*                      *qha-dê?*                      *d̄      ni*                      .  
 NP<sub>q</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>    AE                      V    V<sub>v</sub>  
 this time    also    properly    think    try and V
- (101) *à-mù      a-yé*                      , *chi      qhə?-nó      qò?*                      *d̄      ni                      la                      thâ      gâ*  
 Conj                      Adv                                      Det    M<sub>prfx</sub>    vV                      V    V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>    V  
 otherwise    in the future                      this    after    V again    think    try and V    come to V    when    reach  
*qo      ,      "      d̄-mi      qo      gâ?*                      *â                      mi                      ,      qô?      qhe      "*  
 P<sub>unf</sub>                      V                      P<sub>unf</sub>    V                      Adv                      resultative complement (C<sub>r</sub>)                      V    Adv  
 when    realize    when    chase    negative    catch                                      say    like this  
*nε-khî-nε-jò*                                      *le*                                      *nε-vì-nε-lò?*                      *lò*                      "  
 Elab<sub>n</sub>                                      P<sub>univ</sub>                                      Elab<sub>n</sub>                                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 baby stirring in the womb    baby stirring in the womb    woman's troubles    emphatic declarative

- qô? qo*      *thâ*                      *qo*      *mâ hê? o*                      .  
P<sub>unf</sub>              Temp Nom              P<sub>unf</sub>      VP  
topicalizer      the time when      topic      nothing to be done
- (102) *H* : *âa*      ,      *tê gâ le-le*      *ð-yân thâ*                      *lê*      *qha-dê?*      *dô*      *ni*              *cô*  
.      Interj      NP<sub>q</sub>              NP<sub>time</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>      AE              V      V<sub>v</sub>              V<sub>v</sub>  
well!      everybody      while there's still time      topic      properly      plan      try and V      ought to  
*ve*                      *lê*                      .  
P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer      request for assent
- (103) *tê*      *yè*                      *le-le*      .  
Num      Cl<sub>f</sub>                      B<sub>n</sub>  
one      for households      every
- (104) *hâ-hi*      *kâ?*      *Hwè-tâ?*      *qhe*      *lê*      *chô*      *cê*                      *mâ mâ*      *qô?-ma*      *lê*                      .  
Pron      P<sub>unf</sub>      N<sub>place</sub>              N<sub>ext</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>      N              Adv              Adv + V      P<sub>uf</sub>              P<sub>uf</sub>  
our      also      Huey Tat      like      topic      people      (not) very      not many      emphatic      request for assent
- (105) *yè*      *à?*                      *š*                      *a ni*      *qo*      *nî chi*      *yè*                      *lê*      *tí qo*              *cô*  
N              P<sub>n</sub>                      V                      P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>      Num      Cl<sub>f</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>              V  
house      accusative      calculate      try to      if      twenty      for households      topic      topicalizer      have  
*ve*                      *khô*                      *yò*                      .  
P<sub>univ</sub>                      N                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
relativizer      probable reason why      declarative
- (106) *chô*      *š*      *cê*                      *mâ mâ*      *qô?-ma*      .  
N              P<sub>unf</sub>      Adv                      Adv + V      P<sub>uf</sub>  
people      topic      (not) very      not many      emphatic
- (107) *chô*      *š*      *qha-dê?*      *qô?-qo-pò?*                      *Kóló-khô*                      *à?*              *yù*      *qo*      ”  
N              P<sub>unf</sub>      AE              P<sub>unf</sub>                      N                      P<sub>n</sub>              V      P<sub>unf</sub>  
people      topic      properly      topicalizer (lively)      Northern Thai language      accusative      take      if  
*pè? ší? páj*                      ”      *cê*      *qô?-ma*      .  
Num                      P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>  
more than eighty (Thai)      just      emphatic
- (108) *Lâhū-khô*                      *à?*                      *yù*      *qo*      *hí chi*      *gâ*                      *qhe*      *cê tí*                      *cô*  
N                      P<sub>n</sub>                      V              P<sub>unf</sub>      Num      Cl<sub>f</sub>                      N<sub>ext</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub> + P<sub>univ</sub>      V  
Lahu language      accusative      take      if      eighty      for people      about      only              be there  
*ve*                      *qô?-ma*      ,      *hâ-hi*      *chô*      *š*                      .  
P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>                      Pron      N              P<sub>unf</sub>  
nominalizer      emphatic      our      people      topic
- (109) *jê dâ?*      ,      *tê gâ le-le*      *jê dâ?*      *ni*              *lê*                      ,      *ð-gû-š*                      *à-thò?-ma*      *te*      *thô*      ,  
V + P<sub>v</sub>              NP<sub>q</sub>                      V + P<sub>v</sub>      V<sub>v</sub>              P<sub>unf</sub>                      N<sub>time</sub>              N<sub>intg</sub>              V      P<sub>unf</sub>  
discuss      everybody      discuss      try and V      suspensive      in the future      whatever      do      also  
*tê ge*      *te*      *cô*                      *hé*                      .  
Q              V      V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
together      do      ought to      probably
- (110) *qhâ-nî*              *ni*                      *qhâ-nî*              *ni*              *ché*                      *tù*      *nò-hi*              *tê gâ le-le*  
Num              Cl<sub>f</sub>                      Num              Cl<sub>f</sub>              V                      P<sub>v</sub>              Pron              NP<sub>q</sub>  
how many?      for days      how many?      for days      refrain from work      future      you (pl)      everybody

- |             |                    |                |           |                  |                |           |                                 |                |                    |
|-------------|--------------------|----------------|-----------|------------------|----------------|-----------|---------------------------------|----------------|--------------------|
| <i>ó-qō</i> | <i>phí-phí</i>     | <i>ó-qō-šī</i> | <i>ğɔ</i> | <i>lɛ</i>        | <i>qha-dê?</i> | <i>dš</i> | <i>a ni</i>                     | <i>cš</i>      | <i>lê</i>          |
| N           | V <sub>redup</sub> | N              | V         | P <sub>unf</sub> | AE             | V         | P <sub>v</sub> + P <sub>v</sub> | V <sub>v</sub> | P <sub>uf</sub>    |
| head        | very gray          | head           | count     | suspensive       | properly       | think     | try to                          | ought to       | request for assent |
- .
- (111) < *ğī* *ve* > *tê gâ* *chê* *gâ* *tê gâ* *mâ*  
V P<sub>univ</sub> Q V P<sub>v</sub> Q Adv  
laugh nominalizer one person refrain from work desiderative one person negative  
*chê* *gâ* *tê* *ni* *qo* *š* ,  
V P<sub>v</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
refrain from work desiderative one for days when topic
- (112) *chi qhe* *te* *ô qhe* *te* *qô? qo* *š* , *qô?-dâ?-yɔ-dâ?* *kî* *dê-dê*  
AE<sub>ext</sub> V NP<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> N<sub>ext</sub>  
like this do like that do topicalizer topic arguing and squabbling locative all  
*phê?* *la* *hé* .  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
be a certain way come to V probably
- (113) *tê gâ le-le* *qha-dê?* *dš* *a ni* .  
NP<sub>q</sub> AE V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub>  
everybody properly think try to
- (114) *Yâ-pā-é* : *chê* *jo* *mî* *qhe-ce* *chê* *a*  
N<sub>pers</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> AE V P<sub>v</sub>  
little son refrain from work experiential used to V only refrain from work intentive  
*qo* *š* *pê* *ò* *è?* .  
P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
if topic enough completed action emphatic
- (115) *H* : *êe* .  
. Interj  
okay
- (116) *T* : *pò-mɔ?-pò-šê* *tê-tê* *qo* *šu-qô?-šu-ğī* *tù* *phê? la*  
. Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub>  
go beyond what is appropriate really if others speak mockingly future become  
*ɔ* .  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
affirmative
- (117) *H* : *êe* .  
. Interj  
yes
- (118) *tê gâ le-le* *š* *ni-ma cš* *ve* *dê-dê* *nê-š* , *qhe-qo* *š* .  
NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>spec</sub> + V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Conj P<sub>unf</sub>  
everybody topic like sthg nominalizer all suppositional if so topic
- (119) *chê* *jo* *mî* *ve* , *à-šwè* *kà?* *cho-mô* *tê*  
V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Num  
refrain from work experiential used to V nominalizer long ago also ancestors one



- (120) *co pà tê co chê jɔ ve qhe* .  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> B<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub>  
 generation after one generation refrain from work experiential nominalizer like
- (121) *cô ò lâ* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be right completed action yes
- (122) *: cô ve yò , qhe-qo* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Conj  
 be right nominalizer declarative if so
- (123) *Thû-yì : tê gâ-gâ lè cò nè-ḡ , â cḡ ve*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 male name someone or other topic be there suppositional negative agree nominalizer
- (124) *Yâ-pā-é : mâ cḡ hḡ* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 little son negative be there probably
- (125) *H : qô? mē* .  
 V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 speak urging
- (126) *à-mù qhḡ?-nó qo ηà ni-ghâ â šḡ le ηà mâ qô?*  
 Conj NP<sub>time</sub> Pron N Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron Adv V  
 otherwise in the future I opinion negative be agreed on because I negative speak  
*ve qô?-ḡ , chi* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Det  
 nominalizer emphatic this matter
- (127) *ηà qhe-lê mâ cḡ qo mâ qô?* .  
 Pron N<sub>ext</sub> Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
 me like negative agree if negative speak
- (128) *nḡ ni-ma qhḡ dḡ ā ve qhe qô? lâ ve-ḡ*  
 Pron N M<sub>px</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 you heart in think perfective nominalizer like speak benefactive (non-3p) emphatic
- (129) *chi tê khi mâ cḡ ve qô? lâ mē* .  
 NP<sub>q</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 this time negative agree nominalizer speak benefactive (non-3p) urging
- (130) *ηà hâ? mâ qô? qo mâ qô? ve ni-ma qhḡ dḡ*  
 Pron Adv Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> V  
 I quickly negative speak if negative speak nominalizer heart in think  
*ā ve nḡ qḡ? qô? lâ ve chi*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Det  
 perfective nominalizer you V in turn say benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer this matter

- mâ cō ve qô? la mē* .  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative agree nominalizer say come to V persuasive
- (130) *Yâ-pā-é : cō ā ve dê-dê yò hé* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 little son agree perfective nominalizer all declarative probably
- (131) *H : ðɔ* .  
 Interj  
 okay
- (132) *cō qo dà? ve nē* .  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 agree if good nominalizer emphatic
- (133) *Ĝî-ša bon pa-tɔ ha-lê-ha-qa mî-šî-vâ-šî kâ? ġa câ le qhð?-šî*  
 N N P<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>adv</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 God blessing because of happily first fruits also get to eat because New Year's  
*ð-ni-ð-há ð-qhɔ qô? ġâ?-mi le tê ġâ le-le ha-lê-ha-qa cō-dâ?-hō-dâ?*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> N<sub>time</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> Elab<sub>adv</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub>  
 days and nights in V again reach because everybody happily be united  
*le tê cā le-le ve kán qha-dê? te qay ni ve*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N AE V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 suspensive every kind genitivizer work properly do continue V'ing try and V nominalizer  
*tí yò lê* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 only declarative request for assent
- (134) *T : qhe-qo ɔ ñà-hi ɔ chi cā-šî-ɔ qhà-thâ? qð? cā*  
 Conj P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Det N N<sub>intg</sub> vV V  
 well then topic our topic this New Rice Festival when? V again celebrate  
*tù ve le qô?-ma* .  
 P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 purposive nominalizer substantive qst emphatic
- (135) *cā yân kâ? ġa la yò yâ* .  
 V M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 eat time also reach come to V declarative emphatic
- (136) *qhð? cā ve ð-lɔn jè dà? pð ò qo* ,  
 OV P<sub>univ</sub> N V + P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 celebrate New Year's relativizer matter discuss finish V'ing completed action when  
*cā-šî-ɔ cā ve tê pð? qð? jè dà? a ni šē è?* .  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> Q vV V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 New Rice Festival celebrate nominalizer again V again discuss try to first emphatic
- (137) *chi tê pð? tí te á ve , à-mù chɔ chē*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Conj N V  
 this time only celebrate perfective nominalizer otherwise people refrain from work  
*pā qo chē , chɔ mâ chē*  
 P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V N Adv V  
 agentive nominalizer topic refrain from work people negative refrain from work

- pā* *qo* *mâ* *chê* *le* *qhò?-nó qo* *jè dà?*  
P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub>  
agentive nominalizer if negative refrain from work suspensive afterwards discuss
- mâ* *phê?* *nè-ṽ* .  
Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
negative able to suppositional
- (138) *H* : *âa* , *cà-ṣṣ-ṽ* *câ* *ve* *qhe-le* , *ṣtòbà* *ha-pa* *à?*  
. Interj N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
well! New Rice Festival celebrate nominalizer topic October month accusative
- tí* *câ* *jo* *và* *qô?-ma* , *tê qhò? le-le* *kà?* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
only celebrate experiential emphatic emphatic every year even
- (139) *T* : *ṣtòbà* *ha-pa* *gà* *la* *yò* *yâ* .  
. N<sub>time</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
October month reach come to V declarative emphatic
- (140) *H* : *ṣtòbà* *ha-pa-ṣṣ* *hí* *tâ?* *thâ* *mâ hê?* *qo* *ṣ*  
. N<sub>time</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub> Num  
October new moon eight for days of the waxing moon when if not four
- tâ?* *thâ* *câ* *jo* *ve* *và* *qô?-ma* ,  
Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
for days of the waxing moon when celebrate experiential nominalizer emphatic emphatic
- cà-ṣṣ-ṽ* *câ* *ve-ṽ* .  
N V P<sub>uf</sub>  
New Rice Festival celebrate emphatic
- (141) *T* : *qhe* , *ṣtòbà* *ha-pa* *ṣ* *tâ?* *thâ* *te-qo* *qhà-qhe te* ,  
. Conj N<sub>time</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub>  
so October month four for days of the waxing moon time if how
- cà-qha* *qhà-qhe te* *yù* *ḡa* .  
N Cl<sub>nf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
hulled rice how take be able
- (142) : *ò* .  
Interj  
hmm
- (143) *T* : *nî* *nî* *ṣṣ* *nî* *tí* *ca* *te* *ve* *mâ hê?* .  
. Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv + V  
two for days three for days only go and do do nominalizer not be the case
- (144) *mû-yè-yân* *ṽ* .  
N P<sub>unf</sub>  
rainy season topic
- (145) *mû-cha-yân* *kà?* *mâ hê?* *ve-ṽ* .  
N P<sub>unf</sub> Adv + V P<sub>uf</sub>  
hot season topicalizer not be the case emphatic
- (146) *H* : *âa* , *ṣtòbà* *ha-pa-ṣṣ* *à?* *ṣ* *tâ?* *à?* *câ*  
. Interj N<sub>time</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V  
well! October new moon object four for days of the waxing moon accusative eat

- jɔ ve qôʔ-yò-èʔ , ô-thâ kàʔ , ɲà-hi* .  
P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron  
experiential nominalizer emphatic in the past also we (pl)
- (147) *T : ô-thâ kàʔ câ ve ʃ-qhe le , ô tê qhòʔ*  
. N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
in the past topicalizer celebrate nominalizer topicalizer that one for years  
*ô tê pôʔ tí tʃ á le* .  
NP<sub>time</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
that time only have remembered suspensive
- (148) *tê qhòʔ èʔ tí tê pôʔ tí ǵa câ ve qo mâ*  
Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv  
each for years emphatic only at the same time get to celebrate nominalizer if negative  
*phèʔ qôʔ-ma* .  
V P<sub>uf</sub>  
able to emphatic
- (149) *tê qhòʔ-qhòʔ qo mô-yè mâ là , tê qhòʔ-qhòʔ qo mô-yè mu* .  
NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv V NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub>  
some years when rain negative come some years when rain high (objects)
- (150) *H : tê chi ô tâʔ àʔ kàʔ câ jɔ*  
. Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
fourteen for days of the waxing moon accusative topicalizer celebrate experiential  
*ve qôʔ-ma , cà-ʃí-ʃ* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N  
nominalizer emphatic New Rice Festival
- (151) *T : qhe-qo tê chi ô tâʔ àʔ câ ò*  
. Conj Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
well then fourteen for days of the waxing moon accusative celebrate completed action  
*èʔ* .  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
emphatic
- (152) *H : ɱ , cà-ʃí-ʃ* –  
– Interj N  
mmhm New Rice Festival
- (153) *T : ʃu àʔ kù tù ve , â hêʔ lâ* .  
. Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
others accusative call future nominalizer negative be the case yes
- (154) *H : âa , ð-pâ-ð-ki chê ve ð-ví-ð-ni ɲà-hi Lâhū-yâ tê qhâʔ le-le lê kù*  
. Interj Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> Pron N NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V  
well! nearby live relativizer relatives our Lahu people every village topic call  
*pî qo dàʔ à hé , qôʔ-yò-èʔ , ɲà dʃ ve*  
V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub>  
benefactive (3p) if good asseverative probably emphatic I think nominalizer  
*ʃ* .  
P<sub>unf</sub>  
topic

- (155) *T* : *qhe-qo nò-hi câ-tù-dò-tù à? qò? dō a ni è?* .  
 . Conj Pron Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 so you (pl) food and drink accusative go on to V think try to emphatic
- (156) : *âa , câ-tù thô ñà tí thô và? tê khe kə a*  
 Interj N<sub>dvb</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 well! food also I only also pig one for animals contribute intensitive  
*qô?-a nē* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic emphatic
- (157) *T* : *nò tí kà?* .  
 . Pron P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 you only even
- (158) : *êe*  
 Interj  
 yes
- (159) : *qhe-qo ̄ , šā ...*  
 Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 if so topic meat
- (160) *T* : *qhe-qo ̄ ,*  
 . Conj P<sub>unf</sub>  
 if so topic  
*ð-phâ?-ð-ló* ̄  
 elaborate expression (4 syllables; 1st and 3rd, or 2nd and 4th are the same) (Elab ) P<sub>unf</sub>  
 second helpings topic  
*a-šu a-šu kə tù le* .  
 Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 who all contribute future substantive qst
- (161) *a-cí-cí qo ̄ ló? ve mâ hê?* .  
 Adv P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V  
 a little if topic be enough nominalizer negative be the case
- (162) *šu à? kù ve le* .  
 Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 others accusative invite nominalizer because
- (163) *hà-ē* .  
 Interj  
 what?
- (164) *H* : *và?-šā ̄ qhà-ma cò ve mâ hê? qô?-ma* .  
 . N P<sub>unf</sub> AE V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv+V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 pork topic so much have nominalizer not be the case emphatic
- (165) *ñà ve ̄ , ð-ma-qè? é le* .  
 Pron P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 I genitivizer topic female animal little because
- (166) *šé? kílô ð kílô cò hé qô?-ma* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 three kilogram four kilogram be there probably emphatic

- (167) *Yâ-pā-é* : *mâ ləʔ qo ɲà hɔ tɛ mà dɔʔ*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V  
 little son negative be enough if I elephant one for things kill  
*kə a lâ a*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 contribute by V'ing vivid action intentive
- (168) : *hɔ lâ-o* .  
 N P<sub>uf</sub>  
 elephant yes
- (169) *Yâ-pā-é* : *èe* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Interj  
 little son yes
- (170) *T* : *pòthôo chɔ vɪ â pə nɛ-ɔ , hɔ lɛ* .  
 Interj N V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub>  
 good grief! people buy negative finish V'ing suppositional elephant topic
- (171) ( *gɛ ve* )  
 V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 laugh nominalizer
- (172) *ɔ-pā è lâ ɔ-ma è lâ , nɔ hɔ ɔ* .  
 N P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron N P<sub>unf</sub>  
 male substantive qst yes female substantive qst yes your elephant topic
- (173) *Yâ-pā-é* : *ɔ-pā yò nɛ-ɔ* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 man's name male declarative suppositional
- (174) *T* : *ɔ-pā* .  
 N  
 male
- (175) *pòthôo , pòthôo* .  
 Interj Interj  
 goodness me! goodness me!
- (176) *hɔ-šā â câ ve a-šu a-šu cɔ le* .  
 N Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 elephant meat negative eat nominalizer who all be there substantive qst
- (177) *Yâ-pā-é* : *chɔ mâ câ , hɔ-šā* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N Adv V N  
 man's name people negative eat elephant meat
- (178) *H* : *âa , câ mɛ à vâ* .  
 Interj V V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! eat taste good asseverative emphatic
- (179) *T* : *ɲà kâʔ câ ni gâ qôʔ-ma , hɔ-šā* .  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N  
 I also eat try and V desiderative emphatic elephant meat

- (180) *â câ jɔ lɛ* .  
Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
negative eat experiential because
- (181) *H : hɔ-šā hɛ-tâ-ôʔ-hɛ-tâ-ôʔ te-qo mɛ à yâ* .  
. N AE P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
elephant meat tough and chewy because taste good asseverative emphatic
- (182) *ŋà ġa câ jɔ ɔ* .  
Pron <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
I get to eat experiential affirmative
- (183) *Thû-yì : ð-pun te êʔ nē* .  
N<sub>pers</sub> N V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
male name share make emphatic emphatic
- (184) *hɔ-šā dē-dē ve ð-pun hâʔ ve qôʔ-yò-a* .  
N N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
elephant meat all genitivizer share get nominalizer emphatic
- (185) *T : ð-pun te lɛ nò kə â ġâ nē-ʃ* .  
. N V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
share make make you contribute money negative succeed suppositional
- (186) *H : qhà-nî phân bàʔ -*  
- Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Cl<sub>f</sub>  
how many? thousand (Thai) baht
- (187) *T : nò ve ʃ qhà-nî phân bàʔ kə a-têʔ* .  
. Pron P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>quot</sub>  
you genitivizer topic how many? thousand (Thai) baht contribute intensitive  
*te le , nò* .  
V P<sub>uf</sub> Pron  
charge for substantive qst you
- (188) *Yâ-pā-é : qhà-ma kàʔ mâ te o* .  
N<sub>pers</sub> AE P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
man's name so much even negative charge for emphatic
- (189) *qhe-te dšʔ kə a lâ ve yò* .  
Conj V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
so kill contribute by V'ing vivid action nominalizer declarative
- (190) *T : dšʔ kə a ve* .  
. V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
kill contribute by V'ing intensitive nominalizer
- (191) *Yâ-pā-é : èe* .  
N<sub>pers</sub> Interj  
man's name yes
- (192) *T : dàʔ jâ nē , qhe-qo* .  
. V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Conj  
good very emphatic if so

- (193) : ð-pun te pè yù qô? ve khô yò .  
 N<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>uf</sub>  
 share do and divide up V lastingly say relativizer word declarative
- (194) : Khú-mô kà? hɔ tê khe dô? kə a lâ  
 N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub>  
 male name also elephant one for animals kill contribute by V'ing vivid action  
 cê , hɔ .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> N  
 quotative elephant
- (195) cā-šf-š cā ve à? .  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 New Rice Festival celebrate nominalizer accusative
- (196) Khú-mô : bon te ve lɛ ð-phû mâ hâ? o .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> OV P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name do for charity nominalizer because money negative accept emphatic
- (197) H : ñà š vâ? tê khe qô?-ma nē .  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 I topic pig one for animals emphatic emphatic
- (198) vâ?-ma-qê? ð-šā š hí kílô cò hé .  
 N N P<sub>unf</sub> Num Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 sow meat topic seven eight kilogram be there probably
- (199) T : āa , ñà thô cā-gha šé? tû kə yò-a .  
 Interj Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! I also hulled rice three basketful contribute emphatic declarative
- (200) cā-gha kə-pā kà? qô? ca è? .  
 N N<sub>dvb</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 hulled rice contributor also V in turn look for emphatic
- (201) Cā-qu-ní , nò qhā-ma kə è .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Pron N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name you how much? contribute substantive qst
- (202) Thû-yì : ñà tí qo tê tû nî tû kə nē  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name I topicalizer one basketful two basketful contribute emphatic  
 nē-š .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 suppositional
- (203) T : tê tû nî tû è ... ô Khán-pā è?  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> Eth P<sub>n</sub>  
 one basketful two basketful only over there Jingpho contrastive interrogative  
 ... Cùn-phò? ò .  
 Eth P<sub>n</sub>  
 Jingpho vocative
- (204) Khán-pā : ôo , ñâ tû , ñâ tû kàn .  
 Eth Interj Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N  
 Jingpho oh! five basketful five basketful half



- (205) *T* : *ηâ tû kàn* .  
 . Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N  
 five basketful half
- (206) *ô* , *dà?* *à* .  
 Interj V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 oh! good asseverative
- (207) *qhe-qo* *̄* , *ô* *Cà-lâ* *̄* *qhà-ma* *kə* *è* .  
 Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well then topic over there male name topic how much? contribute substantive qst
- (208) *Cà-lâ* : *ηà lâ-o* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Pron P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name I yes
- (209) *âa* , *šê?* *tû* *le* *nî* *tû* *lê* *kə* *a lâ*  
 Interj Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub>  
 well! three basketful or two basketful topic contribute vivid action  
*yò-ê?* *nē* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic declarative emphatic
- (210) *T* : *šê?* *tû* *le* *nî* *tû* .  
 . Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 three basketful or two basketful
- (211) *êe* , *lò?* *ò* , *lò?* *ò* .  
 Interj V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 yes be enough completed action be enough completed action
- (212) *qhe-qo* *̄* , *gä* *kù* *gä* *gà* *la* *ò* *qo* *̄* ,  
 Conj P<sub>unf</sub> vV V vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 well then topic get to call get to arrive come to V completed action if topic  
*ha-ca-ha-lay* *tù* *ve* *̄* , *šu* *à?* *yà?-tə*  
 Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> V  
 embarrassing cause for V'ing nominalizer topic others accusative be embarrassed  
*tù* *ve* *̄-cà* *tâ* *te* *kə*  
 P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Adv V V<sub>v</sub>  
 cause for V'ing relativizer thing negative imperative do complicate a situation  
*lê* , *a-šu thô* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> Pron  
 request for assent anybody
- (213) *chə-há-pā* *tê cū* *qo-qò?* *yâ-mî* *qò?* *cî-cì*  
 N Q P<sub>uf</sub> N vV Adv  
 unmarried young man one group emphatic topic daughter keep on V'ing constantly  
*tâ-le* *mâ?* .  
 Adv V  
 negative imperative flirt
- (214) *mâ?* *gâ* *qô?-qo-pò?* *á-qhə* *ce* *mâ?* *dà?* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 flirt desiderative topicalizer (lively) home only flirt mutual action

- (215) *Yâ-pā-é* : *yâ-mî mâ? gâ ve yò* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 man's name daughter flirt desiderative nominalizer declarative
- (216) ( *gǝ ve* )  
 V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 laugh nominalizer
- (217) *T* : *mâ? qo-qò? mâ? dà? ve tê cə te-? mē* .  
 V P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q V<sub>imp</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 flirt emphatic topic flirt mutual action relativizer one thing do! urging
- (218) *mâ dà? ve tê cə tâ te , a-šú thô* .  
 Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q Adv V Pron  
 negative good relativizer one thing negative imperative do anybody
- (219) *Thú-yì* : *te tù hé nê-š* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name do future probably suppositional
- (220) *šú thô te nê-š* .  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 others also do suppositional
- (221) *te tù tí qo â šǝ ò* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 do future topicalizer negative know completed action
- (222) < *gǝ ve* >  
 V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 laugh nominalizer
- (223) *Yâ-pā-é* : *qhe-qo lè yâ tê gǝ ò , dš cš ve*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N Q P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 man's name so topic guys pluralizer vocative think ought to nominalizer  
*qô? qo lè , nò-hi à? cə yò mē* .  
 P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 topicalizer topic you (pl) accusative be responsible for declarative persuasive
- (224) *T* : *qhà-qhe te thô yâ-mî-há š là mâ tù ve*  
 Cl<sub>nf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 in any case unmarried young woman topic come many future nominalizer  
*yò* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (225) *H* : *là , là* .  
 V V  
 come come
- (226) *Thú-yì* : *qhà-qhe ve yâ-mî-há è* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name what kind? nominalizer unmarried young woman substantive qst
- (227) *T* : *nô š , Šá-to-dô qhâ? qhə š ve šǝ* ,  
 N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>place</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub>  
 up there topic village name village in locative genitivizer neighborhood



- (236) *T* : *phu* *kà?* *kə* *hên* *jâ* , *yô-hi* *tê pa* .  
 . N P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> Pron Q  
 money also contribute V a lot very they some
- (237) *phu* *kà?* *pɛ* *jâ* .  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 money also plentiful very
- (238) *âa* , *Cà-lô* *nò* *kà?* *là* *ɔ* *nè-ɔ* *qô?-ma* ,  
 Interj N<sub>pers</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! male name you also come affirmative suppositional emphatic  
*cà-š-ɔ* *câ* *thâ* *gà* *qo* *lè* .  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 New Rice Festival celebrate time arrive when topic
- (239) *Cà-lô* : *âa* , *là* *tè* *ve* *yò* *nē* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Interj V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name well! come really V nominalizer declarative emphatic
- (240) *H* : *vân* *la* *nē* .  
 . V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 go for enthusiastically come to V emphatic
- (241) *nò* *nî gâ* *ɔ* .  
 Pron Q P<sub>unf</sub>  
 you two people topic
- (242) *mâ* *qha nê?* *pâ-cî?-mu* *qha nê?* *pə* *lâ* .  
 N AE N AE V P<sub>v</sub>  
 lip until it's all wet beard until it's all wet send away benefactive (non-3p)
- (243) < *gê* *ve* >  
 V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 laugh nominalizer
- (244) *cà-š-ɔ* *câ* *thâ* , *pâ-cî?-mu* *tâ* *nû?* *bà* .  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> N Adv V V<sub>v</sub>  
 New Rice Festival eat when beard negative imperative shave away
- (245) *và?-šâ-chu* *qha nê?* *pə* *lâ* *a* .  
 N AE V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 pork fat until it's all wet send benefactive (non-3p) intentive
- (246) *T* : *chî* *pâ-cî?-mu* *bî è* *ve* *qo* *và?-šâ-chu* *nê?* *ā* *qo* *nî ša*  
 . Det N AE<sub>stat</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V + V<sub>v</sub>  
 this beard bushy nominalizer topic pork fat wet perfective when fun to see  
*jâ* *qô?-ma* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 very emphatic
- (247) *JAM* : *nî ša* *lâ* .  
 . V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 fun to see yes
- (248) *T* : *èe* , *nî ša* *jâ* .  
 . Interj V + V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 yes fun to see very

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**Translation**

1. H: Well, this Christian group of ours, we Lahu living in Huey Tat village, will celebrate Christmas when the year 1965 is almost over and just before 1966 arrives. All of us, from olden times until today, have observed this custom from generation to generation. Therefore on December 24th Christmas will be here for us.<sup>1</sup> Everybody should prepare in advance before December 24th arrives, everything that we'll be using, like rice and wood. Unhusked rice, hulled rice—prepare them both properly, everybody prepare carefully the food for us to eat at Christmas. When the time comes, we shouldn't do any work. I'm telling this to everybody.
2. T: Well, yes, we should prepare and make ready. You're saying that we'll begin Christmas after dark on the 24th, right?
3. H: Yes. We'll begin Christmas after dark on the 24th.
4. T: Uh-huh.
5. H: When [Jesus] was born.
6. T: Aren't we indeed commemorating the birth of Jesus! So in our Lahu language how should we say it? "Christmas" is an English word.
7. H: Well, we could call it "Welcoming Jesus' Birth around the New Year" in our Lahu language.
8. T: Well, if I think about our Lahu language, I think we ought to call it "The Happy Festival." Jesus' birth was happy, so everybody please call it "The Happy Festival." So, when shall we celebrate New Year's?
9. H: Celebrating New Year's?
10. T: Yes.
11. H: Well, the day that we celebrate New Year's<sup>2</sup>—if we start celebrating "the Happy Festival" on December 24th, when the 25th arrives, we can really have a good time. In the daytime.
12. T: Yes.
13. H: When [Christmas] is over, how many days should we still take off, in you guys' opinion?
14. T: Well, we only celebrate New Year's once, at the beginning of the year. I think we ought to take off three or four days.
15. H: Mm-hmm, So you're saying, for New Year's, for these two years [old and new], it's only three or four days?
16. T: Not at all! The "Happy Festival" [alone] takes three days!
- H: Oh.
17. T: So then, when it's time to celebrate New Year's, we should still take off three or four days.
18. H: Three days and four days.<sup>3</sup> So, you're saying] it comes to seven days. If it's three days plus four days.
19. T: If it extends to seven days, we'll have a proper rest, all of us.
20. H: I'll bet<sup>4</sup> you all want to take off work.<sup>5</sup> All you kids.
21. Pà-é: All of us want to celebrate.

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<sup>1</sup>This is reminiscent of the Jewish practice of beginning holidays at nightfall of the preceding day.

<sup>2</sup>The headman was unprepared for this change of subject to New Year's, and goes back to talking about Christmas.

<sup>3</sup>I.e., three days for Christmas and four days for New Year's.

<sup>4</sup>"I'll bet" translates the *nè-ḡ* (Puf) 'suppositional'.

<sup>5</sup>*chê* 'be in a place, dwell'. In this context it means 'to stop work during a festival'.

22. Kachin: I want to celebrate.
23. H: Oh, they want to celebrate! Hey Kachin, do you want to celebrate, seven days for New Year's?
24. Kachin: I do, I do!
25. H: [*laughs*]
- T: Well then, whose pig(s) shall we kill for Christmas?
26. Pà-é: Yours!
27. T: Mine?! Mine probably couldn't be divided up! It's just not very big, that pig.
28. Pà-é: It could, it could!
29. Somebody: Hey, Khù-mô, you kill one too! If there's not enough to divide up!
30. H: Oh, [mine] is a sow! Its meat probably doesn't taste good!
31. T: If we kill Khù-mô's too, then once it's New Year's we won't have any left to kill, in that case.
32. Kachin: I'll kill one too!
33. H: Well, Kachin, I guess yours will [make it] be enough!
34. T: Is yours a male?
35. Kachin: I've got a male, and I have a female too.
36. T: Oh.
37. H: Please kill the bigger one!
38. T: OK then, Headman, how many kilos would you like to get?
39. H: Oh, I'll take five kilos. This year, when we're relaxing and having a good time we'll cook it up [the pork dishes] and set it aside<sup>6</sup>, that's how we'll do it.
40. Pà-é: Hey, son-in-law!<sup>7</sup> Aren't you getting<sup>8</sup> about ten kilos, I guess?
41. T: Ten kilos, eh?
- 41a. Pà-é: Yeah.
42. H: What about you?
43. T: Well, I guess I'd like two kilos [for Xmas] and three kilos [for New Year's].
44. H: (laughing) In that case it comes to five kilos! If we do the math.<sup>9</sup>
45. T: Well then, Cà-qu-ní<sup>10</sup>, how many kilos are you getting?
46. Ty: I'll take four kilos and five kilos.
47. H: (laughing) Four kilos and five kilos.
48. T: Nine kilos.

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<sup>6</sup>Until the guests come, when it will be heated up and served.

<sup>7</sup>Pà-é is role-playing here as if he were the Headman's father-in-law. He was actually an unmarried youth of about 17 when this was recorded.

<sup>8</sup>tê chi kílô-lô: This approximate quantification is expressed via reduplication. One could also say **tê-chi-chi kílô**, by reduplicating the classifier.

<sup>9</sup>tà ni a qo 5: lit. "if [we] begin to look [at it]."

<sup>10</sup>This is Thù-yì's nickname, as transcribed in my 1965 field notes. It might mean 'hairless one' (cf. **ni** ~ **ní** 'red; naked'). But DL 449 has Cà-qu-nê? as his nickname.

49. H: My goodness, that's plenty then.
50. T: That's probably not enough. Look for another animal, one more. Let's still look for one more pig. So, let's think over whose we should find.
51. H: Let's kill Cà-lô's.<sup>11</sup> Cà-lô, I guess we should kill yours.
52. T: The big male.
53. P: I'll kill it.
54. H: A-ha.
55. T: Cà-lô says he'll kill one of his. In that case there'll be enough!
56. H: Since it's very big, eh?
57. T: That's plenty, plenty then. Until the end of the New Year's celebrations, nobody go off anywhere, please! [If you're] all by yourself that's no fun. If a person doesn't take time off to celebrate, that's depressing. The thing is to take time off. Do as we have discussed.
58. H: Right.
59. T: We must do as we have discussed. Make your plans carefully right now. Otherwise, when the time eventually comes around later, it'll be like they say, "By the time you realize what's happening you can't do anything about it."<sup>12</sup> Or, as they say, "By the time a woman feels she's pregnant she has burdens aplenty!" When the time comes there'll be nothing you can do.
60. H: So everybody should make their plans in good time. Every household. Because we in Huey Tat are so few in number, aren't we! If we try counting the houses, there are maybe twenty of them.<sup>13</sup> There just aren't that many people! To be precise about the number of people, if we say it in Northern Thai, there are just *pè? sî? páj!*<sup>14</sup> If we say it in Lahu, there are only eighty people, these people of ours. Talk it over, talk it over, everybody try talking it over—from now on whatever you do you ought to do it together. How many days each time [for Christmas and New Year's respectively]<sup>15</sup> will everybody take off work to celebrate<sup>16</sup>, you gray-headed elders ought to count heads and think it over, right? [*laughs*] Otherwise one of these days if somebody wants to take off and somebody else doesn't want to, if one says "Do it this way" or "Do it that way" there will be all kinds of things to quarrel about, won't there! Everybody think it over carefully.
61. Pā-é: If we just take off as long as we usually do it should be enough.
62. H: Yeah.
63. T: If we just do things brashly without regard to others' opinions<sup>17</sup> we could become a laughing stock!
64. H: Right. Well then, everybody agrees I guess. Taking time off the way we've usually done, like our ancestors of old also used to celebrate for generation after generation. Is that right?
65. Somebody: That's right then.
66. Ty: There must be at least one person who doesn't agree.
67. Pā-é: I doubt it.

<sup>11</sup>More play-acting. Cà-lô was my chief consultant on the 1965-66 fieldtrips, and lived in Chiang Mai, not in Huey Tat, and didn't have a pig to his name!

<sup>12</sup>T. here segues into two proverbs one after the other. The first one means literally "When your thoughts catch up you cannot catch the thing" (When think-catch cannot chase-catch).

<sup>13</sup>On a trip to Huey Tat in 2004, the village had grown to some 100 houses with perhaps 400 people.

<sup>14</sup>"More than eighty." Cf. Siamese *pèet sîp paj*

<sup>15</sup>This meaning is conveyed by the reduplication of *qhà-ní ni* 'how many days?'

<sup>16</sup>This is an important issue. In a subsistence culture based on constant work in the growing season, villagers are often loath to take time off from vital work in the fields.

<sup>17</sup>*pò-mò?-pò-šê* "exceed that which is appropriate" < Shan.

68. H: [If you don't agree] speak out! Otherwise later on [you might say] "I wasn't satisfied but I didn't say anything! I'm the kind of person who doesn't say anything when he doesn't agree." Say what's on your mind! If you don't agree, please tell us!

69. Pā-é: Everybody agrees probably.

70. H: OK. If [you all] agree that's fine! By the grace of God, in joy and happiness we will celebrate the new fruits of our labor<sup>18</sup>, and having reached the days and nights of the New Year, everyone will happily live in peace and harmony, and we'll just try to keep on doing all kinds of work, won't we!

71. T: Well then, when shall we celebrate the New Rice Festival this year? The time to celebrate it is getting close! After we've finished discussing the matter of celebrating New Year's, let's try talking about the New Rice Festival. This is the time to do it—otherwise some people will be around<sup>19</sup> but others won't be—it'll be impossible to discuss later.

72. H: Well, we've always celebrated the New Rice Festival in October, every year!

73. T: October is getting close!

74. H: It's either on the eighth day after the new moon of October<sup>20</sup>, or else we've also done it on the fourth day—celebrating the New Rice Festival.

75. T: But then, if we do it on the fourth, how in the world will we be able to carry the rice home?

76. H: Hmm—

77. T: It's not something that can be done in just two or three days. It's the rainy season! It's not the hot season!

78. H: Well, we've celebrated it on the fourth, in the past!

79. T: As for when they celebrated it in the past, just because we remember a certain year, a certain time, it's impossible to celebrate it at that same time every year. Some years there's no rain, other years the rain goes on and on.<sup>21</sup>

80. H: We've also [sometimes] celebrated it on the fourteenth, the New Rice.

81. T: In that case let's just do it on the fourteenth.

82. H: Mm-hm. The New Rice—

83. T: You're going to invite people [from other villages], right?

84. H: Well, I think it would be good to invite our Lahu relatives who live in all the nearby villages!

85. T: In that case you guys have to think about food and drink now!

86. Somebody: Well, as for food, I'll contribute a pig all by myself!

87. T: All by yourself?

88. Somebody: Yes.

89. Somebody else: In that case, the meat—

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<sup>18</sup>cà-ši-5 cá ve 'eat [celebrate] the New Rice festival', lit., "eating the rice from the new paddy": a harvest festival carried over from pre-Christian times, celebrated some time in October.

<sup>19</sup>In this sentence **chê** has its basic meaning of 'be in a place; stay', rather than the extended sense 'take time off for a holiday'.

<sup>20</sup>The classifier **tâ?**, from the verb **tâ?** 'climb', traditionally referred to days of the waxing moon, but when the Christian Lahu reckon dates according to the Western calendar they use the same classifier like our ordinal numerals (**tê tâ?** 'the first' ["one climbing"], **ní tâ?** 'the 2nd', etc.), with the counting beginning from the first of the calendar month, not from the new moon.

<sup>21</sup>**mú-yè mu**: lit. "the rain is high"



90. T: In that case who all will contribute extra food for second helpings?<sup>22</sup> If there's only a small amount it won't be enough. Since you're inviting other people. What do you say?
91. H: I don't actually have very much pork. Because mine is a female. There's only three or four kilos<sup>23</sup>, I'd say.
92. Pā-é: If there's not enough, I'll kill one of my elephants and contribute it.
93. Somebody: An elephant?
94. Pā-é: Yep.
95. T: My goodness, people could never finish paying for it, I bet! An elephant—[laughter] Is it a male or a female, this elephant of yours?
96. Pā-é: It's a male, I think.<sup>24</sup>
97. T: A male. My goodness, my goodness! Who all is there who doesn't eat elephant meat?
98. Pā-é: People don't eat it, elephant meat.
99. H: Oh, it's very tasty.
100. T: I'd like to try eating it myself, elephant meat! Since I've never eaten it.
101. H: Elephant meat is tough and chewy, so it's delicious! I've had a chance to eat it before.
102. Ty: Let's divide it into shares! I'll take my whole share [of meat for the festival] from the elephant meat!
103. T: Dividing it into shares, I doubt you'd be able to pay for it.
104. H: How many thousand baht—
105. T: How many thousand baht are you intending to contribute yours for?
106. Pā-é: I'm not charging anything. I'm contributing it for free.
107. T: So you'll kill it and contribute it?
108. Pā-é: Yeah.
109. T: That's great then!
110. Somebody: It sounds like he's saying he'll divide it up into shares.
111. Somebody else: I hear that Khù-mô also has an elephant to kill and contribute, an elephant. To eat at the New Rice Festival.
112. Khù-mô: Since I'm doing it for charity, I won't accept any payment.
113. H: For my part I've got one pig! A sow, with only about seven or eight kilos of meat.
114. T: Well, I'll also contribute three baskets full of rice.<sup>25</sup> Let's look for other contributors of rice! Cà-qu-ní (= Thû-yì), how much will you put in?
115. Ty: For my part I guess I'll put in one or two baskets.

<sup>22</sup> ɔ̄-phâ?-ə-ló: phâ? 'to exceed'; ló 'be left over, extra' (< Tai; cf. Si. lǎ).

<sup>23</sup> A scrawny sow indeed!

<sup>24</sup> The suppositional use of nê-5 'probability' is humorous here, since there is absolutely no difficulty in determining whether an elephant is male or not.

<sup>25</sup> tû: < Shan tun. 1 tû = 1 pî? = 1 pû

116. T: Just one or two baskets. Hey, you Kachin over there! Jingpho guy!<sup>26</sup>
117. Kachin: Oh, five or five and a half baskets.
118. T: Five and a half baskets. Well, that's great. So Cà-lâ over there! How much will you put in?
119. Cà-lâ: Who, me? Well, I'll contribute three baskets and two baskets!
120. T: Three baskets and two baskets. Yes, that's plenty, that's plenty. Well then, when you've invited people and they've come, don't do anything embarrassing, anything that would bring shame to anybody, OK, all of you? As for this bunch of young guys, don't you go courting the girls. If you want to do some courting, just do it at home.
121. Pā-é: I do want to court the girls. [laughter]
122. T: As for courting now, do go and court each other. But don't do bad things, any of you.<sup>27</sup>
123. Ty: I probably will! The others will too, I bet. So maybe I will too [laughter].
124. Pā-é: So, you guys, it's up to you all to think this over.
125. T: In any case lots of girls will come.
126. H: They'll come, they'll come.
127. Ty: What kind of girls?
128. T: From up there, around Šá-to-dō, Mε-mê-nwè and Vê-khē villages they'll come!
129. H: You should mention Vê-khē and Vê-là?
130. T: Yes.
131. Ty: Ah, that's exactly what I've been thinking about.
132. H: (laughing) You'll be very happy, won't you, when the girls come.
133. Somebody: Up and at 'em, you guys! [laughter]
134. H: They're all young men, and when the New Rice Festival comes, when Christmas comes, they're just hoping and waiting for girls. Since they're all young guys.<sup>28</sup>
135. T: They also contribute a lot of money, some of them. They have plenty of money. Well, Cà-lâ, you'll come too, won't you, when the time to celebrate the New Rice comes.
136. P: Oh, I'll certainly come.
- 136a. T: Ah.
137. H: Come and enjoy yourselves, the two of you!<sup>29</sup> Don't shave off that beard. We'll offer you pork fat until it's dripping.
138. T: This beard is all bushy, as it'll be a sight to see when it's sticky with pork fat!
139. JAM: A sight to see, eh?
140. T: Yeah, a great sight to see.

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<sup>26</sup>A longtime and well-liked resident of Huey Tat, this Jingpho man evidently made the trip from Burma to Thailand in the early 1950s with the rest of the villagers.

<sup>27</sup>This is an intentional pun: *mâ? dâ? ve ð-cè* 'the courting thing' / *mâ dâ? ve ð-cè* 'bad things' : *mâ?* 'to court', *dâ?* P<sub>v</sub> 'mutual', *mâ* 'negative', *dâ?* Vadj 'good'.

<sup>28</sup>*chô-há-pâ* 'a young man of marriageable age; a young bachelor'.

<sup>29</sup>Talking to Cà-lâ (my consultant who lived in Chiang Mai) and myself.

## 6 Conversations

## 6.1 Simple conversation

- (1) *Cà-và?* : *í-kâ?-gĩ bì á ò lâ* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name river swim perfective completed action yes
- (2) *Cà-gâ?* : *mâ bì ā šē* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 male name negative swim perfective yet
- (3) *Paul* : *a-cí hê-hê yɔ-?* .  
 . Adv V<sub>redup</sub> V<sub>imp</sub>  
 a little more loudly speak!
- (4) *Cà-và?* : *nò yà?-ni qhò qay le* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Pron N<sub>time</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name you today where? go substantive qst
- (5) *Cà-gâ?* : *tê kà mâ ġa qay* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V V  
 male name another for places negative have to go
- (6) *Paul* : *tê kà mâ qay qô?-ê?* .  
 . Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 another for places negative go emphatic
- (7) *Cà-và?* : *ɲà tí qo ya-phī-mì ɓ qay ġâ qô?-ma* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name I as for opium field (RL) locative go desiderative emphatic
- (8) *Paul* : *a-šū gɛ qay le* .  
 . Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 who with go substantive qst
- (9) *hâ?* *qô?* , *Cà-và?* *ò* .  
 Adv V N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 quickly say male name vocative
- (10) *Cà-và?* : *ɲà nò gɛ qay ve yò-ê? nē* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Pron Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name I you with go nominalizer emphatic declarative emphatic
- (11) *Paul* : *chi ð-ġû-šĩ nò gɛ né mâ qay jɔ ve yò* .  
 . Det N<sub>time</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 this before you with even negative go experiential nominalizer declarative
- (12) *Cà-và?* : *ya-phī-mì mî e ve* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 male name opium field (RL) cultivate motion away nominalizer
- (13) *Cà-gâ?* : *qhò-qhe kà? le* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name where? locative substantive qst
- (14) *Cà-và?* : *Nà-lí ɓ* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 male name place name locative

- (15) *Cà-gâ?* : *mì mâ pð á ò lâ* .  
*N<sub>pers</sub> V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 male name cultivate negative finish V'ing perfective completed action yes
- (16) *Cà-và?* : *a-cí mâ pð á šē* .  
*N<sub>pers</sub> Adv Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>*  
 male name a little negative be completed durative yet
- (17) *Cà-gâ?* : *qhà-šī cð á šē le* .  
*N<sub>pers</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 male name how big an area? be there durative still substantive qst
- (18) *Cà-và?* : *a-cí cð á šē l ma* .  
*N<sub>pers</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 male name a little more be there durative still emphatic declarative exclamatory
- (19) *š* *tê ni mì lwè?* .  
*N<sub>time</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>*  
 tomorrow one for days cultivate enough to V
- (20) *Cà-gâ?* : *š tē ni lē pð tā vā* .  
*N<sub>pers</sub> N<sub>time</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 male name tomorrow one for days topic be completed perfective emphatic
- (21) *Cà-và?* : *pð ve* .  
*N<sub>pers</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>*  
 male name be completed nominalizer
- (22) *š tē ni lē* .  
*N<sub>time</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>*  
 tomorrow one for days topic
- (23) *Cà-gâ?* : *š tē ni ηà kà? ġa cwe a* .  
*N<sub>pers</sub> N<sub>time</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub>*  
 male name tomorrow one for days I also manage to help (Thai) intentive
- (24) *nð tē pa ge 5* .  
*Pron Q P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>*  
 your group with topic
- (25) *Cà-và?* : *cwe la-?* .  
*N<sub>pers</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub>*  
 male name help (Thai) motion toward (imperative)
- (26) *Cà-gâ?* : *á-qhō chē ve è , ha-pa tē mā nī*  
*N<sub>pers</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num*  
 male name home stay nominalizer only month one general classifier two  
*mā qhe 5 , hē te bð ve-5* .  
*Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 general classifier about topic swidden cultivate be tired of emphatic
- (27) *Cà-và?* : *cwe la-?* .  
*N<sub>pers</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub>*  
 male name help (Thai) motion toward (imperative)

Simple conversation

- (28) *šó tê ni kâ? ga mî la-? , ñà*  
 N<sub>time</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> Pron  
 tomorrow one for days topicalizer help to cultivate motion toward (imperative) me  
*ge kâ? .*  
 P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 with also
- (29) *Paul : cō-šē-ma ò , šó tê ni ñà ge ga a*  
 . N P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>time</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 crocodile vocative tomorrow one for days me with help intentive  
*lε-ā .*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 interrogative
- (30) *Cà-ğâ? : ñà a-cí cwε a .*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Pron Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 male name I just help (Thai) intentive
- (31) *chō-bò phê? ò , cì-ghò? .*  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> NP<sub>time</sub>  
 lazybones become completed action this year
- (32) *Paul : nò-hi cwε qo cwε ve yò , ñà kâ? .*  
 . Pron V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub>  
 you (pl) help (Thai) if help (Thai) nominalizer declarative I also

**Translation**

1. Cà-và?: Have you gone swimming in the river yet?
2. Cà-ğâ?: I haven't swum yet.
3. P: Speak a little louder!
4. Cà-và?: Where are you going today?
5. Cà-ğâ?: I don't have to go anywhere.
6. P: I'm certainly not going anywhere.
7. Cà-và?: For my part, I want to go to the opium field!<sup>1</sup>
8. P: Who are you going with? Hurry up and say it, Cà-và?.
9. Cà-và?: I'm going with you!
10. P: Before this I never even got to go with you.
11. Cà-và?: We're off to cultivate the opium field.
12. Cà-ğâ?: Where is it anyway?
13. Cà-và?: It's at Na-li.
14. Cà-ğâ?: Haven't you finished cultivating it yet?
15. Cà-và?: There's a little we still haven't finished.
16. Cà-ğâ?: How much still is left?

<sup>1</sup>This is said in jest, since all the participants in the conversation are Christians, for whom opium cultivation is forbidden.

17. Cà-và?: There's just a little left still! By tomorrow we'll have cultivated enough.
18. Cà-ğâ?: So tomorrow you'll have it all done!
19. Cà-và?: It'll be done. Tomorrow.
20. Cà-ğâ?: I'll be able to help you tomorrow too. Together with some of you.
21. Cà-và?: Do help!
22. Cà-ğâ?: All this staying at home for one or two months, I got tired of working in the swidden.
23. Cà-và?: So come and help! Come help me cultivate tomorrow, just with me.
24. P: Hey Crocodile,<sup>2</sup> tomorrow are you going to help along with me then?
25. Cà-ğâ?: I will help you a little bit. I've been such a lazybones this year.
26. P: So if you all are going to help I'll help, me too.

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<sup>2</sup>Paul is evidently calling Cà-ğâ? by this nickname.

## 6.2 Candid conversation: preparing to record for the first time

- (1) *Headman* : *hâ?* *ve* *yò* .  
 . V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 record (as on tape) nominalizer declarative
- (2) *qhà-lô tê šī* *ve* *jà-phû qhà-ma le* .  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N N<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 basket one for round objects genitivizer price how much? substantive qst
- (3) *nò tâ?* *la* *lê* .  
 Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 you carry on shoulder motion towards request for assent
- (4) *ŋà nò à?* *vì pā* *te ve* .  
 Pron Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v-nom</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 I you accusative buy agentive nominalizer act as nominalizer
- (5) *âa* , *qhà-lô tê mà* *ve* *ŋâ bà?* *qo* , *ŋâ bà?* .  
 Interj Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 well then basketful one for things genitivizer five baht topic five baht
- (6) *nò qhà-lô hâ?* *gâ* *qo nò à?* *cò* *lê* , *jà-phû*  
 Pron Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> N  
 you basketful get desiderative if you accusative depend on request for assent price  
*tí qo* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 as for
- (7) *tê gâ tê mà* *te mē* .  
 NP<sub>q</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 each person one thing act as emphatic
- (8) *chi qhe qô?* *lê* , *jà-khí-pī* *thâ ɔ̄* .  
 AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 like this speak request for assent the beginning time topic
- (9) *nè-á mō-yê-qhən* *jà-chi* *mō-yê-qhən* *tê cə le-le* *ve* *jà-cə* *qô?*  
 Pron N N N NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N V  
 we tools and utensils these things tools and utensils every kind genitivizer things tell  
*a* .  
 P<sub>v</sub>  
 hortatory
- (10) *qhà-jū-lu* *tê gī* *lê* , *mō* *qha yê* *ve* *jà-cə* ,  
 N Q P<sub>uf</sub> N Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 basket with headstrap pluralizer request for assent things all use relativizer things  
*á-tho tê gī* ...  
 N Q  
 knives pluralizer
- (11) *Teacher* : *jà-chi phá ɔ̄* ...  
 ... N N P<sub>unf</sub>  
 this fellow topic



- (12) *Headman* : ò-khí-pē thâ ñà qô? a .  
 . N P<sub>univ</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub>  
 first time I speak intentive
- (13) *Teacher* : âa , ca-lí-pā ñà ñà à? á-tho tê mà dō?  
 . Interj N Pron Pron P<sub>n</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V  
 hey! blacksmith you for me accusative heavy knife one for things forge  
 lâ qô?-ma .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p) emphatic
- (14) *Headman ( as blacksmith )*: qhò-qhe-qhà-qhe ve á-tho le .  
 . N<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>uf</sub>  
 what kind? genitivizer heavy knife substantive qst
- (15) ñà ñà à? qô? na è?  
 Pron Pron P<sub>n</sub> vV V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 you me accusative V again ask emphatic
- (16) *Teacher* : âa , á-tho pû tô tù  
 . Interj N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub>  
 well! heavy knife carry on the back go around V'ing sthg that is used for V'ing  
 tê mà hâ? gâ qô?-ma .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 one for things get desiderative emphatic
- (17) ó-qō chē ve lâ ó-qō tō è ve lâ qhe è?  
 N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N AE<sub>stat</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Adv P<sub>uf</sub>  
 head pointed nominalizer yes head flat relativizer yes just like that emphatic
- (18) *Headman* : êe , ó-qō chē lâ ó-qō tō è lâ .  
 . Interj N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N AE<sub>stat</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 yes head pointed yes head flat yes
- (19) ñà ñà à? qô? na a .  
 Pron Pron P<sub>n</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub>  
 you me accusative V again ask hortatory
- (20) ó-qō gō è ve hâ? a , qô? ve yò-a .  
 N AE<sub>stat</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 head round relativizer want to get intentive say nominalizer emphatic declarative
- (21) *Boy* : chē è? ve qô? è?  
 . AE<sub>stat</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 sharpened to a point nominalizer say emphatic
- (22) *Teacher* : chí ñà dō gâ ve qhe na lâ  
 . Det Pron V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 like this you get an idea nominalizer just like that ask benefactive (non-3p)  
 ve tí te-? , ñà lê qhò? a lâ ve  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V<sub>imp</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer only do! I topic answer intentive benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer  
 yò  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative

Candid conversation: preparing to record for the first time

- (23) *nò qhà-qhe qô? , qhà-qhe tē cə na gâ , nò à? cə*  
 Pron N<sub>intg</sub> V N<sub>intg</sub> Q V P<sub>v</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> V  
 you whatever say whatever one thing ask desiderative you accusative depend on
- (24) *qhə? kə â cə-cə thə*  
 V P<sub>v-nom</sub> Adv V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 answer way of V'ing negative be there even
- (25) *Headman : nò-hi ɔ̄ ð-kā-ð-nu ɔ̄ nà?-ú tã te*  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N Adv V  
 you (pl) topic elsewhere locative conversation negative imperative do  
*dà? lē , nò-hí-mà ve*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub>  
 mutual action request for assent you (dual) genitivizer
- (26) *Teacher : chi qhe yè te thã gâ qo qha-pə-è gã te tù*  
 AE<sub>ext</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 like this house build when reach when all have to do future  
*ve*  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer
- (27) *tē gã tē cə tɔ̄ yɔ̄ qhe tɔ̄ yɔ̄ dà? ve*  
 Q Q N V Adv N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 one person one thing words speak just like that words speak mutual action nominalizer
- (28) *šə? láy cə cə lɔ̄*  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 wood several kind be relevant to emphatic declarative
- (29) *yè-khí-dɔ̄ qhà-qhe gã te tã? ve*  
 N N<sub>intg</sub> vV vV V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 house-post how? have to do and carry on shoulder nominalizer
- (30) *Headman : vã? tĩ cã ve ð-lɔ̄*  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 pig slaughter V to eat relativizer matter
- (31) *a-lɔ̄ hã? a šã lá*  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 first record (as on tape) intentive intentional (1p) yes
- (32) *Tcalo : chi ve kã? , chi yè te ve ð-lɔ̄ pə qo , chi vã?*  
 Det P<sub>unf</sub> Det N V P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> Det N  
 this also this house build relativizer about finish when this pig  
*tĩ cã ve ð-lɔ̄ tē gĩ lē*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Q P<sub>uf</sub>  
 slaughter V to eat relativizer matter pluralizer request for assent
- (33) *qhe gã? tĩ cã ve ð-lɔ̄ tē gĩ*  
 Conj N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Q  
 then fowl slaughter V to eat relativizer about pluralizer
- (34) *mô Cê-mây ɔ̄ qay lɛ mɔ̄ ca vè ve ð-lɔ̄*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N vV V P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 down there Chiang Mai locative go suspensive things go and do buy relativizer matter

- tê gǝ̃* .  
Q  
pluralizer
- (35) *qhà-qhe qay lɛ-̃ qhò câ le , qhò ca há ve*  
N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub>  
how? go suspensive where? eat eat where? go and do spend the night nominalizer  
*le* .  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
substantive qst
- (36) *qhà-qhe ...*  
N<sub>intg</sub>  
how?
- (37) *Headman : ee , ee , ee , ga lâ , ga*  
Interj Interj Interj V P<sub>v</sub> V  
right! right! right! help benefactive (non-3p) help  
*lâ* .  
P<sub>v</sub>  
benefactive (non-3p)
- (38) *Tcalo : qhà-qhe te cî ve le , chi qhe ve ð-l* .  
Cl<sub>nf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N  
how ride nominalizer substantive qst like this genitivizer matter
- (39) *ô qhe ve tê cə lè mâ hā* .  
N<sub>sd</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V<sub>adj</sub>  
that like genitivizer one thing topic negative difficult
- (40) *dô tô? ša ve ð-l chi tê gǝ̃* .  
V + V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Det Q  
think up easy to V relativizer matter these pluralizer
- (41) *Teacher : lǝli-phû qhà-ma ġa pî le qô? qo a - âa ,*  
N N<sub>intg</sub> vV V P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Interj  
bus fare how much? have to pay substantive qst say topic emphatic hey!  
*tê ġâ ñâ bà? lɛ khò? bà? , qhâ? cì-à? yâ ɔ* .  
Q Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
one person five baht and six baht expensive very emphatic affirmative
- (42) *Tcalo : mâ lâ mâ mâ lâ ...*  
V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
be a lot yes negative be a lot yes
- (43) *Teacher : yò* .  
Interj  
yes!
- (44) *Tcalo : lǝli šɛ-phâ ġe dê dâ? ve chi tê gǝ̃* .  
N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Det Q  
bus driver with quarrel mutual action nominalizer these pluralizer
- (45) *Teacher : qha-pə-è ñâ bà? lɛ khò? bà? ġà-ð qo tê chi tê bà?*  
AE Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
all five baht and six baht reached (already) if eleven baht

- gà-ò  
V + P<sub>v</sub>  
reached (already)
- (46) *chɔ* *chi ma* *â* *gã* *pî* *jɔ*  
N NP<sub>ext</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub>  
people this much negative have to pay experiential
- (47) (< *gĩ* *ve* >  
V P<sub>univ</sub>  
laugh nominalizer
- (48) *Tcalo* : *mi-kì* *kà?* *mâ* *dà?* *qô?* *pî* *a* *nē*  
N<sub>dvb</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V<sub>adj</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
seat even negative good say benefactive (3p) hortatory emphatic
- (49) *Teacher* : ‘ *qhe-kà?* *mi-kì* *dà?* *ve* *gã* *mi* *ve* *mâ hē?*  
Conj N<sub>dvb</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv + V  
even so seat good relativizer get to sit nominalizer not be the case  
*và* , *qô?* *ve* , *tē gã* *ɔ̃*  
P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub>  
emphatic say nominalizer one person topic
- (50) *Tcalo* : *ô* *gà-ò* *qo* *qhà-qhe te* *yà?* *e*  
N<sub>sd</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
over there reached (already) when how get off (a vehicle) motion away  
*ve* *le*  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer substantive qst
- (51) *Headman* : *qhe-ɔ̃* , *ò-khé-pī* *thâ* *ɲà* *na* *lâ* *lê*  
Conj N P<sub>univ</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
in that case first when I ask benefactive (non-3p) request for assent
- (52) *qhà-qhe* *tê cə le-le* – *âa* – *qô?* *a* *mē*  
N<sub>intg</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> Interj V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
how? every thing well! talk hortatory emphatic
- (53) *Teacher* : *tē gã* *mâ* *qhò?* *gã* *qo* *tē gã* *hâ?* *qhò?*  
Q Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Q Adv V  
one person negative answer be able if another person quickly answer  
*mē*  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
persuasive
- (54) *d̥* *a* *ɛ* , *qhò?* *gã* *ve* *qhe* *qhò?* *a*  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
think hortatory suspensive answer be able nominalizer just like that answer hortatory
- (55) *Headman* : *tê cə le-le* *lê*  
NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
every thing request for assent
- (56) *tâ* *gĩ* *dà?*  
Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
negative imperative laugh mutual action

- (57) *Teacher* : *gĩ tí qo tèt-chí mâ hê?* .  
 . V P<sub>univ</sub> VP  
 laugh topicalizer never mind
- (58) *gĩ tí qo a-cí-cí ê? lè* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 laugh topicalizer a little only topic
- (59) *mâ gĩ ve lè te ġa ve mâ hê?* .  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv + V  
 negative laugh nominalizer topic do manage to nominalizer not be the case
- (60) *Headman* : *tâ gĩ , tâ gĩ , tâ*  
 . Adv V Adv V Adv  
 negative imperative laugh negative imperative laugh negative imperative  
*gĩ* .  
 V  
 laugh
- (61) *Teacher* : *ġa gĩ thâ qo tē ġâ tí tâ gĩ* .  
 . <sub>v</sub>V V Temp Nom P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> Adv V  
 have to laugh the time when when all by oneself negative imperative laugh
- (62) *Kachin* : *âa , yè-khí-do qò? já qô? pî è* .  
 . Interj N V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 well! house-post bent very say benefactive (3p) just
- (63) *Tcalo* : *yè-khí-do ti ve kà? mâ dà?* .  
 . N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V<sub>adj</sub>  
 house-post stick into firmly nominalizer also negative good
- (64) *qha-dê? mâ ti* .  
 AE Adv V  
 properly negative stick into firmly
- (65) *ô qhe ve à?* .  
 NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 like that genitivizer accusative
- (66) *Headman* : *tâ gĩ dà? , tà?-í ché !*  
 ! Adv V P<sub>v</sub> Adv V  
 negative imperative laugh mutual action quietly stay

## Translation

< Warming up for one of the first recording sessions >

H: Headman Ca-bi

T: Teacher/Pastor Ca-bo

H: [explaining how playlets are acted out for recording—e.g., suppose we pretend we're buying baskets]

< Playing role of buyer >

1. We're recording.

2. How much does one basket cost?

Candid conversation: preparing to record for the first time

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3. You carried them here [to sell] on your shoulder<sup>1</sup>, right?
  4. I'll act as if I'm your customer.
- 

[*Playing role of seller*]

5. Oh, let's say one basket costs five baht, five baht.
  6. If you want to buy a basket it's up to you, as far as the price goes.
- 

7. Each person play a different part.
8. That's the way you speak, at the beginning [of the recording session].
9. Talk about the tools and utensils, all the kinds of things we<sup>2</sup> use.
10. All the kinds of baskets, right?—all the kinds of things we use, knives—
11. T: This fellow now—[should take such-and-such a role]
12. H: I'll speak first.
13. T: Hey, blacksmith, forge a knife for me!
14. H: [playing role of blacksmith] What kind of—what kind of knife? [*whispers*] Ask me another question!
15. T: Oh, I'd like to have a portable<sup>3</sup> knife.
16. T: [*whispers*] Ask whether the head should be pointed or blunt.
17. H: Yeah, pointy-headed or blunt-headed? Ask me something else! Say you want one with a curved tip.
18. Boy: Say you want a pointy one!
19. T: Just ask something when you get an idea, and I'll answer you.
20. Whatever you say, whatever you want to ask is up to you.
21. Even if there's nothing to answer.
22. H: You guys<sup>4</sup> don't have other conversations over there, you two, OK?
23. T: In the same way, [let's talk about] everything you have to do when it's time to build a house.
24. We'll talk with each other so that each person will talk about a different thing.
25. There are several kinds of wood involved.
26. How we have to carry the house-posts.<sup>5</sup>
27. H: About slaughtering pigs to eat.
28. Do you want to record that first?
29. P: That too, after we've finished about house building, [then] all this about killing pigs, OK?—and all about killing chickens to eat.

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<sup>1</sup> *tâ? ve*: 'carry on one's shoulder'

<sup>2</sup> *nè-á* often has a dual meaning 'the two of us', but is sometimes used as a more colloquial substitute for *nà-hi* 'we'.

<sup>3</sup> *á-tho pû tô tù*: lit. "a knife for carrying around".

<sup>4</sup> Addressing those who aren't participating in the recording.

<sup>5</sup> From the forest to the village house-site.

29. All about going down to Chiang Mai to go shopping. How you go there, where you eat, where you spend the night, how—
31. OK, OK, OK, we'll help you, we'll help you.
32. P: How you ride [down there]—that sort of thing.
33. That kind of thing isn't hard [to record extemporaneously].
34. These are things that it's easy to think up.
35. T: Talk about how much you have to pay for bus fare—oh, for one person it's five and six baht<sup>6</sup>—damn expensive!
36. P: Whether that's a lot, or not a lot—
37. T: Yes.
38. P: All that business about quarreling with the bus driver—
39. T: If it comes to five baht and six baht, altogether that's eleven baht—nobody has ever had to pay that much! [*laughs*].
40. P: The seats are no good either, somebody should say!
41. T: Even so<sup>7</sup> we don't even get to sit in a good seat, somebody should say.
42. P: Once you get there, how do you get off?
43. H: So then, I'll ask you stuff first, OK?
44. I'll talk about all sorts of things—well—say something!
45. T: If one person can't answer, somebody else answer quickly!
46. Think, and answer whatever you can manage to answer.
47. H: About everything, right? And no laughing!
48. T: It doesn't matter if you laugh. Laughing—as long as it's just a little bit.
49. I doubt we can do it without laughing. (*laughter*)
50. H: Don't laugh, don't laugh, don't laugh!
51. T: When it's time to laugh don't laugh all by yourself.
52. Kachin: [*getting into the mood*]  
Oh, say that the house-posts are all bent! (*laughter*)
53. P: The houseposts aren't driven in well! They're not driven in properly! That sort of thing.
54. H: Don't laugh, keep quiet!

<sup>6</sup>Five one way and six the other.

<sup>7</sup>*qhe kà?*: i.e., no matter how expensive it is.

### 6.3 Candid conversation: preparing to be recorded

- (1) *Cà-lô* : *hâ?* *te* *ê?* *nē* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name quickly do emphatic emphatic
- (2) *Headman's Wife* : *ηà* *phê* *à?* *šī* *le* *vâ*  
 . . Pron N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 my dog accusative lead along suspensive act in a lively way  
*lâ*  
 P<sub>v</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p)
- (3) *phê* *à?* *šī* *le* *chò* *ca* *yù* *tē*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> vV vV V  
 dog accusative lead along suspensive here go and do take and V sthg put down  
*lâ*  
 P<sub>v</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p)
- (4) *Headman's Wife* : *phê* *á-qà?* *chê* *ɔ* *ð-mō* *ló* .  
 . . N N V P<sub>uf</sub> N B<sub>n</sub>  
 dogs outside be there affirmative group sthg big
- (5) *Headman* : *là* *ò?* , *là* *ò?* , *nò-hi* *yà?-tɔ*  
 . V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> Pron V  
 come urging imperative come urging imperative you (pl) be embarrassed  
*tù* *mâ hê?*  
 P<sub>v-nom</sub> Adv + V  
 cause for V'ing not be the case
- (6) *šu* *hâ?* *gâ* *ā* *qô?* *ve* .  
 Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 they get desiderative durative say nominalizer
- (7) *šu* *amérika* *qò?* *e* *thâ* *gâ* *qo* , *ηà-hi* *Lâhū* *ð-qhə* *ɔ* .  
 Pron N<sub>place</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N N P<sub>unf</sub>  
 they America return motion away time reach when we (pl) Lahu way of life topic
- (8) *à-thò?-mû-thò?-ma* *láy* *cə* .  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 miscellaneous things several for kinds
- (9) *qhe-qo* , *nì-hi* *chɔ-há-pā* *te* , “ *mô* *ɔ* *qay* , *gā* *mâ?*  
 Conj Pron N V N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V vV V  
 so we (pl) unmarried young man act as down there locative go get to flirt  
*á* *nā* ”, “ *mô* *ɔ* *qay* *qo* *gā* *mâ?* *kì*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> vV V P<sub>v-nom</sub>  
 durative indirect question marker down there locative go if get to flirt locative  
*cə* *tù* *mâ hê?* ”, *qô?* *ve* *té gā* *ɔ* , “ *ô*  
 V P<sub>v-nom</sub> Adv + V V P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub>  
 be there purposive not be the case say relativizer one person topic over there



- ̄-qhe    ̄    lɔ    à?    qô?-ma    ;    mô    ̄    chê    à?    qô?-ma  
 P<sub>unf</sub>    P<sub>unf</sub>    V    P<sub>v</sub>    P<sub>uf</sub>    N<sub>sd</sub>    P<sub>n</sub>    V    P<sub>v</sub>    P<sub>uf</sub>  
 topicalizer    topic    wait    durative    emphatic    down there    locative    stay    durative    emphatic  
 nē    ,    mɔ       jâ    ”    qô?    ve    .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>    V<sub>adj</sub>    V<sub>v</sub>    V    P<sub>univ</sub>  
 emphatic    long (of time)    very    say    nominalizer
- (10) Cà-lɔ    :    Khán-pā    ð-mî-ma    ca    ve    ð-lɔ    kâ?    a-cí    qāw    ni  
 N<sub>pers</sub>    Eth    N    V    P<sub>univ</sub>    N    P<sub>unf</sub>    Adv    V    V<sub>v</sub>  
 male name    Jingpho    wife    look for    relativizer    matter    also    a little    tell    try and V  
 è?    nē    .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>    P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic    emphatic
- (11) à-thò?-ma te    ca    le-nā    ,    yô    .  
 Adv<sub>interrog</sub>    V    P<sub>uf</sub>    Pron  
 why    look for    indirect question marker    he
- (12) Headman :    cùn-phò?    ð-mî-ma    ca    le    qô?    la    cê    .  
 .    Eth    N    V    P<sub>unf</sub>    V    P<sub>v</sub>    P<sub>uf</sub>  
 .    Jingpho    wife    look for    suspensive    return    come to V    quotative
- (13) nò    á-qhɔ    chê    cà-qa    qhâ-ma-ma    tē    kə    ,    qô?    la    qo  
 Pron    N    V    N    AE<sub>ext</sub>    V    V<sub>v</sub>    ,    vV    P<sub>v</sub>    P<sub>unf</sub>  
 you    home    stay    hulled rice    very much    pound down    V to store    V back    come to V    when  
 vâ       tù    yò    .  
 V    P<sub>v</sub>    P<sub>uf</sub>  
 eat enthusiastically    future    declarative
- (14) qô?    pî       ò?    .  
 V    V<sub>v</sub>       P<sub>v</sub>  
 say    benefactive (3p)    urging imperative
- (15) Cà-lɔ    :    ġa    tù    lâ    mâ    ġa    la       tù    lâ    qhe    dɔ    ni  
 N<sub>pers</sub>    V    P<sub>v</sub>    P<sub>uf</sub>    Adv    V    P<sub>v</sub>       P<sub>v</sub>    P<sub>uf</sub>    Adv    V    V<sub>v</sub>  
 male name    get    future    yes    negative    get    come to V    future    yes    like this    think    try and V  
 a    le       ,    yɔ    dâ?    ve    è?    nē    .  
 P<sub>v</sub>    P<sub>unf</sub>       V    P<sub>v</sub>    P<sub>univ</sub>    P<sub>uf</sub>    P<sub>uf</sub>  
 try to    suspensive    speak    mutual action    nominalizer    emphatic    emphatic
- (16) Headman :    hêe    ,    hâ?    vâ    la    ,    hâ?    vâ    la    ,    yâ  
 .    Interj    Adv    V    P<sub>v</sub>    ,    Adv    V    P<sub>v</sub>    ,    N  
 .    hey!    quickly    go for it    come to V    quickly    go for it    come to V    guys  
 tē ġi    ò    .  
 Q    P<sub>n</sub>  
 pluralizer    vocative
- (17) láy-cà       ð-lɔ    ...  
 Q    N  
 several kinds    about
- (18) ôo    ,    ôo    ,    šú-lè?    Kle-thô?-lón    chɔ-ġû-pā    dð       mî    ve  
 Interj    Interj    N    N    N    V       V<sub>v</sub>    P<sub>univ</sub>  
 oh!    oh!    cigar    big Gold Flake    lunatic    smoke (tobacco)    V habitually    nominalizer

Candid conversation: preparing to be recorded

- qhe* , *kə* *le* *te* *dò* *šā* .  
 N<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub>  
 like put into suspensive do and smoke (tobacco) intentional (1p)
- (19) *à-šwè* *Pî-chô* *mì-gè* *qo* *šú-lè?* *ló* *mò?* *qə* *qha bî* *qha bî* *te* *dò*  
 NP<sub>time</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N B<sub>n</sub> N AE AE <sub>v</sub>V V  
 long ago Shan State topic cigar sthg big mouth all full all full do and smoke (tobacco)  
*jə* *qô?* *ma* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 experiential emphatic
- (20) *Cà-lô* : *hsêi-pyîn-lei?* *qô?* *ve* *lâ* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name cheroot call nominalizer yes
- (21) *hsêi-po'-lei?* *qô?* *ve* *lâ* .  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 cheroot-like smoking article call nominalizer yes
- (22) *Headman* : *šú-lè?* .  
 N  
 cigar
- (23) *šú-lè?* *ló* .  
 N B<sub>n</sub>  
 cigar sthg big
- (24) *tê* *mà* *lò?-thî?* *qha* *šā* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 one for things wrap up by rolling vivid action intentional (1p)
- (25) *Cà-lô* : *te* *è?* *nē* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name do emphatic emphatic
- (26) *Woman* : *te* *cê* .  
 V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 do quotative
- (27) *phə* *ò* *ve* *hâ?* *te*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V  
 turn on (light, radio, machine) completed action nominalizer quickly do and  
*kə* *è?* *!*  
 V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 record (as on tape) emphatic
- (28) *Kid* : *šú-lè?* *Kle-thô?-lón* .  
 N N  
 cigar big Gold Flake
- (29) *Headman* : *ḡ* .  
 Interj  
 murmur of assent
- (30) *là-?* , *hâ?* *hâ?* *te* *là-?* .  
 V<sub>imp</sub> Adv Adv <sub>v</sub>V V<sub>imp</sub>  
 come! quickly quickly do and come!



- qôʔ-lèʔ* .  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
emphatic
- (40) *Headman* : *mâ qhâʔ pî* .  
. Adv V V<sub>v</sub>  
negative give back benefactive (3p)
- (41) *ši làʔ-pèʔ dàʔ-dàʔ ve vî-fâʔ pî* .  
N N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
gold ring ring nominalizer buy and hand over to benefactive (3p)
- (42) *Cà-lî* : *êe* .  
N<sub>pers</sub> Interj  
male name I see!
- (43) *Headman* : *yâ-mî-há ve mî qo nî àʔ*  
. N P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub>  
unmarried young woman genitivizer personal property topic us accusative  
*fâʔ lâ , nî-hî mî qo yâ-mî-há*  
V P<sub>v</sub> Pron N P<sub>unf</sub> N  
hand over benefactive (non-3p) our personal property topic unmarried young woman  
*fâʔ pî* .  
V V<sub>v</sub>  
hand over benefactive (3p)
- (44) *a-yé-yé hâʔ dàʔ tù nâʔ-ú vâ dàʔ* .  
Adv V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub>  
in the future marry purposive conversation go at it mutual action
- (45) *Headman's Wife* : *hâʔ te kə cê* .  
. . Adv vV V P<sub>uf</sub>  
quickly do and record (as on tape) quotative
- (46) *šu ð-ha thî cê* .  
Pron N V P<sub>uf</sub>  
they photograph take a photo quotative
- (47) *tê pîʔ qəʔ la thâ , pèʔ lâ tù cê* .  
Q V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
next time return come to V when give benefactive (non-3p) future quotative
- (48) *Cà-lî* : *hâʔ te a nî* .  
N<sub>pers</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub>  
male name quickly do try to
- (49) *â phêʔ le-ā* .  
Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
negative able to yes
- (50) *Headman* : *hâʔ vâ la-ʔ , hâʔ vâ*  
. Adv V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> Adv V  
quickly go at it motion toward (imperative) quickly go at it  
*la-ʔ , yâ té ġî ò* .  
P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> N Q P<sub>n</sub>  
motion toward (imperative) guys pluralizer vocative

- (51) *Yân-khô-mû-khô*                      *yɔ*      *dà?*                      .  
 Elab<sub>n</sub>    V                      P<sub>v</sub>  
 Karen language or something    speak    mutual action
- (52) *Yân-qâ?-lâ?*                      *khô*                      *tê gî*                      *te*                      *kə*                      *a*                      *qô?*                      *ve*                      ,  
 N    N    Q    vV    V    P<sub>v</sub>    V    P<sub>univ</sub>  
 Karen (pejorative)    language    things    do and    record (as on tape)    try to    say    nominalizer  
*Cà-gâ?*                      *ò*                      .  
 N<sub>pers</sub>    P<sub>n</sub>  
 male name    vocative
- (53) *Cà-lô*                      :    *nò*                      *qhà-nî*                      *qhò?*                      *gà-ò*                      *le*                      ,    *qhe*                      *na-ni*  
 N<sub>pers</sub>    Pron    Num    Cl<sub>f</sub>    V + P<sub>v</sub>    P<sub>uf</sub>    Adv    V  
 male name    you    how many?    for years    reached (already)    substantive qst    like this    ask  
*è?*                      *lê*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>    P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic    request for assent
- (54) *Headman* :    *thây-khô-mû-khô*    *vâ*                      *dà?*                      *ve*                      *qô?-ma*  
 .    Elab<sub>n</sub>    V    P<sub>v</sub>    P<sub>univ</sub>    P<sub>uf</sub>  
     Thai language or something    go at it    mutual action    nominalizer    emphatic  
*nē*                      ,    *Cà-gâ?*                      *à*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>    N<sub>pers</sub>    P<sub>n</sub>  
 emphatic    male name    interrogative vocative
- (55) *chò*    *mì*    *a*                      .  
 N<sub>sd</sub>    V    P<sub>v</sub>  
 here    sit    hortatory
- (56) *nè-á*                      *Kâlâ-phu-khô*                      *yɔ*                      *dà?*                      *a*                      *qô?-ma*                      *nē*                      !  
 Pron    N<sub>prop</sub>    V    P<sub>v</sub>    P<sub>v</sub>    P<sub>uf</sub>    P<sub>uf</sub>  
 the two of us    English language    speak    mutual action    try to    emphatic    emphatic
- (57) ( *laughter* )
- (58) *Cà-lô*                      :    *yà?-tɔ*                      *kì*                      *mâ*                      *cò*                      .  
 N<sub>pers</sub>    V    P<sub>v-nom</sub>    Adv    V  
 male name    be embarrassed    reason to V    negative    be there
- (59) *qhe*                      *te*    *ve*                      *tí*                      *lê*                      .  
 Adv    V    P<sub>univ</sub>    P<sub>univ</sub>    P<sub>unf</sub>  
 just like that    do    nominalizer    only    topic
- (60) *Boy* :    *tâ*                      *te*    *a*                      !  
 !                      Adv    V    P<sub>uf</sub>  
     negative imperative    do    emphatic
- (61) *Cà-lô*                      :    *lê-gî*    *ve*                      *qhe-lê*                      .  
 N<sub>pers</sub>    V    P<sub>univ</sub>    N<sub>ext</sub>  
 male name    play    nominalizer    like
- (62) *Headman* :    ( *sings* )    *ñ*  
 .    Interj  
     murmur of assent

Candid conversation: preparing to be recorded

- (63) *sɔ do la sɔ do la sɔ*  
 N N N N N N N  
 sol (music) musical note la (music) sol (music) musical note la (music) sol (music)  
*mi do mi re do re mi*  
 N N N N N N N  
 mi (music) musical note mi (music) re (music) musical note re (music) mi (music)  
*re*  
 N  
 re (music)
- (64) *sɔ la sɔ mi do sɔ la*  
 N N N N N N N  
 sol (music) la (music) sol (music) mi (music) musical note sol (music) la (music)  
*do ti la sɔ ...*  
 N N N N  
 musical note ti (music) la (music) sol (music)
- (65) *âa , yâ-mî-qê? yâ pɔ lɛ ġâ? bù ve*  
 Interj N N V P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 well! woman child give birth suspensive cock cry out (esp. of animals) relativizer  
*tê ġî te kə a-? qô?-ma*  
 Q <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 pluralizer do and record (as on tape) hortatory emphatic
- (66) *qhe ve ɔ̄ yâ-mî-qê? à? te ci á*  
 N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 such things genitivizer topic woman causee do let (permissive causative) durative  
*nē*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (67) *Headman : à-šwè thá chɔ qhe-lê Hê?-pā tê ġî Lâhū-yâ thà?*  
 . NP<sub>time</sub> N Adv N Q N P<sub>n</sub>  
 long time ago people for no reason Chinese pluralizer Lahu people accusative  
*ġà?-bô? lɛ , mô qā-lè? hɔ phɔ , mô*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> M<sub>px</sub> N<sub>sd</sub>  
 chase by shooting suspensive down there high plateau under direction down there  
*l̂-qá-qhò? tí qđ? chɛ qđ? ġà?-vâ ; tê qhò?-qhò? hà*  
 N P<sub>univ</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V <sub>v</sub>V V NP<sub>q</sub> V<sub>adj</sub>  
 dry river bed just go on to V live V again go after violently year after year tired  
*ve tê ġî te kə è?*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> Q <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 relativizer pluralizer do and record (as on tape) emphatic
- (68) *Cà-l̂ : êe , qhe te è?*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Interj Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name yes just like that do emphatic
- (69) *Headman : he thu š̂?-qá the d̂?-tē ô qô?*  
 . N V N V V N<sub>sd</sub> V  
 swidden clear land branch of tree break off knock over and crush that say  
*qha kâ è*  
 AE<sub>stat</sub>  
 so that one hears

- (70) *chi ɔ̄ te jɔ̄ ve , a-ʃu kà?* .  
 Det P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron  
 this topic happen experiential nominalizer everybody
- (71) *Cà-qā , nɔ̄ chò mi la-?* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Pron N<sub>sd</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub>  
 male name you here sit motion toward (imperative)
- (72) *chò te kə la-?* .  
 N<sub>sd</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub>  
 here do and record (as on tape) motion toward (imperative)
- (73) *cà-qha tē chi lî? ve ɔ̄-qhe le qhà-nî bà? cɔ̄*  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V  
 hulled rice ten for liters genitivizer topicalizer how many? baht be appropriate  
*ve ɔ̄-qhe le ɔ̄-phû ʃɔ̄ le ô hɔ̄ pî*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 nominalizer topicalizer price calculate suspensive over there sell benefactive (3p)  
*la-? qô? pî a-?* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub>  
 motion toward (imperative) say benefactive (3p) hortatory
- (74) *yâ chi tē gî mâ te gâ pî* ...  
 N Det Q Adv V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 kids these pluralizer negative do desiderative able to V
- (75) ( *The young men keep fiddling with the guitar* )
- (76) *qha-dê? te , qha-dê? te ...*  
 AE V AE V  
 properly do properly do
- (77) *chi ni-? , yâ?-ʃe ɔ̄-khò dà? ve qô?-ma* .  
 Det V<sub>imp</sub> Adv N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 this look! just now sound beautiful nominalizer emphatic
- (78) *la ʃô mi do do la*  
 N N N N N N N  
 la (music) sol (note of musical scale) mi (music) musical note musical note la (music)  
*do ti la ʃô* .  
 N N N N  
 musical note ti (music) la (music) sol (note of musical scale)
- (79) *Cà-lɔ̄ : hâ? te a ni* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub>  
 male name quickly do try to
- (80) *â cò ò lâ , te kə tû* .  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v-nom</sub>  
 negative have completed action yes do and record (as on tape) purposive
- (81) *Headman : âa , yâ chi tē gî pu-lî-khò-lî ca te le*  
 . Interj N Det Q Elab<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 oh! kids these pluralizer idiotic faces go and do make suspensive

Candid conversation: preparing to be recorded

- tê gâ      kà?      â      dô tô?      ò      lɛ-hé .  
 Q          P<sub>unf</sub> Adv      V + V<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>v</sub>          P<sub>uf</sub>  
 one person even negative have an idea completed action probably
- (82) ( *laughter* )
- (83) Cà-lô          : pu-lî-khô-lî      qô? ve          à-thò?-ma qô? ve          le .  
 N<sub>pers</sub>          Elab<sub>n</sub>          V      P<sub>univ</sub>          N<sub>intg</sub>          V      P<sub>univ</sub>          P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name      idiotic faces call nominalizer what mean nominalizer substantive qst
- (84) ( *much laughter* )
- (85) Headman : pu-lî-khô-lî  
 pu-lî-khô-lî      Elab<sub>n</sub>  
 Elab<sub>n</sub>          idiotic faces
- (86) Headman : pu-lî-khô-lî      lê          -  
 -          Elab<sub>n</sub>          P<sub>uf</sub>  
 idiotic faces request for assent
- (87) Cà-lô          : êe .  
 N<sub>pers</sub>          Interj  
 male name      yes
- (88) Headman : chi      nā-khē-qu      kà?      chi hi      ,      ó-qō-šī      mē?-phū ...      chi hi      ...  
 ...          Det N          P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>ext</sub>          N          N          N<sub>ext</sub>  
 this shin also too big head face too big
- (89) pu-lî-khô-lî      qô?      ve          ,      Lâhū-khō .  
 Elab<sub>n</sub>          V      P<sub>univ</sub>          N  
 idiotic faces mean nominalizer Lahu language
- (90) < gî      ve          >  
 V      P<sub>univ</sub>  
 laugh nominalizer
- (91) pu-lî-khô-lî      tū è?      chē è?          qô?      ve          ...      mō?-qō      chē è?  
 Elab<sub>n</sub>          AE<sub>stat</sub>      AE<sub>stat</sub>          V      P<sub>univ</sub>          N      AE<sub>stat</sub>  
 idiotic faces bulging pursed (of a mouth) mean nominalizer mouth pursed (of a mouth)  
 ...
- (92) Cà-gâ?          : nò      na      lɛ          nà      qô?      qhò?      lâ          qô?-ve          ,  
 N<sub>pers</sub>          Pron V      P<sub>unf</sub>          Pron      V<sub>v</sub>      V      P<sub>v</sub>          P<sub>n</sub>  
 male name      you ask suspensive I      V back answer benefactive (non-3p) topicalizer  
 " yà?-ni qhò      qay ?",  
 N<sub>time</sub> N<sub>intg</sub>      V  
 today where? go
- (93) " ô          qay " , " chò      qay "—  
 N<sub>sd</sub>          V          N<sub>sd</sub>      V  
 over there go          here go



- (94) Cà-lól : êe , dà? ve , dà? ve .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Interj V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 male name yes good nominalizer good nominalizer
- (95) Headman : êe , êe , na , na .  
 Interj Interj V V  
 yes okay ask ask
- (96) Cà-gâ? : pho ā ve lē-ā , qhe te  
 N<sub>pers</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V  
 male name turn on (light, radio, machine) perfective nominalizer yes like this do  
 te ā ve lē-ā .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 V so it stays put perfective nominalizer yes
- (97) lò? e phê? ò lâ .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 enter motion away able to completed action yes
- (98) Cà-lól : chi pà pî šē .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Det V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 male name this be completed benefactive (3p) first
- (99) chi ò-ší tē mà kə a tē dš .  
 Det N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> QUOT V  
 this another one one for things put into intentive embedded quote plan
- (100) [ Speaking English ]
- (101) Cà-lól : tē khi šē .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Q P<sub>v</sub>  
 male name a while still
- (102) chi ηà ò-ší tē mà kə a šā .  
 Det Pron N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 this I another one one for things put into intentive intentional (1p)
- (103) Headman : qhà-qhe te .  
 N<sub>intg</sub> V  
 how? do
- (104) šā gâ? e lâ .  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 animals hunt motion away yes
- (105) šā gâ? e ve ā te kə ò  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub>  
 animals hunt motion away nominalizer topic do and record (as on tape) completed action  
 qô?-ma .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (106) fâ? gâ? e ve te a lâ ,  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 rodents hunt motion away nominalizer do try to yes

- (107) *Cà-gã?* ò .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 male name vocative
- (108) *Cà-lô* : *mà?* *bô?* *ve* ò-*lô* *kà?* *te* *a* *nê* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name war fight relativizer matter also do hortatory emphatic
- (109) *Hê?-pā* *gε* *mà?* *bô?* *jô* *ve* , *â* *hê?* *lê-ā* .  
 N P<sub>n</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 Chinese comitative war fight experiential nominalizer negative be the case yes
- (110) *Jàpān* *gε* *bô?* *jô* *ve* *ô-thâ* *qhe-lê* .  
 N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> N<sub>ext</sub>  
 Japan with fight experiential nominalizer in the past like
- (111) *Jàpān* *tâ?* *la* *ve* , *Thây* *tâ?* *la* *ve* *bô?*  
 Eth V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V  
 Japanese come up come to V nominalizer Thai come up come to V nominalizer fight  
*dâ?* *ve* *qhe* *â* *phê?* *lâ* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 mutual action nominalizer like negative able to yes
- (112) *Kâlâ-phu* *gã?-bô?* *ve* *Jàpān* *phô* *e* *ve*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> Eth V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 Westerner chase by shooting nominalizer Japanese run away motion away nominalizer  
*qô?* *ve* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 say nominalizer
- (113) *lâthâ-ví* *là* *ve* *ô qhe* , *qhe-cε-cε* *mâ hê?* *qo* ...  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub> AE Cl<sub>nf</sub>  
 airplane come nominalizer like that so very many if not
- (114) *Headman* : < *tī* *thê?* *chê* *ve* *yâ-nè* *à?* *qô?*  
 . N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V  
 guitar strum progressive relativizer young men accusative say  
*ve* > ò-*na* *ō* *chi qhe* *te* *thâ* *ha*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub>  
 nominalizer upper part topic like this do and strum with the fingers vigorous action  
*lε* , *ô* *ō* *na* *ō* *te* *ní* *tâ?* *e*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> M<sub>prfx</sub> P<sub>n</sub> vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 suspensive there locative up there locative do and press V upwards motion away  
*ha* , *ní* *yâ?* *la* *ha* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 vigorous action press V downwards come to V vigorous action
- (115) *Cà-lô* : *êe* , *chi qhe* *lâ* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Interj AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name okay like this yes
- (116) *ηâ* *mâ* *ηâ* *mâ* *gã* *yê* *ve* *ò-cà* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 five for things five for things must use relativizer thing

- (117) *phu*    *g̃a*    *m̃a*    *j̃a*    *chi*    *tê*    *cà*    *te*    *p̃é*    *qo* .  
 N        V        V<sub>v</sub>    V<sub>v</sub>    Det    Q        V    V<sub>v</sub>        P<sub>unf</sub>  
 money    earn    V a lot    very    this    one thing    do    able to V    if
- (118) *Kâlâ-phu*    *mû-mì*    *ṽ*        *chi*    *te*    *ve*        *chɔ*    *lê*        ,    *tê*  
 N                N        P<sub>n</sub>        Det    V    P<sub>univ</sub>    N        P<sub>uf</sub>        Num  
 white people    country    locative    this    do    relativizer    people    request for assent    one  
*há*        *tê*    *hí*        *ve*        –  
 Cl<sub>f</sub>        Num    Cl<sub>f</sub>        P<sub>univ</sub>  
 for nights    one    for thousands    genitivizer

### Translation

1. P: Hurry up and do it!
2. Headman's wife [HW]: I'll bring my dog and have him go at it for you!
3. Somebody: Bring your dog and come put him down here<sup>1</sup> for us!
4. HW: The dogs are right outside, a big pack of them.
- 5a. H: Come on, come on, you guys have nothing to be bashful about!
- 5b. They<sup>2</sup> say they want to get stuff.
- 5c. When it's time for him to go back to America—our Lahu way of life.
- 5d. Anything and everything,<sup>3</sup> all kinds of things.
- 5e. Like, we could pretend to be bachelors<sup>4</sup>: “I wonder if we should go down there to pitch a little woo”<sup>5</sup>, “If we go down there there's not going to be any place to flirt,” one guy can say, and the other one can say, “Over there you've got to wait! You'd have to stay down there a long time.”
6. P: Tell a little bit about the Kachin<sup>6</sup> looking for a wife! Why is he looking for one, I wonder?  
 [Woman laughs]
- 7a. H: I hear the Jingpho is coming back from looking for a wife.<sup>7</sup>
- 7b. You<sup>8</sup> stay at home and pound lots of rice and store it, and when he gets back you can eat it up—say something like that.
8. P: Will he get one, or won't he—think about that, and talk nicely about it!
- 9a. H: Hey, hurry up and do it, hurry up, you guys! About everything—
- 9b. Well then, I'm going to roll me up one of those great big Klèt-Thawng<sup>9</sup> cigars like you've seen the lunatics smoke—

<sup>1</sup>I.e., in front of the tape recorder.

<sup>2</sup>I.e., my chief consultant Cà-lṽ (= Paul = Tcalo) and I.

<sup>3</sup>à-thṽṽ-mû-thòṽ-ma: elaborate expression expanded from à-thòṽ-ma ‘what?’; mû (Belab) conveys a nuance of intensity. See DL:1003-4.

<sup>4</sup>chɔ-há-pā: young man of marriageable age.

<sup>5</sup>mâ? (V): ‘go courting; woo; flirt with the opposite sex (of men or women)’.

<sup>6</sup>A Jingpho resident in Huey Tat, popular with his Lahu fellow villagers, who enjoy teasing him gently. He is called either Khá-pā ‘Kachin’ or Cûnphṽṽ ‘Jingpho’.

<sup>7</sup>The Headman is addressing someone presumably living in the Jingpho's house while he is on his quest.

<sup>8</sup>Still talking to that person.

<sup>9</sup>The Headman is ironically referring to his home-made cheroots wrapped in corn-husks as Klèt-Thɔṽṽ (lit. “Gold Flakes”), a popular brand of Thai cigarettes. It's not clear who the “lunatics” are.

9c. In the old days in Shan State we used to smoke great big cheroots that would fill your mouth right up!

10. P: Were they what was called **hsêi-pyîn-lei?**<sup>10</sup>? Or were they called **hsêi-pô'-lei?**<sup>11</sup>

11. H: Cigars—big cigars. Now I'm going to roll me a big one!

12. P: Go for it!

13. Woman: They're doing it, I tell you! It's already turned on<sup>12</sup>! Hurry up and put something in it!<sup>13</sup>

14. Kid: Great big Klêt-Thawng cigars.

15a. H: Hmm. Come on, hurry up and come do it! About all kinds of stuff.

15b. Everything about courting the girls—say “That girl is waiting for you there!”

15c. Say “She's hiding all your shoulderbags!”

15d. Say “She's hiding your towels!”<sup>14</sup>

16. P: Is that what goes on when the young women and young men<sup>15</sup> court each other? They hide things from each other?

17. H: They hide things from each other. They take things and hide them. They hide towels from each other.

18. P: They don't return them, do they, the things that they've hidden?

19. H: They don't give them back. They buy very good gold rings to hand over<sup>16</sup> [to their betrothed].

20. P: Uh-huh.

21. H: The girls' things they hand over to us, and our things we hand over to them. Later on they have discussions about getting married.

22a. HW: Hurry up and record, they say. They say they're going to take pictures.

22b. The next time they come, they'll give them to us, they say.

23. P: Hurry up and do it. Can't you do it?

24a. H: Come and go at it, come and go at it, you guys!

24b. You could even talk Karen!<sup>17</sup>

24c. Hey, Cà-gâ?, why don't you record something in Karen-Shmaren<sup>18</sup>!

25. P: You can ask things like “How old are you?”, right?

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<sup>10</sup>WB **chê-pyân-lip**: a Burmese cigar or “cheroot”.

<sup>11</sup>WB **chê-paw'-lip**: “a cheroot-like smoking article consisting of a filler of roasted tobacco plus other ingredients and a filter encased in a cylinder of banap-leaf” (*Myanmar-English Dictionary*, p. 134). A cheroot (ult. Tamil *curruttu* < *curi* ‘be spiral’) is a cigar with square-cut ends.

<sup>12</sup>**phò**: lit. “open”. She is referring to the tape recorder.

<sup>13</sup>I.e., record something!

<sup>14</sup>**phá-cè?**: < Shan (cf. Si. **phâa-chét-tua**, lit. “cloth-wipe-body”).

<sup>15</sup>**yâ-mî-há** ‘marriageable young woman’.

<sup>16</sup>Two phonologically similar verbs occur in this passage: **fá** ~ **phá** (< PLB \*?wak) ‘hide stag’, and **fâ?** (< Tai) ‘hand over to, entrust to’.

<sup>17</sup>**yân-khò-mû-khò**: **mû** is an intensive morpheme occurring in elaborate expressions. See note [3].

<sup>18</sup>The Headman uses the slightly pejorative term **Yân-qô?-lâ?** for Karen. Cà-gâ? evidently can speak some Karen.

- 26a. H: Hey, Cà-gâ?, shall we do it in *Thai*?!<sup>19</sup>
- 26b. Sit down here! We'll talk White Man's language<sup>20</sup>!  
[laughter]
27. P: No need to be bashful! Just do it any old way—
28. Boy: Stop it!<sup>21</sup>
29. P: It's like playing.
30. H: [sings] Mmm—*so la so mi do mi re do re mi re so la so mi do so la do ti la so* [get the rhythm from the tape]  
Well, put in everything about the cocks crowing when women give birth!
31. Somebody: Let a woman do that then!
32. H: Put in how people long ago, how the Chinese for no reason at all drove us Lahu along by force<sup>22</sup>, how we fled down below that high plateau, and how afterwards we then stayed down there in the valley where they attacked us again—how year after year we were exhausted [by all that].
33. P: Yes, do it just like that!
34. H: Let us hear about how when we're clear-cutting a swidden and a branch breaks off a tree and knocks somebody over —  
That's happened to everybody.  
Cà-qā, come sit here! Come record here!
- 34d. For ten liters of hulled rice figure out how many baht they ought to pay and sell it to them at that price—say that!
- 34e. These kids don't want to help us—  
[The young men keep fiddling with the guitar that JAM brought as a gift.]
- 34f. Do it right, do it right!<sup>23</sup>
- 34g. Did you hear,<sup>24</sup> a while ago that was a pretty tune! [sings] *la sol mi do do* ↑  
[octave higher] *la do ti la sol*.
35. P: Hurry up and do it! Don't you have anything to record finally?
36. H: Oh this bunch of kids are “going **pu-lî-khô-lî**”<sup>25</sup>, so probably none of them will come up with an idea.  
[laughter]

<sup>19</sup>**Thây-khô-mû-khô**: See notes 3 and 17.

<sup>20</sup>**Kâlâ-phu-khô**: lit. “white people's language,” usually referring to English.

<sup>21</sup>Another kid has just poked him.

<sup>22</sup>**gâ?-bô?**: lit. “chase by shooting”.

<sup>23</sup>He says this to the guitar players.

<sup>24</sup>**chi ni-?**: lit. “look at this”.

<sup>25</sup>**pu-lî-khô-lî te ve** ‘have a moronic face; act like an idiot’. This expression was inadvertently left out of DL.

37. P: What does “going **pu-lî-khô-lî**” mean?

[*much laughter*]

38. H: So about **pu-lî-khô-lî**, right?

39. P: Yeah.

40a. H: [*making grotesque gestures*] When your shins are like this, and your head, your face—like this—that’s what we mean by **pu-lî-khô-lî** in Lahu.

[*laughter*]

40b. **Pu-lî-khô-lî** means “all bulging and pursed”—a pursed mouth—

41. Cà-ğâ?: You ask me things and I’ll answer you back—“Today where did you go?, ‘I went there’, ‘I went here’—

42. P: Yes, that’s great, great!

43. H: Yes, okay, I’ll ask.

44. Cà-ğâ?: Is it already turned on? Has it been going like this the whole time? Can [our voices] enter it already?

45a. P: Let this [tape] finish first. Then we’d like to put in a new one.

45b. [To me, in English] Do you want to start another one?

46. JAM: [In English] Ask them if they want to hear what they just said.

\* \* \*

47. P: Wait a second. I’ll just put in a new one.

48. H: What’ll we do? Hunting? We’ve already recorded about hunting. Shall we do “hunting squirrels,”<sup>26</sup> Cà-ğâ??

49a. P: Let’s also do it about fighting wars!

49b. You’ve fought alongside<sup>27</sup> the Chinese, haven’t you?

49c. Like that time when we were fighting with Japan.

49d. Can’t you [talk about] the Japanese coming up [to Shan State] and the Thais coming up there, and their fighting each other?

49e. The white men chased them out, and the Japanese fled, you can say.

49f. If it hadn’t been for so many airplanes coming like that—

50. H: [*talking to the boys playing the guitar*]

You tap on the upper part like this, there on the upper part [of the neck of the guitar] you press upwards [i.e., higher up on the strings] or you press downwards.

51a. P: Yeah, like this?

51b. The thing is you have to use all five [fingers], five of them.

<sup>26</sup> **fâ?** ‘rodent’ is here used to refer specifically to **fâ?-thô?** ‘squirrel’, the only rodent the Lahu habitually hunt to eat.

<sup>27</sup> Note different translations of the commutative noun-particle, **ge**, which must be understood as ‘alongside, on the same side as’ in this sentence, but as the opposite, ‘against’ in the next sentence.



Figure 6.1: Tune sung by Headman

51c. If you can do this you can earn a lot of money.

51d. People who do this in White Man's country, in one night they get a thousand... <sup>28]</sup>

>END OF TAPE<

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<sup>28</sup>Presumably 1000 baht, then an unimaginably large sum of money for the villagers.

## 6.4 Candid conversation: building an airstrip

- (1) : *ηà gǝ-yð à*  
 Pron V P<sub>v</sub>  
 I funny asseverative
- (2) : *tâ gǝ mē , ηà e ò* .  
 Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> Pron N P<sub>n</sub>  
 negative imperative laugh urging my mother vocative
- (3) : *ηà na lâ a ve è?* .  
 Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 I ask benefactive (non-3p) intentive nominalizer emphatic
- (4) *nò-hi tê pa qhð? ve è?* .  
 Pron Q V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 you (pl) some answer nominalizer emphatic
- (5) : *cà?-pò-kho te ve qhà-qhe qhà-qhe gà ò*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 airstrip build nominalizer how? how? make progress completed action  
*le*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 substantive qst
- (6) : *nò-hi chi-bà? šá-to-dō qhâ?-qhō ō cà?-pò yà? kî*  
 Pron N<sub>time</sub> N<sub>place</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> N V P<sub>v-nom</sub>  
 you (pl) now village name village (as a unity) locative airplane land (of plane) locative  
*te ve*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 build nominalizer
- (7) : *tâ te šē qô? dà? a šā* .  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 negative imperative do yet discuss mutual action intentive intentional (1p)
- (8) : *è* .  
 Interj  
 yes
- (9) : *qô? dà? a šā* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 discuss mutual action intentive hortatory (1p)
- (10) *tâ te šē* .  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 negative imperative do yet
- (11) *šá-to-dō qhâ?-qhō ō cà?-pò yà? kî te ve* .  
 N<sub>place</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 village name village (as a unity) topic airplane land (of plane) locative build nominalizer
- (12) *ó-qō qhà-nî šī yâ? a cê le* ,  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nose how many? for round objects land (of plane) intentive quotative substantive qst





- (25) *nò na-ʔ* .  
 Pron V<sub>imp</sub>  
 you listen!
- (26) *ô càʔ-kâ qhɔ* .  
 N<sub>sd</sub> N M<sub>px</sub>  
 there tape recorder inside
- (27) *D : â lòʔ e šē nê-ʃ* .  
 . Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative record (on tape) motion away yet suppositional
- (28) *: mâ lòʔ e šē* .  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 negative record (on tape) motion away yet
- (29) *mâ te šē* .  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 negative do yet
- (30) *: phɔ àʔ mē , qôʔ ve yò* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 turn on (light, radio, machine) perfective persuasive speak nominalizer declarative
- (31) *Paul : te phêʔ ò* .  
 . V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 do able to completed action
- (32) *te phêʔ ò lâ* .  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 do able to completed action yes
- (33) *D : à-šɛ-thâ nò qhà-qhe dâ-ni ve ô qhe qôʔ a*  
 . NP<sub>time</sub> Pron N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 just now you how? consider nominalizer like that speak hortatory  
*lê*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 request for assent
- (34) *P : a-cí qha hê-hê qôʔ pî a mē* .  
 . Adv AE V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 please as strongly as possible speak benefactive (3p) hortatory persuasive

## Translation

1. I think this is funny.
2. Don't laugh, mother!
3. I'll be the one who asks. You people will answer. [About] how building the airstrip is coming along.
4. You people are now making a landing place for airplanes in Shatodo village.
5. Don't do it yet.<sup>1</sup> We'll talk it over among ourselves first.
6. O.K.

<sup>1</sup>I.e., Don't turn the tape recorder on yet.

- 
7. We'll talk it over first. Don't do it yet. '[We are] building an airstrip in Shatodo village.' '[Planes with] how many engines<sup>2</sup> do they say will be able to land?' I'll ask you, all right? Then you guys will answer me, right? 'Three-engined ones can land.'
  8. Say that we're making a landing place for ones with three engines. Think carefully [before you speak]. Remember [what to say] and do it just exactly right! Otherwise it could turn out the way it did before with Jamu's father<sup>3</sup> — he got stuck<sup>4</sup> and didn't know what to say.
  9. One person can say what sort of thing it is that's called an 'airplane.'<sup>5</sup>
  10. Yes, we'll say that over here, then you both should continue talking on that subject. Now this time keep everything in mind, please! [Laughs] In a minute we'll do it.
  11. It's going in already! Listen! Into the hearing-machine.
  12. I don't think it's going in yet. It's not going in yet. They're not doing it yet.
  13. Turn it on! We'll speak now.
  14. Now you can do it.
  15. Can we do it already?
  16. Just speak the way you planned it out a while ago, O.K.?
  17. Talk as loud as you can, please.

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<sup>2</sup>Lit. "heads".

<sup>3</sup>The Lahu are teknonymous; i.e. they are frequently named as parents of their eldest child.

<sup>4</sup>Lit. "his words were blocked".

<sup>5</sup>Lit. "how it goes with an airplane"

## 6.5 Building an airstrip

- (1) *D* : *chi-bà?* *ŋà-hi* *Šá-to-dō* *qhâ?-qhɔ* *câ?-pò* *yà?* *kì* *te*  
 . N<sub>time</sub> Pron N<sub>place</sub> N N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> V  
 now we (pl) village name village (as a unity) airplane land (of plane) locative build  
*ve* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer
- (2) *ó-qō* *qhà-nî* *šĩ* *yà?* *tù* *ve*  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 engine of airplane how many? for round objects land (of plane) future nominalizer  
*cê* *le* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative substantive qst
- (3) : *âa* , *ó-qō* *šê?* *šĩ* *yà?* *tù* *ve* *cê* .  
 Interj N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! head three for round objects land (of plane) future nominalizer quotative
- (4) *qhe-ɔ* *ɔ* *chi-bà?* *ɔ* *câ?-pò* *yà?* *kì* *te* *kà?* *mâ*  
 Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv  
 well topic now topic airplane land (of plane) locative build even negative  
*pà* *šē* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 finish V'ing yet
- (5) *šĩ?-pi-ku* *kà?* *thu* *bà* *ve* *ğō* *mâ* *pà* *šē* .  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 logs even chop down away relativizer drag away negative finish V'ing yet
- (6) *kĩ* *chê?* *lâ* *ve* *kà?* *mâ* *dâ?* *o*  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 itchy black sap sting benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer also negative good emphatic  
*qô?-ma* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (7) : *qhà-nî* *ni* *pà* *tù* *le* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 how many? for days be completed future substantive qst
- (8) : *âa* , *tê* *šĩ* *ɔ* *kà?* *mâ* *qà?* *vây* *qo* *mâ*  
 Interj Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv  
 well! one for weeks topicalizer even negative keep on V'ing be fast if negative  
*pà* *šē* *hé* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be completed yet probably
- (9) : *šĩ?-cê* *mâ* *tú* *bà* *šē* .  
 N Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 tree negative burn sthg away yet

- (10) : *a-ni tē há ɔ̄-qhe šĩ?-cè thu bà ve* ,  
 NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 last night topicalizer tree chop down (as large trees) away nominalizer  
*kĩ-cè*  
 N  
 tree with irritating black sap
- (11) *à-mi tú phê ve kâ? mâ tò? pà šē*  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 fire burn sthg launch violent action nominalizer even negative burn finish V'ing yet  
*qô?-ma*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (12) *chɔ kâ? qha-pà-è-pà-è te ve mâ hê? lɛ qô?-ma* .  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> AE V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 person also everybody work nominalizer negative be the case because emphatic
- (13) : *tē ni qo ɔ̄-qhe lɛ , nĩ chi phâ? , tē ni qo šē? chi phâ?*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num M<sub>px</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Q M<sub>px</sub>  
 one for days topic topicalizer twenty odd one for days topic thirty odd  
*qhe-cɛ te ve lɛ , mâ pà ve yò* .  
 AE V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 only do nominalizer because negative be completed nominalizer declarative
- (14) : *chɔ tē gò? ô-ve tē gâ tē gâ te qô? ve mâ hê? lâ*  
 N Q Det NP<sub>q</sub> V V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv + V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 person one household those one person each work say nominalizer not be the case yes
- (15) *tē gò? tē gâ te qô? lɛ , chi-bà? kán te yân , cà ti ve*  
 Q Q V V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> N V M<sub>px</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 one family one person do say suspensive now work do time rice plant relativizer  
*à-yân gà e lɛ-ɔ̄ , qhe te qo ɔ̄ , chɔ qò? pa*  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V<sub>v</sub> V  
 time reach motion away causal thus do if topic person V in turn trade off  
*dà?*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 mutual action nominalizer emphatic
- (16) *tē ni qo nĩ chi phâ? qhe te pè dà? lɛ te*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num M<sub>px</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 some for days topic twenty odd like do and divide up mutual action suspensive work  
*ā ve , tē ni qo šē? chi phâ? kâ? cò ve* ,  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Q M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 perfective nominalizer some for days topic thirty odd even be there nominalizer  
*tē ni qo nĩ chi phâ? qhe-cɛ cò ve yò* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num M<sub>px</sub> AE V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 some for days topic twenty odd only be there nominalizer declarative

Building an airstrip

- (17) : *hà* , *tê ni nî gâ tí là ve kà? cò*  
 Interj Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Q P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 grunt of scorn one for days two people only come nominalizer also be there  
*ve ê? nē*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer emphatic emphatic
- (18) : *cò ve yò , ô qhe kà?*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 be there nominalizer declarative like that also
- (19) : *tê gâ tí là ve kà? cò ve lê*  
 Q P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 one person only come nominalizer also be there nominalizer request for assent
- (20) : *tê gâ tí là ve kà? cò ve yò*  
 Q P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 one person only come nominalizer also be there nominalizer declarative
- (21) : *tê pô? le-le tê mō tê qhò? tí te le qay ve*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> Q Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 every time one group one for fields only work suspensive go nominalizer  
*mâ hê?*  
 Adv + V  
 not be the case
- (22) *tê pô?-pô? qo ̄ nî mō šê? mō te le qay ve*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Q Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 sometimes topic topic two groups three for groups make suspensive go nominalizer  
*kà? cò ve yò*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 also be there nominalizer declarative
- (23) *mâ qay ve ð-mō qo , tê gâ le-le á-qhɔ ̄ a-šú-yô ve ká te*  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + **ve** N V  
 negative go nominalizer group topic everybody home locative each person's work do  
*tù cò ve thâ? qò? te ve yò*  
 P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 purposive be there nominalizer accusative V also do nominalizer declarative
- (24) *qhe-te-le ̄ , cà?-pò-kho te ve chi ̄ , hâ?-hâ? mâ pè*  
 Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub> AE Adv V  
 so topic airstrip build nominalizer this topic quickly negative finish  
*pí ve chi qhe ve pa-tɔ yò*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 able to V nominalizer like this genitivizer because of declarative
- (25) : *cà?-pò-kho chi-ve te ve ̄ , tê chi khò? ni gâ ò*  
 N Det V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 airstrip this build nominalizer topic sixteen for days reach completed action  
*ve , yà?-ni gâ qo*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 nominalizer today reach when

- (26) *qhe-kà?* *mâ* *pə̀* *šē* .  
 Conj Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 even so negative finish yet
- (27) *cà?pò-kho* *te* *ve* *kán* *te* *ve* *tê* *ni* *cà-qha* *qhà-ní*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N Num  
 airstrip build relativizer work do nominalizer one for days hulled rice how many?  
*lí?* *ǵa* *le* .  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 for liters get substantive qst
- (28) : *šē?* *lí?* *è* *ǵa* *ɔ* *qô?-ma* , *pá-thú* *kà?* *khò?* *khe*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 three for liters only get affirmative emphatic dried salted fish also six for animals  
*è* .  
 P<sub>n</sub>  
 just
- (29) *á-šǐ?* *thâ* *qo* *š* *lí?* *ǵa* *ve* .  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 recently when when four for liters get nominalizer
- (30) *à-šǐ-a-ló* *tàn* *te* *thâ*  
 quasi-elaborate expression (4 syllables but none repeated) (Quasi-Elab) <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 in the beginning begin to V work when  
*qo* , *à-thò?-ma* *te* *kà?* *tê* *ni* *cà-qha* *šē?* *lí?* *è?* *le*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Conj  
 when whatever do even one for days hulled rice three for liters only and  
*pá-thú* *ǵa* *khe* *è* *qhe-ce* *è* *pè?* *lá*  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> AE Prt V P<sub>v</sub>  
 dried salted fish five for animals just only adverbializer give benefactive (non-3p)  
*ve* *nē* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer emphatic
- (31) : *câ* *â* *lò?* *nè-ɔ* , *qhe* *ce tí* *lè* .  
 V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Adv P<sub>univ</sub> + P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 eat negative enough to V suppositional just like that only topic
- (32) : *yà?-pí* *tí qo* *ɔ* *lò* *a* *le* *cà-qha* *ǵa* *lí?* *è?*  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 this evening topicalizer topic beg for try to suspensive hulled rice five for liters just  
*ǵa* *ɔ* .  
 V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 get affirmative
- (33) *pá-thú* *thô* *šǐ* *mà* *hí* *mà* *ǵa* *ve* *yò* .  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 dried salted fish also seven for things eight for things get nominalizer declarative
- (34) *à-ló* *chi* *kà?* *mâ* *lò* *qo* *mâ* *pè?* *lá* .  
 N Det P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 extra amount this topicalizer negative ask for if negative give benefactive (non-3p)

Building an airstrip

- (35) : *càʔ-pò-kho te ve ɔ̄ nò-hi ġa cí ɔ qôʔ lɛ-lâ* .  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron vV V P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 airstrip build nominalizer topic you (pl) get to ride affirmative say yes
- (36) : *âa , yô-hi qôʔ ve pə̀ ò qo lè , Cê-mây*  
 Interj Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>place</sub>  
 well! they say nominalizer be completed completed action when topic Chiang Mai  
*ɔ̄ ca ġi e ġa kàʔ cí phèʔ ve*  
 P<sub>n</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 locative go and do visit motion away desiderative even ride able to nominalizer  
*yò*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (37) *cí ci lâ a cê* .  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 ride let (permissive causative) benefactive (non-3p) tentative quotative
- (38) *hē nā yâ-ò nā â šī*  
 V P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V  
 lie indirect question marker be true indirect question marker negative know  
*ò*  
 P<sub>v</sub>  
 completed action
- (39) : *âa , lâ qo ɔ̄ tâʔ-cí ve tí yò nē* ,  
 Interj V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! come when topic climb in and ride nominalizer just declarative emphatic  
*â cí ci lâ thô* .  
 Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 negative ride let (permissive causative) benefactive (non-3p) even
- (40) : *te khàʔ àʔ ve lɛ lê* .  
 vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 do and suffer perfective nominalizer because request for assent
- (41) : *te khàʔ àʔ ve-ɔ̄* .  
 vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 do and suffer perfective emphatic
- (42) : *vâ-mú-qu šīʔ-mú-qu ġò bà ā ve ð-câʔ kàʔ nâ*  
 N N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 stump of bamboo stump of tree drag away away perfective relativizer muscle also hurt  
*jà šē qôʔ-ma* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 very regrettably emphatic
- (43) : *kī-cê cò ve ɔ̄ á-šīʔ tē pôʔ kàʔ chēʔ*  
 N N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 tree with irritating black sap over there genitivizer topic a while ago one time also sting  
*lâ qôʔ-ma* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p) emphatic



- (44) *nā-qā-pi jî? ve šī-e-la-yò* .  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> VP  
 forehead itch nominalizer so much you could die
- (45) *qhe-kà? tà?-nò? qô? pî qo ̄ , bô? bà*  
 Conj N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 even so police say benefactive (3p) topic topic blast (as with dynamite) away  
*lâ a qô? qo ̄ , hâ? mâ bô?*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv Adv V  
 benefactive (non-3p) intentive say when topic quickly negative blast (as with dynamite)  
*bâ lâ*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 away benefactive (non-3p)
- (46) *qhe-te-ε ̄ yà?-ni qô? bô? bà* .  
 Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> vV V V<sub>v</sub>  
 so topic today V finally blast (as with dynamite) away
- (47) *qhe-te-qo è , pòthô , ñà à? qô? chè? lâ*  
 Conj Interj Pron P<sub>n</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub>  
 even after this for God's sake! me object V again sting benefactive (non-3p)  
*ve*  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer
- (48) : *kī chè? kà? ô cà-nô-qha bē pū a qo na-e*  
 N V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> N V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 itchy black sap sting even if that sticky rice chew smear onto try to if get better  
*ve nē*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer emphatic
- (49) : *mâ šī ε qô?-yò-è?* .  
 Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative know suspensive emphatic
- (50) : *š mû thî la qo tò? pà yò hé* .  
 N<sub>time</sub> SV P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 tomorrow dawn comes come to V when burn finish V'ing declarative probably
- (51) *à-mī tò?-hên jâ* .  
 N V V<sub>v</sub>  
 fire burn strongly very
- (52) : *â tò? pà nê-̄* .  
 Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative burn finish V'ing suppositional
- (53) : *pà e ve yò , mû thî la qo* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> SV P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 finish motion away nominalizer declarative day breaks come to V when
- (54) *à-qhɔ cε lè tò? pà ò* .  
 N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 inside up to topic burn finish V'ing completed action

- (55) : *pə̀ ò lā-o .*  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
finish completed action yes
- (56) : *ŋà qo á pə̀ hɛ́ dɔ́ ā .*  
Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
I topic negative be completed probably think durative
- (57) : *á-šɛ̀-ni càʔ-pò tē mà là lɛ-ɔ́ , càʔ-pò chi ɔ́ yô là*  
N<sub>time</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N Det P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V  
a while ago airplane one for things come suspensive airplane this topic it come  
*ve ɔ́ , ɔ́-qhâ mâ hêʔ-hêʔ ɛ̀ʔ là lɛ-ɔ́ mɛ̀ʔ-gù khán ve*  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N AE V P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
nominalizer topic path wrongly come suspensive mud-hole get stuck nominalizer  
*qôʔ-ma .*  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
emphatic
- (58) *ŋà-hi ġa qə̀ʔ chí tɔ́ʔ ve .*  
Pron vV vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
we (pl) must V back (to starting point) lift up V out nominalizer
- (59) *càʔ-pò ɛ́ chi chí hý chí mú ɛ́ ve .*  
N M<sub>px</sub> Det NP<sub>ext</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
airplane little one like this only this big only this high genitivizer
- (60) : *yô mâ là jɔ́ šē lɛ́ lē .*  
Pron Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
he negative come experiential yet because request for assent
- (61) : *mâ là jɔ́ šē lɛ́ .*  
Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
negative come experiential yet because
- (62) *šú tē phô yàʔ la , yô tē phô*  
Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
others one for directions land (of plane) motion towards he another for directions  
*yàʔ la lɛ́ mɛ̀ʔ-gù khá ve yò .*  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
land (of plane) motion towards because mud-hole get stuck nominalizer declarative
- (63) : *yàʔ-qhâ nò-hi ġa qə̀ʔ ga pî ve*  
Conj Pron vV vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
however you (pl) manage to V back (to starting point) help benefactive (3p) nominalizer  
*lɛ́ dàʔ ve yò .*  
P<sub>univ</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
because good nominalizer declarative
- (64) : *yàʔ-pí ɔ́-qhe lɛ́ kán te ve .*  
N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
this evening topicalizer work do nominalizer
- (65) *šɛ̀ʔ-cɛ́ kàʔ mâ ġa bôʔ bà á šē .*  
N P<sub>unf</sub> Adv vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
tree even negative get to blast (as with dynamite) away perfective yet

- (66) *ə-qhɔ* *ce* *thô?* *le-̄* *šɔ-p̄-ɔ-nà?* *qo* *tà?-nò?* *yô*  
 N P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> Pron  
 hole only bore (as a hole) suspensive tomorrow morning when policeman he  
*bô?* *a* *cê* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 blast (as with dynamite) intentive quotative
- (67) *qhe-qo* *̄* *yô* *̄* , *qhe-qo* *̄* , *à-šɛ* *thô?* *tā*  
 Conj P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 so topic he topic so topic previously bore (as a hole) perfective  
*ve* *̄* *yà?-pí* *bô?* *a* *qô?* *ve* *â*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv  
 nominalizer topic this evening blast (as with dynamite) intentive say nominalizer negative  
*hê?* *lā* *qô?-ma* .  
 V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be the case yes emphatic
- (68) : *mā hê?* .  
 Adv + V  
 not be the case
- (69) *yô* *̄* *chɔ-lù-kî* *è?* *nē* .  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 he topic bastard emphatic emphatic
- (70) : *yô* *qô?* *ve* *̄* ...  
 Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 he say nominalizer topic
- (71) : *hē* *ve* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 lie nominalizer
- (72) *šu* *à?* *te* *ci* *le* , *yô* *qo* *̄* *qhe-lê* *chê* *ve*  
 Pron P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 others object do causative suspensive he topic topic idly stay nominalizer  
*lɔ* *và* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic declarative emphatic
- (73) : *yô* *qô?* *ve* *à-mī-šī* *lón* *qo* *lè* *mā* *bô?* .  
 Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> N B<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
 he say nominalizer grenade sthg big if topic negative blast (as with dynamite)
- (74) *šé-lây* *à* *qhe* *qô?* *ve* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 begrudge asseverative like this say nominalizer
- (75) *chi* *chi hý* *è?* *tí* *bô?* *e* *ve* .  
 Det NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 this one only this big only only blast (as with dynamite) motion away nominalizer
- (76) *à-mī-šī* *lón* *chi* *̄* *tê* *šī* *ve* *̄* *nī* *hín* *bà?*  
 N B<sub>n</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 grenade sthg big these topic one for round objects genitivizer topic two thousand baht



- (86) : *yà?-qhâ* *yô* *hà-hi* *à?* *qhe* *tí* *qô?* *lâ* *ve*  
 Conj Pron Pron P<sub>n</sub> Adv P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 however he us accusative thus only say benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer  
*qô?-yò-è?* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (87) : *cò* *š̄* *lâ* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be there durative yes
- (88) : *cà?-pò-kho* *chi* *te* *ve* *š̄* *hà-hi ve* *hε* *qho* *kà?* *lò?*  
 N Det V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 airstrip this build nominalizer topic our swiddens into also enter  
*e* *lε-š̄* *cà* *tí* *ā* *ve* *kà?* *qha-pà-è* *gā* *qô*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE <sub>v</sub>V V  
 motion away suspensive rice plant perfective nominalizer also all must hoe up  
*bà* *š̄ε* *ve* *yò* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 away regrettably nominalizer declarative
- (89) *mâ* *qô* *bà* *qo* *mâ* *phê?* *lε* .  
 Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 negative hoe up away if negative able to because
- (90) : *qhe-qo* *ò-phû* *ca* *lò* *ve* *tí* *yò* *è?*  
 Conj N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 so monetary compensation go and do ask for nominalizer only declarative emphatic  
*nē* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (91) : *ò-phû* *ca* *lò* *ve* *š̄-qhe* *yô* *tí qo* *lε*  
 N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 monetary compensation go and do ask for nominalizer topicalizer he topicalizer topic  
*mâ* *pè?* *lâ* *gâ* *ve* *yò* , *lâthâbân*  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N  
 negative give benefactive (non-3p) desiderative nominalizer declarative government  
*mì-gì* *lε* .  
 N P<sub>univ</sub>  
 land because
- (92) *tè?-chí mâ hê?* .  
 VP  
 never mind
- (93) *qhò-qhe* *tê* *qhâ* *ve* *mì-gì* *thà?* *te* *qay* *thô*  
 N<sub>intg</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 whichever one for directions genitivizer land accusative cultivate continue V'ing even  
*te* *qay-?* *qô?* *lε-š̄* , *qhe-qo* *š̄* , *tà?-nò?* *chi* *yô* *š̄* *ò-hó*  
 V V<sub>imp</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N Det Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 cultivate go off and do! say suspensive so topic policeman this he topic boss

Building an airstrip

- phê?* *ve* *lɛ* *ca* *lò* *a* *lɛ* *nî chi* *bà?* *è*  
V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
be sthg nominalizer because go and do ask for intentive suspensive twenty baht only
- pè?* *lâ* *ve* *yò* .  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
give benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer declarative
- (94) : *te* *mâ* *gã* *o* .  
V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
deal with negative manage to emphatic
- (95) *hà-hi* *à?* *šu* *qhà-ma* *pî* *lâ* *thô* *chi ma* *gã* *qo*  
Pron P<sub>n</sub> Pron N<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
us accusative others however much give benefactive (non-3p) even this much get if
- dà?* *ve* *yò* .  
V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
good nominalizer declarative
- (96) : *cà?-pò* *yà?* *kì* *chi* *te* *a* *qô?* *ve* *õ* *qhà-thâ?*  
N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> Det V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>intg</sub>  
airplane land (of plane) locative this build intentive say nominalizer topic when?
- yà?* *la* *a* *qô?* *ve* *lɛ-nã* *qô?-ma*  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
land (of plane) motion towards intentive say nominalizer indirect question marker emphatic
- (97) : *pà* *tê* *ni* *qo* *yà?* *la* *a* *qô?*  
V Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V  
be completed one for days when land (of plane) motion towards intentive say
- ve* *yò* *yô* *qô?* *ve* *tí qo* *lè* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
nominalizer declarative he say nominalizer topicalizer topic
- (98) : *qhà-qhe* *qay* *lɛ-nã* *qô?-ma* *cà?-pò* *chi qhe*  
N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N AE<sub>ext</sub>  
how? go a certain way indirect question marker emphatic airplane like this
- ve* *mê* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
genitivizer emphatic
- (99) *mò* *kà?* *â* *mò* *jɔ* *qô?-ma* *chɔ-khô* *nô* *la* *kà?* .  
V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
see even negative see experiential emphatic human speech be aware of become even
- (100) : *phâ* *ò* *nò* *gã* *cî* *jɔ* *lɛ-ã* .  
N P<sub>n</sub> Pron vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
buddy vocative you get to ride experiential yes
- (101) : *â* *gã* *cî* *jɔ* *qô?-yò-è?* .  
Adv vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
negative get to ride experiential emphatic

- (102) *cî gâ ve phu è? â cò lɛ* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 ride desiderative relativizer money even negative be there because
- (103) *šú â khi? ci lâ*  
 Pron Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 others negative ride (horse, vehicle) let (permissive causative) benefactive (non-3p)  
*qô?-ma* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (104) *tê pô? là qo lè cî a nê lê* .  
 Q V P<sub>unf</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 some time come when ask to V ride intentive emphatic request for assent
- (105) : *šú â khi? ci lâ*  
 Pron Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 others negative ride (horse, vehicle) let (permissive causative) benefactive (non-3p)  
*hé qô?-yò-è?* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 probably emphatic
- (106) ” *phu è? â cò ” qô? pî a nê* .  
 N P<sub>n</sub> Adv V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 money even negative be there say benefactive (3p) intentive emphatic
- (107) ” *a-cí lè cî a* .  
 Adv vV V P<sub>v</sub>  
 please ask to V ride hortatory
- (108) *tê khi khi? ni a ” qô? pî ve tí*  
 Q V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 a while ride (horse, vehicle) try and V hortatory say benefactive (3p) nominalizer only  
*yò-è?*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic declarative
- (109) : *tò-là?-quí à? yù-tí ā lɛ pò tò a ni gâ*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 wing accusative hold fast to durative suspensive fly V for fun try to desiderative  
*ve*  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer
- (110) *ô chí šf-è tí ve tê pá ve khò? lò cò*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Num M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V  
 that the shortest one only genitivizer one side nominalizer six for fathoms be there  
*ve cho-khò nò la thâ kà? â mò jò*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 relativizer human speech be aware of become when even negative see experiential
- (111) : *qhê-tú ̄ ηó è te ā ve*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> AE<sub>stat</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 tail (of a plane) locative sticking up at an angle be a certain way durative nominalizer

- qôʔ-ma lê*  
P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
emphatic request for assent
- (112) *yô mô phê a lɛ ó-qô-šĩ ɔ̄ cô è*  
Pron N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>stat</sub>  
he supplies release tentative suspensive nose (of an airplane) topic sticking up straight
- te lɛ qhê-qhɔ nê-lɛ te a lâ qo*  
V P<sub>unf</sub> N AE<sub>stat</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
be a certain way suspensive tail (of an airplane) low be a certain way vivid action when
- phê ce a lâ ve qôʔ-ma*  
V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
release V so it falls vivid action nominalizer emphatic
- (113) *Paul : Nâʔ-kôʔ ɔ̄ â ce lɛ-â*  
N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
River Kok locative negative fall (from a height) yes
- (114) *: á-ni thâ tê pôʔ phê a lɛ à-là-qhe chɔ àʔ hâʔ*  
NP<sub>time</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv N P<sub>n</sub> V  
yesterday when again release tentative suspensive almost people accusative strike
- qay qôʔ-ma*  
V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
end up V'ing emphatic
- (115) *< ǰǰ-ǰǰ lɛ qôʔ ve >*  
V<sub>redup</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
laughing suspensive speak nominalizer
- (116) *hâʔ qo chɔ šĩ e ve yò*  
V P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
strike if people die motion away nominalizer declarative
- (117) *: qhe te-là a qo šĩʔ-cè hó ca phɔ chê*  
Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> vV V V<sub>v</sub>  
thus come to pass vigorous action if tree under go and do run away keep on
- a*  
P<sub>v</sub>  
hortatory
- (118) *qhe mâ hêʔ qo hâʔ la pʔ-à*  
Adv Cl<sub>nf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub>  
thus otherwise strike motion towards warning marker
- (119) *David : câʔ-pò ó-qô šĩʔ šĩ yàʔ la qo*  
N N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
airplane head three for round objects land (of plane) motion towards when
- qha-dêʔ qú lɛ qha-dêʔ šôʔ lɛ qha-dêʔ qòʔ*  
AE V P<sub>unf</sub> AE V P<sub>unf</sub> AE vV  
properly touch lightly suspensive properly stroke suspensive properly keep on V'ing
- qé-ni ma nê lê*  
V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
look over carefully exclamatory emphatic request for assent



- (120) *n̂-hi m̂u-phe yà? la qo , ġô-pè , ð-na ,*  
 Pron N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub>  
 you (pl) upper regions land (of plane) motion towards when belly upper part  
*ð-h̄s , ð-thà? qha-dê? -*  
 N<sub>loc</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> AE  
 lower part surface properly
- (121) : *al̄o , ô ð-to ô-ve n̂ q̂? q̄-ni ĉ ve .*  
 Interj N<sub>sd</sub> N Det Pron<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 hey! over there body that you V also look over carefully ought to nominalizer
- (122) : *m̂ d̂a? ĵa .*  
 V V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 see beautiful very
- (123) : *ô-ve ê? ĉ thwī à? qhe phú-ê?-yò-ê? qay ve*  
 Det P<sub>uf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> Elab<sub>adv</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 that emphatic teeth brush perfective like sparkling white turn out nominalizer  
*yâ .*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (124) : *qhe qay ve yò-a , cà?-pò q̂? ve-̄ .*  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 thus go a certain way nominalizer emphatic declarative airplane call emphatic
- (125) : *âa yà? t̄ a lâ qo cà?-pò lón chi ni*  
 Interj V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N B<sub>n</sub> Det V  
 well! land (of plane) V so it stays put vivid action when airplane sthg big this look at  
*ĝa ve , qha-dê? ni .*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> AE V  
 desiderative nominalizer properly look at
- (126) *d̂a? ĵa .*  
 V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 beautiful very
- (127) : *a-šu te ā ve q̂? ve , cà?-pò chi .*  
 Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N Det  
 whoever make perfective nominalizer say nominalizer airplane this
- (128) *Lâhū te ā ve q̂? ve lâ .*  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 Lahu make perfective nominalizer say nominalizer yes
- (129) < *ġ̄ ve* >  
 V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 laugh nominalizer
- (130) : *Kâlâ-phu te ā ve ĉ .*  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 white people make perfective nominalizer quotative
- (131) : *š̄-phà?-ni qo Lâhū k̂a? te p̄ à n̄-̄ , cà?-pò*  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N  
 some day soon when Lahu also make able to V asseverative suppositional airplane

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- chi*      *̄* .  
 Det      P<sub>unf</sub>  
 like this    topic
- (132) : *phê?*    *ɔ*                      *nê-̄*                      ,    *a-yé-yé*              *qo*    *lê* .  
           V            P<sub>uf</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>                      Adv            P<sub>unf</sub>    P<sub>unf</sub>  
           able to    affirmative    suppositional    in the future    when    topic
- (133) *te*      *a ni*      *qo*    *lê* .  
           V        P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub>    P<sub>unf</sub>    P<sub>unf</sub>  
           make    try to    if      topic
- (134) : *âa*      ,    *Lâhū*    *phê?*      *tù*      *â*              *hê?* .  
           Interj    N        V            P<sub>v</sub>        Adv        V  
           well!    Lahu    able to    future    negative    be the case
- (135) *Lâhū*    *tè?-chí*    *cū-yī*              *â*              *cò* .  
           N        Adv        N                      Adv        V  
           Lahu    nothing    knowledge    negative    be there
- (136) : *âa*      ,    *mâ*              *hê?* .  
           Interj    Adv        V  
           well!    negative    be the case
- (137) *nì-má*    *cho*              *nī gā*              *hên*    *chê*              *la*              *ò* .  
           Pron    N              Q                      V        V<sub>v</sub>              P<sub>v</sub>              P<sub>v</sub>  
           our    people    two people    learn    progressive    come to V    completed action
- (138) : *vâ-dé-qō*    *ca*              *tô?*              *le*              *qhe-̄*              *nā-mâ*    *kə*              *le*  
           N              vV              V                      P<sub>unf</sub>              Conj        N              V              P<sub>unf</sub>  
           bamboo tube    go and do    cut down    suspensive    topicalizer    gasoline    put into    suspensive  
           *tú*              *kə*              *ve*              *tí*              *yò-è?*  
           V              V<sub>v</sub>              P<sub>univ</sub>              P<sub>univ</sub>    P<sub>uf</sub>  
           burn sthg    V into    nominalizer    just    emphatic declarative
- (139) *qay*    *â*              *qay*    *kà?*    *qhe-cε*    *yò* .  
           V        Adv        V        P<sub>unf</sub>    N<sub>ext</sub>  
           go    negative    go    even    it doesn't matter
- (140) : *Cà-lô*              *lê*              *phê?*      *ɔ*                      *nê-̄* .  
           N<sub>pers</sub>              P<sub>unf</sub>              V              P<sub>uf</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
           male name    topic    able to    affirmative    suppositional
- (141) *phê?*    *lê*              *phê?*      *ɔ* .  
           V              P<sub>unf</sub>              V              P<sub>uf</sub>  
           able to    topic    able to    affirmative
- (142) *â-ha*    *šī*              *ve*                      *cε*              *qô?-ma* .  
           N              V              P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>    P<sub>uf</sub>  
           shape    know    nominalizer    only    emphatic
- (143) *mû-phe*    *̄*              *pò*    *tô*                      *mâ*              *gā* .  
           N              P<sub>n</sub>              V        V<sub>v</sub>                      Adv              V<sub>v</sub>  
           sky        locative    fly    go around V'ing    negative    be able

- (144) : *âa* , *l5lî* *tí qo* *lè* *te* *phê?* *ɔ* *hé* , *Lâhû* *thô* .  
 Interj N P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub>  
 well! motor vehicle as for topic make able to affirmative maybe Lahu even
- (145) : *mî-châ* *lô* *tô* *ve* , *yô* *õ* .  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub>  
 ground glide along go around V'ing nominalizer it topic
- (146) : *šî?pi-ku* *à?* *qha-dê?* *ð-qhɔ* *thô?* *le* *lê* .  
 N P<sub>n</sub> AE N V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 log accusative properly hole bore (as a hole) suspensive request for assent
- (147) < *gî* *ve* >  
 V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 laugh nominalizer
- (148) : *l5lî* *tí qo* *lè* *a-šû kâ?* *cò* *ve* *yò* *nê* .  
 N P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 motor vehicle topicalizer topic everybody be there nominalizer declarative emphatic
- (149) *ð-pa-ð-e* *pê?* *lâ* *ve* *l5lî* .  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 parents give benefactive (non-3p) relativizer motor vehicle
- (150) *tê ni le-le* *te tô* *chê* *ve* *è?* .  
 NP<sub>q</sub> V + V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 every day walk around continuous nominalizer emphatic
- (151) : *dâ?* *jâ* *ve* *yò* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 mutual action very nominalizer declarative
- (152) : *dâ?* *jâ* *ve* *yò* .  
 V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 good very nominalizer declarative
- (153) *P* : *nâ-mâ* *kâ?* *mâ* *pð* *pí* .  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub>  
 gasoline also negative use up able to V
- (154) *šî* *kâ?* *mâ* *šî* *pí*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub>  
 break down (as a machine) also negative break down (as a machine) able to V  
*lê*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 request for assent
- (155) : *pð* *ò* *hé* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 finish completed action probably
- (156) : *hâ?* *te* *a* *lò* *è?* .  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quickly do hortatory urging emphatic

(157) \*\*\*

(158) : *l̥-pū*      *ò*      , *nò*    *chɔ-m̥*      *̄*      ,    *tê nà?-nà?*      *kán*  
           N            P<sub>n</sub>            Pron N            P<sub>unf</sub>    NP<sub>time</sub>            N  
           grandfather vocative you old person topic very early morning work  
*tâ*                      *te* *qô?-ma* .  
 Adv                    V    P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative imperative do emphatic

(159) *nà-phâ?*      *lɔ*                      *qô?-ma* .  
       V                    P<sub>uf</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
       catch a fever emphatic declarative emphatic

(160) : *mâ*      *phâ?*      *nē*      ,    *í-kâ?*    *qhɔ*    *tí*      *chê*    *jɔ*              *ve*              *chɔ*  
           Adv      V              P<sub>uf</sub>            N      M<sub>px</sub>    P<sub>univ</sub>    V      P<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>univ</sub>      N  
           negative catch a fever emphatic water in only stay experiential relativizer person  
*lɛ* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 because

(161) : *l̥-pū*      *chi*    *tê*      *mà*                      *qô? qo*      *ġa*      *te*      *ġâ*              *tā-nā*  
           N            Det    Num    Cl<sub>f</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>            vV      V      P<sub>v</sub>            Adv  
           old man this one for people (informal) topicalizer get to work desiderative really  
*lɛ*              *mê?*      *â*              *mò*    *šē*    *kà?*    *qay*    *ve*              *qô?-ma*    ,    *hɛ-qhɔ*  
 P<sub>unf</sub>            N              Adv      V      P<sub>v</sub>    P<sub>unf</sub>    V      P<sub>univ</sub>            P<sub>uf</sub>            N  
 suspensive suspensive negative see yet even go nominalizer emphatic to the fields  
*qay*    *ve*              *cê* .  
 V    P<sub>univ</sub>              P<sub>uf</sub>  
 go nominalizer quotative

(162) : *̄*      *mâ*      *ġa*      *câ*    *pí-à*                      *tê?*                      *d̥*      *lɛ*              *te*  
           N      Adv      vV      V      V+P<sub>v</sub>                      QUOT                      V      P<sub>unf</sub>            V  
           food negative get to eat warning marker embedded quote think suspensive do  
*ve*              *yò-è?*                      *nē* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub>              P<sub>uf</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer emphatic declarative emphatic

(163) : *chɔ-há*      *kà?*    *te*      *lɛ-nā*                      *â*      *šī*      *è?*              *nē* .  
           N              P<sub>unf</sub>    V      P<sub>uf</sub>                      Adv      V      P<sub>uf</sub>            P<sub>uf</sub>  
           young lover also act as indirect question marker negative know emphatic emphatic

(164) : *ŋà*    *mâ*      *te*      ,    *ŋà*    *mâ*      *te* .  
           Pron Adv      V                      Pron Adv      V  
           I      negative act as    I      negative act as

(165) : *te*      *ve*              *šī*      *ā*              *ve*              *yò* .  
           V      P<sub>univ</sub>              V      P<sub>v</sub>              P<sub>univ</sub>              P<sub>uf</sub>  
           act as nominalizer know durative nominalizer declarative

(166) : *ȳ*      *̄*      *nî*      *cà*      *ġa*                      *tù*      *ve*              *à?*              *te*  
           Pron P<sub>unf</sub>    Num    Cl<sub>f</sub>      V                      P<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>            P<sub>n</sub>            V  
           he topic two thing get something done future nominalizer accusative do

- ve* *qôʔ-ma* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer emphatic
- (167) *câʔ-pò-kho* *kàʔ* *gã* , *hɛ* *kàʔ* *gã* *tù*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> V N P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v-nom</sub>  
 airstrip also get something done swidden also get something done purposive  
*ve* *àʔ* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 nominalizer accusative
- (168) : *alɔo* , *ɲà* *qo* *è* *mû-ʂɔ* *qo* *è* *hîʔ* *mâ*  
 Interj Pron P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V Adv  
 wow! I topic topicalizer morning when topicalizer move a muscle negative  
*gà* .  
 V<sub>v</sub>  
 manage to
- (169) *mû-lòʔ-qo* *qo* *è* *câʔ-pò-kho* *te* , *ʂîʔ-cí-qu* *thu* , *ʂîʔ-cí-pī*  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V N V N  
 afternoon when topicalizer airstrip build hunks of wood clear away base of a tree  
*thu pā-e* *á* *qo* *lè* *mû-ʂɔ* *qo* *è* *hîʔ* *mâ* *gà*  
 V+V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V Adv V  
 chop so it falls perfective when topic morning when only move a muscle negative reach
- (170) *âa* , *lô-pū* *chi* *chɔ-há* *kàʔ* *te* *ve* *hé* .  
 Interj N Det N P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! old man this young lover even act as nominalizer maybe
- (171) *šālàʔ* *qôʔ* *ve* *qhe-lê* *lê* .  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 pastor say nominalizer like request for assent
- (172) : *a-cí* *lè* *te* *ve* *nā* *mâ* *šī* *o* .  
 Adv P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 a little topic act as nominalizer indirect question marker negative know emphatic
- (173) : *mû-ʂɔ* *qo* *è* *mêʔ* *a-cí* *èʔ* *mò* *la* *thâ* .  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 morning when topicalizer eye a little only see come to V when
- (174) < *gĩ* *ve* >  
 V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 laugh nominalizer
- (175) : *kây* *jâ* *và* .  
 V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 diligent very emphatic
- (176) : *yô* *mêʔ* *a-cí-cí* *mò* *la* *qo* *qay* *ò* *qôʔ-ma* , *lô-pū* *chi*  
 Pron N Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N Det  
 he eye a little see come to V when go completed action emphatic old man this

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- tê gâ* .  
Q  
one person
- (177) : *nò hε è qô qo cà?-pò-kho è te le-â hâ le-lâ qô?-ma*  
Pron N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V Conj V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
you swidden also cultivate when airstrip also build because tired yes emphatic  
, *lâ-pû à* .  
N P<sub>n</sub>  
old man interrogative vocative
- (178) : *mâ hâ qô?-ma* .  
Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
negative tired emphatic
- (179) *mâ nâ qô?-lè?* .  
Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
negative sick emphatic
- (180) : *pòthôo ñà-hi qhe yâ-nê né cà?-pò-kho te ve hâ*  
Interj Pron N<sub>ext</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> V<sub>adj</sub>  
for God's sake! us like young men even airstrip build nominalizer tired  
*ve mû-šó qo hî? kâ? mâ gâ* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V<sub>v</sub>  
nominalizer morning when move a muscle even negative manage to
- (181) *tu gâ la thâ qo mû-ni kâ? cô gâ*  
V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> V  
get up from sleep manage to come to V when when sun also way over there reach  
*ò lè?* .  
P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
completed action emphatic
- (182) : *gâ?-phu bù a lâ qo yî? mâ phè? qô?-ma , cho-mô chi*  
N V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N Det  
cock crow vivid action when sleep negative able to emphatic old person this  
*š* .  
P<sub>unf</sub>  
topic
- (183) *mâ gâ câ ve â? khí ve* .  
Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
negative get to eat nominalizer accusative worry nominalizer
- (184) : *yâ-nê chi š tè?-chí è mâ šĩ* .  
N Det P<sub>unf</sub> AE Adv V  
young man this topic nothing at all negative know
- (185) *mâ gâ câ ve â? mâ šĩ* .  
Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Adv V  
negative get to eat nominalizer accusative negative know
- (186) *yî?-mê a lâ qo yî?-mê ve tê khô è*  
V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
enjoy one's sleep vivid action when enjoy one's sleep relativizer one for matters only

- tí* *šĩ* *ve* *yò* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 only know nominalizer declarative
- (187) *tè?-chí è* *mâ* *nô* .  
 AE Adv V  
 nothing at all negative be aware of
- (188) : *yì?* *chê* *qo* *lè* , *õ* *mâ* *gã* *cá* *o* *qô?-ma* .  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv vV V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 sleep keep on if topic food negative get to eat emphatic emphatic
- (189) *jô-mô-kán* *è* *te* *qo* *he-ŋâ* *è* *gã* *mì* *ve* *yò* .  
 N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 government work also do when swidden also must cultivate nominalizer declarative
- (190) *mû-š-à?* *qo* *tê nâ?* *he-ŋâ* *gã* *mì* *lè* , *mû-lò?-qo* *qo*  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N vV V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 early morning when early swidden must cultivate suspensive afternoon when  
*jô-mô-kán* *te* .  
 N V  
 government work do
- (191) : *ŋà-hi* *chɔ* *chi* *õ* *tô* *yɔ* *hã* *à* *qô?-ma* .  
 Pron N Det P<sub>unf</sub> N V V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 we (pl) people these topic words speak difficult asseverative emphatic
- (192) *šũ* *õ* " *kán* *te* *qo* *tê gã le-le* *tê pô? tí* *te-?* " *qô? kà?* , *tê pa*  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> V<sub>imp</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Q  
 they topic work do when everybody at the same time do! say although some  
*te* *qo* *tê pa* *ni* *tí* *te* *ve* *qô?-ma* .  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> Q V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 work when some gawk at idly only do nominalizer emphatic
- (193) *qhe-qo* " *te* *qo* *qha-pà-è* *te-?* " *qô?* *ve* , *šũ* *õ* .  
 Conj V P<sub>unf</sub> AE V<sub>imp</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub>  
 so do when everybody do! say nominalizer they topic
- (194) *qhe-qo* *õ* , " *mi* *qo* *qha-pà-è* *phô?* *mi* " *qô?*  
 Conj P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> AE vV V V  
 then topic take a break when everybody do all together take a break say  
*ve* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer
- (195) " *tê gã* *te* *lè* *tê gã* *tâ* *ni* " *qô?*  
 Q V P<sub>unf</sub> Q Adv V V  
 one person work suspensive another person negative imperative gawk at idly say  
*ve* *qô?-ma* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer emphatic
- (196) *chi* *ve* *õ* , " *ŋà-hi* *cà* *ti* *yâ* *gà* *qo* , *ká* *chi* *õ* *mâ*  
 Det P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N V M<sub>px</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N Det P<sub>unf</sub> Adv  
 this thing topic we (pl) rice plant time reach when work this topic negative

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- pə qo ɔ̄ cə ti mâ phɛ̃? lɛ hâ?-hâ? te-? !*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> AE V<sub>imp</sub>  
 finish if topic rice plant negative able to because quickly do!
- (197) *qô? pî ve qô?-ma .*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 say benefactive (3p) nominalizer emphatic
- (198) *qhe-kâ? yô-hi bə jâ qô?-ma .*  
 Conj Pron V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 but they be lazy very emphatic
- (199) : *šî-pə qo ɛ̃ tɛ pɔ̃? tí phô? te chɔ*  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> vV V N  
 weekend when topicalizer at the same time join forces to do do people  
*tê-qhâ?-tê-lə pə pî ô?*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 the whole village finish benefactive (3p) hortatory
- (200) *hâ?-hâ? pə qo ɔ̄ ...*  
 AE V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 quickly finish if topic
- (201) : *te mâ pə qo nî-hi à? cə ve dê-dê*  
 V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub>  
 do negative finish V'ing if we (pl) accusative be responsible for nominalizer all  
*yò*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (202) : *hâ?-hâ? pə qo hɛ hâ?-hâ? ġa qô ve lê*  
 AE V P<sub>unf</sub> N AE vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quickly finish if swidens quickly get to cultivate nominalizer request for assent
- (203) : *èe , mâ pə qo hɛ mâ ġa qô .*  
 Interj Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv vV V  
 yes negative finish if swidens negative get to cultivate
- (204) : *chɔ ô qhe tɛ phā à? ŋà-hi tí qo qô? pî*  
 N NP<sub>ext</sub> Q P<sub>n</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 people like that pluralizer accusative we (pl) topicalizer say benefactive (3p)  
*ve yò*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (205) *tɛ pɔ̃? tí qha-pə-è hâ?-hâ? phô? te qô? ve mâ na*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> AE AE vV V V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V  
 at the same time everybody quickly join forces to do work say nominalizer negative heed
- (206) *thô , tɛ ġò? tɛ ġâ tí te .*  
 Conj Q Q P<sub>univ</sub> V  
 anyway one household one person only work





- (214) : à-mù chɔ-qhɔ kà? te la ve qô?-lè? , ɔ mâ ġa câ  
 Conj N P<sub>unf</sub> V+P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N Adv <sub>v</sub>V V  
 or else thief even become nominalizer emphatic food negative get to eat  
 a lâ qo .  
 P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 vivid action if
- (215) : ɔ mâ ġa câ thɔ chɔ-qhɔ lè mâ ġa te hé .  
 N Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 food negative get to eat even thief topic negative get to act as probably
- (216) : âa , nè-má qhe ve ɔ-qhe lɛ , qhà-qhe chê thɔ  
 Interj Pron N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> , N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 well! both of us like nominalizer topicalizer suspensive no matter how live even  
 šu yâ lɛ qo ɔ , šu ci lâ ve  
 Pron N P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> , Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 their people because topic topic they order to do benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer  
 qhe te ve lɛ qo ɔ , mâ ġa câ qo šu ġe  
 N<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub>  
 like do nominalizer because topic topic negative get to eat if them from  
 lè câ ve tí yò è?  
<sub>v</sub>V+V<sub>h</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 ask for sthg to eat nominalizer only declarative emphatic
- (217) qhe te ve ɔ , chò-dɔ-ò-dɔ chò-qô?-ò-qô? ve tí qo lè â te  
 Cl<sub>nf</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
 so then vacillate say this and that nominalizer topicalizer topic negative do  
 o ve yò ná .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic nominalizer declarative emphatic persuasion
- (218) šu ġe lè câ ve yò , mâ ġa câ qo ɔ .  
 Pron P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V+V<sub>h</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 them from ask for sthg to eat nominalizer declarative negative get to eat if topic
- (219) šu te ci lâ ve lɛ šu yâ phè?  
 Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N V  
 they do causative benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer because their people be sthg  
 ve lɛ .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer because
- (220) : hɔ-qhâ?-pā cò kà? kán te qo yâ-mí-qè? ɔ mù? qô?  
 N N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N V  
 men over there locative work do when women topic weeds hoe up  
 e qô? pî ve qô?-ma .  
 P<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 motion away say benefactive (3p) nominalizer emphatic
- (221) yâ-mí-qè? tí qo è tê ni tê ni te chê ve yò  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 women topicalizer topicalizer every day do continuous nominalizer declarative

- hé* .  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
probably
- (222) *mù? kà? mâ ġa qô šē , tē phā-phā ̄* .  
N P<sub>unf</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
weeds even negative get to hoe up yet some (of) topic
- (223) *cà kà? mâ ġa ti šē* .  
N P<sub>unf</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub>  
rice also negative get to plant yet
- (224) *Old man : né-qhò? lè ̄ mào? ve yò mē* .  
N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
next year topic food hungry nominalizer declarative emphatic
- (225) < *ġi ve* >  
V P<sub>univ</sub>  
laugh nominalizer
- (226) : *yâ-mî-qê? chi ̄ tē khi tē phā-phā qo ̄ te ɔ qô?-ma* .  
N Det P<sub>unf</sub> Q NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
women these topic sometimes some (of) topic topic work affirmative emphatic
- (227) *tē phā-phā qo bò jâ qô?-ma* .  
NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
some (of) topic be lazy very emphatic
- (228) *ò-phô mâ te qo yô-hi kà? mâ te qô?-ma* .  
N Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
husband negative work if they also negative work emphatic
- (229) : *â ġa lè? o , qhe-qo lè* .  
Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>uf</sub> Conj P<sub>unf</sub>  
negative get to eat emphatic if that's the way it is topic
- (230) *ò-pā ġe tē ġe te ġâ ve qô?-ma , yâ-mî lè* .  
N P<sub>n</sub> Q V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub>  
menfolk with together work desiderative nominalizer emphatic women topic
- (231) *D : ò-pā à? mâ phâ? phè? ve qô?-ma* .  
N P<sub>n</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
menfolk accusative negative separate able to nominalizer emphatic
- (232) : *ô qhe qo mâ tà yò , ò-pā thô* .  
NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv + V P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub>  
like that if be sick and tired of declarative menfolk also
- (233) : *ŋà tí qo cì-qhò? á-phè? kà? tē yè è? mâ ġa ti*  
Pron P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V V  
me as for this year chili peppers even one for seedlings even negative get to plant  
*qô?-ma* .  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
emphatic

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- (234) *nū è? mâ ġa ti .*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V V  
 sesame even negative get to plant
- (235) *š3-phà?-ni qo lè vè?-qâ kâ? mâ ġa vè? o hé .*  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 some day soon when topic clothes even negative get to wear emphatic maybe
- (236) : *á-phè? mâ ġa ti o , ñà kâ? .*  
 N Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>uf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub>  
 chili peppers negative get to plant emphatic I also
- (237) : *ñà kâ? chi qhe ve yò .*  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 I also like this genitivizer declarative
- (238) *mù? è mâ ġa qô qo , á-phè? mâ ġa ti ā*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub>  
 weeds even negative get to hoe up if chili peppers negative get to plant durative  
*ve yò .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (239) *câ kâ? mâ ġa ti šē .*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub>  
 rice even negative get to plant yet
- (240) : *mù? šē ni è qô šē le , tê pô? lâthâvi-kho dû*  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q N V  
 weeds three for days only hoe up regrettably because again airstrip dig  
*qay ā ve .*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 continue V'ing durative nominalizer
- (241) *Woman : qhâ cî-â? nē .*  
 V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 hardworking very emphatic
- (242) *te ni ò ...*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 work try and V completed action
- (243) : *alô , kân chi tê mà tš? la ve , hà ve*  
 Interj N Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 oh! job this one for things come up come to V nominalizer tired nominalizer  
*qô? ve kâ? šwî? yò qô?-ma .*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>lim</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 say nominalizer topicalizer the most declarative emphatic
- (244) : *yâ-ò pô? .*  
 Interj P<sub>uf</sub>  
 that's right! emphatic
- (245) : *mì câ ve ò-yân thâ tš? la ve*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 cultivate crops V for a living relativizer in time come up come to V nominalizer

- lɛ* , *mì* *câ* *ve* *câ* *tí* *ve* *jà-yân* *à?*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 because cultivate crops V for a living relativizer rice plant relativizer time accusative
- tɔ?* *la* *ve* *lɛ* , *dɔ̄-hā* *jā* *cì-qhò?* *lè* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 come up come to V nominalizer because miserable very this year topic
- (246) : *cì-qhò?* *lè* *kán* *chi* *tê* *mà* *mâ* *tɔ?* *la* *qhe-qo* *thô*  
 NP<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Conj  
 this year topic job this one for things negative come up come to V if anyway
- , *Kól* *gɛ* *jè* *pú* *lɛ* *qhà-ma-ma* *gá* *ò* *è* .  
 N P<sub>n</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 Northern Thai from debt owe suspensive very much get completed action also
- (247) *câ* *tí* *pà* *è* *te* *lâ* *qo* *è* *dà?* *jā* *ve*  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 rice plant finish V'ing just do benefactive (non-3p) if only good very nominalizer
- ɔ *qô?-ma* *lê* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 affirmative emphatic request for assent
- (248) : *câ* *tí* *pà* *qo* *tê ni tê ni* *te* *gâ* *ve* *yò* .  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 rice plant finish V'ing if every day work desiderative nominalizer declarative
- (249) : *qhe* *mâ hê?* *qo* *thô* , *né-qhò?* *te* *lâ* *qo* *kà?* *thô*  
 Adv Adv + V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 thus not be the case if even next year do benefactive (non-3p) if also also
- dà?* *jā* *ve* *yò* .  
 V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 good very nominalizer declarative
- (250) *cì-qhò?* *qo* *qhe* *lɛ-ɔ* *è?* *ɔ* *mà?* *qô?* *ve* .  
 NP<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 this year when like topic even food hungry say nominalizer
- (251) *yô-hi* *jà-po* *cô* *ve* *à?* *te* *qo* *lè* *né-qhò?* *qo* *è*  
 Pron N N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 their sake over there nominalizer accusative work if topic next year when also
- gá câ kè* *kà?* *â* *mô* *ò* *vâ* .  
 N<sub>dvb</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 place to earn a living even negative see completed action emphatic
- (252) : *cì-qhò?* *è* *mà?* *né-qhò?* *è* *mà?* *qay* *yò* *ma* .  
 NP<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 this year also hungry next year also hungry continue V'ing declarative exclamatory
- (253) : *ŋà* *tí qo* *qhe* *qô?* *pî* *ve* *yò* , *á-š?* *kà?* .  
 Pron P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 me as for thus say benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative a while ago also
- (254) ” *chì-bà?* *ɔ* *mâ* *tân* *šē* .  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 now topic negative negative yet



(264) *ŋà ̄ ” mâ cò ” qô? pî ve qhe-qo , ” chi-ve*  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Det  
 I topic negative be there say benefactive (3p) nominalizer when like this  
*à? tí te qo câ mâ l̄? ”.*  
 P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V Adv V<sub>v</sub>  
 accusative only do if eat negative enough to V

(265) *” à-thò?-ma te mâ l̄? ” qô? qo ,*  
 Adv<sub>interrog</sub> Adv V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 why negative enough to V say if

(266) *” yâ mâ ɛ mâ l̄? cê ”, qhe qô? pî*  
 N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub>  
 children many because negative be enough quotative thus say benefactive (3p)  
*ve yò .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative

(267) : *šɛ? l̄? ɛ tí qo l̄? t̄ê ġâ ð-pun l̄? ġa câ ɔ*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Q N P<sub>unf</sub> vV V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 three for liters only as for topic one person share topic get to eat affirmative  
*qô?-ma .*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic

(268) *ð-m̄-ð-yâ ð-pun mâ ġa câ ve tí yò .*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> N Adv vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 wife and children share negative get to eat nominalizer only declarative

(269) : *n̄-hi ̄ yâ mâ à qô?-ma , šɛ? l̄? tí qo ̄*  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 we (pl) topic children many asseverative emphatic three for liters topicalizer topic  
 .

(270) *Woman : yâ mâ ve ̄ šɛ? l̄? ve l̄? t̄ê*  
 N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num  
 children many nominalizer topic three for liters genitivizer topic one  
*p̄-è ɛ tí cò ve yò .*  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 for mouthfuls only only be there nominalizer declarative

(271) : *ŋà t̄ê qh̄o ve t̄ê p̄-è k̄a? mâ ġa câ qô?-l̄?*  
 Pron Q P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv vV V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 my one household genitivizer one for mouthfuls even negative get to eat emphatic  
 .

(272) *šɛ? l̄? ve cê .*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 three for liters genitivizer quotative





- (282) *à-sǐ tǎn te thā qhe mâ sǔ ò qô?-ma* .  
 Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 at first begin to V work when like negative be the same as completed action emphatic
- (283) *qha-dê? mâ cā lâ o* .  
 AE Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 properly negative feed benefactive (non-3p) emphatic
- (284) : *à-sǐ tǎn te thā qo cā-qha ô lǐ? ġa ɔ*  
 Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 at first begin to V work when topic hulled rice four for liters get affirmative  
*qô?-ma* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (285) *chi-bà? qo mâ ġa o* .  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 now topic negative get emphatic
- (286) : *ô lǐ? mâ hê?* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Adv+V  
 four for liters not be the case
- (287) *à-sǐ tǎn te thā ɔ , nâ lǐ? kâ? tē pɔ? lɛ-ɔ , khà?*  
 Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> Num  
 at first begin to V work when topic five for liters even sometimes suspensive six  
*lǐ? kâ? tē pɔ? ġa á ò qô? ve* .  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Q V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 for liters even sometimes get perfective completed action say nominalizer
- (288) : *chi-bà? qo šɛ? lǐ? è tí ġa e ve qô?*  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V  
 now topic three for liters only only get motion away nominalizer say  
*pî-? , te-te lɛ* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>redup</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 benefactive (imperative) keep on working suspensive
- (289) *yà?-ni ɔ-qhe kán te ve Kɔlɔ kâ? hí ġâ* .  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 today topicalizer work do nominalizer Northern Thai also eight for people
- (290) *Kɔlɔ chi kán te ve mâ qhâ qô?-ma* .  
 N Det N V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 Northern Thai these work do nominalizer negative hardworking emphatic
- (291) : *â chà nē* .  
 Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative be worth sthg emphatic
- (292) *Kɔlɔ qhe kán te qo ɔ khe-pù-lɔ? tē mà è kâ? nī*  
 N N<sub>ext</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num  
 Northern Thai like work do if topic termite hill one for things even even two  
*ni te kâ? mâ pà šē ve yò* .  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 for days do even negative finish yet nominalizer declarative

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- (293) : *vâ-cí-qu* *tê mà è kà? òà-hi Lâhū mâ ga qo*  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N Adv V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 clump of bamboo roots one for things even even we (pl) Lahu negative help if  
*mâ yù bà ġa ve , Kóló chi* .  
 Adv V+V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Det  
 negative remove be able nominalizer Northern Thai these
- (294) *šó-pō qo Vên-khē chɔ là lɛ , òà-hi chɔ kà? a-cí qay*  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>place</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
 tomorrow when village name people come suspensive we (pl) people also more go  
*mâ qo lè a-cí ġa mâ hɛ* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be many if topic more get something done do much probably
- (295) : *Vên-khē chɔ chi šǐ?-cè ô ̄ ð-jâ ̄ cð*  
 N<sub>place</sub> N Det N N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V  
 village name people these tree over there locative outside area locative be there  
*ā ve kà? ġð thu lɛ ô ð-qɔ-ji ̄*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 durative nominalizer also V vigorously chop down suspensive over there center locative  
*kə á lâ ve qô?-ma , Vên-khē chɔ chi*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>place</sub> N Det  
 put into perfective benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer emphatic village name people these
- (296) : *šǐ? thu kà? mâ pí lɔ qô?-lè?* .  
 N V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 tree chop down even negative able to V emphatic declarative emphatic
- (297) : *šǐ? thu kà? mâ pí –*  
 N V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V<sub>v</sub>  
 tree chop down even negative able to V
- (298) : *ð-phô mâ ni lɛ thu lɛ nē , yô-hi*  
 N Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron  
 direction negative pay attention to because chop down suspensive emphatic they  
*̄-qhe lɛ* .  
 P<sub>unf</sub>  
 topicalizer
- (299) *qha-dê?-dê? ð-phô tɛ lɛ thu ve*  
 AE N V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 in exactly the right way direction arrange for suspensive chop down nominalizer  
*mâ hê? nē* .  
 Adv + V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 not be the case emphatic
- (300) : *mâ hê?* .  
 Adv + V  
 not be the case

- (301) ð-pá    ̄        tē    mà        te        tɛ        ā        pî        lɛ        .  
 N<sub>loc</sub>    P<sub>n</sub>        Num    Cl<sub>f</sub>        vV        V        P<sub>v</sub>        V<sub>v</sub>        P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nearby    locative    one    for things    do and    put down    perfective    benefactive (3p)    because
- (302) : qhe-*qo*    šó                    lè    yô-hi    ġa    ġò    bà    e                    ve                    yò  
 Conj    N<sub>time</sub>                    P<sub>unf</sub>    Pron    vV        V        V<sub>v</sub>        P<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>univ</sub>                    P<sub>uf</sub>  
 so        the next day    topic    they    must    drag    away    motion away    nominalizer    declarative
- (303) : mâ hê?  
 Adv + V  
 not be the case
- (304) ô    pá    ̄        thu                    qhe-*qo*    qhe                    mâ    cò    ò        .  
 N<sub>sd</sub>    M<sub>px</sub>    P<sub>n</sub>        V                    P<sub>unf</sub>    Adv                    Adv    V        P<sub>v</sub>  
 that    side    locative    chop down    if                    just like that    negative    be there    would be
- (305) yô    ̄        chò-pá    ̄        thu                    lɛ                    ô        ̄        ð-qɔ-ji    ̄  
 Pron    P<sub>unf</sub>    N<sub>loc</sub>        P<sub>n</sub>        V                    P<sub>unf</sub>                    N<sub>sd</sub>        P<sub>n</sub>        N        P<sub>n</sub>  
 they    topic    this side    locative    chop down    suspensive    over there    locative    center    locative  
 lò?    la                    ve  
 V        P<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>univ</sub>  
 enter    motion towards    nominalizer
- (306) mâ hê? qo , thòo , cò                    ̄        mû-phe    ̄        tâ?    e                    lɛ  
 Cl<sub>nf</sub>                    Interj    N<sub>sd</sub>                    P<sub>n</sub>        N                    P<sub>n</sub>        V        P<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>unf</sub>  
 otherwise    gee!        over there    locative    upwards    locative    go up    motion away    suspensive  
 , á-khe phe lɛ                    , ô                    ̄        chɔ    qhe-ma-ma                    chê                    lɛ-̄  
 N        V        P<sub>unf</sub>                    N<sub>sd</sub>                    P<sub>n</sub>        N                    N<sub>ext</sub>                    V                    P<sub>unf</sub>  
 rope    tie    suspensive        over there    locative    people    a good number of    be there    suspensive  
 ġò                    qo    thò    dà?    jâ    ve                    qô?-ma        .  
 V                    P<sub>unf</sub>    P<sub>unf</sub>    V<sub>adj</sub>    V<sub>v</sub>        P<sub>univ</sub>                    P<sub>uf</sub>  
 drag away    if        also    good    very    nominalizer    emphatic
- (307) : tâ?    e                    qo    ̄        â                    gâ                    ê?                    nē        .  
 V        P<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>unf</sub>    P<sub>unf</sub>    Adv                    V                    P<sub>uf</sub>                    P<sub>uf</sub>  
 go up    motion away    topic    topic    negative    succeed    emphatic    emphatic
- (308) : alôo , chɔ    chi ma-ma    ve                    ̄        tē ġâ                    mâ    gâ    thò  
 Interj    N                    N<sub>ext</sub>                    P<sub>univ</sub>                    P<sub>unf</sub>    Q                    Adv    V                    P<sub>unf</sub>  
 hey!        people    that many    genitivizer    topic    one person    negative    succeed    even  
 tē ġâ                    gâ                    tû                    ve                    yò  
 Q                    V                    P<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>univ</sub>                    P<sub>uf</sub>  
 another person    succeed    future    nominalizer    declarative
- (309) ñà-hi    à?                    qô?    lâ                    ve                    qo    né    ̄        ,    ñà-hi    tâ?  
 Pron    P<sub>n</sub>                    V        P<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>univ</sub>                    P<sub>unf</sub>    P<sub>unf</sub>    P<sub>unf</sub>                    Pron    V  
 us        accusative    talk    benefactive (non-3p)    nominalizer    if        even    topic    we (pl)    go up  
 e                    qo    gâ                    ve                    yò  
 P<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>unf</sub>    V                    P<sub>univ</sub>                    P<sub>uf</sub>  
 motion away    when    succeed    nominalizer    declarative

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- (310) : *ɲà-hi šs-p̄s qo ġa qòʔ te tù ve yò* .  
 Pron N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 we (pl) tomorrow when must V again work future nominalizer declarative
- (311) *ššʔ-cí-ku n̄s è ve ġa t̄ʔ bà tù ve yò*  
 N AE<sub>stat</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 knots of roots green relativizer must cut (with knife away future nominalizer declarative  
*lê*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 request for assent
- (312) : *èe A-m̄è ȳš qòʔ ve cò ššʔ-cè ð-qhɔ th̄ʔ*  
 Interj N<sub>pers</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> N N V  
 yes male name he say nominalizer over there tree hole bore (as a hole)  
*á ve k̄aʔ à-m̄-šī é b̄ʔ a*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 perfective nominalizer topicalizer stick of dynamite little blast (as with dynamite) hortatory  
*qòʔ ve qòʔ-ma* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 say nominalizer emphatic
- (313) *à-m̄-šī lón qo ̄ , ð-qhɔ q̄ j̄a qòʔ ve qòʔ-ma* .  
 N B<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 grenade sthg big topic topic hole gaping (of a hole) very say nominalizer emphatic
- (314) *ð-qhɔ q̄ qo ̄ , j̄èʔ ġa ġáʔ-be ve*  
 N V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 hole gaping (of a hole) if topic earth must scratch together nominalizer  
*m̄ j̄a* .  
 V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 take a long time very
- (315) *á-ššʔ b̄ʔ ā ve ní c̄è ššʔ c̄è*  
 N<sub>time</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 previously blast (as with dynamite) perfective nominalizer two for trees three for trees  
*̄ c̄è b̄ʔ ā ve k̄aʔ m̄a p̄ð*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
 four for trees blast (as with dynamite) perfective nominalizer even negative be completed  
*š̄e qòʔ ve* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 yet say nominalizer
- (316) *à-m̄-šī t̄ t̄ ch̄e qo qhe-le ð-yân š̄ôn j̄a qòʔ ve , ȳš qòʔ*  
 N P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron V  
 fire just burn sthg keep on if topic time waste very say nominalizer he say  
 ve  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer
- (317) *ð-yân š̄ôn qo ̄ , qha-d̄èʔ m̄a p̄ð ve chí qhe ve*  
 N V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 time waste if topic properly negative finish nominalizer like this genitivizer

- $\grave{a}?$   $c\grave{o}$   $ve$   $y\grave{o}$   $q\acute{o}?$   $ve$  .  
 P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 accusative be responsible for nominalizer declarative say nominalizer
- (318) *qhe-qo*  $\bar{s}$  *\grave{a}-m\bar{i}-\acute{s}\bar{i}*  $\acute{e}$  *chi* *b\acute{s}?*  $a$  *qo*  $\bar{s}$   
 Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> Det V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 so topic stick of dynamite little like this blast (as with dynamite) intentive if topic  
 , *\grave{a}-th\grave{a}?*  $c\acute{e}$  *p\acute{o}?* *b\grave{a}* *qo*  $\bar{s}$  , *ch\acute{o}* *k\grave{a}?* *a-c\acute{i}-c\acute{i}*  $\grave{e}$  *t\acute{s}?*  
 N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Adv P<sub>n</sub> V  
 surface only explode away if topic here locative a little just cut (with knife  
*a* *qo* , *j\grave{e}?* *q\grave{o}?*  $\acute{g}\acute{a}?$ - $b\acute{e}$   $a$  *qo* , *p\grave{a}*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V<sub>v</sub> V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 intentive if earth V back (to starting point) scratch together hortatory if finish  
*ve*  $\acute{a}$  *h\acute{e}?*  $\acute{l}\acute{a}$  *q\acute{o}?*  $ve$  *q\acute{o}?*- $ma$  ,  $y\acute{s}$  *q\acute{o}?*  $ve$  .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer negative be the case yes say nominalizer emphatic he say nominalizer
- (319) : *t\grave{a}?*-*n\acute{o}?* *chi*  $\acute{a}?$  *n\grave{a}?*- $\acute{u}$   $te$  *d\grave{a}?*  $h\bar{a}$   $\grave{a}$   
 N Det P<sub>n</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 policeman this accusative conversation make mutual action difficult asseverative  
*q\acute{o}?*- $ma$  .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (320) *te-le*  $y\acute{s}$  *a-c\acute{i}* ” *qhe*  $\acute{g}\acute{a}$   $te$   $ve$   $\text{c}$  ” *q\acute{o}?*  $p\acute{f}$   
 Conj Pron Adv Adv V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 so he just like this ought to do nominalizer affirmative say benefactive (3p)  
*qo*  $\bar{s}$  *d\acute{e}*  $\acute{l}\acute{a}$   $ve$   $t\acute{i}$   $\acute{e}?$  .  
 P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 topic topic scold benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer only emphatic
- (321) *y\grave{a}?*-*ni*  $\bar{s}$  *\eta\grave{a}-h\bar{i}* *ch\acute{o}*  $t\acute{e}$   $m\grave{a}$   $chi$   $h\acute{y}$   $\acute{e}$   $ve$   
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 today topic we (pl) person one for people (informal) only this big only genitivizer  
 $\acute{a}?$  ” *k\acute{a}n*  $te$   $m\grave{a}$   $q\acute{h}\acute{a}$  ” *q\acute{o}?*  $l\acute{e}$  , ” *k\acute{u}-ch\acute{a}*  
 P<sub>n</sub> N V Adv V<sub>adj</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>prop</sub>  
 accusative work do negative hardworking say suspensive communist  
*y\grave{a}?*  $la$   $t\acute{e}$   $n\bar{i}$   $g\acute{a}$  *qo*  $l\acute{e}$  ,  $n\acute{o}$   $l\acute{e}$   $\acute{s}\bar{u}$   $m\bar{i}-k\acute{h}\acute{f}$   
 V P<sub>v</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N  
 come down motion towards one for days reach when topic you topic they fertilizer  
 $te$   $t\bar{u}$   $y\grave{o}$  ” *q\acute{o}?*  $\acute{l}\acute{a}$   $ve$  *q\acute{o}?*- $ma$  .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 make future declarative say benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer emphatic
- (322) : *\eta\grave{a}-h\bar{i}* *ch\acute{o}*  $k\grave{a}?$   $t\acute{s}$   $y\acute{o}$   $h\bar{a}$   $l\acute{e}$  .  
 Pron N P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>spec</sub> + V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 we (pl) people topicalizer stubborn because
- (323)  $t\acute{e}$   $ph\acute{o}$   $q\acute{o}?$   $qo$   $l\acute{e}$   $\acute{s}\bar{u}$   $d\acute{e}$   $ph\acute{o}$   $k\grave{a}?$   $c\acute{s}$   $e$   
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 one for aspects of a situation topicalizer topic they scold way even be right even  
 $ve$   $y\grave{o}$  .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative

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- (324) *šú khô mâ na pí lɛ , šú khô è mâ*  
 Pron N Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N P<sub>unf</sub> Adv  
 others' advice negative listen able to V suspensive others' language even negative  
*šĩ te-qo , t̂ yɔ hā ve*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 understand because words speak difficult to V nominalizer
- (325) *ŋà-hi qhe ve qô? pí a qo mâ na*  
 Pron N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
 we (pl) like genitivizer say benefactive (3p) intentive if negative listen  
*lâ*  
 P<sub>v</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p)
- (326) *šú qô? pí khô è qo yô mâ qô? šĩ*  
 Pron V V<sub>v</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Adv P<sub>v</sub> V  
 others say benefactive (3p) word also topic he negative V also understand
- (327) *te hā ve , šú khô kâ? mâ na*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
 do difficult to V nominalizer others' advice even negative heed
- (328) : *mâ na ve , mâ šĩ ve , â hê?*  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V  
 negative listen nominalizer negative understand nominalizer negative be the case  
*lâ , qô?-è?*  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 yes emphatic
- (329) *mâ šĩ ve qô?-ma*  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative understand nominalizer emphatic
- (330) : *šú " tâ ġð " qô? qo ġð*  
 Pron Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 others don't! pull if pull
- (331) " *ġð " qô? qo ̄ , phɔ e*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 pull if topic run away motion away
- (332) *ŋà-hi qô? a qo lɛ , ŋà-hi qhô ̄ yô ĩ ve qhe*  
 Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub>  
 we (pl) speak intentive if topic we (pl) above topic he great nominalizer like  
*te ve*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 act as nominalizer
- (333) : *mâ šĩ ve qo ̄ , na lâ cô*  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 negative understand nominalizer if topic listen benefactive (non-3p) ought to  
*ve yò-è?*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer emphatic declarative

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**Translation**
**Shatodo IX-1**

<David> 18: We are now making a landing place for airplanes in Shatodo village. [Planes with] how many engines<sup>1</sup> do they say will be able to land?

19. Well, they say that ones with three engines will land. But right now we still haven't even finished making the airstrip. We haven't even finished hauling away the trees we've chopped down already. And the lac stinging us is making it hard for us now, I tell you!<sup>2</sup>

20. How many days will it take to be finished?

21. Well, if we don't work fast for a week we probably won't finish it yet.

22. The trees haven't been burned off yet.

23. Towards evening yesterday the trees were chopped down. We did set fire to them, but they haven't finished burning yet. And that's because everybody doesn't work at the same time.

24. Some days, you see, only twenty-odd people, some days only thirty-odd people work, so that's why it's not finished.

25. Isn't it done "one person per household," as they say?

26. They say one person per household, because now the time to work – the time for planting the paddy — has arrived, and so the people work in rotation with each other. Some days we've been split up into groups of twenty-odd people each to work – some days there are as many as thirty, other days there are only about twenty.

27. Ha! There are also days when only two people come!

28. That's right, that happens, too.

29. There are also times when only one person comes, aren't there?

30. There are also times when only one person comes.

31. Everybody doesn't always go to work in a single bunch in the same place at the same time. Sometimes we even go to work split up into two or three groups. Those who don't go have their own work to do at home besides. So that's why we can't get building the airstrip done very fast.

32. It's been sixteen days now that we've been building this airfield, up to today. Even so it's not finished yet.

[David] 33: How many liters of rice do you get per day for building the airfield – for working?

34. We only get three liters. Plus six dried salted fish. Lately we've been getting four liters. [But] when we first started working in the beginning, no matter how we worked they only gave us *three* liters of paddy a day and *five* dried fish.

35. That's probably not enough to live on, an amount like that.

36. This evening I tried begging them, and I got five liters of rice. I got seven or eight dried fish, too. If you don't ask for something extra they don't give it to you.

37. Do they say that when the airfield is built you all will get to ride [in the planes]?

<sup>1</sup>The word 6-qō (lit. "head") is used for the engine of a plane, just as qhê-qhə 'rear end/rump' or qhê-tû 'anus' is used for a plane's tail.

<sup>2</sup>The kī-cè (*Melanorrhoea usitata*) is a tree similar in appearance to the lamyai-tree, which exudes an irritating black sap that bothers the Lahu workers when they haul the trees away.

## Building an airstrip

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38. Well, they say that when it's finished, even if we wanted to go visit Chiang Mai we'd be allowed to ride. They'll let us ride, they say. I don't know anymore whether this is true or not.
39. Well, when a plane comes we'll just climb in for a ride! Even if they don't offer to take us!
40. Because we've suffered for it, haven't we?
41. We have suffered for it.
42. Every bone in my body is aching from dragging away the bamboo stumps and the tree stumps!
43. A lac tree over there really irritated me one time a few days ago. My forehead was so itchy I thought I would die. But even though I told this to the police<sup>3</sup>, and they said they would blast it out for us, they didn't hurry about blasting it away for us. Then today they finally did blast it out. But even so, it stung me again, would you believe it!
- [David] 44: If you chew up some raw sticky rice and smear it on the place where the lac has irritated you, it'll get better, you know.
45. Say, I didn't know that!
46. By daybreak tomorrow it should be all burnt off. The fire's burning very hard.
47. I doubt if it'll be all burnt off.
48. It will be over. By daybreak. The inside part is all burnt up already.
49. Burnt up already, is it?
50. Well, I still think it probably won't be finished.
51. The other day an airplane came, this airplane came – and came in the wrong direction and sank into a mud-hole! We had to lift it out again. A little plane – a tiny one, yea big.
52. It's because he'd never come before, wouldn't you say?
53. Because he'd never come before. The others would come down in a certain direction, but he came down in another direction and sank into the mud-hole.
54. But you people managed to help him get back out again, so it turned out all right.
55. This evening now I was working. And they still hadn't managed to blast the trees out yet. So far, we've only bored the holes<sup>4</sup>, and the police official says he'll blast tomorrow morning.
56. Well, but didn't he say that the ones we had bored before he would blast this evening?
57. No. He's a real bastard.
58. What he said was –
- 59a. He lies. He makes other people do the work, and he just hangs around doing nothing!
- 59b. He says that he won't blast with a big grenade. It's wasteful, he says. He'll only blast with a little tiny one. He says that these large grenades cost two thousand baht apiece. That's what he told us.
60. All this about spending this much or that much, what do we know about it!
61. He ought to do the blasting for us.
62. Oh, this policeman is always chewing us out too! He goes around bitching at us all the time, this policeman.

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<sup>3</sup>The Thai Border Police were supervising the building of the airstrip.

<sup>4</sup>For sticking the dynamite in.



63. Even if he spends that much it's not his money! It's the government's money!

64. He's a pain in the neck.

65. They gave it to him to blast with. He ought to blast.

66. But that's all he keeps telling us, you see!

[A pause]

[David] 67: Is there any more [to say]?

68. This airstrip we're building extends into our fields too, so that we even have to dig up all the rice we already planted. Because if we don't dig it up, there's nothing to be done.

69. In that case you've just got to go ask for compensation.

70. As for going and asking for compensation, he doesn't want to give it to us, because it's government land. "Never mind," he says, "extend your fields in any direction you please!"<sup>5</sup> And so, since this police official is the boss, you go ask him for something and he gives you exactly twenty baht.<sup>6</sup>

71. You can't win. No matter how little they give us it's better than nothing.<sup>7</sup>

72. He tells us to make this place for airplanes to land – but does he say when one will really land here, I wonder!

73. He says they'll land one the very day it's finished – that's what he says, anyway.

74. I wonder what they look like, flying-machines like that! I've never even seen one! Not in all my born days.<sup>8</sup>

75. Hey, buddy, have you ever gotten to ride in one?

76. No, I never have! I've been wanting to but I don't have the money. And nobody has offered to give me a ride! Someday I *will* try asking somebody for a ride, though.

77. I doubt if anybody would *offer* to give you a ride. "I don't have any money," tell them! "Could I please have a ride? I'd like to see what it's like to ride for a while," you've got to say to them.

78. I'd like to just grab onto a wing and try flying around. Even the shortest side of it is six cords long.<sup>9</sup> I've never seen anything like it in all my born days.

79. The rear end of it had been pointing upwards, see? He was going to drop some supplies and when he had the *head* of it pointing upwards and the tail pointing downwards he let the stuff come falling down!

[Titters]

Paul 80: Didn't it fall into the River Kok?<sup>10</sup>

81. Yesterday they were dropping things again and they almost hit people! [*laughing*] If it hits you, you die.

82. Well then, when it's coming you should go run off and stay under a tree. Otherwise you might get hit.

<sup>5</sup>To make up for the land lost to the airstrip. Lit: "in whichever direction you cultivate onwards, cultivate onwards!"

<sup>6</sup>Equivalent to US\$1.00 in those days.

<sup>7</sup>Lit: "no matter how much they give us, if we get that much it's good".

<sup>8</sup>Lit: "even when I was just coming to be aware of people's speech".

<sup>9</sup>A 'cord' or 'fathom' (Lahu *lò*) is the distance between the fingertips of the outstretched arms.

<sup>10</sup>The Náam Kòk, a river south of the village, arises in Shan state and empties into the Mekong, nearly forming the Thai-Burmese border at certain points.

## Building an airstrip

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[David] 83: When the three-headed airplane lands, you ought to touch it carefully, stroke it carefully, and look it over carefully, too. While it's coming down from above, its belly, its top, its bottom, its surface you should all carefully –

84. Hey, you ought to look over its [whole] body carefully, too.

87. It's beautiful to look at.

88. It's all sparkling white, like when you've just brushed your teeth!

89. That's what it's like, what we call an "airplane".

90. Well, when that big airplane comes down to a stop, I want to look at it, give it a good once-over. It's very beautiful.

Paul 91: This airplane, who do they say made it? Do they say that Lahu made it?

[laughter]

92. They say that white men made it.

Paul 93: Someday in the future I suppose the Lahu will be able to make them too, these airplanes.

[David] 94: I bet they will! That is, some day. If we try to make them.

95. Come on, the Lahu can't do it. The Lahu have no education.

96. Well, you're wrong! Two of our people are already away studying now.

Paul 97: You just go cut some bamboo tubes and put in some gasoline and set it alight and there you are! It doesn't matter if it goes or not.

98. If it's Jalaw,<sup>11</sup> he probably *could* do it.

99. Sure it could be done. But all we know is its *shape*. It wouldn't be able to fly around in the air.

100. Well, a *car* now, even a Lahu could make one, I bet.

101. A car goes gliding along the ground.

102. We'd scoop out a nice hole in a log, eh?

[laughs]

103. But everybody has his own car, you know! The car that your father and mother gave you. The one you go walking around on every day!<sup>12</sup>

[David] 104: That's a good one!

105. That's a good one.

106. It can't run out of gas. And it can't break down either, right?

[Pause]

107. I guess we're all finished now.

\*\*\*

108. Hurry up and do it!

110. Granddad, you're an old man, you shouldn't get up to work so early every morning! You're liable to catch a fever.

---

<sup>11</sup>This is Paul's original Lahu name (Cà-15 in formal transcription).

<sup>12</sup>He is referring to one's legs.

[*Old man*] 111: I won't catch anything. Since I'm a guy who's used to staying in the water all the time.

112. This old fellow now, when he really gets the urge they say he even goes off before daybreak, off to the fields.

[*Old man*] 113: I do it because I'm afraid I won't get anything to eat otherwise.

[*David*] 114: I wouldn't be surprised if he played the young lover too!

[*Old man*] 115: Not me, not me!

116. You do. We know all about you.

117. He's trying to handle two things at once. The airstrip and his fields.

[*One of the young guys*] 118: I tell you, in the mornings I can't move a muscle.<sup>13</sup> In the afternoons I work on the airstrip, clearing away the hunks of wood that have been chopped down onto the base of the trees, so in the mornings I can't move a muscle. Well, this old guy is probably playing the lover. Just like the Pastor said, eh?

118. I bet he does do it a little bit.

119. In the morning, when it's just getting light enough for him to see –

120. I wouldn't be surprised if he was playing around a little.

[*laughter*]

121. He's a very hard worker.

122. When it's just getting light enough to see a little bit, he's gone, this old guy.

123. Say, granddad, aren't you tired from working on the airstrip on top of hoeing your fields?

Old man 124: I'm not tired at all. I'm not sick, you know.

125. Goddam, even young guys like us are so tired from working on the airstrip that we can't move a muscle in the mornings. By the time we can get up the sun is already way up there!

[*Old man*] 126: As soon as the cock crows I can't sleep, old man that I am. I'm worried that I won't have anything to eat.

[*Young man*] 127: Young man that I am, I don't know anything about all that. I don't know about *not* getting anything to eat. All I know is that when I'm sound asleep it's great to be sound asleep. I don't understand anything else.<sup>14</sup>

[*Old man*] 128: If you stay asleep you'll get no rice to eat! We've got to hoe our own mountain-fields on top of doing the government's work. Early in the morning at the crack of dawn we've got to till our fields – in the afternoons we've got to do the government's work.

129. These people of ours are pretty stubborn. They [the Border Police] said to us "If you're going to work, everybody work at the same time!"—but while some of us are working, others are just looking on idly. So they told us, "When you work, *everybody* should work at once! And when you rest, let everybody rest together! Don't just stand around and gawk while somebody else is working!" The fact is, they said, "if the time to plant your paddy comes before you've finished this work [the airstrip], you won't be able to plant at all, so hurry up with the work!" But, even so, they're very lazy.

130. This weekend let's work together all at once, every soul in the village, and get it done! If we do finish it fast –

<sup>13</sup>Lit: "can't shake it".

<sup>14</sup>This young man is egging the older man on to sermonize him.

131. If we don't finish the work, it will be everybody's fault.

132. If we do finish it fast, we'll manage to get our fields hoed in time, see?

133. Yeah, if we don't finish we won't manage to hoe our fields.

134. That's what we said to that crowd. We told them to hurry up and work together, all at the same time, but they don't listen. Anyway, only one person per household does the work. "Sure we work, sure we've worked, sure we've worked!" they say, but it's just not true. All they want is to go stay in the forest and spend the night there.<sup>15</sup> Ah, these Lahu are hard to reason with!

135. Yes sirree!<sup>16</sup> Getting together this weekend and working in a group – if we *don't* finish, if we don't manage to plant the paddy in good time, by next year the village might not even exist anymore.

136. If there's not enough rice to eat that's what will happen. Each of us will go his own way to earn a living. If such a time should come.

137. Or else we'd even become thieves! If there's nothing for us to eat.

138. Even if we have nothing to eat I daresay we won't be thieves.

139. Well, people like us two now, no matter how it may go with us, since we're "their people"<sup>17</sup>, since it'd be because we've done as they've ordered us to, if we should have nothing to eat all we'd have to do would be to ask them to feed us. So you see, we won't have to speculate back and forth or talk back and forth! We'll just ask them to feed us, if we're going hungry. Because they've made us work for them – because we've become "their people."

140. While the men are working over there [on the airstrip], let the *women* go do the weeding, I say. You'd think the women would be working at it every day. But they haven't even managed to hoe the weeds yet, some of them. And they haven't gotten to plant the paddy yet either.

[*Old man*] 141: Next year we'll starve, I tell you [if it's up to those women].

[*Laughter*]

142. These women *do* work at times – some of them anyway. Some of them are lazy as hell though. If their husbands aren't working right along with them, they won't work either.

143. They're good-for-nothing then.<sup>18</sup> They insist on working together with the males, those women.

David 144: They can't part from their menfolk!

145. Even the menfolk are tired of their being that way.

147. This year I haven't been able to plant a single seedling of pepper! Or even sesame either! In the days to come we probably won't even have any clothes to wear anymore.<sup>19</sup>

148. I haven't managed to plant any peppers either.

149. It's the same way with me. If I can't even get the weeding done how can I go planting peppers! I haven't even planted my paddy yet.

150. I only weeded for three days, then I had to go back to digging the aeroplane field again.<sup>20</sup>

Women 151: I am *too* a hard worker! I've tried to work –

<sup>15</sup>I.e., spending the night with a girl in the forest.

<sup>16</sup>This phrase is in the North Country dialect (**Lāhū Mǎ-nǎ**).

<sup>17</sup>I.e. Thai citizens.

<sup>18</sup>Lit: "They don't manage to lick (i.e. eat)". That is, their activities are ineffectual.

<sup>19</sup>Chili-peppers and sesame were among the Lahu's cash crops. Normally they would sell them to the Thai in exchange for clothes, salt, etc.

<sup>20</sup>He uses an old-fashioned Burmese- and Shan-derived word **lāthā-ví** for 'plane' (< Burmese *yāthā* [WB *rāthā*] 'cart/wagon' + Shan *win* 'fly').

152. Ah, me! Ever since this work came up I've been weary to the bones!<sup>21</sup>

153. That's the truth.

154. It came up right at the time we have to cultivate our fields, the time for us to till the soil and plant the rice – so it's miserable for us this year.

155. If this job hadn't come up this year, we would've taken out a loan of rice from the Northern Thai as usual and gotten as much as we wanted.<sup>22</sup> If they had only done this to us when the rice planting was over it would've been fine, see?

156. If the paddy were all planted we wouldn't mind working [on the airstrip] every single day.

157. Or else if they had even done it next year<sup>23</sup> it would've been fine and dandy. But instead this year we're going hungry, and if we just work for them over there now I don't see how we're going to manage next year either. This year we starve, and next year we'll keep on starving.

158. That's just what I told them [the Border Police], a while ago. "Right now we don't have the time yet. Let us do it next month," I said, so then they said to me, "Next month it can't be done. The rainy season has already set in. It can't be done."

159. We've got to obey them. Because the likes of us are a little race of people. Our work is no match for the government's work.

160. Mm-hm.

161. This very morning a policeman said that any of us who wanted to work on the airfield on a permanent basis would get three liters of rice a day per man, without planting his own paddy at all, just working over there all the time. "Is there anybody who would want to do that?" he said. "No, there aren't," I told him. "If you only make it that much, it won't be enough to live on. The reason it wouldn't be enough, they say, is that they have so many children they couldn't live on that much," I said to him.

162. One person could live on three liters, all right. But it's just not enough to feed a wife and children.

163. We have too many children for only three liters!

Women 164: With lots of children three liters is only a mouthful.

165. With my family, it wouldn't even *be* a mouthful! Those three liters of theirs.

166. As far as I'm concerned even three liters would be enough to eat. Since there aren't many people [in my house].

167. There are only three of you, so it's enough to eat.

168. God, there are so many people in my family. At a single meal we use up four liters of rice!

169. When we were just beginning to work on the airstrip we used to get tobacco to smoke, even. And we would get bananas to munch and candy too! But now, for the morning meal they don't give us a thing to eat! As for the evening meal, we get one cigarette and one piece of candy, and that's all. It's not the same now as it used to be when we were just beginning to work. They don't feed us properly!

170. When we were just beginning to work – the amount of rice we got when we were just beginning to work was four liters. But now we don't get that much any more.<sup>24</sup>

171. It wasn't four liters! When we were just beginning to work we'd sometimes get even five liters, sometimes even as much as six liters, I tell you.

<sup>21</sup>Lit: "if we talk about being tired it's the most!"

<sup>22</sup>Note the **contrary-to-fact** use of the verb particle *ò*. The Lahu of this village normally get rice on credit from their Thai neighbors until the harvest. But this year, seeing that the Lahu were having planting delays, the Thai were unwilling to extend credit.

<sup>23</sup>I.e. After this year's harvest but before the next planting.

<sup>24</sup>For a somewhat different account, see sentence 34.

172. Now we only get three liters, having worked and worked! Today now, there were eight Thai working along with us too. These Thai don't work very hard, you know! They're no good at working! When a Thai is on the job it takes him two days to clear away a termite hill – and even then it's not finished.

173. Why, if we Lahu don't help them, those Thai can't even dig out a clump of bamboo roots. Tomorrow some people are coming from Venkheh<sup>25</sup>, and if more of *our* people go too, we should get a lot more done.

174. Once these people from Venkheh chopped through a tree that was over there on the side and made it fall over into the middle [of the area that had been cleared]! These Venkheh guys.

175. They can't even chop down trees!

176. They can't even chop trees –

177. Because they chop without looking to see the direction! Those guys just don't figure out the direction right.

178. [*Defending them*] That's not it. It happened because there was already another one that somebody had cut down right next to it.<sup>26</sup>

179. So the next day they had to drag it away.

180. You're wrong. If they had only chopped on a different side it wouldn't have turned out the way it did. But they chopped it on *this* side [*gesture*] and it came falling smack into the middle. Or else, for God's sake, if somebody had climbed up the tree and tied a rope to it, and if lots of people had stood over there and pulled, it would've been fine.

181. It was the climbing up that was too much for them!

182. Oh, come on, with all those people if one man couldn't make it somebody else would've. Besides if they'd only asked us to, then *we* would've been able to climb up for them.

184. We'll have to be back on the job again tomorrow. We've got to cut away the green<sup>27</sup> root-clumps, don't we? Yeah, that fellow A-meh said, "Let's take that tree over there that you've already knocked a hole in, and blast it out too with a small stick of dynamite."<sup>28</sup> Because if we take a *big* charge of dynamite and blast, the hole [left in the ground] will be too deep, and if the hole's too deep you'll have to spend too long scraping earth together to fill it. You still haven't finished with filling in the holes from the last two, three, or four trees that we blasted! "And if you just keep burning the trees out"<sup>29</sup>, he said, "It'll waste a lot of time. If you waste time that's what makes you not finish the job properly," he said. "So, if you explode a small stick of dynamite, so it only blasts away the surface, then if you just do a little cutting here and there and drag [the pieces of wood] away, and fill in the earth again, you'll be all done, right?" he said.

185. That policeman is a hard man to talk to, all right!

186. If we make a little suggestion to him he just curses us out. Today now, he said that one of us – you know, that little guy – wasn't working hard enough, so he told him, "When the day comes that the communists get down here you're the one they'll make fertilizer out of!"

[*David*] 187: It's because our people won't listen to reason. From one point of view it was right that they scolded him that way. Since he's a disobedient fellow anyway, and also doesn't understand their language on top of it, he's hard to deal with. When we talk to him he doesn't listen. And when *they* talk to him he doesn't understand. What's tough is that he doesn't do what you tell him.

188. He doesn't listen and he doesn't understand! Right?

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<sup>25</sup>Name of a Red Lahu village.

<sup>26</sup>So there wasn't room to chop the second one in such a way that it would fall outside the cleared area.

<sup>27</sup>*šī?-cī-ku* 'knots of roots left after a tree has been chopped down'; *nō ē ve* 'green', i.e. not yet dried up, not dead, so hard to deracinate.

<sup>28</sup>*a-mi-šī* (lit: "fire pellet") is used to mean 'grenade' or 'dynamite'.

<sup>29</sup>I.e. by setting fire to them rather than by blasting them with dynamite.

189. He doesn't understand!

190. When they tell him "Don't pull!" he pulls. When they tell him "Pull!", he runs away. And when we try to say anything to him he acts as if he was above us. If there's something he doesn't understand, he ought to listen to us.

## 6.6 The government offers us new land

- (1) *H : âa , ñà-hi Lâhū-yâ tê gâ le-le ve šu lâthâbân ve*  
 . Interj Pron N NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N P<sub>univ</sub>  
 well! we (pl) Lahu people everybody genitivizer non-Lahu government genitivizer  
*tô-khô ñà-hi qhô gâ la b*  
 N Pron N<sub>loc</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 message us above reach become emphatic declarative
- (2) *ñà-hi jê dà? tù yò*  
 Pron V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 we (pl) discuss future declarative
- (3) *tê gâ le-le tê khi là ò? mē*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> Q V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 everybody temporarily come urging imperative persuasive
- (4) *ñà-hi tê gâ le-le ve ɔ-qhe lɛ yà?-pí-há ð-lɔn jê dà? tù ɔ chi qhe*  
 Pron NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> N V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub>  
 we (pl) everybody genitivizer topicalizer tonight matter discuss purposive topic like this  
*cò ve qô?-ma*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be there nominalizer emphatic
- (5) *ñà-hi Thây mì-gì ð-qhɔ lo chē ve , yà?-ni thà? tàn lɛ*  
 Pron N<sub>place</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 we (pl) Thailand amongst locative live nominalizer today accusative begin suspensive  
 , ð-gū-šī qay qo ɔ , ñà-hi tê gâ le-le thà? mì-gì hɛ-ñê  
 N<sub>time</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N N  
 in the future continue when topic us everybody accusative earth swidden  
*mì-câ-kì ð-ti pè? lâ a qô? ve cê*  
 N<sub>divb</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 land to cultivate place give benefactive (non-3p) intentive say nominalizer quotative  
*qô?-ma*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (6) *qhà-qhe te lɛ le*  
 Cl<sub>inf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 how substantive qst
- (7) *C : qhð-thâ?-kà? na â tà ò*  
 . AE V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 always listen tired of V'ing completed action
- (8) *chi qhe ve khô tí yò*  
 AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 like this genitivizer word only declarative
- (9) *H : âa , chi qhe mâ hê? qô?-ma*  
 . Interj AE<sub>ext</sub> Adv + V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! like this not be the case emphatic



- (10) *ηà-hi ò-ǵù-šĩ phô qhò-thâ?-kâ? ηà-hi chw-mô cwe le yâ-cwe*  
 Pron N<sub>time</sub> AE Pron N Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 we (pl) in the future always our ancestors era suspensive children's generation  
*câ tù ve mì-gê pè? lâ a cê qô?*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V  
 earn a living purposive relativizer land give benefactive (non-3p) intentive quotative say  
*ve qô?-ma .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer emphatic
- (11) *tê ǵâ ve à? nĩ chi hay qhe pè?*  
 Q P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> V  
 one person genitivizer accusative twenty for Thai acres approximately give  
*lâ a qô? ve qô?-ma .*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p) intentive say nominalizer emphatic
- (12) *qhà-qhe te tù le .*  
 Cl<sub>nf</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 how future substantive qst
- (13) *ηà-hi ò-ti ca ni tù ve lâ .*  
 Pron N V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 we (pl) place go and do look at future nominalizer yes
- (14) *T : qhò-qhe ̄ cò qha-pâ? le , ò-ti .*  
 . N<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N  
 where? locative be there intensifying particle substantive qst place
- (15) *H : âa-âa-*
- (16) *T : tê kâ ê? â cò qha-pâ? .*  
 . Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 one for places only negative be there intensifying particle
- (17) *H : ô ̄ , Phá-pù-cón ̄ Khè-mèw? ǵe kâ? cò ,*  
 . N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Eth P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V  
 over there locative village name locative Hmong with locative be there  
*qhe qô? mò và .*  
 Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 like this say see or hear of emphatic
- (18) *ô-ve kâ? ca ni e qô? ve và , šu .*  
 Det P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron  
 that also go and do look at motion away say nominalizer emphatic they
- (19) *C : ô-ve ̄ Khè-mèw? à? pè pĩ ò qô?*  
 . Det P<sub>unf</sub> Eth P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V  
 that topic Hmong accusative share benefactive (3p) completed action say  
*ve â hê? lâ .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer negative be the case yes

The government offers us new land

- (20) *H* : *Khè-mèw?* *tí* *hâ?* *mâ* *pə̀* .  
 . Eth P<sub>univ</sub> V Adv V<sub>v</sub>  
 Hmong only get negative use up
- (21) *nì-hi* *Lâhū* *kâ?* *pè* *dà?* *qô?* *ve* *cê* *qô?-yò-è?* .  
 Pron N P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 we (pl) Lahu also share mutual action say nominalizer quotative emphatic
- (22) *T* : *chi qhe* *Khè-mèw?* *à?* *pî* , *Lâhū* *à?* *pî* *ve* *lè*  
 . AE<sub>ext</sub> Eth P<sub>n</sub> V N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 like this Hmong accusative give Lahu accusative give nominalizer topic  
*yà? dà?* *ve* *tí* *yò* .  
 V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quarrel with each other nominalizer only declarative
- (23) *H* : *âa* , *a-šū-yô* *ve* *mì-gì* *t̄* *lâ* *ve*  
 . Interj Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 well! one's own genitivizer land separate off benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer  
*cê* *qô?-ma* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative emphatic
- (24) *tê?* *lâ* *tù* *ve* *cê* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 measure benefactive (non-3p) future nominalizer quotative
- (25) *a-šū-šū* *qay* *tù* *le* , *ca* *ni* *qo* .  
 N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 who all go future substantive qst go and do look at topic
- (26) *T* : *âa* , *ŋà* *lè* *mâ* *qay* *o* .  
 . Interj Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! I topic negative go emphatic
- (27) *à-šwè* *kâ?* *ti-mi* *te* *câ* *jo* *ve* *yà?-ni*  
 NP<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub>  
 long ago also paddy field (irrigated) cultivate V for a living experiential nominalizer today  
*gà* *ve* *mâ hê?* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv + V  
 reach nominalizer not be the case
- (28) *yê-he* *tí* *te* *câ* *ve* *ī* *ā* *ve*  
 N P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 high swidden only cultivate V for a living nominalizer grow up durative nominalizer  
*le* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 because
- (29) *nà-phâ?* *lo* .  
 N P<sub>uf</sub>  
 malaria emphatic declarative
- (30) *kô?* *à* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub>  
 be afraid asseverative

- (31) *H* : *âa* , *šu* *mì-gì* *pè?* *lâ* *qo* *lè* *ca* *ni*  
 . Interj Pron N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V  
 well! they land give benefactive (non-3p) topic topic go and do look at  
*ve* *yò-a* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer emphatic declarative
- (32) *thô* .  
 Conj  
 anyway
- (33) *chi-bà?* *mâ* *te* *câ* *thô* , *à-mù* *a-yé-yé* *qo* *ḡ*  
 N<sub>time</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Conj Adv P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 now negative cultivate V for a living even some day in the future when topic  
*te* *câ* *cô* *la* *nā* *mâ* *ši* *ò* *è?* .  
 V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 cultivate V for a living ought to come to V doubt negative know anymore emphatic
- (34) *šu* *pè?* *lâ* *thâ* *tí* *pè?* *lâ* .  
 Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 they give benefactive (non-3p) when only give benefactive (non-3p)
- (35) *mâ* *pè?* *lâ* *thâ* *gà* *qo* *ḡà-hi* *hâ?* *gâ*  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> Temp Nom V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub>  
 negative give benefactive (non-3p) the time when reach when we (pl) get desiderative  
*thô* *mâ* *ḡa* .  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
 even negative get
- (36) *ca* *ni* *cô* *ve* *mē* , *a-ví-a-ni* *tê phā*  
<sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> Q  
 go and do look at ought to nominalizer persuasive brothers and sisters pluralizer  
*ò* .  
 P<sub>n</sub>  
 vocative
- (37) *C* : *ši və* *è?* .  
 . V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 take smn along emphatic
- (38) *ô* *Cà-qé* *hi* *à?* , *Cà-phò?* *hi* *à?* .  
 N<sub>sd</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> B<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> B<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 those male name pluralizer accusative male name pluralizer accusative
- (39) *H* : *âa* , *qay* , *qay* .  
 . Interj V V  
 well! go go
- (40) *tê-nî ḡâ* *qay* .  
 NP<sub>q</sub> V  
 one or two people go
- (41) *šó-nà?* *ḡ* *te* *câ* *á* *le* *qay* *mē* .  
 N<sub>time</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 tomorrow morning food cook (as food) V to eat perfective suspensive go urging

- (42) *š*u *chɔ̄* *qô?* *ve* , *šɔ̄-pɔ̄-nà?* *qo*  
 Pron N V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 non-Lahu important person say nominalizer tomorrow morning when  
*câ-á-dò-á* *qo* , *nè-á* *ge š*u *kà?* *qay qô?* *ve*  
 Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> V V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 having eaten and drunk when the two of us with others also go say nominalizer
- (43) *ɲà-hi* *à?* *lɔ* *lá* *ve* *yò*  
 Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 us accusative wait for benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer declarative
- (44) *qhe-qo* , *ɲà-hi* *câ-á-dò-á* *qo* *nò-hi* *qha qay pā*  
 Conj Pron Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Adv V P<sub>v-nom</sub>  
 so we (pl) having eaten and drunk when you (pl) all go agentive nominalizer  
*tê gā le-le* *ve* *qha qay tù* *ve* *qo ɔ̄* , *tê nà?* *câ á*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 everybody genitivizer all go future nominalizer topic topic early eat perfective  
*le* , *nô* *ɔ̄* *šu ò-hó* *à?* *ši* *dà?* *le*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 suspensive up there locative they leader accusative lead along mutual action suspensive  
*tê ge* *ca* *ni* *e* *mē*  
 Q <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 together go and do look at motion away persuasive
- (45) *ɲà* *tí qo* *mā* *qay šɔ̄* *hé*  
 Pron P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 I topicalizer negative go durative probably
- (46) *mā* *qay tân* *le*  
 Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 negative go (not) have time to because
- (47) *chi-bà?* *ɔ̄* *kán* *kà?* *kán* *kì* *jā* *le*  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 now topic work also work busy very because
- (48) *TY* : *pòthoo* , *nò* *qhâ?-šɛ* *gā* *qay ve* *yò* *qô?-mā* ,  
 Interj Pron N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 good grief! you headman must go nominalizer declarative emphatic  
*qhe-ɔ̄*  
 Conj  
 in that case
- (49) *qhe* , *qhà-qhe* *qhâ?-yâ* *ɔ̄* *ni* *phê?* *a* *tù* *è*  
 Adv N<sub>intg</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 this way how? villager topic look out for able to intentive future substantive qst
- (50) *H* : *âa* , *ɲà* *tí qo* *mā* *hâ?* *šɛ*  
 Interj Pron P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 well! I topicalizer negative want to get yet
- (51) *ô* *ɔ̄* *tí qo* *ɲà* *mā* *hâ?* *le-ɔ̄* *mā* *qay šɛ*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 over there locative topicalizer I negative want to get causal negative go yet

- (52) *ô* *̄* *ɲà* *mâ* *ca* *ni* .  
 N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron Adv <sub>v</sub>V V  
 over there locative I negative go and do look at
- (53) *nò-hi* *qha* *hâ?* *gâ* *pâ* *qo* *è* *ca* *ni-?* *mē* .  
 Pron Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V<sub>imp</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 you (pl) all get desiderative agentive nominalizer topic just go and do look! urging
- (54) *C* : *qhe* *qhâ?-šɛ* *te* *ɛ* *̄-qhe* , *qhe* *qhâ?-yâ* *qô? mā* *ɛ*  
 . Conj N V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv N V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 so headman act as suspensive topicalizer thus villager explain suspensive  
*â* *qay* *ve* *̄-qhe* *chɔ* *â* *na* *lâ*  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 negative go nominalizer topicalizer person negative listen benefactive (non-3p)  
*nê-̄* , *ò-ǵù-šī* *qo* *̄* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 suppositional in the future when topic
- (55) *H* : *ɲà* *tí qo* *ô* *̄* *vî* *jâ* *ɛ* *ɲà* *mâ* *hâ?*  
 . Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron Adv V  
 I topicalizer there locative far very because I negative want to get  
*qô?-ma* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (56) *ɲà* *chò* *ò-pâ-ò-ki* *hâ?* *a te* *ve* *qô?-ma* .  
 Pron N<sub>sd</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 I here nearby get try to nominalizer emphatic
- (57) *nò-hi* *qha* *hâ?* *gâ* *qo* *qay-?* .  
 Pron Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>imp</sub>  
 you (pl) all get desiderative topic go!
- (58) *mâ* *hâ?* *gâ* *qo* *̄* -  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 negative get desiderative topic topic
- (59) *C* : *nò* *qô?* *ve* *̄* *lôphâ?* *ī* *ve* *qhe* *tí* *ve*  
 . Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 you say relativizer topic selfishness great nominalizer like this only nominalizer  
*yò* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (60) *nê-kì* *qo* *nò* *tí* *hâ?* *gâ* *ve* .  
 N<sub>dvb</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nearby place topic you only get desiderative nominalizer
- (61) *šù* *à?* *qo* *vî-kì* *qay* *pə* *gâ* *ve* .  
 Pron P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 others object topic distant place go send smn to V desiderative nominalizer
- (62) *chi qhe* *te* *ve* *qhâ-qhe* *qhâ?* *phê?* *tù* *le* .  
 AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 like this do nominalizer how? village be as it should future substantive qst

- (63) *H : âa , vĕ-kì nê-kì thô-qò? ni-ma cō qo ,*  
 . Interj N<sub>dvb</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>spec</sub> + V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 well! distant place nearby place no matter whether be to one's liking if  
*qhò kà? a-šũ qhò ma è ġa ġâ qo , chi ma è pè dâ?*  
 NP<sub>intg</sub> Pron NP<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 wherever who as much as get desiderative topic this much just share mutual action  
*ve è? nē .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer emphatic emphatic
- (64) *ŋà tí hâ? a mâ qô? è?*  
 Pron P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 I only get intentive negative say emphatic
- (65) *dâ? kî thô mâ dâ? kî thô qha šwí tē ġâ le-le*  
 V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv + V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE NP<sub>q</sub>  
 good locative whether bad locative whether in the same way everybody  
*qha šwí pè dâ? le te ve tí yò*  
 AE V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 in the same way divide up mutual action suspensive do nominalizer only declarative  
*è? , šũ chw-ĭ pè? lâ qo .*  
 P<sub>uf</sub> Pron N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 emphatic others official give benefactive (non-3p) when
- (66) *T : âa , qhe-qo nò ca ni cō ve yò-a ,*  
 . Interj Conj Pron<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! if so you go and do look at ought to nominalizer emphatic declarative  
*šó-pō qo ̄ , ̄ câ á le .*  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 tomorrow when topic food eat perfective suspensive
- (67) *H : ŋà mâ hâ? ġâ qô?-ma .*  
 . Pron Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 I negative get desiderative emphatic
- (68) *ô Phá-pù-cón tē ̄ .*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 over there village name emphatic topicalizer locative
- (69) *C : ni è? , ni è?*  
 . V P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 look at emphatic look at emphatic
- (70) *mò?-qò kà? â hâ? ġâ qô? ve .*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 mouth also negative get desiderative say nominalizer
- (71) *H : qhò kà? hâ? ġâ le qhe-qo , nò ̄ .*  
 . NP<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Conj Pron P<sub>unf</sub>  
 where? get desiderative substantive qst then you topic
- (72) *cô ̄ ò-pâ-ò-kì ̄ chi nî?khô mì-ġì Hwè-tâ? chi*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Det N N N<sub>place</sub> Det  
 over there locative nearby locative this hill tribe resettlement center land Huey Tat this

- tê phâlō à? â pòn nê-ṣ* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 one for furlongs accusative negative exceed suppositional
- (73) *chò šī chò ð-pâ-ð-ki qhe ce tí hâ? gâ ve*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> + P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 here neighborhood here nearby such a(n) just get desiderative nominalizer  
*yò* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (74) *vê-ki ṣ qo ca qay ca te â tà tã*  
 N<sub>dvb</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV V vV V Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 distant place locative topic go and do go go and do cultivate not afford to durative  
*qô?-yò-ê?* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (75) *chɔ â cò , chɔ-ti-chɔ-tô le* .  
 N Adv V Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 people negative be there childless person because
- (76) *T : chò šī ṣ ti-mi te kî â mò qô?-ma* .  
 N<sub>sd</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 here place locative paddy field (irrigated) cultivate locative not find emphatic
- (77) *Mε-thà?-lây tê kà è mâ hê? qo ṣ* .  
 N<sub>place</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 Metalai one for places only except for topic
- (78) *H : âa , ô pá ṣ Mî-ğâ-tù phô ṣ*  
 Interj N<sub>sd</sub> M<sub>prfx</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>place</sub> M<sub>prfx</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 oh, come now! over there side locative place name direction locative  
*nû-pa-hɔ-pa ṣ qay ve ṣ ð-tôn lón*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N B<sub>n</sub>  
 grazing ground for cattle and elephants locative go nominalizer topic plain sthg big  
*và qô?-ma* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic emphatic
- (79) *í-kâ? ġa qhe-qo , dà? cî-â? và* .  
 N V P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 water get if good very emphatic
- (80) *ô šī ca ni yâ?* .  
 N<sub>sd</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub>  
 over there place go and do look at brusque imperative
- (81) *C : mû-gô-mî-chô? í-kâ? â cò-cò è ti-mi te le*  
 Quasi-Elab N Adv V P<sub>n</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 desert water negative be there just paddy field (irrigated) cultivate suspensive  
*ġa câ ve* .  
 vV V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 get to earn a living nominalizer

- (82) *nò pa tí yò-è? !*  
 Pron M<sub>prfx</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 your father only emphatic declarative
- (83) *H : thòo , chi-bà? nô lè-qhò? ̄ , Há-cú-pi í-kâ? qô?*  
 . Interj N<sub>time</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>place</sub> N V  
 for God's sake! now up there ravine locative stream near Huey Tat water call  
*ve ̄ , nò ca š̄ qay ġa qhe-qo te*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron<sub>v</sub> V V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 nominalizer topic you go and do channel (as water) V along manage to if cultivate  
*câ lè?lè? cò à? ve yâ .*  
 V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 V to eat plenty to V be there durative nominalizer emphatic
- (84) *nò-hi qha-dè? â ca ni š̄ le nè-̄ .*  
 Pron AE Adv<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 you (pl) properly negative go and do look at yet because suppositional
- (85) *C : phu tê m̄n-m̄n â pè ve ̄ š̄*  
 . N Q Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 money about ten thousand negative spend nominalizer topic channel (as water)  
*â ġa nè-̄ .*  
 Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative manage to suppositional
- (86) *H : âa , ò-ti ñà-hi hâ? ġa k̄i ca ā qo ,*  
 . Interj N Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 oh, come now! place we (pl) get desiderative locative look for perfective if  
*qhò-qhe pè qhò-qhe te thò-qò? šu ašóyà? ġa*  
 N<sub>intg</sub> V N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N V  
 no matter how spend no matter how do even if they government help  
*lâ ve yò .*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer declarative
- (87) *šu à? â khà? nē .*  
 Pron P<sub>n</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 they accusative negative difficult emphatic
- (88) *C : ašóyà? tê à-šwè kà? ” ġa lâ a*  
 . N P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 government emphatic topicalizer long ago also help benefactive (non-3p) intentive  
*ġa lâ a ” qô? ve , yà?-ni qha-ġa lâ tê*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> N<sub>time</sub> N Num  
 help benefactive (non-3p) intentive say nominalizer today until tea one  
*pè kà? â mò .*  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
 for mouthfuls even negative see
- (89) *H : šu ašóyà? qô? ve qhò-qhe te ġa thò phè?*  
 . Pron N V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 they government say nominalizer no matter how do desiderative even able to



- ve* *yò-è?*  
*P<sub>univ</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 nominalizer emphatic declarative
- (90) *C : và? nî khe šê? khe è , k̄āphī-cè lón ñà chi khò? chi*  
*. N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N B<sub>n</sub> Num Num*  
 pig two for animals three for animals only coffee plant sthg big fifty sixty  
*è , chi qhe ve ̄ qhà-qhe te ġa câ k̄ cò t̄*  
*P<sub>n</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v-nom</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>*  
 only like this genitivizer topic how get to earn a living way to V be there future  
*le*  
*P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 substantive qst
- (91) *H : ô , ñà-hi mâ te ve qo , ñà-hi à? cò*  
*. Interj Pron Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> V*  
 oh! we (pl) negative do nominalizer if we (pl) accusative be responsible for  
*ve yò , šu pè? lâ le*  
*P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>*  
 nominalizer declarative others give benefactive (non-3p) because
- (92) *ñà-hi ̄-qhe hê?-p̄-qh̄o ch̄o phê? ve ,*  
*Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N N V P<sub>univ</sub>*  
 we (pl) topicalizer jungle people be sthg nominalizer
- (93) *ñà-hi ̄ i jâ ve ch̄o-c̄ qô?-ma .*  
*Pron P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 we (pl) topic little very relativizer people emphatic
- (94) *ñà-hi šu ašóyà? ve t̄-kh̄ qha-dê? na c̄ ɔ .*  
*Pron Pron N P<sub>univ</sub> N AE V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 we (pl) they government genitivizer words properly listen ought to affirmative
- (95) *š̄u qh̄-qhe te qô? lâ qo qhe ñà-hi ġa te ve*  
*Pron Cl<sub>nf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv Pron <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub>*  
 they however say benefactive (non-3p) topic thus we (pl) have to do nominalizer  
*yò*  
*P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 declarative
- (96) *̄-ġ̄-š̄ ph̄ qay ve ̄ , ñà-hi Thây mì-ġ̄ chi*  
*N<sub>time</sub> M<sub>px</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N<sub>place</sub> Det*  
 in the future direction go a certain way nominalizer topic we (pl) Thailand this  
*̄ , a-š̄-ȳ ve mì-ġ̄ mâ c̄ qo ̄ , yâ-co-d̄-co ġ̄*  
*P<sub>n</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> V*  
 locative one's own genitivizer land negative be there if topic descendants reach  
*th̄ , ġ̄ qo h̄ t̄ yò*  
*P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 when reach when difficult future declarative
- (97) *ñà-hi ch̄o-m̄ phê? ve chi t̄ khi chi qhe qha-dê? d̄ ni c̄*  
*Pron N V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> AE V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>*  
 we (pl) we (pl) be sthg relativizer this time like this properly think try and V ought to

- ve*            *yò*            *mē*            .  
P<sub>univ</sub>            P<sub>uf</sub>            P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer declarative persuasive
- (98) *à-šwè*    *kà?*    *ηà-hi*    *Lâhū-yâ*    *qô?*    *ve*            *qo*    *lè*    ,    *tê*    *cá*            *pà*  
NP<sub>time</sub>    P<sub>unf</sub>    Pron    N            V    P<sub>univ</sub>            P<sub>unf</sub>    P<sub>unf</sub>    Num    Cl<sub>f</sub>            B<sub>n</sub>  
long ago also we (pl) Lahu people call nominalizer topic topic one generation after  
*tê*    *cá*            *chɔ*    *mâ*            *dô-ni*            *pí*            *ɛ*            ,    *yà?-ni*  
Num    Cl<sub>f</sub>            N            Adv    V                    V<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>univ</sub>            N<sub>time</sub>  
one generation people negative think over carefully able to V because today  
*è*            *à-thò?-ma*    *tê cə*            *te*    *ve*            *thô*    ,    *tù?-chê-khān-chê*    *ve*            .  
P<sub>unf</sub>            N<sub>intg</sub>            Q            V    P<sub>univ</sub>            P<sub>unf</sub>            Elab<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>univ</sub>  
topicalizer whatever one thing do nominalizer even suffer continuously nominalizer
- (99) *láy-cə*            *pìnyà-cū-yī*    *thô*    *šu*            *qhe*    *mâ*            *cə*            .  
Q            N            P<sub>unf</sub>    Pron    N<sub>ext</sub>    Adv    V  
all kinds of education also others like negative be there
- (100) *ηà-hi*            *šu*            *khô*            *mâ*            *na*            *pí*            *ve*            *pa-tɔ*            *chi qhe*  
Pron    Pron    N            Adv    V            V<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>univ</sub>            P<sub>n</sub>            AE<sub>ext</sub>  
we (pl) others advice negative listen prone to V nominalizer because of like this  
*phê?*                    *ve*            .  
V                            P<sub>univ</sub>  
be a certain way nominalizer
- (101) *chi tê khi*    *ηà-hi*            *tê gâ le-le*    *qha-dê?*    *dô-ni*            *cô*            *mē*            ,    *a-ví-a-ni*  
NP<sub>q</sub>            Pron    NP<sub>q</sub>            AE            V            V<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>uf</sub>            Elab<sub>n</sub>  
this time we (pl) everybody properly consider ought to persuasive brothers and sisters  
*tê phā*            *ò*            .  
Q            P<sub>n</sub>  
pluralizer vocative
- (102) *Līší*            *nò*            *ɔ*            ,    *qhò-qhe*    *ɔ*            *hâ?*    *a te*            ,    *mū-mì*    *pè?*    *lā*  
N<sub>pers</sub>            Pron    P<sub>unf</sub>            N<sub>intg</sub>            P<sub>n</sub>            V    P<sub>v</sub> + V<sub>v</sub>    N            V    P<sub>v</sub>  
male name you topic where? locative get try to land give benefactive (non-3p)  
*qo*            .  
P<sub>unf</sub>  
if
- (103) *Lš* :    *qhò*            *pè?*    *lā*                            *qo*            ,    *chò*    *hâ?*    *ve*            *è?*  
.            N<sub>intg</sub>            V    P<sub>v</sub>                            P<sub>unf</sub>            N<sub>sd</sub>    V    P<sub>univ</sub>            P<sub>uf</sub>  
wherever give benefactive (non-3p) topic here get nominalizer emphatic  
*nē*            .  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
emphatic
- (104) *H* :    *âa*            ,    *qhe*    *yò*                            *lo*                            ,    *ηà*    *thô*    *nò*    *qhe*    *yò*            .  
.            Interj    Adv    P<sub>uf</sub>                            P<sub>uf</sub>                            Pron    P<sub>unf</sub>    Pron    N<sub>ext</sub>    P<sub>uf</sub>  
well!    thus declarative emphatic declarative I also you like declarative
- (105) *à-šɛ-thâ*    *qô?*            *dà?*                            *ve*                            *Phá-pù-cón*    *qay*    *pā*  
NP<sub>time</sub>            V            P<sub>v</sub>                            P<sub>univ</sub>                            N<sub>place</sub>            V    P<sub>v-nom</sub>  
just now discuss mutual action nominalizer village name go agentive nominalizer

- â cò qô?-ma .  
 Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative be there emphatic
- (106) ηà à? ” qay ” qô? ve qô?-ma , ” qhâ?-še le ” qô?  
 Pron P<sub>n</sub> V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> V  
 me accusative go tell nominalizer emphatic headman because say  
 ve  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer
- (107) qhâ-qhe te tù le .  
 Cl<sub>nf</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 how future substantive qst
- (108) C : qhâ?-še le ġa qay ve tí yò .  
 . N P<sub>univ</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 headman because must must nominalizer just declarative
- (109) H : ηà mâ hâ? ġa qô?-ma .  
 . Pron Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 I negative get desiderative emphatic
- (110) ô ηà qay thô , ηà mâ hâ?  
 N<sub>sd</sub> Pron V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Adv V  
 over there I go even if I negative want to get
- (111) C : nò mâ hâ? ġa thô , qhâ?-yâ à? ġa ca  
 . Pron Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> vV V  
 you negative get desiderative even though villager accusative must look for  
 pî ve tí yò-è?  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (3p) nominalizer only emphatic declarative
- (112) H : qhâ?-yâ tí qo hâ? ġa qo ġa e ve yò .  
 . N P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 villager topicalizer get desiderative if get motion away nominalizer declarative
- (113) C : ġa ca ni ve yò .  
 . vV vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 must go and do look out for nominalizer declarative
- (114) šu tē? kî â ca ni qo , dà? â  
 Pron V P<sub>v-nom</sub> Adv vV V P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> Adv  
 they measure way of V'ing negative go and do pay attention to when good negative  
 dà? nā qhâ?-yâ tí qhâ-qhe te šî tù è  
 V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 good whether villager as for how know future substantive qst
- (115) H : âa , qha-dê?-dê? te tē? chē? thâ ġa  
 . Interj AE vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V  
 well! in exactly the right way do and measure completely finish when reach  
 è , qay a dō ve qô?-ma , ηà ̄  
 P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub>  
 topicalizer go intentive plan nominalizer emphatic I topic

- (116) *C* : *kán te qo chi qhe tê tɔn-né* *tê*  
 . N V P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num  
 work do topic like this one for sections of long objects one  
*tɔn-né tí te-qo šù?-šà? ve tí yò* .  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 for sections of long objects only if be annoying nominalizer only declarative
- (117) *tê qhà? pà tê qhà? á mé šē , yà?-ni qha-gà* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> B<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> N<sub>time</sub> N<sub>time</sub>  
 one for years after one for years negative change yet today until
- (118) *nò šī thá yò* .  
 Pron V Temp Nom P<sub>uf</sub>  
 you realize the time when declarative
- (119) *H* : *nò-hi hâ? a qô? thô , chi-bà? te câ qô?*  
 . Pron V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> V  
 you (pl) get intentive say even though immediately cultivate V for a living say  
*ve kà? mâ hê?* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv + V  
 nominalizer even not be the case
- (120) *chi-bà? ɔ̄ chɔ te câ pā mâ cò*  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> Adv V  
 now topic people cultivate V for a living agentive nominalizer negative be there  
*ɛ , a-yé-yé pun ca fà ā ve cɛ*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> Adv M<sub>px</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 because for the future sake go and do keep in reserve durative nominalizer just  
*qô?-ma* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (121) *šu pè? lâ ve à-yân thá cɛ tí pè?*  
 Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Temp Nom P<sub>univ</sub> + P<sub>univ</sub> V  
 they give benefactive (non-3p) relativizer time the time when only give  
*lâ ɛ* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p) because
- (122) *qhe-qo nò-hi qha tân ā pā šš-p̄ qo qay c̄*  
 Conj Pron Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 so you (pl) all all durative agentive nominalizer tomorrow when go ought to  
*ve qô?-ma* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer emphatic
- (123) *à-mù tê ni qo ” nà à? chi qhe mâ qô?*  
 Conj Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> Adv V  
 otherwise one for days when me accusative like this negative tell  
*lâ* .  
 P<sub>v</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p)

- (124) " *ηà-hi šu mì-gì pè? lâ qô? kà? , ηà à? â*  
 Pron Pron N V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> Adv  
 us they land give benefactive (non-3p) say although me accusative negative  
*qô? lâ* ."  
 V P<sub>v</sub>  
 tell benefactive (non-3p)
- (125) " *pè? lâ a qô? qo ηà à? â qāw ."*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> Adv V  
 give benefactive (non-3p) intentive say when me accusative negative tell
- (126) " *ηà-hi ġa šī qhe-qo ηà qay yò qô?-ma " qô? pî-à*  
 Pron <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V V+P<sub>v</sub>  
 we (pl) get to know if I go declarative emphatic say warning marker  
*te-le , chi tê khi ò-yân thâ qô? lâ ve qô?-ma ,*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 causal right now while there's still time say benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer emphatic  
*nò-hi tê ġa le-le à?* .  
 Pron NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 you (pl) everybody accusative
- (127) *C : eeâ? , ô-thâ kà? šī ā ve yò , chi*  
 . Interj N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Det  
 right! in the past even know durative nominalizer declarative this matter  
*tí qo lê* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 as for topic
- (128) *yà?-qhâ ηà-hi te thô ġa-câ-ġa-lê? tù ve ō mâ*  
 Conj Pron V P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv  
 however we (pl) do even though get to earn a living future nominalizer topic negative  
*mò* .  
 V  
 see
- (129) *hā-kì tí mò* .  
 N<sub>dvb</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V  
 trouble only see
- (130) *ô qhe ve khô na ve a-ké šathê khô na*  
 NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> N N V  
 like that genitivizer advice listen nominalizer more than rich man advice listen  
*ve â qhe o ma* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer negative be harmful emphatic exclamatory
- (131) *H : ò-ġû-šī qay qo ō , Thây mì-gì chi ō , ηà-hi Thây mì-gì chi*  
 . N<sub>time</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>place</sub> Det P<sub>n</sub> Pron N<sub>place</sub> Det  
 in the future go when topic Thailand this locative we (pl) Thailand this  
*ō chò bî-mâ jâ qo ō , a-šû-yô mì-gì mâ cò qo*  
 P<sub>n</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N Adv V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 locative people be chock-full very when topic one's own land negative be there if

- $\bar{5}$  , *tù?* *la* *nè- $\bar{5}$*  .  
 P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 topic suffer come to V suppositional
- (132) *chi tê khi ò-yân thâ* *đu qô? lâ* *ve*  $\bar{5}$  , *ηà-hi*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron  
 this time while there's still time they tell benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer topic we (pl)  
*tê gâ le-le ve*  $\bar{5}$  , *qha-dê?* *dô-ni cê* *o* .  
 NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 everybody genitivizer topic properly consider ought to affirmative
- (133) *ò-yân thâ tí* *đu pè?* *lâ* .  
 NP<sub>time</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub>  
 for a time only they give benefactive (non-3p)
- (134) *à-mù* " *dô-mi qo gâ?* *â mi* " *qô? pî-à* *mē* .  
 Conj V P<sub>unf</sub> V Adv C<sub>r</sub> V V+P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 otherwise realize when chase negative catch say warning marker persuasive
- (135) *C : âa* , *ηà tí qo mâ qay šo* .  
 Interj Pron P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 well! I topicalizer negative go still
- (136) *nò-hi jè dâ?* *le qay gâ qo qay mē* .  
 Pron V+P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 you (pl) discuss suspensive go desiderative if go urging
- (137) *H : âa* , *qhe-qo lê ò-lon chi*  $\bar{5}$  *qhe-ce ve yò nē* .  
 Interj Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N Det P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! so then topic matter this topic it's just like that emphatic
- (138) *qay pā* *cò qo šó-pō qo qay a* .  
 V P<sub>v-nom</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 go agentive nominalizer be there if tomorrow when go hortatory
- (139) *qhe-ce ê* *ve yò* .  
 AE P<sub>t</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 that's all adverbializer nominalizer declarative
- (140) *ηà tí qo*  $\bar{5}$  *mâ qay šē* .  
 Pron P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 I topicalizer topic negative go yet
- (141) *qay mâ tân* *šē* .  
 V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 go negative (not) have time to yet
- (142) *chò ê?* *mâ cò te-qo* , *kán te kî jâ le* .  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> N V V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 people topic negative be there because work do busy very because
- (143) *nò-hi qha qay pā* *qo* , *tê phā qo šī vò*  
 Pron Adv V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> V+P<sub>v</sub>  
 you (pl) all go agentive nominalizer topic the whole group topic take smn along  
*le* , *cô*  $\bar{5}$  *nû-pa*  $\bar{5}$  *te-šī-le fâ?-pé* *qhò*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N  
 suspensive over there locative locative locative from brush-tailed porcupine mountain

- $\bar{s}$       *šā-mû-šā-ca-gà?*                      *qay*       $\epsilon$                       ,      *cô*                       $\dot{\lambda}$ -*pì*                      *dà?*  
P<sub>n</sub>      Elab<sub>v</sub>                      V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      N<sub>sd</sub>                      N                      V<sub>adj</sub>  
locative go hunting or something go off to V suspensive over there sthg spit-roasted good  
*qha-dê?-dê?*                      *te*                      *á*                       $\epsilon$                       *te* *qay*                      *nē*                      .  
AE                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      V      V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
in exactly the right way cook (as food) perfective suspensive do continue V'ing emphatic
- (144) *T* : *âa*                      ,      *qhe-qo*      *ti-mi*                      *yô-hi*      *dû*                      *lâ*                      *a*  
.      Interj      Conj      N                      Pron      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>v</sub>  
well!      so then      paddy field (irrigated) they dig out benefactive (non-3p) intentive  
*qô?* *ve*                       $\epsilon$ -*ā*                      .  
V      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
say nominalizer interrogative
- (145) *qhâ-qhe*      *te*      *a*                      *qô?* *ve*                      *le*                      .  
N<sub>intg</sub>      V      P<sub>v</sub>                      V      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
how?      do      intentive      say nominalizer substantive qst
- (146) *H* : *ti-mi*                       $\bar{s}$       *šu*                      *â*                      *dû*                      *lâ*                      *nē*                      .  
.      N                      P<sub>unf</sub>      Pron      Adv                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
paddy field (irrigated) topic others negative dig out benefactive (non-3p) emphatic
- (147) *hâ-hi*      *ve*                       $\bar{s}$                       *hâ-hi-qhâ-hâ-hi*      *gâ*      *te*      *ve*                      *yò-ê?*  
Pron      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>      AE                      vV      V      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
our      genitivizer      topic      all by ourselves      must      do      nominalizer      emphatic declarative
- (148) *hâ-hi*      *te*       $\epsilon$                       ,      *mâ*                      *gâ*                      *ve*                       $\dot{\lambda}$ -*cà*                      ,      *hâ-hi*      *mâ*                      *gâ*  
Pron      V      P<sub>unf</sub>                      Adv                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      N                      Pron      Adv                      V  
we (pl) do suspensive negative succeed relativizer thing we (pl) negative succeed  
*ve*                       $\dot{\lambda}$ -*cà*      *qo*      *šu*      *jô-mô*      *ašóyà?*                      *à?*                      *tho*      *pî*  
P<sub>univ</sub>                      N                      P<sub>unf</sub>      Pron      N                      N                      P<sub>n</sub>                      V                      V<sub>v</sub>  
relativizer thing if they officials government accusative tell benefactive (3p)  
*ve*                       $\dot{\epsilon}$ ?                      .  
P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer emphatic
- (149) *šu*      *lâthâbân*                      *à?*                      *tho*      *pî*                      *ve*                      *qo*      *lâthâbân*                      *hâ-hi*  
Pron      N                      P<sub>n</sub>                      V      V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>      N                      Pron  
they government accusative tell benefactive (3p) nominalizer if government us  
*à?*                      *hâ?-šá*                      *ga*      *lâ*                      *a*                      *qô?* *ve-š*                      .  
P<sub>n</sub>                      V                      V      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>v</sub>                      V      P<sub>uf</sub>  
accusative take care of help benefactive (non-3p) intentive say emphatic
- (150) *í-kâ?*      *yù qay*      *ve*                      *thô-qô?*                      ,      *vî*      *thô*                      ,      *šu*      *ašóyà?*                      *èe*      -      *šu*  
N                      V+V<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      V<sub>adj</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>                      Pron      N                      Interj      Pron  
water bring to nominalizer also far even though they government er... they  
*lâthâbân*      *ga*      *lâ*                      *qo*       $\bar{s}$                       ,      *gâ*                      *tù*      *yò*                       $\dot{\epsilon}$ ?                      .  
N                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
government help benefactive (non-3p) if topic succeed future declarative emphatic
- (151) *nò-hâ-hi*      *chò-é*                      *dô*                      *ā*                      *ve*                       $\bar{s}$                       ,      "      *chi qhe*      *te*      *qo*      *mâ*  
Pron      N                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      AE<sub>ext</sub>      V      P<sub>unf</sub>      Adv  
all of us humble folk think durative nominalizer topic like this do if negative

- gã* .  
 V  
 succeed
- (152) *ô qhe te qo mâ gã ” dš chê ve* .  
 NP<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 like that do if negative succeed think continuous nominalizer
- (153) *yà?-qhâ , ò-ğû-šĩ qay qo ̄ , ò-ti ̄ , ò-ti mî-gî ñà-hi*  
 Conj N<sub>time</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> N N Pron  
 but in the future continue when topic place locative place land we (pl)  
*mâ cò qo , ñà-hi qhò-qhe ca qò? te qay*  
 Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N<sub>intg</sub> vV vV V V<sub>v</sub>  
 negative have if we (pl) how? go and do go on to V cultivate continue V'ing  
*le gã-tù mâ cò mē* .  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 suspensive success negative be there persuasive
- (154) *tê gã le-le hâ?-hâ? dš-ni* .  
 NP<sub>q</sub> AE V  
 everybody quickly consider
- (155) *hɔ-pa-nû-pa tí qo ñà kâ? hâ? gã ve*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 elephant and cattle grazing grounds as for I also get desiderative nominalizer  
*yò* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (156) *šĩ?-cè ĩ qò? thò ñà-hi thu bà le , ò-ti* .  
 N V<sub>adj</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 tree big say even though we (pl) chop down away suspensive place
- (157) *tê qhò? nî qhò? gà qo šĩ?-mú-dɔ à-mī tú bà le*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 one for years two for years reach when stump of tree fire burn sthg away suspensive  
*ti-mi te câ phê? ve yò* .  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 rice-field cultivate V for a living able to nominalizer declarative
- (158) *âa , phê? yò nē* .  
 Interj V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! able to declarative emphatic
- (159) *âa , ñà tí qo , qhe-qo ̄ , chi nû-pa ò-na ve ò-tòn*  
 Interj Pron P<sub>univ</sub> Conj P<sub>unf</sub> Det N N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 well! I topicalizer then topic this cattle-tending hut above genitivizer plain  
*lón tê tòn šu na ̄ ve ñà hâ?*  
 B<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Pron M<sub>prfx</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron V  
 sthg big one for plains others' above and in front of locative nominalizer I get  
*a* .  
 P<sub>v</sub>  
 intentive









- (186) *C* : *qhe-qo nò ð-mâ-ð-mâ šu ve ð-hó dú bà tá?*  
 . Conj Pron Elab<sub>adv</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 so you gradually others genitivizer below dig away V upwards  
*la a qô? ve ð , qhà-qhe te phê? è*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 motion towards intentive say nominalizer topic how able to substantive qst
- (187) *H* : < *gã ve* >  
 > V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 laugh nominalizer
- (188) *chi ð , à-šwè chw-mô-khô qo chi qhe cò ve*  
 Det P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 this matter topic long ago words of wisdom topic like this be there nominalizer  
*â hê? le-â*  
 Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative be the case interrogative
- (189) ” *tí-mi ve qo ð-hó ð ve-?*  
 N V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V<sub>imp</sub>  
 rice-field stake out a claim when lower part locative lay claim to!
- (190) *ð-na ð hâ? qo í-kâ? tí qo gâ ð*  
 N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 upper part locative get if water as for get affirmative
- (191) *yâ?-qhâ í-kâ? gò è cà mâ dà?*  
 Conj N AE<sub>stat</sub> N Adv + V  
 however water cold rice bad
- (192) *šu hó ð hâ? ve qo tê ní qo ð , šu*  
 Pron M<sub>pfx</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron  
 others below locative get nominalizer if one for days when topic others  
*a-ké ĩ gâ tù yò ” qô? ve â hê?*  
 N<sub>ext</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V  
 more than great get to future declarative say nominalizer negative be the case  
*le-lâ*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 interrogative
- (193) *chw-mô-khô ð , ” tê qhò? mù? a-cí qô thâ ,*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V Adv V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 ancient lore topic the first for years weed a little hoe away when  
*tí-mí-tê a-cí qā-pâ? , tê tɔn tâ? , ní*  
 N Adv V Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V Num  
 dike around paddy field a little undermine by digging one for lengths go up second  
*qhò? qô? qā tê tɔn tâ? , ĩ .”*  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> V<sub>v</sub> V Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V V<sub>adj</sub>  
 for years V again dig (esp. with mattock) one for lengths go up grow great
- (194) *šu ve ñà tí gâ tù ve à? te ve*  
 Pron P<sub>univ</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 others’ genitivizer I only get purposive nominalizer accusative do nominalizer

- yò-è?*  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
emphatic declarative
- (195) C : *lôphà?*    *ī*    *ve*                    *chò là*    *ve*                    *yò-è?*  
.            N            V<sub>adj</sub>    P<sub>univ</sub>                    N<sub>sd</sub>    V            P<sub>univ</sub>                    P<sub>uf</sub>  
             selfishness    great    nominalizer    here    come    nominalizer    emphatic declarative
- (196) H : *lôphà?*            *â*                    *hê?*                    *nē*                    .  
.            N                    Adv                    V                    P<sub>uf</sub>  
             selfishness    negative    be the case    emphatic
- (197) *nò-hi*            *â*                    *hâ?*                    *ve-5*                    .  
Pron            Adv                    V                    P<sub>uf</sub>  
             you (pl)    negative    want to get    emphatic
- (198) *ηà*            *à?*                    *pè?*                    *lâ*                    *ve-5*                    .  
Pron    P<sub>n</sub>                    V                    P<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>uf</sub>  
             me    accusative    give    benefactive (non-3p)    emphatic
- (199) C : *qhe*    *a-š-u-yô*    *ve*                    *qhò*                    *kà?*                    *ce*                    *qo*                    *chò kà?*                    *ce*                    *te*  
.            Conj    Pron                    P<sub>univ</sub>                    N<sub>intg</sub>                    P<sub>n</sub>                    P<sub>univ</sub>                    P<sub>unf</sub>                    N<sub>sd</sub> + P<sub>n</sub>                    P<sub>univ</sub>                    vV  
             so    whoever    genitivizer    wherever    locative    just    topic    here    just    do and  
  
*yà?*                    *e*                    *è?*                    .  
V                    P<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>uf</sub>  
             go down    motion away    emphatic
- (200) H : *âa*  
*âa*                    Interj  
Interj                    well!
- (201) C : *š-u*                    *ve*                    *ò-tê*                    *qhe*    *ca*                    *thô?-phâ?*    *ve*                    *5*                    *chi*  
.            Pron                    P<sub>univ</sub>                    N                    Adv                    vV                    V                    P<sub>univ</sub>                    P<sub>unf</sub>                    Det  
             others'    genitivizer    paddy-field dike    thus    go and do    tear down    nominalizer    topic    this  
  
*ve*                    *5*                    *qhà-thâ?-kà?*    *ò-š*                    *te*                    *le*                    *â*                    *pà*  
P<sub>univ</sub>                    P<sub>unf</sub>                    AE                    N                    V                    P<sub>unf</sub>                    Adv                    V  
             genitivizer    topic    always                    new thing    build    suspensive    negative    come to an end  
  
*ò*                    *nè-5*                    .  
P<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>uf</sub>  
             completed action    suppositional
- (202) H : *mâ*                    *thô?-phâ?*                    ,    *ò*                    *í-kâ?-mù?*                    *ná*                    *qo*                    *cí-cí-cí-cí*  
.            Adv                    V                    N<sub>sd</sub>                    N                    V<sub>adj</sub>                    P<sub>unf</sub>                    AE  
             negative    tear down                    over there    water weeds    thick (of plants)    if    a tiny bit  
  
*qā*                    *a*                    *qo*                    ,    *jè?*    *pâ?*                    *ce*  
V                    P<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>unf</sub>                    N                    V                    V<sub>v</sub>  
             dig (esp. with mattock)    vigorous action    if                    soil    fall apart    V downwards with vigor  
  
*la*                    *qô?-ma*                    ,    *í-kâ?*    *nê?*                    *à*                    *qo*                    .  
P<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>uf</sub>                    N                    V<sub>adj</sub>                    P<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>unf</sub>  
             motion towards    emphatic                    water    wet    asseverative    if
- (203) C : *thôo*                    ,    *nò*                    *ve*                    *à?*                    *kà?*    *ηà*                    *qò?*                    *thè?*  
.            Interj                    Pron                    P<sub>univ</sub>                    P<sub>n</sub>                    P<sub>unf</sub>                    Pron                    vV                    V  
             gee!                    you    genitivizer    accusative    also    I                    go on to V    scrape

- phê*                      *š̄*                      .  
V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>v</sub>  
launch violent action    durative
- (204) *H* : < *ḡi*    *ve*                      >  
>                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>  
                         laugh    nominalizer
- (205) *qhe*            *lè*            *â hê? o*                      .  
Adv            P<sub>unf</sub>    VP  
this way    topic    definitely not the case
- (206) *n̄*    *ve*            *š̄*    *ch̄-kh̄*            *lè*    *â hê?-hê?*                      .  
Pron P<sub>univ</sub>            P<sub>unf</sub>    N                      P<sub>unf</sub>    VP  
you    genitivizer    topic    human speech    topic    is definitely not
- (207) *P* : *à-ú*            *è*    *tâ*                      *te*                      .  
.                      N                      P<sub>n</sub>    Adv                      V  
                         upper part    also    negative imperative    cultivate
- (208) *à-q̄-ji*    *è*    *tâ*                      *te*                      .  
N                      P<sub>n</sub>    Adv                      V  
center    also    negative imperative    cultivate
- (209) *à-q̄-ji*    *š̄*            *kh̄*    *l̄*            *tê ḡ*            *tê kh̄*    *h̄?*                      .  
N                      P<sub>n</sub>            V                      P<sub>unf</sub>            Q                      Q                      V  
center    locative    divide    suspensive    one person    half    get
- (210) *η̄*    *th̄-ph̄?*    *a*                      .  
Pron V                      P<sub>v</sub>  
I            tear down    intentive
- (211) *H* : *th̄ è*            *te*    *l̄*                      .  
.                      AE<sub>stat</sub>            V    P<sub>v</sub>  
                         honestly    do    benefactive (non-3p)
- (212) *qhe-qo*    *š̄*            ,    *š̄u*    *q̄?*    *ve*                      *š̄-qhe l̄*            ,    ”    *chi h̄y*            *qo*    *tê*    *c̄?*  
Conj    P<sub>unf</sub>            ,    Pron    V    P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      NP<sub>ext</sub>            P<sub>unf</sub>    Num    Cl<sub>f</sub>  
so            topic            others    say    nominalizer    topicalizer            only this big    if    one    strip  
*le-le*    *chi h̄y*            *qo*    ,    *ȳ*            *à*                      .  
B<sub>n</sub>    NP<sub>ext</sub>            P<sub>unf</sub>            V<sub>adj</sub>            P<sub>v</sub>  
every    only this big    if            be long    asseverative
- (213) *m̄*            *h̄?*    *ḡ*                      ”    *q̄?*    *ve*                      *q̄?-ma*                      .  
Adv            V    P<sub>v</sub>                      V    P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
negative    get    desiderative            say    nominalizer    emphatic
- (214) *a-š̄u-ȳ*    *t̄n*            *qo*    *ȳ*            *t̄n*            *t̄ l̄*            *t̄?*            *a*                      .  
Pron            M<sub>px</sub>            P<sub>unf</sub>            Pron    M<sub>px</sub>            AE<sub>stat</sub>            V                      P<sub>v</sub>  
one’s own    section    topic    his            section    squarely    measure    hortatory
- (215) *T* : *âa*            ,    *chi qhe*    *c̄?-c̄?*            *l̄-š̄*                      ...  
...            Interj            AE<sub>ext</sub>            AE                      P<sub>unf</sub>  
                         well!            like this    repeatedly    suspensive

- (216) C : *mâ hâ? gâ ve chɔ à? qo ɔ̄*  
 . Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 negative get desiderative relativizer people accusative topic topic  
*tâ pî ô?*  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> .  
 negative imperative give hortatory
- (217) T : *mâ ni ša , mâ ni ša* .  
 . Adv V + V<sub>v</sub> Adv V + V<sub>v</sub>  
 negative look nice negative look nice
- (218) H : *t̄ chê? ā lɛ ɔ̄-tɔ ɔ̄-tɔ a-š̄u-yô*  
 . V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Cl<sub>f</sub> Cl<sub>f</sub> Pron  
 demarcate completely finish perfective suspensive for sections for sections one's own  
*hâ? l̄? hâ? l̄? te a-tê te ve qô?-ma , n̄a ɔ̄*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>quot</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> .  
 get enough to V get enough to V do intentive do nominalizer emphatic I topic
- (219) T : *âa -*  
 - Interj  
 well!
- (220) P : *š̄u thô?-phâ? lɔ nê-ɔ̄* .  
 . Pron V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 they tear down emphatic declarative suppositional
- (221) H : *âa , n̄-hi chi jê dâ? mâ h̄* .  
 . Interj Pron Det V + P<sub>v</sub> Adv V  
 oh, come now! you (pl) this matter discuss negative agree
- (222) *jê dâ? mâ h̄* .  
 V + P<sub>v</sub> Adv V  
 discuss negative agree
- (223) *š̄u lâthâbân qha-dê? pè? lâ thâ qha-dê? tê gâ le-le qay*  
 Pron N AE V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> AE NP<sub>q</sub> V  
 they government nicely give benefactive (non-3p) when properly everybody go  
*lɛ qò? ca ni a , tê gâ qhò kâ? qhò kâ? h̄?*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> Q NP<sub>intg</sub> V  
 suspensive V in return go and do look at intentive one person wherever get  
*c̄h ve thô* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 happen to nominalizer even
- (224) T : *lâthâbân à? tí cò e ve yò* .  
 . N P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 government accusative only depend on V more and more nominalizer declarative
- (225) H : *êe , š̄u lâthâbân te lâ qo lè n̄-hi ca*  
 . Interj Pron N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron <sub>v</sub>V  
 hey they government do benefactive (non-3p) when topic we (pl) go and do  
*ša k̄i mâ cò lé* .  
 V P<sub>v-nom</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 complain about reason to V negative be there request for assent

- (226) Šó-phā qô? ve ̄ , ð-han khâ? cê qô?-ma , ti-mi ô-ve  
 N<sub>pers</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> OV P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N Det  
 male name say nominalizer topic draw lots quotative emphatic rice-field that  
 lì? bù? kə ā lɛ .  
 OV V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 write sthg down insert by V'ing perfective suspensive
- (227) ð-han khâ? qo , qhð tê pê? ġa cô qo , nò ô-ve mì-ğì  
 OV P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Det N  
 draw lots topic which? one for pieces of land get happen to topic you that land  
 ô-ve ô kà? tê qhâ nò ġa tù yò .  
 Det N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 that there locative one for directions you get irrealis declarative
- (228) C : qhe te ve ̄ phê? kî mâ cò , ð-han khâ?  
 . Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v-nom</sub> Adv V OV  
 thus do nominalizer topic able to way to V negative be there draw lots  
 ve-̄ .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (229) ve ġa qo ša ve mâ hê? ve-̄ .  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv + V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 stake out a claim when pleasant nominalizer not be the case emphatic
- (230) H : pè dâ? mâ hî lɛ yò-è?  
 . V P<sub>v</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 divide up mutual action negative agree because emphatic declarative
- (231) qhe-qo chi ̄ qhà-qhe te tù le .  
 Conj Det P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 so this matter topic how? do future substantive qst
- (232) C : à-mù ô ð-han khâ? lɛ â-cô-pā tê ġa qo ̄ -  
 - Conj N<sub>sd</sub> OV P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 lest that one draw lots suspensive loser one person topic topic
- (233) H : â-cô-pā qo ̄ yà-pî-ô? nē .  
 . N<sub>dvb</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> VP P<sub>uf</sub>  
 loser topic topic the hell with it! emphatic
- (234) mâ ġa ve yò-è?  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative get nominalizer emphatic declarative
- (235) T : âa , ð-han khâ? lɛ ð-ti mâ dâ? kî ġa qo ñà lê mâ  
 . Interj OV P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv + V P<sub>v-nom</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Adv  
 well! draw lots suspensive place bad locative get if I topic negative  
 hâ? mē , cō kà?  
 V P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 take emphatic fall to by chance even if
- (236) P : ñà hâ? a , ñà hâ? a .  
 . Pron V P<sub>v</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub>  
 I take intentive I take intentive



- (237) *H* : *âa* , *qhe-qo* *š* , *te â ġa ò nē*  
 . Interj Conj P<sub>unf</sub> V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! if that's the way it is topic do negative be able completed action emphatic  
 , *nò-hi ve š* .  
 Pron P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 you (pl) genitivizer topic
- (238) *âa* , *šu jè lâ ve qhe nò-hi mâ cú*  
 Interj Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> Pron Adv V  
 well! others advise benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer like you (pl) negative accept  
*ġa qo kâ? šu jè lâ pî-ò?* ,  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 get to if even someone else (remote 3p) advise benefactive (non-3p) optative  
*šu jè lâ pî-ò?* .  
 Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 someone else (remote 3p) advise benefactive (non-3p) optative
- (239) *ŋà-hi tê phā qô? dâ? le phê? kî â cò* .  
 Pron Q V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v-nom</sub> Adv V  
 we (pl) pluralizer quarrel suspensive able to way to V negative be there
- (240) *C* : *ŋà jè a lâ , ŋà jè a*  
 . Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub>  
 I decide vigorous action benefactive (non-3p) I decide vigorous action  
*lâ* .  
 P<sub>v</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p)
- (241) *ŋà tâ?-chê? a lâ , nò-hi tê phā*  
 Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> Pron Q  
 I resolve a problem vigorous action benefactive (non-3p) you (pl) pluralizer  
*ve ð-lon chi qha-pà-è* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N Det AE  
 genitivizer matter these all
- (242) *chi tê khi š , qhâ?-šc qô? ve qhe a-šu kâ? hâ? pā*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> Pron V P<sub>v-nom</sub>  
 right now topic headman say nominalizer like anybody get agentive nominalizer  
*mâ cò qo , Lišš à? pè pî a lò* ,  
 Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> Eth P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 negative be there if Lisu accusative share benefactive (3p) vigorous action urging  
*qha-pà-è* .  
 AE  
 everything
- (243) *H* : *qhò ve tê kâ le* .  
 . N<sub>poss</sub> + *ve* Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 which? one for places substantive qst
- (244) *C* : *Phá-pù-cón š ve kâ?* .  
 . N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 village name locative genitivizer even

- (245) *H* : *Phá-pù-cón cò ā ve-ṽ –*  
 – N<sub>place</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 village name be there durative emphatic
- (246) *C* : *nû-pa-ho-pa ve kâ? qha-pò-è šu à?*  
 . Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub>  
 grazing ground for cattle and elephants genitivizer also everything others accusative  
*pî a lò .*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 give intentive urging
- (247) *nò cho chi tē ġi ṽ tō yo hā à .*  
 Pron N Det Q P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>spec</sub> + V P<sub>v</sub>  
 you people these pluralizer topic stubborn asseverative
- (248) *Lišš* : *ḡà tí hâ? a vò .*  
 Eth Pron P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 Lisu I as for want to get intentive hortatory
- (249) *H* : *qhò-qhe ṽ qò? ca te câ e tû ,*  
 . N<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 how? topic go on to V go and do cultivate V for a living go on V'ing future  
*qhe-qo , nò-hi ṽ .*  
 Conj Pron P<sub>unf</sub>  
 if that's the way it is you (pl) topic
- (250) *Lišš* : *qhò te câ â te câ , chò*  
 Eth N<sub>intg</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub> N<sub>sd</sub>  
 Lisu wherever cultivate V for a living negative cultivate V for a living here  
*ġâ? câ chê ve tí yò è? , ḡà-hi ṽ .*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub>  
 eke out a living continuous nominalizer only declarative emphatic we (pl) topic
- (251) *T* : *ôo , te câ kî â cò qo ṽ tē ni*  
 . Interj V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 oh! cultivate V for a living locative negative be there if topic one for days  
*qo hā la nê-ṽ .*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 when difficult become suppositional
- (252) *H* : *ḡà tí qo ġa mâ ġa kâ? mâ dō-hā mē .*  
 . Pron P<sub>univ</sub> V Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 I as for get negative get even negative worry emphatic
- (253) *C* : *nò mâ qay ve chi à? cò ve*  
 . Pron Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> Det P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 you negative go nominalizer this accusative be responsible for nominalizer  
*yò-è? .*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic declarative
- (254) *H* : *mâ ġa e kâ? mâ bò? .*  
 . Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V<sub>adj</sub>  
 negative get motion away even negative angry

- (255) *gã e kà? mâ ha-lè .*  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V<sub>adj</sub>  
get motion away even negative happy
- (256) *C : nò qo mǎ?-qǎ cɛ tí qô? chɛ ve qô?-ma , à-thò?-ma*  
. Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> + P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>intg</sub>  
you topic mouth only say continuous nominalizer emphatic whatever  
*tê cǎ te kǎ? .*  
Q V P<sub>unf</sub>  
one thing do even
- (257) *H : ô ɓ , hɛ-šǎ ta-láy qhǎ? te cǎ*  
. N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
over there locative abandoned field many for years cultivate V for a living  
*ve kɛ la ò yǎ .*  
P<sub>univ</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer old (of people) become completed action emphatic
- (258) *nò-hi chǎ te-cǎ-pǎ á cǎ .*  
Pron N N<sub>divb</sub> Adv V  
you (pl) people cultivator negative be there
- (259) *ɲǎ tí qo tê qhǎ? tê qhò? tê qhò? , ô šu hɛ-ǵǎ-šǎ*  
Pron P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> Pron N  
I as for one for years one for fields one for fields those others' old field  
*ca te cǎ tô qay ve .*  
<sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
seek to cultivate V for a living go around V'ing continue V'ing nominalizer
- (260) *Lǐšǎ : êe , ǵǎ?-cǎ chɛ qô?-yò-è? , nò-qhǎ-nò .*  
Eth Interj V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> AE  
Lisu yes eke out a living keep on emphatic by yourself
- (261) *H : ǵǎ?-cǎ ve yò .*  
. V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
eke out a living nominalizer declarative
- (262) *mǎ qay o .*  
Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
negative go emphatic
- (263) *Lǐšǎ : phí è mi ā lɛ ǵǎ?-cǎ chɛ lò .*  
Eth AE<sub>stat</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
Lisu forlorn sit durative suspensive eke out a living keep on urging
- (264) *H : nò-hi šu jè qo šu khǎ mâ na .*  
. Pron Pron V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N Adv V  
you (pl) others advise when others' advice negative heed
- (265) *šu chǎ-ī jè-lǎ-tho-lǎ è qǎ? mâ na ǵǎ .*  
Pron N Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
they official give words of advice even still V a certain way negative heed desiderative
- (266) *Lǐšǎ : mǎ na ǵǎ ve nò yò .*  
Eth Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron P<sub>uf</sub>  
Lisu negative listen desiderative nominalizer you declarative

- (267) *C* : *má-he-pī* *hó mi ā le gâ?-câ è?*  
 . N M<sub>px</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 bush with bitter green berries under sit durative suspensive eke out a living emphatic  
 , *nò* .  
 Pron  
 you
- (268) *H* : *Lâhū-yâ qô? ve qô? qo , " à-mù qò?*  
 ." N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Conj Conj  
 Lahu people call nominalizer topicalizer even though on the one hand  
*tê gâ kán te qo tê gâ qò? phû? ."*  
 Q N V P<sub>unf</sub> Q Conj V  
 one person work do when one person on the other hand turn away
- (269) *tō-chī ve yò* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 obstruct nominalizer declarative
- (270) " *tê gâ te qay tê gâ gò-tī ."*  
 Q V + V<sub>v</sub> Q V  
 one person carry on doing one person restrain by force
- (271) *mâ phê? e ve yò , nâ-hi Lâhū-yâ lè*  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron N P<sub>unf</sub>  
 negative able to go on V'ing nominalizer declarative we (pl) Lahu people topic  
*à-thò?-ma tê cò te kâ? .*  
 N<sub>intg</sub> Q V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 whatever one thing do even
- (272) *C* : " *tê gâ šī?-cè tâ? e tê gâ khi-šé-qwè?*  
 . Q N V P<sub>v</sub> Q N  
 one person tree climb motion away one person leg (from knee down)  
*gà? gò " qô? ve chi qhe ve yò-è?* .  
 v V + V<sub>h</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 chase and pull on say nominalizer like this genitivizer emphatic declarative
- (273) *H* : *šū-lī-šū-qa šū cho-ī-cho-mu qô? mā lâ gâ*  
 . Elab<sub>n</sub> Pron Elab<sub>n</sub> V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 others' customs they important people explain benefactive (non-3p) desiderative  
*ve khô kâ? qo mâ na gâ le .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 relativizer word even topic negative heed desiderative because
- (274) *C* : *ò-khī-pī thâ qo chi qhe tâ te , chi qhe*  
 . N P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> Adv V AE<sub>ext</sub>  
 the beginning when when like this negative imperative do like this  
*tâ te , mâ phê? qô? qo , nò-hi mâ na*  
 Adv V Adv V V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Adv V  
 negative imperative do negative be possible say when you (pl) negative listen  
*ve à? cò ve yò-è?* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer accusative be responsible for nominalizer emphatic declarative

- (275) *yà?-ni qo , ni è? , šù?-šà? tù dê-dê , à-thò?-ma tê cə te*  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> VP V P<sub>v-nom</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> Q V  
 today topic you see be annoying cause for V'ing all whatever one thing do  
*kà? .*  
 P<sub>unf</sub>  
 even
- (276) *a-šū mā kà? á na o yá .*  
 Pron V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 whoever teach even negative listen emphatic emphatic
- (277) *H : óo , šu chə-ī lâthâbân te ci lâ ve*  
 . Interj Pron N N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 oh! they official government do causative benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer  
*â hê? qo lê phê? kî mâ mð ve yð*  
 Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v-nom</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative be the case if topic be possible way to V negative see nominalizer declarative  
 .
- (278) *C : qhe-qo lâthâbân te lâ pî-ô? .*  
 . Conj N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 so government do benefactive (non-3p) optative
- (279) *nə-hi tâ qə? qə? dâ? lə .*  
 Pron Adv vV V+P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 you (pl) negative imperative keep on V'ing quarrel urging

## Translation

x

1. H: Well, a message from the government has come to us<sup>1</sup>, to all of us Lahu. We're going to discuss it. Let everybody come here for a while, please. The matter which we're all going to be discussing this evening is this. There's talk that they're planning to give us all—all of us [Lahu] who are living in Thailand—lands, fields, places where we can cultivate the soil, beginning right now and forever after.<sup>2</sup> But how is this going to come about?

2. T: I'm tired of hearing this all the time. It's always the same old story.

3. H: Well that's where you're wrong! I tell you they're saying that they're going to give us land that we can live off forever in the future, for our own adult generation as well as our children's generation! They say they'll give each person about twenty rai.<sup>3</sup> What shall we do [about it]? Shall we go take a look at the places?

4. T: Where the hell are these places anyway?

5. H: Well,

5. -A T: It's not just in one place.

<sup>1</sup>Lit. "has arrived on top of us".

<sup>2</sup>*yà?-ni tà le ð-ğū-ši qay qo ð*: "beginning today and going on ahead".

<sup>3</sup>A Thai measure of area, equal to about 1600 square meters (2.53 rai equals 1 acre). The government had been making sporadic attempts to stamp out slash-and-burn agriculture on the mountain sides and to encourage sedentary cultivation of wet-rice.

The government offers us new land

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5. -B H: I've heard that it's someplace over at Pha-pu-jawn,<sup>4</sup> near where the Hmong are. Go over there and have a look, they said to me!
6. T: Didn't somebody say that they've parceled that out to the Hmong already?
7. H: The Hmong won't get all of it. They say they'll give us Lahu our share, too!
8. T: With the business of giving some to the Hmong and some to the Lahu there's only going to be quarreling back and forth.
9. H: Oh, they're going to separate off each person's land for him, they say. They'll measure it off for us. So who all is going to go, to have a look at it?
10. T: Well, I for one am not going. From as far back as I can remember until today I have never lived off a wet-rice field.<sup>5</sup> I've grown up working in dry mountain-fields, and that's all. There's malaria [down there in the plains]! I'm afraid of it.<sup>6</sup>
11. H: Well, since they're giving out the land, let's go take a look at it. That's the least we can do.<sup>7</sup> Even if we don't cultivate it right away, we still have no way of knowing whether we might not gradually have to use it in the future. They won't be making this offer forever.<sup>8</sup> If there comes a time when they're not giving it out anymore, even if we want it we won't get it. We really ought to go out and have a look at it, brothers!
12. T: You lead them there then. Take Ja-keh and his group and Ja-pho and his group.
13. H: Oh, they'll go, they'll go. One or two of them will go. You should go early tomorrow morning, after you have something to eat.<sup>9</sup> The official<sup>10</sup> said that he'd go with us too tomorrow morning, after we eat. He's going to wait for us. So after we eat—all of you who want to go, everybody who's going, have something to eat and go up<sup>11</sup> and fetch the leader, then go off together and have a look. Personally I don't think I'll go along yet. Because I don't have time to go. Right now I'm just swamped with work,<sup>12</sup> you see.
14. Ty: For crying out loud, you're the headman. You have to go! Otherwise how can you look after the villagers' interests?
15. H: Well, I'm not one who's getting any [of that land] yet. It's not there that I'm getting any [land], so I won't go yet. I'm not going there to look. But all of you who do want to get some, you go and look it over!
16. T: Well, when the headman informs the villagers about it this way but doesn't go himself, I daresay nobody's going to pay any attention to him, in the future.
17. H: For my part, I don't want to get<sup>13</sup> any [land] over there because it's too far away. I'm going to try to get some that's near here. But all of you who want to get some, go. If you don't want any —
18. T: What you're saying is really very selfish. If it's a place nearby you'd like to get it for yourself. But other people you'd like to send off to places far away. If you act like that how can this village prosper?<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>A Hmong village near Huey Tat.

<sup>5</sup>**ti-mi**: an irrigated paddy-field, cultivated in the lowlands. Opposed to **he** (- **yê-he**, **he-ŋə**): a dry-rice field or swidden in the mountains.

<sup>6</sup>This was a very real fear before the Thai government, working together with UNESCO, instituted an extremely effective anti-malaria campaign in the 1950's.

<sup>7</sup>This idea is expressed by the verb particle **thə** 'even so/anyway,' used here as an afterthought sentence all by itself.

<sup>8</sup>Lit. "They're only giving at the time they're giving."

<sup>9</sup>This point is stressed repeatedly, since the usual Lahu practice is not to have the morning meal until about 11 A.M.

<sup>10</sup>Lit: **chə-i** "big person".

<sup>11</sup>The Thai officials nominally charged with administering Huey Tat live in the *nikhom* offices about a 20-minute walk up the mountain from the village. A *nikhom* (Thai *nikhom*, Lahu **nī?khō**) is a hill-tribe resettlement center established by the government.

<sup>12</sup>**ká kà? ká kī jā**: 'as for work, [I'm] very busy working'.

<sup>13</sup>**hə?** 'get' is sometimes used for **hə? gā** 'want to get.'

<sup>14</sup>**qhā? phə? ve**: 'to be a village', i.e., to be a unified and prosperous community.

19. H: No, whether it's far or near, if it suits you they'll give it to you—no matter where it is and no matter how much you want. I'm not saying I'll take it all for myself! Whether it's good land or bad land they'll share it out equally, the same to everybody. That's how it's done, when the authorities give things out.

20. Ty: Well, in that case you certainly ought to go look at it—tomorrow, after you have something to eat.

21. H: But I don't want any of it ever at Pha-pu-jaw—really I don't!

22. T: Just look at him, just look at him! With his own mouth he says he doesn't want any.

23. H: Well then, where would *you* like to get land, eh? Someplace nice and close, right on the *nikhom*'s land, not more than a furlong away from Huey Tat, I suppose, right? Well, I [also] would like to get [some land] right around here. If it's too far away I just can't afford to go and work there. There's nobody [to help me].<sup>15</sup> I don't have any children, you know.

24. Ty: You won't find any place to make a paddy-field around these parts! Except for Mɛ-thà?-lây<sup>16</sup>; that's the only place.

25. H: No, if you go over around Mì-gâ-tù, on the way to the cattle and elephant grazing place,<sup>17</sup> there's a great big plain! If we can only get water it'll be a perfect place. Go look around there.

26. T: Cultivating paddy fields in a desert where there's no water and earning a living! Maybe your father could, I suppose!<sup>18</sup>

27. H: Come now! Up above the valley there's a stream called Stony Brook<sup>19</sup> – now if you could just go and dig a channel [from it to the fields] there'd be all [the water] that you need for cultivation! I guess you haven't been over there to take a proper look yet.

28. T: Without spending about ten thousand<sup>20</sup>, you wouldn't be able to dig the channel.

29. H: No, as long as we've found<sup>21</sup> a place that we want to have, whatever has to be spent or whatever has to be done the government will help us. It's a trifling matter for them.<sup>22</sup>

30. T: Yes, a long time ago, the government was already telling us “We'll help you, we'll help you!”, but up to today I don't even see a mouthful of tea [that we've gotten out of them].

31. H: The government says that they can do whatever they set their minds to do.

32. T: Two or three pigs, fifty or sixty big coffee-plants—how can anybody earn a living from that sort of thing!<sup>23</sup>

33. H: Anyhow, whether we do it or not is up to us — since they're offering it. We are backwoods people.<sup>24</sup> We're a tiny<sup>25</sup> race of people. We ought to listen carefully to what the government says. Whatever they tell us we should do. As we go forward in the future, if each of us doesn't have his own piece of land here in Thailand, our children and our posterity will suffer for it.<sup>26</sup> Those of us who are grown-ups really ought to ponder this very carefully now. In the past too, in this Lahu nation of ours, for generation after generation

<sup>15</sup> **chɔ̌ á cò:** lit. “there are no people”, i.e., there are no other men in my family.

<sup>16</sup> A relatively flat area at the base of the mountain where Huey Tat is situated. It was already mostly under cultivation by Thai farmers.

<sup>17</sup> A place near Huey Tat, to which animals used to return after a day's grazing. Perhaps this was once a locale for a livestock market.

<sup>18</sup> **nɔ̌ pà tí yò:** “your father's the only one.” A sarcastic expression meaning that something is impossible.

<sup>19</sup> **Há-cú-pí:** lit. “a place strewn with rocks”.

<sup>20</sup> This figure is in baht, equivalent to about \$500 at the time, which was an inconceivably large sum of money for a Lahu.

<sup>21</sup> **ca ā:** lit. “have sought”, i.e., have found.

<sup>22</sup> **su à? á khə? nē:** ‘it doesn't trouble them.’

<sup>23</sup> Cào is referring to the government's occasional attempts to enrich and diversify the village's agriculture by making little presents of plants or livestock.

<sup>24</sup> **hɛ̌?-pí-qhɔ̌ chɔ̌:** ‘jungle people; forest people.’

<sup>25</sup> **i:** ‘small’, used to mean both ‘few, not numerous’ and ‘weak, unimportant.’

<sup>26</sup> Lit: “when the era of our children and posterity arrives, it will be difficult.”

people have been thoughtless,<sup>27</sup> so that today whatever we do we are beset with troubles and difficulties.<sup>28</sup> We have no education, none of the various skills that other people have. It is because we don't listen to the advice of others that we have come to this pass. So at this point we should all think things over very carefully, my brothers! Liši, where would you like to get land, if they offer you some?

33a. Liši: Wherever they give it to me, I will accept it.

33b. H: Well, that's it, I feel the same as you do. [But] there isn't anybody who wants to go to Pha-pu-jaw that we were talking about just now! And you're telling me, "Go! Since you're the headman!" So what shall I do?

34. T: Since you're the headman, you really must go.

35. H: I don't want to get any [land there], I tell you! Even if I go there I'm not taking any.

36. T: But you must go and look for [land] on the villagers' behalf even though you don't want any for yourself.

37. H: If the villagers want it, they'll get it.

38. T: You've got to go look after things yourself. If you don't go and watch how they're measuring it off, how will the villagers know whether it's being done fairly or not?

39. H: Well, once they're all through measuring it properly, I do plan to go, you know.

40. T: When it comes to doing a job, this kind of piecemeal, half-hearted<sup>29</sup> way of doing it is really annoying! Year after year [this trait of yours] hasn't changed,<sup>30</sup> right up to today. It's time for you to realize this.

41. H: Even if you say you want [a certain piece of land] it doesn't mean that you have to cultivate it right away. If there isn't anybody to work it at the moment,<sup>31</sup> you can just keep it in reserve<sup>32</sup> for the future! We'd better take advantage of their offer while it still holds.<sup>33</sup> So all of you who have the time ought to go tomorrow! Otherwise you might say someday,

"You didn't tell me about this." "Even though the government said they'd give us land, you didn't tell me." "If you had only told me when they said they'd give it to us!" "If we had only known about it, we would have gone!", you might say, so now I'm telling you about it while there's still time, [I'm telling] you all.<sup>34</sup>

42. T: Yes, well, we've known about this for a long time, this whole business. However, I don't see any advantage or benefit<sup>35</sup> for us if we do work [these new fields]. I can only see difficulties. Rather than listening to that kind of advice, it wouldn't hurt<sup>36</sup> if we paid attention to what the Boss<sup>37</sup> says.

43. H: In the future, when Thailand, this Thailand of ours gets to be packed chock-full of people, whoever doesn't have his own land is going to be in trouble, I bet. Now, while they're telling us this in good time,

<sup>27</sup> **mâ dō-ni pí:** lit. "unable to think things through."

<sup>28</sup> This long speech is in elevated, sermonizing style, as the headman speaks *ex cathedra*.

<sup>29</sup> **tê tōn-né tê tōn-né te ve:** "to do just a little at a time".

<sup>30</sup> **ā mé šē:** "hasn't disappeared yet".

<sup>31</sup> E.g, if your sons are still too young.

<sup>32</sup> **fá ve:** undoubtedly < Thai *fāak* 'deposit for future use'..

<sup>33</sup> "Because their offering it is only offering it for a time." **ō-yā thā ce tí** 'only temporarily.' A certain inconsistency in the headman's attitude is obvious, amusing, and intentional!

<sup>34</sup> This passage, which has been slightly edited, was difficult because of the constant shifting in the headman's deictic point of view vis-à-vis the villagers. Sometimes he called himself **ŋà 'I**, sometimes he referred to himself as **nō 'you**, through the villagers' eyes. Sometimes the villagers are **nō-hi 'you all**, sometimes **ŋà-hi 'we**.

<sup>35</sup> **gā-cā-gā-lē? tū:** lit. "something which will enable us to eat".

<sup>36</sup> **qhe** is a verb meaning 'be objectionable, harmful', perhaps related to the verb particle **qhe** 'V to excess'.

<sup>37</sup> **šathê:** < Burmese *θathêi* 'tycoon' (WB *su-thê*, with first syllable apparently remodeled under the influence of *su* 'person' [cf. Lahu *šū* '3p pronoun'], ultimately from Sanskrit *śre(ṣ)tha* 'most splendid, preeminent'). This refers to the rich Thai landowner who had adopted a semi-benevolent paternalistic attitude toward the Lahu in the Huey Tat *nikhom*. See *How we came from Burma*.



we all ought to think it over carefully. They're only going to be offering it to us for a while. If we don't watch out "By the time our thoughts catch up, the prey can't be caught!"<sup>38</sup>

44. T: Well, as far as I'm concerned, I'm still not going.<sup>39</sup> You all can discuss it and go if you want to.

45. H: Well, then, this is where the matter stands. If there's anybody who wants to go, let him go tomorrow. That's all there is to it. As for me, I won't be going yet. I don't have the time yet. Because I'm very busy working, seeing that I don't have anybody [to help me]. Among all of you who want to go, [why don't] some of you get together and go off hunting or something<sup>40</sup> from the cattle-tending huts to Porcupine<sup>41</sup> Mountain, and cook yourselves a good roast and continue on from there!<sup>42</sup>

46. Ty: Well, but did they say they'd dig out the paddy-fields for us? What did they say they'd do?

47. H: No, they're not going to dig out the field for us. We've got to dig ours out all by ourselves. We'll have a go at it, then if it turns out that we can't, in case we're not able to do it,<sup>43</sup> we'll just tell the government officials. The government will take care of us and help us, they said. Also, in the matter of bringing water [to the fields], even if it's a long way, if the regime—er, if the government<sup>44</sup> helps us, we'll make it all right. Little people that we<sup>45</sup> all are, we've been thinking "This is impossible and that is impossible" – that's how we think. But, look, if we don't have fields, land to till, whatever we might try to do in the future, it will really be impossible for us to succeed. Everybody had better think this over mighty fast. Elephant and cattle grazing grounds, now, [that's a place] I also would like to get.<sup>46</sup> They say the trees there are big, but we could chop them down, [in our] fields. In a year or two we could have the stumps burned out and be earning a living from our paddy-fields. Oh, I'm sure we could! So, as far as I'm concerned, I want the big stretch of flat land above the cattle-tending hut – the whole plain, above everybody else's [fields].

48. T: You're so greedy! That's just it.<sup>47</sup> That's why nobody wants to go [with you], why nobody wants to follow your example!

49. H: Ha, ha! That's nonsense, that is!

50. : He's right, he's right!

51. H: Okay, okay, I'll take [land] at the tail-end of everybody instead,<sup>48</sup> if that's the way you feel. Way below everybody else, down at the rocky ridge —

[everybody talks at once]

52. Ty: Hold on! The land down there is mine!

53. H: Down there at Há-tó-cē in the plains near Kē-ma-lón.

54. T: Just look at him, just look at him. Now even though they aren't going they've already been fighting over it — acting like this, there's no way we can earn a living.

55. Pà-é: It's mine, it's mine! The land down there is mine!

<sup>38</sup> **dǎ mi qo gǎ? â mi**: lit. "when think-overtake, chase not overtake." A proverb meaning 'By the time we realize what's happening it will be too late to do anything about it.'

<sup>39</sup> **mâ** + V + **šō**: 'still not V'. But **mâ** + V + **šē**: 'not V yet'.

<sup>40</sup> The morpheme **mū** appears in elaborate expressions with intensifying or approximative force. See DL: 1003-4.

<sup>41</sup> **fā?-pé**: 'brush-tailed porcupine' (*Atherurus macrourus*).

<sup>42</sup> I.e., the Headman is suggesting they go hunting on their way to inspect the new fields the government is offering. This is by way of tempting more people to go, but is hardly a serious suggestion. A hunting expedition is an all-day affair, not something to be sandwiched in between other activities.

<sup>43</sup> Lit. "if it's a not-being-able thing".

<sup>44</sup> The headman first uses the Burmese word for 'government' **a-šō-yà?**, then corrects himself and uses the Thai word **lāthābā**.

<sup>45</sup> **nǎ-ŋà-hi**: 'you and we', i.e., inclusive we.

<sup>46</sup> I.e., "a place that I too would like to get". Unlike the lands at **Pha-pu-jaw** in which the Headman has no interest.

<sup>47</sup> The accusative particle here indicates that the underlying meaning is "this is what you have".

<sup>48</sup> The prehead versatile verb **qǎ?** here translates as 'instead'.

The government offers us new land

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56. H: Look, when the authorities give it to us, we'll carefully measure it off, the good places as well as the bad, and divide it up. Everybody will get an equal share.<sup>49</sup>

57. Ty: Me, if it's bad land I'm not taking it!

58. Pà-é: I won't take it either – I won't!

59. H: What our forefathers said ... what you've been saying is, "When I said I wanted to take the upper part, you said you wouldn't give it to me." But according to what our forefathers said long ago, it's the lower part which is to be taken. Because when you get land below other people's, you can<sup>50</sup> gradually move a little bit upwards one year, and a little bit further upwards the second year, until someday the one who got the lower part will get all the upper fields as well! There's an old saying to that effect — it's a good one. So if I say I want the upper part, why don't you give it to me!

60. T: Just look at him, just look at him! Now he's even teaching you the way to rob other people of their possessions!

61. H: I'm not robbing anybody, I'm not robbing anybody! I [told] you I'd take the upper part even if there wasn't enough water. [But when I said] I'd take the upper part, what you said was "If it's a good place you take it for yourself!" So now I'm saying I'll take [land] down there, way downhill from everybody else in the rocky plains down there!

62. T: Well, then, what about what you were saying there about digging your way upwards little by little into other peoples' [land]?

63. H: [*Laughs*] Oh, that! You know there's an old saying like that, don't you? "When you stake out<sup>51</sup> a paddy-field, stake it out low! If you get a high field, you may get water, but cold water makes for bad paddy."<sup>52</sup> If you get land below the others, one day you will get to be greater than they" – isn't that what they say? As our ancestors have said, "The first year while you hoe your weeds, undermine the paddy-field boundaries<sup>53</sup> a little and push up a ways. The next year dig under again and advance upwards another length. [That is how you become] great." So I'm just trying to get other people's [property] for myself!

64. T: And here's where your great greed comes in!

65. H: It's not greed at all! You guys don't want it. It should be given to me!

66. T: Then let each one of us go down and work only in his own place!

67. H: Well–

68. T: This business of knocking over and breaking up other people's boundaries, you would always have to make new ones and there'd be no end to it.

69. H: [I'm not saying] "Knock them over and break them up"–when the water weeds are thick around there, if you just dig at them a teeny-weeny bit, the earth comes tumbling down [into your field]–if it's soaked with water.

70. T: Terrific, I'll keep scraping yours away too, then!

71. H: [*Laughing*] I'm only kidding!<sup>54</sup> You're talking nonsense!<sup>55</sup>

72. Pà-é: Don't cultivate the upper part. Don't cultivate the [whole] middle part. Dividing up the middle part, each person will get half. I'll tear them [the boundary markers] down.

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<sup>49</sup>qha-šwí hǎ? a: "Let us get equally."

<sup>50</sup>The conjunction à-mù expresses 'future probability'.

<sup>51</sup>ve (V) 'lay claim to; stake out'.

<sup>52</sup>The higher up the mountain the colder the water presumably.

<sup>53</sup>ti-mi-tê. The ð-tê are earthen dikes forming the boundaries of a paddy-field.

<sup>54</sup>Lit: "It's not that way."

<sup>55</sup>Lit: "Yours isn't even human speech."

73. H: Do it honestly for us. Well, you know what people say, if they're narrow ones—if all the strips [of land] are narrow, they'll say, "It's too long! I don't want it!"<sup>56</sup> So let everybody measure off his own section squarely.

74. Ty: Well, if you keep doing it that way...

75. T: Don't give any to people who don't want to accept it.

76. Ty: It doesn't look nice, it doesn't look nice.

77. H: When I've made the boundaries between the sections, I'll certainly try to do it in such a way that each and every person gets enough.

78. Ty: Well—

79. Pà-é: I'll bet they'll tear them down.

80. H: Oh, you people are talking at cross-purposes here<sup>57</sup>! Just talking at cross-purposes. When the government is good enough to give us something, let everybody at least go and have a proper look at it! No matter what land falls to any individual's lot.

81. Ty: It depends entirely on the government.

82. H: Look, when the government gives us something there's nothing for us to go complain about, is there? Shaw-hpa has suggested that we draw lots! You'd write down the paddy-field [locations] and put them in [the pool], then you'd draw the lots, and whichever piece you happen to get, it would be that land which you'd—that area there that you would get.

83. T: That would never work. When you draw lots [and you lose] it's not a happy business.

84. H: It's because nobody agrees on how to divide it up! So what can we do about it?

85. T: What'll happen is, when the lots are drawn a loser<sup>58</sup> will—

86. H: The hell with losers! they just won't get it, that's all.

87. Ty: Well, if we draw lots and I don't get a good place, I simply won't take it! Even if it falls to my lot.

88. Pà-é: I'd take it, I'd take it!

89. H: Well, if that's the way it is, there's nothing to be done with you people. Well, if you won't even do what they advise you to do, let somebody else tell you what to do, let somebody else tell you. We're all just quarreling with each other and not getting anyplace.

90. T: Let me decide, let me decide! I'll solve them for you, all these problems of yours. If there is anybody now who doesn't want to get any [land] as the headman said to, let him just give his share to the Lisu<sup>59</sup>, all of it.

91. H: Which place do you mean?

92. T: Even the [lands] at Pha-pu-jawn.

93. H: The ones at Pha-pu-jawn, now—

94. T: And let [the lands] at the "cattle and elephant grazing grounds" be given away, too! You people are so stubborn<sup>60</sup> right now!

95. Lisu: I for one will take them!

<sup>56</sup>I.e., if a field is narrow it is apt to be long. Rectangular fields involve more footwork than squarer ones.

<sup>57</sup>jè dà? mâ h̄: lit. "discuss mutually not harmonize".

<sup>58</sup>â-c̄-p̄: lit. "one who doesn't happen to [get a good place]".

<sup>59</sup>A member of the Lisu tribe, resident for several years in Huey Tat, and well liked by everybody.

<sup>60</sup>t̄ ȳ h̄: lit. "hard to talk to".

96. H: So how are you guys going to go and earn a living in the future?
97. Lisu: No matter where we work for our living<sup>61</sup> we'll just be scratching out a bare existence anyway.
98. Ty: Well, if we haven't got places to live off, someday we'll be in trouble.
99. H: As for me, I don't care whether I get any [new land] or not.
100. T: That's why you're not going, eh?
101. H: If I don't get any I won't be angry. If I do get some, I won't be happy.
102. T: You're just saying that with your mouth!<sup>62</sup> You do that with everything.
103. H: See here, now, I've grown old working old fields<sup>63</sup> these many years! Among you there's nobody who earns his living [that way]. Me, each year I work somebody else's old field, a different one each time. I go roaming around and earn my living.<sup>64</sup>
104. Lisu: Okay, keep scrabbling for a living then! All by yourself.
105. H: Scrabble I will. I'm not going.
106. Lisu: Stay sitting all forlorn<sup>65</sup> and keep scratching for a living!
107. H: When people give you fellows advice, you don't pay any attention. Even when those important people advise you and tell you what to do, you still don't want to listen.
108. Lisu: The one who doesn't want to listen is you!
109. T: You just sit under an eggplant-berry bush<sup>66</sup> and scratch for a living!
110. H: There's a saying about the Lahu people<sup>67</sup>, that "when one of us is working, the other turns away." He is obstructed. "When one of us is carrying on his work, the other pulls him back." We can't go on like this. We Lahu, no matter what we do—
111. T: "While one man is climbing a tree, the other is pulling at his legs" — that saying is to the point here.
112. H: Because we don't want to obey the laws and customs of our superiors or even listen to what they're saying.
113. T: It's all because you didn't listen from the very beginning when people were telling you "Don't do this, don't do that, it's impossible!" So today, you see, it's nothing but troubles, whatever we do. No matter who teaches you, you won't listen!
114. H: Well, unless we let those government officials handle it for us I don't see what we can do.
115. T: Then let's leave it to the government. You people don't quarrel about it anymore!

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<sup>61</sup> **qhò te câ â te câ**: lit. "where we **work-for-a-living** not **work-for-a-living**", i.e. 'no matter where we work for a living'.

<sup>62</sup> I.e., 'you don't really mean it'.

<sup>63</sup> **he-(g̃s̃)-šā**: a field that has already yielded a crop, an 'old field'. The headman professes to prefer working other people's old fields to clearing new ones of his own.

<sup>64</sup> **ca te câ tô qay**: an impressive 5-verb concatenation!

<sup>65</sup> **phí è mi ve**: lit. "sit grayly". This refers to a former Lahu custom of removing the shirt when sad or angry, thus exposing one's "grayish" skin. This expression is now usable of anyone who is in a funk or a huff, whether or not he has actually removed his shirt.

<sup>66</sup> **má-he-pī**: Thai *măkhya phuay*. A small shrub of the eggplant family (*Solanaceae torvum*), whose bitter berries are eaten in curries. The English translation is my own coinage.

<sup>67</sup> **Lâhu yâ qô? ve qô? qo**: "if/when we say about the ones called Lahu people".

## **Part II**

# **The Lahu imagination**



## **7 Fables and edifying stories**

## 7.1 The little crabs who walked zig-zag

- (1) *à-šwè thâ á-ci-ku ð-ma-pā ló tē khe cð*  
 AE N N B<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V  
 once upon a time crab female (of certain animals) sthg big one for animals be there  
*ve yò cê*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative quotative
- (2) *yô lē ī jā ve yò*  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 she topic large very nominalizer declarative
- (3) *yô ve ð-yâ-é tē phā kà? cð mâ ve yò*  
 N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N Q P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 her baby pluralizer also be there much nominalizer declarative
- (4) *tē ni thâ , yô ve ð-yâ-é tē phā thà? šī lē yà?-qð*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N Q P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 one for days time her baby pluralizer accusative lead along suspensive road  
*jû ci ve yò cê*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 walk causative nominalizer declarative quotative
- (5) *yô lē ð-qhð?-nó phô chē lē qha-dè? ni tā ve*  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> M<sub>prfx</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> AE V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 she topic behind side stay suspensive carefully watch durative nominalizer  
*yò*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (6) *ð-yâ-é tē phā tē khe pà tē khe yà?-qð jû ci*  
 N Q Num Cl<sub>f</sub> B<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub>  
 baby pluralizer one for animals after one for animals road walk causative  
*ve ð-qhō lo yô ni ve tē yân thâ , thē lē qay mâ*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> AE<sub>stat</sub> V Adv  
 relativizer while locative she look at relativizer when straight go negative  
*gà , pè-šī pè-šī è? tí qay ve yò cê*  
 V<sub>v</sub> B<sub>n</sub> B<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 manage to sideways sideways just only go nominalizer declarative quotative
- (7) *qhe-te-le , ð-e yâ thà? qð? pî ve : ” yâ*  
 Conj N N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 then mother children accusative say benefactive (3p) nominalizer children  
*tē ġī ò , nð-hi yà?-qð jû ve chi qhe mâ hê?*  
 Q P<sub>n</sub> Pron N V P<sub>univ</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> Adv + V  
 pluralizer vocative you (pl) road walk nominalizer like this not be good
- (8) *thē lē qay-? ,” tē? qð? pî ve yò*  
 AE<sub>stat</sub> V<sub>imp</sub> QUOT V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 straight go! embedded quote say benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative



- (9) *qhe-te-ɛ* , *ɔ̂-yâ* *tê phā* *qô?* *ve* : ” *ŋà* *e* *ò* , *nò* *a-cí*  
 Conj N Q V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N P<sub>n</sub> Pron Adv  
 so children pluralizer say nominalizer my mother vocative you please  
*te* *mā* *lā* *ô?* ,” *tê?* *qô?* *pî*  
 vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> QUOT V V<sub>v</sub>  
 do and teach benefactive (non-3p) hortatory embedded quote say benefactive (3p)  
*ve* *yò* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (10) *qhe-te-ɛ* , *ɔ̂-e* *tê pô?* *qay* *a-tê?* *te* *ve* *yò* .  
 Conj N NP<sub>q</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>quot</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 so mother this time go try to do nominalizer declarative
- (11) *ɔ̂-e* *qay* *ve* *tê yân thā* *kâ?* , *ɔ̂-yâ* *qha šū-šū* *pè-šĩ* *ɔ̂* *pè-šĩ*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N AE B<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> B<sub>n</sub>  
 mother go relativizer when even children just like sideways locative sideways  
*ɔ̂* *pè-šĩ* *ɔ̂* *tí* *qay* *ve* *l* .  
 P<sub>n</sub> B<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 locative sideways locative only go nominalizer emphatic declarative
- (12) *qhe-qo* , *ɔ̂-yâ* *tê phā* *qô?* *ve* :” *ŋà* *e* *ò* , *ŋà-hi* *thô*  
 Conj N Q V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N P<sub>n</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub>  
 so children pluralizer say nominalizer my mother vocative we (pl) also  
*pè-šĩ* *ɔ̂* *qay* *ve* *qhe* , *nò* *kâ?* *pè-šĩ* *ɔ̂* *qay* *ve*  
 B<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> B<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 sideways locative go nominalizer like you also sideways locative go nominalizer  
*l* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic declarative
- (13) *qha-šū* *yò* *l* ,” *tê?* *qô?* *pî*  
 AE P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> QUOT V V<sub>v</sub>  
 the same declarative emphatic declarative embedded quote say benefactive (3p)  
*ve* *yò* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (14) *chĩ* *à?* *ŋà-hi* *à-thô?-ma* *cí-kì* *ğā* *tù* *le* , *a-ví-a-ni*  
 Det P<sub>n</sub> Pron N<sub>intg</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub>  
 this accusative we (pl) what meaning get future substantive qst brothers and sisters  
*tê phā* *ò* .  
 Q P<sub>n</sub>  
 pluralizer vocative

## Translation

1. Once upon a time there was a great female crab.
2. She was a very big one.
3. She also had a lot of babies.
4. One day she led all her babies out and made them practice walking.

## The little crabs who walked zig-zag

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5. She was staying behind them and watching them carefully.
6. She made all her babies walk, one after the other, and as she looked at them, they couldn't manage to walk straight, they only went zigzag.
7. Then the mother said to her children, "Children, that's not the way to walk! Go *straight*."
8. Then the children said, "Well, Mother, please show us how."
9. So this time it was the mother who went.
10. But even when the mother walked, she could only go zigzag, zigzag, zigzag, just like her children.
11. Whereupon the children said, "But, Mother, you go zigzag too, just as we did! It's just the same!"
12. What can we learn from this, brethren?

## 7.2 The boastful cock and the hawk

- (1) *tê pô? thâ khô? tê khô? ð-qhɔ lo ġâ? tê mō cò ve*  
 NP<sub>time</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N Q V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 once coop one for coops inside locative fowl one group be there nominalizer  
*yò*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (2) *ġâ? ô-ve tê mō ð-qhɔ lo ð-phu-qā nî khe cò ve*  
 N Det Q N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 fowl that one group amongst locative cock two for animals be there nominalizer  
*yò*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (3) *ġâ?-phu-qā tê khe lè yô tê ni le-le kù ve tê yân thâ*  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> B<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub>  
 rooster one for animals topic he one for days every crow relativizer when  
*khô? ð-qhò? lo tí tâ? kù ve cê*  
 N N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 coop on top of locative only go up crow nominalizer quotative
- (4) *yô kù ve ð-khô lè chi qhe qô? ve yò : ” ñà*  
 Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron  
 he crow relativizer sound topic like this speak nominalizer declarative me  
*qhò? lè ĩ-šē-mu-šē-phâ mâ cò*  
 N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> Adv V  
 more than topic important person negative be there
- (5) *qha-pà-è thâ? ġâ šē-phâ ñà yò ,” tê?*  
 AE P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v-nom</sub> Pron P<sub>uf</sub> QUOT  
 everything accusative overcome agentive nominalizer I declarative embedded quote  
*tí chi qhe qô? kù chē ve yò*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 just like this say crow continuous nominalizer declarative
- (6) *mâ ġâ ve ġâ?-phu-qā tê khe lè tê ni le-le yô tō-khō chi*  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> Pron N Det  
 negative win relativizer rooster one for animals topic every day his words these  
*thâ? ġâ kâ ve thâ? pa-tō , ð-pì-tâ? lo tí ca*  
 P<sub>n</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> vV  
 accusative get to hear nominalizer because thicket locative only go and do  
*vâ? tã ve yò*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 hide (oneself) durative nominalizer declarative
- (7) *tê ni qhe ġâ?-phu-qā chi yô khô? ð-qhò? lo qô? tâ?*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Conj N Det Pron N N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> vV V  
 one for days so rooster this his coop on top of locative V again go up  
*e lē qô? bù chē ve tê yân thâ , ” ñà*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Pron  
 motion away suspensive V again cry out progressive relativizer when me

<i>qhô?</i>	<i>ğâ</i>	<i>pā</i>		<i>mâ</i>	<i>cò</i>	”	<i>tê?</i>		<i>kù</i>
N <sub>loc</sub>	V	P <sub>v-nom</sub>		Adv	V		QUOT		V
more than	overcome	agentive nominalizer		negative	be there		embedded quote		crow
<i>chê</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>ğ-qhɔ</i>	<i>lo</i>	<i>á-cè</i>	<i>tê</i>	<i>khe</i>	<i>là</i>	<i>ɛ</i>	<i>yɔ̂</i>
V <sub>v</sub>	P <sub>univ</sub>	N <sub>time</sub>	P <sub>n</sub>	N	Num	Cl <sub>f</sub>	V	P <sub>unf</sub>	Pron
continuous	relativizer	while	locative	hawk	one	for animals	come	suspensive	him
<i>thâ?</i>	<i>chê?</i>	<i>chî</i>	<i>qay</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>yò</i>				
P <sub>n</sub>	V	V	V <sub>v</sub>	P <sub>univ</sub>	P <sub>uf</sub>				
accusative	bite	lift up	V away	nominalizer	declarative				

(8) *tê ni le-le* *ğ-pì-tâ?* *lo* *và?* *chê* *tā* *ve* *ğâ?-phu-qā* *tê*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Num  
 every day thicket locative hide (oneself) progressive perfective relativizer rooster one  
*khe* *qò?* *tɔ?* *la* *ɛ* *ğâ?* *ô-ve* *tê mō* *ğ-qhô?*  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Det Q N  
 for animals V finally come out motion towards suspensive fowl that one group above  
*thâ?* *qò?* *kwân* *tā* *ve* *yò*  
 P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 accusative V for a change rule over durative nominalizer declarative

### Translation

1. There was once a flock of fowl in a certain coop.
2. Among these fowl there were two males.
3. One of these cocks, at his daily crowing-time, would always climb up onto the top of the coop to crow.
4. The words that he crowed were in this vein:
5. “Above me there is no one greater and no one higher.
6. I am the one who conquers them all!”
7. This was the way he would always crow.
8. The cock who couldn’t compete would hear these words of his every day, and would always go and hide himself away in a great thicket.
9. One day when this cock had climbed up onto the top of his coop and was crowing away as usual, just as he was screaming “There is no one to overcome me!”, a hawk came and bit into him and lifted him up and away.
10. The other cock, who used to be off hiding in the great thicket every day, came out again, and thenceforth ruled over the flock of chickens.

### 7.3 The lion and the frog

- (1) *tê pô? thâ mû-mì tê pê? cò ve yò*  
 NP<sub>time</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 once country one for pieces of land be there nominalizer declarative
- (2) *mû-mì ô-ve ð-qhɔ lo thān-lón tê mà cò ve yò*  
 N Det N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 country that within locative great forest one for things be there nominalizer declarative
- (3) *thān-lón ô-ve tê mà ð-qhɔ lo to-nû-to-šâ? tê phā*  
 N Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> Q  
 great forest that one for things inside locative animals and creatures pluralizer  
*qha bî cò ve yò*  
 AE V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 abundantly be there nominalizer declarative
- (4) *ô ma ve ð-qhɔ? ĩ jâ ve lâ-câ-šĩ qô? ve tê khe*  
 NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 all these genitivizer above great very relativizer lion call relativizer one for animals  
*cò ve yò*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be there nominalizer declarative
- (5) *qhe-qo , tê ni thâ yô mû-mì ô-ve ð-qhɔ lo cɔ*  
 Conj Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N Det N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V  
 well then one for days when he country that within locative go around  
*tô chê ve yò*  
 V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 V aimlessly progressive nominalizer declarative
- (6) *cɔ tô cɔ tô ɛ , yô qô? ve :* ”  
 V V<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 go around V aimlessly go around V aimlessly suspensive he say nominalizer  
*mû-mì chi ð-qhɔ lo lê ñà qhɔ? ĩ-pā-mu-pā mâ cò*  
 N Det N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N<sub>loc</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> Adv V  
 country this within locative topic I on top of high and mighty one negative be there  
*lɔ*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic declarative
- (7) *ñà à? gâ-pā mâ cò*  
 Pron P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> Adv V  
 me object one who triumphs over negative be there
- (8) *tê gâ kâ? gâ-pā mâ cò lɔ* ,”  
 Q P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 one person even one who triumphs over negative be there emphatic declarative  
*tê? qô? chê ve yò*  
 QUOT V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 embedded quote say continuous nominalizer declarative

The lion and the frog

- (9) *ô qhe qô? ve thà? pā-té-nê? tê khe ġa kâ ve*  
 NP<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 like that say nominalizer accusative frog one for animals get to hear relativizer  
*tê yân thâ , pā-té-nê? qô? pî ve : ” nò à-thò?-ma te*  
 NP<sub>time</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron Adv<sub>interrog</sub>  
 when frog say benefactive (3p) nominalizer you why  
*tô ve le ,” têt? chi qhe qô?*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> QUOT AE<sub>ext</sub> V  
 wander around nominalizer substantive qst embedded quote like this say  
*pî ve yò .*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative
- (10) *ô qhe qô? ve thà? yô ġa kâ ve tê yân thâ , ” âa ,*  
 NP<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron vV V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Interj  
 like that say nominalizer accusative he get to hear relativizer when well!  
*ŋà chi tɔ-tɔ ĩ ve kà? ŋà à? chi qhe qô?*  
 Pron AE<sub>ext</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V  
 I to such a degree great nominalizer although me accusative like this speak  
*lâ ve ,” têt? yô dô ve yò .*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> QUOT Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer embedded quote he think nominalizer declarative
- (11) *qhe-te-ɛ yô bə? jâ ve yò .*  
 Conj Pron V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 so he angry very nominalizer declarative
- (12) *bə? jâ ve pa-tɔ , yô ca ni ve yò*  
 V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 angry very nominalizer because of he go and do look around nominalizer declarative
- (13) *ca ni ɛ í-kâ? ġi-po lón tê mà cò*  
 vV V P<sub>unf</sub> N N B<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V  
 go and do look around suspensive water lake sthg big one for things be there  
*ve yò .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (14) *ô-ve ð-qhɔ lo lɔ-bo-vê? tê cê cî? tã ve*  
 Det N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 that inside locative lotus flower one for plants be fixed in a place durative nominalizer  
*yò .*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (15) *pā-té-nê? chi yô thà? nà?-ú te pî ve*  
 N Det Pron P<sub>n</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 frog this him accusative conversation make benefactive (3p) nominalizer  
*thô , yô ca mâ mð .*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V Adv V  
 even though he look for negative find

- (16) *yô ð-pâ-nê gà ve tê yân thâ , ” nò à-thò?-ma ca tô*  
 Pron N<sub>loc</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Pron N<sub>intg</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V  
 he nearby reach relativizer when you what go and do wander around  
*le ” têt? tê pô? qô? pî ve yò*  
 P<sub>uf</sub> QUOT Q V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 substantive qst embedded quote again say benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative
- (17) *qhe-te-le , yô bêt? jâ*  
 Conj Pron V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 so he angry very
- (18) *qhe yô ð-gû-šē ġâ-thè? qay ve yò*  
 Conj Pron N<sub>loc</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 so he forward energetically go nominalizer declarative
- (19) *ô kâ? gà le , pā-té-nê? tê khe ló-bo-phà? ð-qhò?*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub>  
 over there locative reach suspensive frog one for animals lotus leaf on top of  
*lo mi ā le yô thà? nâ?-ú te pî*  
 P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub>  
 locative sit durative suspensive him accusative conversation make benefactive (3p)  
*chê ve yò*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 progressive nominalizer declarative
- (20) *ô-ve hà? yô chêt? a-têt? te ve tê yân thâ , tê pô? tí í-kâ?*  
 Det P<sub>n</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>quot</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> N  
 that one accusative he bite tentative do relativizer when all of a sudden water  
*qhɔ pô? lò? e šē ve yò*  
 M<sub>px</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 into jump V into motion away right away nominalizer declarative
- (21) *cô kâ? yô ġâ-thè? kù le , ġâ-thè? há*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
 over there locative he energetically shout suspensive energetically bellow  
*kə ve pa-tɔ yô ve ni-ma-šī khô le šī*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N V P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 V thoroughly nominalizer because of his heart shatter suspensive die  
*e ve yò*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 motion away nominalizer declarative

## Translation

1. Once upon a time there was a certain country.
2. In this country there was a great forest.
3. In this great forest there was an abundance of all beasts and animals.
4. Above all these there was one animal called the lion who was the greatest by far.
5. Well, one day the lion was roaming around in that country.
6. Wandering around and around he said, “In this country there is no one who is greater or higher than I am! There is no one who can overcome me—not a single person!”, so he said.

## The lion and the frog

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7. When a frog heard him saying this, the frog said, "What are you wandering around for?"
8. When the lion heard this he thought, "Well, here I am so great and I'm talked to like that!"
9. And he got very angry.
10. Since he was so angry he went to see who had addressed him thus.
11. When he went to look, there was a big lake.
12. In it there was growing a water lily.
13. Although somebody was talking to him, the lion could not find him.
14. When he had gotten near, the frog said again, "What are you walking around like that for?"
15. Then the lion became truly furious.
16. He rushed violently forward.
17. When he got to the place, there was a frog sitting on top of a lotus leaf and talking to him.
18. When the lion tried to bite him, all of a sudden he stumbled into the water.
19. There he roared with all his might, with all his might he bellowed, so his heart burst and he died.



## 7.4 The dhole and the tiger

- (1) *chi-bəʔ à-pū tē mā qhay mā lâ*  
 N<sub>time</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 now story one for things tell a story instruct by V'ing benefactive (non-3p)  
*šā , ə-ví-ə-ni Lāhū-yā tē phā ò .*  
 P<sub>v</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> N Q P<sub>n</sub>  
 intentional (1p) brethren Lahu people pluralizer vocative
- (2) *tāʔ-í na tā šē .*  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 quietly listen durative still
- (3) *à-šwè thā lâ tē khε le vè tē khε nàʔ-ú te*  
 AE N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N V  
 once upon a time tiger one for animals and dhole one for animals conversation make  
*dàʔ ve .*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 mutual action nominalizer
- (4) *lā qôʔ ve : ” ŋà ə-qhôʔ lè cū-yī ī ve , ə-ğā*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N P<sub>unf</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 tiger say nominalizer me above topic knowledge great relativizer strength  
*ī ve chə mâ cə ” tēʔ qôʔ pī*  
 V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Adv V QUOT V V<sub>v</sub>  
 great relativizer person negative be there embedded quote say benefactive (3p)  
*ve .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer
- (5) *vè qôʔ ve : ” nə cū-yī ī ve tēʔ nə dš*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> QUOT Pron V  
 dhole say nominalizer you knowledge great relativizer embedded quote you think  
*ve lâ .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer yes
- (6) *mā hēʔ šē mē .*  
 Adv + V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 not be the case regrettably emphatic
- (7) *nə ə-qhôʔ ī ve tē cə cə šē .*  
 Pron N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q V P<sub>v</sub>  
 you above great relativizer one kind be there still
- (8) *lā lón qôʔ ve : ” a-šu le .*  
 N B<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron P<sub>uf</sub>  
 tiger sthg big say nominalizer whoever substantive qst
- (9) *chə-yā qôʔ ve chi-bəʔ cə šš lâ .”*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 human beings call nominalizer now be there still yes



- " *vè* *ò* , *chi* *yò* *lâ* " *tê?* *na-ni* *le* ,  
 N P<sub>n</sub> Det P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> QUOT V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 dhole vocative this declarative yes embedded quote ask suspensive
- (18) *vè* *qô?* *ve* : " *yò* , *yò* " *qô?* *pî* *ve* *yò*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> Interj Interj V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 dhole say nominalizer yes! yes! say benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative
- (19) *chɔ* *chi* *ve* *thà?* *lâ* *mò* *le* , *gĩ* *là* *ve* *thà?*  
 N Det P<sub>n</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 person this accusative tiger see suspensive run come V'ing nominalizer accusative  
*hó-qhâ?* *chi* *gã* *mò* *thâ* , *yô* *tâ?* *tã* *ve*  
 N Det <sub>v</sub>V + V<sub>h</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 man this catch sight of when he carry on shoulder durative relativizer  
*nâ?-tâ-ce* *ò-dē* *nĩ* *mà* *ve* *thɔ*  
 N N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V  
 double-barreled shotgun barrel of a gun two for things genitivizer aim (a weapon)  
*le* , *ò-šĩ-é* *pá* *õ* *bô?* *pî* *le* , *tê* *pô?* *qò?*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> <sub>v</sub>V  
 suspensive buckshot side from shoot benefactive (3p) suspensive then V again  
*là* *le* , *khò?* *šĩ* *ve* *phô* *õ* *bô?* *pî*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 come suspensive six for round objects genitivizer side from shoot benefactive (3p)  
*ve* *yò* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (20) *lâ* *chi* *pô?-phɔ* *e* *le* , *vè* *qô?* *pî*  
 N Det V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub>  
 tiger this flee by jumping motion away suspensive dhole say benefactive (3p)  
*ve* : " *nò* *ɲà* *qô?* *ve* *â* *hê?* *lɔ* *lâ*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> Pron Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer you I say nominalizer negative be the case emphatic declarative yes  
 ?".
- (21) : " *yò* *lɔ* .  
 Interj P<sub>uf</sub>  
 that's right! emphatic declarative
- (22) *ca* *khān* *mā* *gã* .  
<sub>v</sub>V V Adv V<sub>v</sub>  
 go and do withstand negative be able
- (23) *yô* *lè* *bô?* *qha-lâ* *ve* *pòn-pòn* *te* *qha-lâ* *le* ,  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv<sub>onomat</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 he topic shoot lively action nominalizer bang! (gunshot) do lively action suspensive  
*ò-kā-ò-le* *có-cí-có-cí* *cɔ* *chè?* *lâ* *ve* *khān* *mā*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> AE <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V Adv  
 all over tingling V all around bite benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer endure negative

The dhole and the tiger

- g̃a l b yâ ” têt? yô vè thà? tho*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> QUOT Pron N P<sub>n</sub> V  
 be able emphatic declarative emphatic embedded quote he dhole accusative tell  
*pî ve yò*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative
- (24) ” *yò lê* .”  
 Interj P<sub>uf</sub>  
 that’s right! request for assent
- (25) *à-pòn chi ve têt mà lê , têt g̃a le-le a-šu yô ð-to thà? šō ni*  
 N Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> Pron NP P<sub>n</sub> V + V<sub>v</sub>  
 story this one for things topic everybody whoever to himself accusative think over  
*qo cò jò*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 if be relevant to experiential
- (26) *a-šu yô ð-to thà? cû-yî bî jâ têt? dō*  
 Pron NP P<sub>n</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> QUOT V  
 anybody he himself accusative knowledge be full of very embedded quote think  
*thô mâ hêt? l b*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Adv + V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 even though not be the case emphatic declarative
- (27) *ŋà ð-qhò? ve cò šē l b*  
 Pron N P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 me above genitivizer be there still emphatic declarative
- (28) *ŋà-hi Lâhû-yâ têt phā ð-qhò chi-bêt? qha-gà phêt? chê šē*  
 Pron N Q N<sub>loc</sub> N<sub>time</sub> N<sub>time</sub> V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 we (pl) Lahu people pluralizer amongst now until be a certain way continuous still  
*hé lê*  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 probably request for assent
- (29) *phêt? chê ve qo , ð-ví-ð-ni hi ò , hâ?-hâ?*  
 V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> B<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> AE  
 be a certain way continuous nominalizer if brethren pluralizer vocative quickly  
*dô-phû? mē têt? chi qhe šatî? pî lâ ve*  
 V P<sub>uf</sub> QUOT AE<sub>ext</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 repent urging embedded quote like this warning give benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer  
*yò*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (30) *qha-dêt? na-yù mē* .  
 AE V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 properly take advice urging
- (31) *à-pòn chi lè pò ve yò* .  
 N Det P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 story this topic be completed nominalizer declarative

---

**Translation**

1. Now I shall tell you a story. Listen to it with attention, my Lahu brethren!
2. Once upon a time a tiger and a dhole<sup>1</sup> were talking together.
3. The tiger said, “There is no one who is cleverer or stronger than me!”
4. “Do you really think you’re so clever?” said the dhole. “You’re not, you know. There is somebody who is even greater than you.”
5. “Who is it?” said the big tiger. “Are there still those things called humans around?”
6. “There are indeed! There are lots of them. If you would like to test your cleverness against them, I’ll show you where they are.”
7. “Let’s go, let’s go! Just show me! I’ll take a quick bite out of them and show you how I eat them up,” he said.
8. One day, when the tiger saw two girls going to the fields, he said to the dhole, “Are they the ones?” 9. When he asked this, the dhole, seeing that they had no gun, said “No.”
10. Another time, when the tiger spied a man carrying a gun and coming to the fields, and when he asked the dhole about it, saying, “Hey, dhole, is this the one?” the dhole said “Yes, yes it is.”
11. When the man noticed that the tiger had seen him and was running at him, he aimed the double-barrelled gun<sup>2</sup> he was carrying and shot a blast of buckshot from one barrel.
12. When [the tiger] came at him again, he shot six bullets<sup>3</sup> at him from the other barrel.
13. The tiger ran away, and the dhole said to him, “Wasn’t I telling you the truth?”
14. “Yes! I can’t stand up to him. He shot at me—bang, bang!—and I got bitten and tingly all over, and I just couldn’t stand it!” he told him.
15. “Just so,” said the dhole.
16. This story, if each and every one of us thinks it over to himself, has relevance for us all.
17. We may think, “How full of cleverness I am!”, but it is not so.
18. There is always someone greater than me!
19. There are probably some among us Lahu who are still that way<sup>4</sup> up to the present day, aren’t there?
20. If there are, O my brethren, make haste to repent, please.
21. Thus am I warning you. Mark my words well. This story is over.

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<sup>1</sup>dhole: a wild canine [*Cuon alpinus*] with yellowish fur, a black nose, and a red tail.

<sup>2</sup>**nâʔ-tà-ce**: **nâʔ-tà** ‘length of a rifle’, (ʔ-)ce ‘pair’.

<sup>3</sup>The round-object classifier **ʃi** is here used instead of the full noun **nâʔ-ʃi** ‘bullet’.

<sup>4</sup>I.e., taking a conceited attitude.

## 7.5 Proverbs

- (1) *kê-ê-ê* , *tê pô? thâ mê ve á-phè?* – *èe* – *phe ve*  
 Interj NP<sub>time</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Interj V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 come on! once sweet relativizer chili peppers er... spicy relativizer  
*á-phè?* , *mê ve pû-cho* , *nî cã?* *cô ve*  
 N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 chili peppers sweet relativizer sugarcane two for kinds be there nominalizer  
*yò* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (2) *qhe-qo* , *pû-cho tê cã lè mê já ve yò* .  
 Conj N Q P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 that is to say sugarcane the type topic sweet very nominalizer declarative
- (3) *á-phè?* *tê cã phe já* .  
 N Q V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 chili peppers the type hot (food) very
- (4) *qhe-qo* “ *á-phè?-cê hó cho mâ šĩ* ” *cê* .  
 Conj N M<sub>px</sub> N Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 so then pepper bush under people negative die quotative
- (5) “ *pû-cho-cê hó cho šĩ ve* ” *cê* .  
 N M<sub>px</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 sugarcane plant under people die nominalizer quotative
- (6) *qhe-te-le* , “ *šĩ?-qá-ku qo à-mi-mâ ; yâ-nè qo cho-mô*  
 Conj N P<sub>unf</sub> N N N P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 then dried-up branch topic tinder young man topic elders  
*ci lê?* *cê* ” *cê* .  
 V + V<sub>v</sub> N P<sub>uf</sub>  
 have smn work for one servant quotative
- (7) “ *ò-lo mâ šĩ qo he-šã-pĩ qho tâ lò?* ” *qô?*  
 N Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> Adv V V  
 situation negative know if abandoned rice-field into negative imperative enter say  
*õ* , “ *yè-mí-twè? chè? la* ” *qô?* *õ* .  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 topic bear (animal) bite come to V mean affirmative
- (8) “ *šú-qhu mà?-hí-kwi qo há-pi à? tâ thô?*  
 N N P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> Adv V  
 pipe fired clay pipe if stone accusative negative imperative strike with curved object  
 ” *qô?* *õ* , “ *qhè? šē la õ qô?* *õ* .  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 say topic chip off regrettably come to V topic mean affirmative
- (9) “ *ne dà? qo yâ chô tâ mi* ” *qô?* *õ*  
 N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> Adv V V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 woman (poetic) beautiful topic young man next to negative imperative sit say topic

, “ yâ            dâ?            qo    nε                    chô    tâ                    mi ” qô?  
           N            V<sub>adj</sub>            P<sub>unf</sub>    N                    M<sub>prfx</sub>    Adv                    V            V  
           young man   handsome   topic   woman (poetic)   next to   negative imperative   sit   say  
           ⊃  
           P<sub>uf</sub>  
           affirmative

(10) *Speaker B* : ( *correcting him* )  
           )            )

(11) “ yê                    chô    tâ                                    mi ” qô? è?                    !  
           N                    M<sub>prfx</sub>    Adv                                    V            V    P<sub>uf</sub>  
           bear (animal)   next to   negative imperative   sit   say   emphatic

(12) *Speaker A* :  
           :            :

(13) *chi thà? pa-tō*    *tê gâ le-le*    *chi*    *thà?*                    *qha-dê?*    *na*    *tā*                    *šē*    *mē*                    .  
           NP                    NP<sub>q</sub>            Det    P<sub>n</sub>                    AE            V            P<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>v</sub>    P<sub>uf</sub>  
           therefore            everybody   these   accusative   properly   listen   durative   still   urging

**Translation**

\*For more on Lahu proverbs, see JAM 2006:449-50 and 2011.

Speaker A:

1. OK, come on<sup>1</sup> —once upon a time sweet peppers—whoops!<sup>2</sup>—hot peppers, sweet sugar-cane, there are these two kinds of things.
2. That is, sugar-cane on the one hand is very sweet.
3. Peppers, on the other hand, are very hot.
4. So, as they say<sup>3</sup>, “People don’t die under pepper-bushes; they die under clumps of sugar-cane.”<sup>4</sup>
5. Then they say, “Dry branches make good tinder; the young make good servants<sup>5</sup> for their elders.”
6. When you say, “If you don’t know what you’re doing, don’t go into an abandoned old field,<sup>6</sup>” it means that bears might come and bite you.
7. When you say “Don’t knock out [the ashes from] a clay pipe on a stone,” it means a piece might break off.<sup>7</sup>
8. “A fair maid should not sit next to a youth; a fair youth should not sit next to a maid”, they say.

Speaker B (correcting him):

<sup>1</sup>This interjection, meaning ‘come on!; let’s go!’ is a borrowing from Burmese (DL:341).  
<sup>2</sup>The speaker starts out as if he’s going to tell a story, then catches himself and launches into an explanation of his first proverb.  
<sup>3</sup>“As they say” translates the quotative particle *cē*.  
<sup>4</sup>I.e., misfortune often strikes when one is least expecting it.  
<sup>5</sup>*ci lè?*: lit. “eat by using others to work for one”. *lè?*, lit. “lick”, is used as an informal synonym for *cā* ‘eat’, both as a main verb and as a post-head versatile verb meaning ‘V for a living’.  
<sup>6</sup>*hē-šā*: an old field now overgrown and reverting to jungle, where animals are likely to hang out.  
<sup>7</sup>Cf. Eng. “Don’t build a fire in a wooden stove.”

## Proverbs

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9. You mean “should not sit next to a *bear!*”<sup>8</sup>

Speaker A:

10. So then everybody should take these words of wisdom to heart!<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>This is indeed the correct version of the proverb.

<sup>9</sup>Lit. “everybody listen duratively to this.”





The blind men and the elephant

- ko tã qhe cò l qhe qô?*  
V P<sub>v</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V  
fence off perfective like be in accordance with emphatic declarative like this say  
*ve*  
P<sub>univ</sub>  
nominalizer
- (8) *cê-lê bù? a ve cê*  
N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
scribe write vigorous action nominalizer quotative
- (9) *tê l , nî l , šê? l tê l , yô-hi šê? gâ tê gâ*  
Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> Pron NP<sub>q</sub>  
one for opinions two for opinions the third opinion they the third person  
*thâ? phê-pə ve tê yân , khi-gô-qô? thâ? thô cô*  
P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Q N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
accusative send off to do relativizer the time that whole leg accusative touch happen to  
*le ,” hɔ qô?-ve ɔ-qhe šê?-cê qhe ɔ-dô-pi*  
P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N<sub>ext</sub> N  
because elephant the so-called topicalizer tree like bulging part of a tree-trunk  
*ɔ-lô-ma cò l , tò è ve khi-šɛ ”*  
N V P<sub>uf</sub> AE<sub>stat</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N  
great big thing be in accordance with emphatic declarative flat relativizer foot  
*qhe qô? ve cê*  
Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
like this say nominalizer quotative
- (10) *ô gâ tê gâ qô? phê-pə ha ve tê yân thâ , hɔ*  
NP<sub>q</sub> V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N  
the fourth person V in turn send off to do vigorous action relativizer when elephant  
*ve mɛ-tu à? thô cô ve pa-tɔ , ” ôo , hɔ*  
P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Interj N  
genitivizer tail accusative touch happen to nominalizer because of oh! elephant  
*qô?-ve ɔ-qhe câ?-khe qhe cò l !”*  
P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
the so-called topicalizer rope like be in accordance with emphatic declarative
- (11) *qô? ve cê*  
V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
say nominalizer quotative
- (12) *qhe-te-le yô-hi tê-ni-tâ-vân gô-qhâ? dà? qay*  
Conj Pron Quasi-Elab V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
so they all the livelong day insist that one is right mutual action continue V'ing  
*ve*  
P<sub>univ</sub>  
nominalizer
- (13) *ɔ-lî ô-ve qha-pə-è ve mɛ?-cú-pā chi tê phā tê gâ tê*  
N Det AE P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> Det Q NP<sub>q</sub> Num  
opinion those all genitivizer blind man these pluralizer each person another  
*kà thô cô le , hɔ ve ɔ-lî chi ma ve*  
Cl<sub>f</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> N NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
for places touch happen to because elephant genitivizer opinion this many genitivizer

---

<i>phê? la</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>yò</i>	<i>cê</i>	.
V + P <sub>v</sub>	P <sub>univ</sub>	P <sub>uf</sub>	P <sub>uf</sub>	
become	nominalizer	declarative	quotative	

### Translation

1. Once upon a time there was a great big white elephant.
2. This great elephant was tethered outside of a house.
3. While it was tethered there, there were several blind people inside the house.<sup>1</sup>
4. These people, one after the other, went and touched it.
5. When the first person touched it, he happened to touch a tusk, so he said, “What we call an elephant is as sharp and pointed as a knife!”
6. He went back in, and the chief clerk<sup>2</sup> wrote it down in his book.
7. When they sent the second man [to check out the elephant], since he happened to touch around its ribs, he said, “It’s like a fenced-off wall!”, and the scribe wrote it down.
8. One opinions, two opinions, a third opinion—when they sent out the third person, he happened to touch a leg, so he said, “The so-called elephant has a giant bulging place like a tree-trunk, and a flat foot.”
9. When they sent out the fourth person he happened to touch the elephant’s tail, so he said, “Oh, this so-called elephant is like a rope!”
10. So they argued and argued with each other all day long.
11. All these different opinions were because each of the blind men happened to touch a different place, so all these different opinions resulted.

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<sup>1</sup>It would be interesting to trace how this world-famous fable of Indian origin eventually made its way to this Lahu village.

<sup>2</sup>Where did this scribal element come into the story from?

## 7.7 In unity there is strength (Version I)

- (1) à-šwè thâ      ñà-hi Lâhū chɔ-mô      tē      ġâ      cò      ve      yò  
 AE                      Pron N      N      Num Cl<sub>f</sub>      V      P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 once upon a time      our      Lahu      old man      one      for humans      be there      nominalizer      declarative
- (2) yô ve      ð-yâ-pā šī      ġâ      cò      ve      yò      cê  
 N<sub>poss</sub> + ve      N      Num Cl<sub>f</sub>      V      P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 his      son      seven      for people      be there      nominalizer      declarative      quotative
- (3) yô ve      ð-yâ-pā šī      ġâ      hi      ve      lè : a-cí kâ?      mâ-cô-mâ-hôn  
 N<sub>poss</sub> + ve      N      Num Cl<sub>f</sub>      B<sub>n</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>      AE      Elab<sub>v</sub>  
 his      son      seven      for people      pluralizer      genitivizer      topic      not V at all      disunited  
 dà?      pī      ,      qhà-thâ?-kâ?  
 P<sub>v</sub>      V<sub>v</sub>      AE  
 mutual action      able to V      always
- (4) yà?-dà?-jî?-dà?      ve      tí      te      chê      ve      yò      cê  
 Elab<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub> V      V<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quarrel and bicker      nominalizer      only      do      keep on      nominalizer      declarative      quotative
- (5) ð-pa      yô-hi thâ?      mā      pī      thô      ,      yô-hi ð-pa      khô  
 N      Pron P<sub>n</sub>      V      V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      Pron N      N  
 father      them      accusative      advise      benefactive (3p)      even though      they      father's      words  
 thâ?      mā      na      cê  
 P<sub>n</sub>      Adv      V      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 accusative      negative      listen      quotative
- (6) tē      ni      thâ      gà      lē      ð-pa      yô-hi thâ?      qô? pī  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>      V      P<sub>unf</sub>      N      Pron P<sub>n</sub>      V      V<sub>v</sub>  
 one      for days      when      reach      suspensive      father      them      accusative      say      benefactive (3p)  
 ve      :      "      ñà ve      yâ-pā šī      ġâ      hi      ò      !  
 P<sub>univ</sub>                      N<sub>poss</sub> + ve      N      Num Cl<sub>f</sub>      B<sub>n</sub>      P<sub>n</sub>  
 nominalizer                      my      sons      seven      for people      pluralizer      vocative
- (7) nò-hi      á-tà      tē      ġâ      tē      tà      yù      və      la  
 Pron      N      Num Cl<sub>f</sub>      Num Cl<sub>f</sub>      V      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>v</sub>  
 you (pl)      stick      one      for people      one      for sticks      take      transportatory motion      motion towards  
 lē      ,      a-pa      gē      là      ò?      ,      qô? pī      ve      yò  
 P<sub>unf</sub>      N      P<sub>n</sub> V      P<sub>v</sub>      V      V<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 suspensive      father      to      come      hortatory      say      benefactive (3p)      nominalizer      declarative  
 cê  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative
- (8) yô-hi      yù      la      ve      tē yân      ,      ð-pa      thâ?      pī      ve  
 Pron V      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>      Q      N      P<sub>n</sub>      V      P<sub>univ</sub>  
 they      take      motion towards      relativizer      when      father      accusative      give      nominalizer  
 yò      cê  
 P<sub>uf</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative      quotative

- (9) *yô-hi ð-pa á-tà tê gε phe-kô? šē lε , ð-ví-pā tê ġâ*  
 Pron N N Q V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 their father stick together tie together first suspensive eldest brother one for people  
*thà? í-lí ón ci ve yò cê*  
 P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>time</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 accusative first bend something causative nominalizer declarative quotative
- (10) *pà-le ní ġâ tê ġâ thà? kà? ón ci ve yò*  
 Conj NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 thereupon second person accusative also bend something causative nominalizer declarative
- (11) *pà-le šē? ġâ tê ġâ thà? kà? ón ci ve*  
 Conj NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 thereupon the third person accusative also bend something causative nominalizer  
*yò*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (12) *pà-le ô ġâ te ġâ thà? kà? ón ci ve yò*  
 Conj NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 then fourth person accusative also bend something causative nominalizer declarative
- (13) *pà-le ñâ ġâ tê ġâ thà? kà? ón ci ve*  
 Conj NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 thereupon the fifth person accusative also bend something causative nominalizer  
*yò cê*  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative quotative
- (14) *šī ġâ thâ qha-gà tê ġâ pà tê ġâ ón*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> B<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V  
 seven for people time until one for people after one for people bend something  
*ci ve yò*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 causative nominalizer declarative
- (15) *á-tà chi ve šī tà tê gε chí?-kô? tã ve*  
 N Det P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Q V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 stick these genitivizer seven for sticks together tie together perfective nominalizer  
*pa-tó ón mâ the cê*  
 P<sub>n</sub> V Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 because of bend something negative get broken quotative
- (16) *ð-pa ð-yâ tê phā thà? qô? pî ve : " yâ*  
 N N Q P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 father sons the whole group accusative say benefactive (3p) nominalizer children  
*tê phā ò , tê ġâ le tê ġâ hà?-dà?-pên-dà?*  
 Q P<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub>  
 the whole group vocative one for people and one for people love one another

- ve* *tê cậ* *cậ* *ve* *qo* , *chi-ve* *thà?* *šũ*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> Q V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Det P<sub>n</sub> V  
 nominalizer situation be there nominalizer if like this accusative be the same as  
*ve* *yò* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (17) *chə-qhə-chə-nâ?* *tê phā* *mā qô?* , *te* *lù* *pí* *ve* *ə-cậ*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> Q Adv + V <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 thieves and bandits pluralizer whether cause to V be destroyed able to V relativizer thing  
*tê phā* *mā qô?* , *nə-hi* *tê* *gā* *thà?* *kà?* *te* *lù*  
 Q Adv + V Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V  
 pluralizer whether you (pl) one for humans accusative even cause to V be destroyed  
*mā* *phê?* ,” *tê* *qô?* *pí* *ve* *yò* .  
 Adv V<sub>v</sub> QUOT V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative able to embedded quote say benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative
- (18) *tê pə?* *ə-pa* *á-tà* *thà?* *qə?* *phā? tš?* *le* , *tê* *gā* *tê*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> N N P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num  
 then father stick accusative V again take apart suspensive each for people one  
*tà* *pí* *ve* *yò* *cê* .  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 for sticks give nominalizer declarative quotative
- (19) *tê* *gā* *thà?* *tê* *tà* *pí* *ve* *ə-qhə* *lo* *qə?*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V  
 each for people accusative one for sticks give nominalizer while locative V again  
*śn* *ci* *ve* *tê yān thā* , *á-tà* *tê* *mā* *le-le*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> B<sub>n</sub>  
 bend something causative relativizer when stick one general classifier every  
*thə* *qay* *ve* *yò* *cê* .  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 get broken end up V'ing nominalizer declarative quotative
- (20) *ə-pa* *yə-hi* *thà?* *mā* *pí* *ve* *lè* *qô?* *ve* : ”  
 N Pron P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 father them accusative teach benefactive (3p) nominalizer topic say nominalizer  
*ḡà ve* *yā-pā* *šĩ* *gā* *hi* *ò* , *nə-hi* *lè*  
 N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> B<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub>  
 my sons seven for humans pluralizer vocative you (pl) topic  
*phā?-dà?-gĩ-dà?* *ve* , *mā-cə-mā-hən* *dà?* *ve* , *pə-le*  
 Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Conj  
 break off a relationship nominalizer disunited mutual action nominalizer besides  
*tê* *gā* *le* *tê* *gā* *thà?* *mā* *thān* *dà?*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 one for people and another for people accusative negative have respect for mutual action  
*ve* *qo* , *tê* *gā* *tê* *kà* *ca* *chê* *ve* *qo* ,  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 nominalizer if each for people another for places go and do live nominalizer if  
*chi* *qha* *šũ-šũ* *yò* .  
 Det AE P<sub>uf</sub>  
 this just like declarative

- (21) *te-lù-te-šê?* *ve* *ò-cà* *nò-hi* *ge* *gà* *la* *ve* *tê yân thâ* , *nò-hi*  
 Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Pron  
 cause ruin relativizer thing you (pl) to reach come to V relativizer when you (pl)  
*thà?* *qhà-thâ?-kà?* *šu* *te* *lù* *gã* *ve* *yò* ,”  
 P<sub>n</sub> AE Pron <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 accusative always others cause to V be destroyed be able nominalizer declarative  
*tê* *ò-yâ* *tê phā* *thà?* *mā* *pī* *ve*  
 QUOT N Q P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 embedded quote sons the whole group accusative teach benefactive (3p) nominalizer  
*yò* *cê* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative quotative
- (22) *chi thà? pa-to* *hà-hi* *Lāhū-yā* *chi-bà?* *tê* *cwe* *tê gā le-le* *ò-lon* *chi*  
 NP Pron N N<sub>time</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> N Det  
 because of this we (pl) Lahu people now one for generations everybody matter this  
*tê* *mā* *thà?* *hēn* *yù* *qo* , *dā?* *ve* *yò* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 one general classifier accusative learn V lastingly if good nominalizer declarative

## Translation

Sermon by Pastor Càbo

1. Once upon a time there was an old man among us Lahu.
2. His sons were seven in number.
3. As for those seven sons of his, they couldn't get along with each other at all, and were always just quarreling and bickering among themselves.
4. Even when the father would try to give them advice, they would not heed their father's words.
5. One day the father said to them, "Oh, my seven sons!<sup>1</sup> Each one of you go get a stick and bring it to Father," he said.
6. When they got them they gave them to their father.
7. Their father tied up the sticks together, and first had the eldest son bend them.
8. Then he made the second son bend them.
9. Then he had the third son bend them.
10. Then he had the fourth one bend them.
11. Then he had the fifth one bend them.
12. Until the seventh one, one after the other he made them bend them.
13. [But] since he had tied those sticks together, they could not break them by bending them.<sup>2</sup>
14. The father said to all his sons, "Oh, my sons! If people love and cherish each other it is just like this."
15. "Whether it be robbers and bandits, whether it's any kind of thing that might ruin you, they can't destroy a single one of you," he said.
16. Then the father untied and separated the sticks, and gave each person one stick.

<sup>1</sup>Note the use of the bound morpheme *-hi* 'pluralizer' after the quantified noun-phrase *yā-pā šī gā* 'seven sons'.

<sup>2</sup>*the* here functions as a *resultative complement*. See GL:207-209

17. When he had given each of them a stick, and again had them bend them, every stick broke.

18. The father instructed them and said, “Oh, seven sons of mine, if you separate and disperse, if you don’t get along harmoniously, and if you don’t respect one another, if you each go your own way, it will be just like this.

19. If things that might destroy you should befall you, others can always help you,” he said, instructing his sons.

20. So if all of us Lahu of today’s generation take this story to heart, it would be good.



## 7.8 In unity there is strength (Version II)

- (1) *tê pô? thâ cho tê ġâ yâ-pā ñâ ġâ cò ve cê* .  
 NP<sub>time</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 once person one for people sons five for people have nominalizer quotative
- (2) *yô-hi tê ni le-le yà? dà? ve tí te ve cê* .  
 Pron NP<sub>q</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 they every day quarrel mutual action nominalizer only do nominalizer quotative
- (3) *tê ġâ khô tê ġâ mâ na* .  
 Q N Q Adv V  
 one person advice one person negative listen
- (4) *qhe-te-le ð-pa ġa mð le yô-hi thà? qô? pî ve* :  
 Conj N V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 so father get to see suspensive they accusative say benefactive (3p) nominalizer  
 ” *yâ tê phā ò , nð-hi tê ni le-le yà? dà? ve* ,  
 N Q P<sub>n</sub> Pron NP<sub>q</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 children pluralizer vocative you (pl) every day quarrel mutual action nominalizer  
*tê ġâ le tê ġâ mâ cò dà? ve* .  
 Q P<sub>unf</sub> Q Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 one person and one person negative be harmonious with mutual action nominalizer
- (5) *šî?-tà í yù lâ-? , tê ġâ tê mà í yù*  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 stick bend off V to get sthg benefactive (imperative) one per person bend off V to get sthg  
*lâ-? ” ô qhe qô? pî ve cê* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (imperative) like that say benefactive (3p) nominalizer quotative
- (6) *qhe-te-le , ð-pa qô? pî ve qhe , ð-yâ í*  
 Conj N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> N V  
 so father tell benefactive (3p) nominalizer like sons bend off  
*və lâ ve tê yân thâ , ð-pa ge ġa*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V  
 transportatory motion benefactive (non-3p) relativizer when father to reach  
*la ve cê* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 come to V nominalizer quotative
- (7) ” *nð-hi a-šû-yô í tã ve á-du-tà í-the a ni* ”  
 Pron Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub>  
 you (pl) each one’s bend off perfective relativizer stick break by bending try to  
*chi qhe qô? pî ve cê* .  
 AE<sub>ext</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 like this say benefactive (3p) nominalizer quotative
- (8) *tê pô? lê , a-šû-yô í tã ve á-du-tà ô-ve í-the*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Det V + V<sub>v</sub>  
 thereupon each one’s bend off perfective relativizer stick those break by bending  
*ve tê yân thâ , cê?-cê? tê pô? tí the ve cê* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Adv<sub>onomat</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 relativizer when snap! immediately get broken nominalizer quotative

In unity there is strength (Version II)

- (9) *qhe-te-le tē pō? qō? s̄ pə ve cē* .  
 Conj Q <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 so again V again bend off send smn to V nominalizer quotative
- (10) *ḍ-yâ-pā tē phā thà? tē pō? qō? s̄ və*  
 N Q P<sub>n</sub> Q <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub>  
 sons pluralizer accusative again V again bend off transportatory motion  
*lâ le , ḍ-pa mē?-gū-šī tē pī ve*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p) suspensive father presence of put down benefactive (3p) nominalizer  
*cē* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative
- (11) *tē pō? ḍ-pa qha-dē? chī? šē le , tē gā pà tē gā s̄*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> N AE V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> V  
 this time father properly tie first suspensive one person after another bend something  
*ci ve cē* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 causative nominalizer quotative
- (12) *tē gā pà tē gā s̄ ci ve kâ? , chī tē pō?*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub>  
 one person after another bend something causative nominalizer although this time  
*mâ the cē* .  
 Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative get broken quotative
- (13) *qhe-te-le , ḍ-pa qō? pī ve : ” yâ-pā tē phā ò ,*  
 Conj N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Q P<sub>n</sub>  
 so father say benefactive (3p) nominalizer sons pluralizer vocative  
*nḍ-hi tē gā cē tí chē qo , yà?-šē thâ qhe qha šū , á-du-tà*  
 Pron Q P<sub>univ</sub> + P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> AE N  
 you (pl) one person only stay if just now time like in the same way stick  
*s̄ ve qhe qha šū , nḍ-hi gâ lù tū yò*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> AE Pron <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 bend off nominalizer like in the same way you (pl) must be destroyed future declarative
- (14) *gâ šô tū yò ” ô qhe qō? pī ve cē* .  
<sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 must fail future declarative like that say benefactive (3p) nominalizer quotative
- (15) *chī tē pō? qō? s̄ ve qhe qha šū qo , nḍ-hi*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> AE P<sub>unf</sub> Pron  
 this time V again bend something nominalizer like in the same way if you (pl)  
*tē ge phô? chē le , ni-ma tē šī tí te qo ,*  
 Q <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 together do all together stay suspensive heart one for round objects only make if  
*šu nḍ-hi thà? te yà? la thô , nḍ-hi mâ gâ*  
 Pron Pron P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V + V<sub>h</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Adv <sub>v</sub>V  
 others you (pl) accusative do damage come to V even if you (pl) negative manage to

- lù " tē? ô qhe qô? pî ve cê .  
V QUOT NP<sub>ext</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
ruin embedded quote like that say benefactive (3p) nominalizer quotative
- (16) qhe-qo , ñà-hi Khri?-yâ tê phā thô chi qhe yò .  
Conj Pron N<sub>prop</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
well then we (pl) Christian pluralizer also like this declarative
- (17) ñà-hi Jô-mô Yēšû? Khi? thà? cû ve tê cê qo , co-tî?-ha-tî?  
Pron N N<sub>pers</sub> N<sub>prop</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub>  
we (pl) Lord Jesus Christ accusative rely on relativizer one matter if everlasting life  
gã tù yò .  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
get future declarative
- (18) ñà-hi Jô-mô Yēšû? Khi? thà? mâ cû ve tê cê qo  
Pron N N<sub>pers</sub> N<sub>prop</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub>  
we (pl) Lord Jesus Christ accusative negative put one's trust in relativizer situation if  
, vên-bâ? bè ve ð-qhō lo gã pā-e qay tù yò .  
N V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
sin tempt relativizer into locative must fall over V along future declarative
- (19) qhe te ve pa-tō Jô-mô Yēšû? Khi? Ğî-ša ve  
Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N N<sub>pers</sub> N<sub>prop</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub>  
like this be a certain way nominalizer because of Lord Jesus Christ God genitivizer  
Yâ-phu-tî? thà? cû qo , co-tî?-ha-tî? gã tù ve  
N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
Son of God (X'n) accusative rely on if everlasting life reach future relativizer  
qa-mì-khō é tê mà qa šā .  
N M<sub>px</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
song little one for things sing intentional (1p)
- (20) Ğî-ša Yâ-phu Yēšû? thà? nò hà?-yù lò ...  
N N<sub>prop</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub>  
god Jesus the Son of God accusative you welcome warmly urging
- (21) nò co-tî?-ha-tî? gã tù yò .  
Pron Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
you everlasting life attain future declarative

## Translation

1. Once upon a time there was a man who had five sons.
2. Every day all they did was quarrel with each other.
3. What one would say the other wouldn't listen to.
4. So having seen this, their father said to them:
5. "My boys, every day you quarrel with each other."
6. " You don't get along with one another."
7. "Break off a stick from a tree and bring it to me."
8. "Each one of you break one off and bring it to me," he said.

9. Then, as their father had told them to, the sons broke them off and carried them off to where their father was.<sup>1</sup>
10. “Now each of you try to bend and snap the sticks you broke off,” he said.
11. At this point, when the sticks they had each broken off were bent, they immediately snapped *crack-crack*.<sup>2</sup>
12. So then he sent them to break off [sticks] again.
13. Having sent all his sons to go back again to break off [sticks] to carry back, they set them down before their father.
14. This time the father tied them nicely together, then he had them bend [the bundle], one after the other.
15. Even though one [son] after the other bent it, it wouldn’t snap.
16. Then the father said, “My sons, if each of you stays by himself, just the same as a while ago, with the breaking of those sticks, you will be destroyed. You will have to fail [in life],” he said.
17. “But just as when you bent them again this time, if you all stick together and are united in feelings with each other<sup>3</sup>, even if others should try to harm you, you will not be destroyed,” he said.
18. Well, it’s just the same with us Christians too.
19. If we put our trust in the Lord Jesus Christ, we will achieve everlasting life. .<sup>4</sup>
20. If we do not place faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, we will fall into temptations to sin.
21. Therefore I would like to sing a little song about how if we put our trust in the lord Jesus Christ, the Precious Son of God,<sup>5</sup> we will achieve everlasting life:
22. [sings] Do welcome gladly God’s Precious Son,  
And you will win Life Eternal.

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<sup>1</sup>The non-3p benefactive particle *lâ* is used here, apparently to situate the action from the father’s receptive point of view, i.e. 3p > 2p benefaction.

<sup>2</sup>*cê?-cê?* (onomatopoeic adverb): sound of dry sticks breaking, mice munching paddy, etc. DL:485.

<sup>3</sup>*ni-ma tê ši tí te ve*: lit. “making only a single heart”.

<sup>4</sup>*co-ti?-ha-ti?*: *co...ha* is a couplet used in elaborate expressions to mean ‘life force; immortal soul’ (see DL:479); *ti?* is a prefixable morpheme (ult. < Skt. *divya*) meaning ‘eternity; eternal abundance; something supernatural’ (see L:608-9).

<sup>5</sup>*yâ-phu-ti?*: this Christian expression contains the same morpheme *ti?* as in the previous note.

## 7.9 The smoker and the non-smoker dispute a pipe (Version I)

- (1) *H : âa , à-šwè thâ cho ní gâ cò cê qô?-ma .*  
 Interj AE N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! once upon a time people two for people be there quotative emphatic
- (2) *tê gâ ̄ šú-dò-pā cê qô?-ma .*  
 Q P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 one person topic smoker quotative emphatic
- (3) *šú dò qhε jâ .*  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 tobacco smoke (tobacco) all the time very much
- (4) *šú-dò-pā lón cê .*  
 N<sub>dvb</sub> B<sub>n</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 smoker sthg great quotative
- (5) *tê mà ̄ šú mâ dò .*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv V  
 the other for people (informal) topic tobacco negative smoke (tobacco)
- (6) *šú-qhu ̄ , šú-dò-pā ve šú-qhu ̄ dà? jâ cê qô?-ma .*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 pipe topic smoker genitivizer pipe topic fine very quotative emphatic
- (7) *à-ke ní è lê? è te le , phi-è?-gî-è? te*  
 N AE<sub>stat</sub> AE<sub>stat</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>adv</sub> V  
 inner part red smooth be a certain way suspensive sleek and shiny be a certain way  
*le , ô šú-qhu mâ dò pā tê*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> N Adv V P<sub>v-nom</sub> Num  
 suspensive that pipe negative smoke (tobacco) agentive nominalizer one  
*mâ hâ? gâ le , qhâ hâ? lo*  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> vV + V<sub>h</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 for people (informal) get desiderative because get by stealing emphatic declarative  
*cê .*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative
- (8) *ca qhâ le-ē yâ-hé-mà chi tê pô? lê a-mò?-lón phê? dà?*  
 vV V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub>  
 go and do steal suspensive they (dual) this time topic court trial become mutual action  
*ve cê mē .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer quotative emphatic
- (9) *a-mò?-lón phê? dà? ve , vân dà? ve*  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 court trial become mutual action nominalizer go at it mutual action nominalizer  
*khún-ī-khún-ī ge gà , hâ-khân ge gà thâ , gà le*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 major and minor officials to reach king to reach when arrive suspensive

The smoker and the non-smoker dispute a pipe (Version I)

- hó-khân chi ̄ cū-yī ̄ jâ cê* .  
 N Det P<sub>unf</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 king this topic wisdom great very quotative
- (10) *šú-qhu mâ dð pā à? šú chî?*  
 N Adv V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N V  
 pipe negative smoke (tobacco) agentive nominalizer causee tobacco make into a ball  
*ci cê qô?-ma , šú-qhu kə tù ve* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 causative quotative emphatic pipe put into purposive nominalizer
- (11) *ô šú-qhu dð pā kà? chî? ci*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 that pipe smoke (tobacco) agentive nominalizer also make into a ball causative  
*ve* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer
- (12) " *nò-hí-mâ chî? ve chò tɛ la " qô? ve*  
 Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 you (dual) make into a ball nominalizer here put down come to V say nominalizer  
*cê qô?-ma* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative emphatic
- (13) *tê ġâ tê ġâ tê ġe mâ chî? ci* .  
 NP<sub>q</sub> Q Adv V V<sub>v</sub>  
 both people together negative make into a ball causative
- (14) *tê ġâ tê pð? kù lɛ chî? ci cê , šú* .  
 NP<sub>q</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N  
 one person at a time summon suspensive make into a ball causative quotative tobacco
- (15) *âa , tê pð? lè šú chî? tɛ ā lɛ ,*  
 Interj NP<sub>q</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 well! thereupon tobacco make into a ball V and put down perfective suspensive  
*kù ve cê , šú-qhu-dð-pā à?* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 summon nominalizer quotative pipe smoker accusative
- (16) " *là ò? , nò !*"  
 V P<sub>v</sub> Pron  
 come imperative you
- (17) *qô? ve cê , šú-qhu-šē-phâ à?* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 say nominalizer quotative pipe owner accusative
- (18) *là* .  
 V  
 come
- (19) *qhe-te-lɛ ô šú-qhu qhð-pā kà? kù* .  
 Conj N<sub>sd</sub> N N<sub>dvb</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 thereupon that pipe thief also summon

- (20) " là ò? !"  
 V P<sub>v</sub>  
 come imperative
- (21) qô? ve cê .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 say nominalizer quotative
- (22) " nò , šú-qhu chi nò ve l-qo ̄ , šú chî?  
 Pron N Det N<sub>poss</sub> + ve P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V  
 you pipe this yours emphatic conditional topic tobacco make into a ball  
 ā ve chi kə a ni " qô? ve cê .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Det V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 perfective relativizer this insert try to say nominalizer quotative
- (23) " kə a ni " qô? lε ġð kə a lε , qô?  
 V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Conj  
 insert try to say suspensive V vigorously insert vigorous action suspensive then  
 šú-dò-pā tê mà ̄-qhe lε qha cō è šú-qhu-qhō cō è hō  
 N<sub>div</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>stat</sub> N AE<sub>stat</sub> V  
 smoker one for people (informal) topicalizer just right bowl of a pipe perfectly fit in  
 l cê .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic declarative quotative
- (24) šú mâ dð pā tê mà ̄  
 N Adv V P<sub>v-nom</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 tobacco negative smoke (tobacco) agentive nominalizer one for people (informal) topic  
 chi hī pu è qay l cê qô?-ma .  
 N<sub>ext</sub> AE<sub>stat</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 too big bulging go a certain way emphatic declarative quotative emphatic
- (25) mâ šī ve lε cê .  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative know nominalizer because quotative
- (26) šu šú-qhu à? khwé lε ca qhō hâ? lε  
 Pron N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> <sub>v</sub>V <sub>v</sub>V + V<sub>h</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 the other guy pipe accusative jealous because go and do get by stealing suspensive  
 à-mò? ġð vān dā? lε , hō-khān ge gā lε ,  
 N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 court trial V vigorously dispute mutual action suspensive king to reach suspensive  
 šú-qhu dð pā à? mâ ġā cê qô?-ma .  
 N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 pipe smoke (tobacco) agentive nominalizer accusative negative win quotative emphatic
- (27) ô-ve tê mà šu mō tí ca  
 Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Pron N P<sub>univ</sub> <sub>v</sub>V  
 that one for people (informal) somebody else's personal property only go and do  
 hí ve šu mō ca qhō lε .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 seize violently nominalizer somebody else's personal property go and do steal suspensive

The smoker and the non-smoker dispute a pipe (Version I)

- (28) *qhe-te-le* *ɔ̄* *yɔ̄* *hâ?* *gâ* *jâ* *le-ɔ̄* , *qhô* *le-ɔ̄* , *šú*  
 Conj P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 so topic he get desiderative very suspensive steal suspensive tobacco  
*qɔ̄?* *chî?* *ci* *ve* *kâ?* , *ɔ̄-lɔ* *a-cí* *kâ?* *mâ*  
 vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv P<sub>unf</sub> Adv  
 V finally make into a ball causative nominalizer although matter a little even negative  
*šĩ* .  
 V  
 know
- (29) *šú* *chî?* *ci* *le* , *yɔ̄* *šú* *qɔ̄?* *šu* *nĩ*  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N Conj Pron Num  
 tobacco make into a ball causative suspensive he tobacco then somebody two  
*qhu* *kə* *lɔ?* *chî?* *ve* *cê* *qô?* *ve* , *yɔ̄*  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron  
 for pipefuls put into enough to V wad up nominalizer quotative say nominalizer he  
*mâ* *šĩ* .  
 Adv V  
 negative know
- (30) *šú-qhu* *hâ?* *gâ* *ve* *ô-ve* *phâ* *lê* *šú-qhu* *šê-phâ* *à?* *a-mò?*  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Det N P<sub>unf</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N  
 pipe get desiderative relativizer that fellow topic pipe owner accusative trial (legal)  
*te* *vân* , *ɔ̄-tê-ɔ̄-na* *te* *ā* *qo* *yɔ̄* *gâ* , *yɔ̄* *gâ* *tù* *dô*  
 vV V Elab<sub>adv</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V Pron V P<sub>v</sub> V  
 do and dispute really do durative if he win he win irrealis think  
*ā* *ve* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 perfective nominalizer
- (31) *cí-kì* *mâ* *cò* .  
 N Adv V  
 advantage negative be there
- (32) *yɔ̄* *šu* *mô* *ca* *qhô* *le* , *chɔ-lù-pā* *è?* *qhe*  
 Pron Pron N vV V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>ext</sub>  
 he somebody else's personal property go and do steal because criminal just like  
*qay* *ve* *yò* , *yɔ̄* *lê* ,  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub>  
 go a certain way nominalizer declarative he topic
- (33) *šú-qhu* *dô* *šê-phâ* *ô-ve* *ɔ̄* , *ha-lê-ha-qa* *yɔ̄ ve* *mô*  
 N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>adv</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N  
 pipe smoke (tobacco) agentive nominalizer that topic happily his possession  
*yɔ̄* *gā* *e* *ve* *yò* .  
 Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 he get motion away nominalizer declarative
- (34) *hɔ-khâ* *chi* *chɔ-lù-pā* *à?* , *šu* *mô* *qhô* *ve*  
 N Det N<sub>dvb</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 king this criminal accusative somebody else's personal property steal nominalizer  
*thâ?* *pa-tɔ* *thɔ* *qhɔ* *mɔ-chwɛ* *yù* *kə* *šê* *ve*  
 P<sub>n</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> Adv vV V V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 because prison inside for a long time take and V sthg put into unpleasantly nominalizer





The smoker and the non-smoker dispute a pipe (Version I)

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the non-smoker wanted to have it, and stole it away from him.

6. When he had gone and stolen it, the two of them then made a big court case out of it.
7. They made a big case of it, they were fighting with each other before major and minor officials, and finally they reached the king — and this king was a very shrewd man.
8. He ordered the non-smoker to make a wad of tobacco to put in the pipe.
9. And he had the real smoker crumple<sup>2</sup> some tobacco too.
10. “Both of you crumple it and put it down here,” he said.
11. He didn’t have them wad up the tobacco while they were together.
12. Rather he summoned one man at a time and had each one wad up the tobacco.
13. Well, then, after the tobacco had been wadded up and placed [before him], he summoned the smoker.
14. “Come here, you!” he said to the owner of the pipe. He came.
15. Then he also summoned the one who had stolen the pipe.
16. “Come here!” he said.
17. “You, if the pipe is really yours, try putting the tobacco you wadded into it,” he said.
18. When he said “Try putting it in,” they went at it with a will<sup>3</sup>, and the one the smoker had made fitted the bowl of the pipe perfectly.
19. The non-smoker’s one was way too big, since he didn’t know what he was doing.
20. He was jealous of someone else’s pipe, and stole it, and even made a court case out of it and went before the king, but he couldn’t win against the pipe-smoker!
21. That fellow went and robbed someone else’s property, went and stole someone else’s possession.
22. Then, after he had coveted it and stolen it, when he was finally forced to wad it up, he had no idea of how to do it.
23. When he was forced to make a wad for it, he crumpled up enough tobacco for putting into *two* pipes — he didn’t know any better.
24. He wanted to get ahold of his pipe so he brought the owner to court, thinking all the time<sup>4</sup> that if a serious issue were made of it he would win.
25. But it was no use.
26. He went and stole another’s property, and behaved like a miserable wretch. Paštoğ<sup>5</sup>
27. But the real pipe-smoker, in joy and gladness, got back his prized possession.
28. And the king threw the wretch into jail for a long time, since he had stolen

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<sup>2</sup>šú chí? ve ‘to crumple tobacco’, i.e. to tear off a chunk of tobacco from a large lump and squeeze it into a ball suitable for insertion into a pipe. Only the owner of the pipe knew the proper sized wad that would fit into it exactly.

<sup>3</sup>ğə kə a le: ğə is a lively pre-head versatile verb.

<sup>4</sup>“All the time” translates the reduplicated yō ğā yō ğā ‘he’d win, he’d win [he thought].’

<sup>5</sup>chə-lü-pā ‘a ruined person, a person who has gone bad’.

what belonged to another.

29. Pastor T: That's right, my boys! "Don't go sitting on someone else's stool," as the saying goes. If it's not your own stool.

30. Thu-yi: (Teasing) Did you say "don't go shitting" or "don't go sitting"? <sup>6</sup>

31. Pastor T: Don't *sit*, I said! That man who stole the pipe couldn't best the other when it came right down to it in the end.

32. H: Mm-hm.

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<sup>6</sup>The original says "did you say **tâ mi** (don't catch) or **tâ mi** (don't sit)?" The humorous impertinence is, if anything, enhanced by this free translation.

## 7.10 The smoker and the non-smoker dispute a pipe (Version II)

- (1) *âa* , *à-šwè thâ* *chɔ* *šú-qhu* *dò* *pā* *ɛ* *šú-qhu*  
 Interj AE N N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 well! once upon a time people pipe smoke (tobacco) agentive nominalizer and pipe  
*mâ* *dò* *pā* *ɔ-lɔn* *a-cí* *qāw* *dà?* *a*  
 Adv V P<sub>v-nom</sub> N Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 negative smoke (tobacco) agentive nominalizer story just tell mutual action tentative  
*lê* , *nò-hi* *tê gâ le-le* *gɛ* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> Pron NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 request for assent you (pl) everybody to
- (2) *à-šwè thâ* *chɔ* *šú-qhu* *mâ* *dò* *pā* *chi* *ɔ*  
 AE N N Adv V P<sub>v-nom</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub>  
 once upon a time person pipe negative smoke (tobacco) agentive nominalizer this topic  
*šu* *šú-qhu* *mò* *ve* *ɔ* , *dà?* *jâ* *šé-lây* *jâ* *cê*  
 Pron N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 somebody else's pipe see nominalizer topic beautiful very covet very quotative  
*qô?-ma* , *yô* *hâ?* *gâ* *jâ* *cê* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic he get desiderative very quotative
- (3) *šú-qhu* *dò* *pā* *chi* *ɔ* *yô* *šú-qhu* *yô* *ha-lê*  
 N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N Pron V<sub>adj</sub>  
 pipe smoke (tobacco) agentive nominalizer this topic his pipe he happy  
*chê* *ve* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 continuous nominalizer
- (4) *qhe-te-ɛ* , *tê* *ni* *thâ* *gâ* *ɛ-ɔ* *šú-qhu* *mâ* *dò*  
 Conj Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv V  
 well then one for days when reach suspensive pipe negative smoke (tobacco)  
*pā* *chi* *ɔ* *hâ?* *gâ* *ɛ* *gò*  
 P<sub>v-nom</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 agentive nominalizer this topic get desiderative because lively action  
*qhô-ši* *və* *lo* *cê* , *šú-qhu* *chi*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N Det  
 steal and make off with transportatory motion emphatic declarative quotative pipe this  
*à?* .  
 P<sub>n</sub>  
 accusative
- (5) *gò* *qhô* *ɛ-ɔ* *a-mò?* *qò?* *te* *dà?* *ve* *cê*  
 vV V P<sub>unf</sub> N vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 lively action steal causal trial (legal) go on to V make mutual action nominalizer quotative  
*mē* , *chi* *tê pô?* *lê* , *chi* *ní gâ* *kà?* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Det Q P<sub>unf</sub>  
 emphatic this time topic this two people topicalizer
- (6) *chi* *ní gâ* , *šú-qhu* *dò* *pā* *ɛ* *šú-qhu* *mâ*  
 Det Q N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv  
 this two people pipe smoke (tobacco) agentive nominalizer and pipe negative

- dò* *pā* *a-mò?* *lón* *vân* *dà?*  
V  $P_{v-nom}$  N  $B_n$  V  $P_v$   
smoke (tobacco) agentive nominalizer trial (legal) sthg big go for it mutual action  
*ve* .  
 $P_{univ}$   
nominalizer
- (7) *a-mò?* *vân* *dà?* *le-5* *ī-kī* *gà* *e*  
N V  $P_v$   $P_{unf}$   $N_{dVB}$  V  $P_v$   
trial (legal) go for it mutual action suspensive important place reach motion away  
*ve* *5* *ḡ-yân* *mō* *chwe* *tā* *pī*  
 $P_{univ}$   $P_{unf}$  N  $V_{adj}$  bound verbal morpheme ( $B_v$ ) V  $V_v$   
nominalizer topic time long (of time) very litigate benefactive (3p)  
*ve* *cē* , *śu* .  
 $P_{univ}$   $P_{uf}$  Pron  
nominalizer quotative they
- (8) *hā?-hā?* *mā* *te* *pī* .  
AE Adv V  $V_v$   
quickly negative do benefactive (3p)
- (9) *gà* *le* *śú-qhu* *dò* *pā* *chi* *5* *yō* *bà?* *jā*  
V  $P_{unf}$  N V  $P_{v-nom}$  Det  $P_{unf}$  Pron  $V_{adj}$   $V_v$   
reach suspensive pipe smoke (tobacco) agentive nominalizer this topic he angry very
- (10) *yō* *mō* *à?* *śé-lây* *jā* .  
Pron N  $P_n$  V  $V_v$   
he personal property accusative treasure sthg very
- (11) *śú-qhu* *mā* *dò* *pā* *śú-qhu* *dà?* *jā* *le* *hā?*  
N Adv V  $P_{v-nom}$  N  $V_{adj}$   $V_v$   $P_{univ}$  V  
pipe negative smoke (tobacco) agentive nominalizer pipe beautiful very because get  
*gā* *jā* *ve* *pa-tō* , *qhō yù* *ve* *yō* .  
 $P_v$   $V_v$   $P_{univ}$   $P_n$   $vV + V_h$   $P_{univ}$   $P_{uf}$   
desiderative very nominalizer because of get by stealing nominalizer declarative
- (12) *te-le* *5* , *ḡō* *jē dà?* *le-5* *ḡō* *tā-tā*  
Conj  $P_{unf}$   $vV$   $V + P_v$   $P_{unf}$   $vV$   $V_{redup}$   
so then topic lively action discuss suspensive V vigorously keep arguing (in court)  
*le-5* *ī-kī* *gà* *e* *le-5* , *khún* *tē phā* *dō-ni*  
 $P_{unf}$   $N_{dVB}$  V  $P_v$   $P_{unf}$  N Q V  
suspensive important place reach motion away suspensive officials pluralizer consider  
*le* *jē* *pī* *ve-5* , " *nō* *śú-qhu* *dō*  
 $P_{unf}$  V  $V_v$   $P_{uf}$  Pron N V  
suspensive advise benefactive (3p) emphatic nominalizer you pipe smoke (tobacco)  
*pā* *qo* , *śú* *chī?* " *qō?* *ve* *cē* .  
 $P_{v-nom}$   $P_{unf}$  N V V  $P_{univ}$   $P_{uf}$   
agentive nominalizer if tobacco make into a ball say nominalizer quotative

The smoker and the non-smoker dispute a pipe (Version II)

- (13) *ô šú-qhu qhô pā à? šú chî? ci ve*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 that pipe steal agentive nominalizer causee tobacco crumple up causative nominalizer
- (14) *šú-qhu dō pā à? kà? šú chî?*  
 N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V  
 pipe smoke (tobacco) agentive nominalizer causee also tobacco make into a ball  
*ci ve , yô-hî-mà ní ġâ .*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron Q  
 causative nominalizer they (dual) two people
- (15) *šú-qhu mâ dō pā chi ̄ , šú-qhu ġō*  
 N Adv V P<sub>v-nom</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub> N V<sub>v</sub>  
 pipe negative smoke (tobacco) agentive nominalizer this topic pipe violent action  
*kə ni ve šú chi-hî-cho-hu qay l*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Quasi-Elab V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 insert try and V relativizer tobacco too big end up V'ing emphatic declarative  
*cê qô?-ma , šú-qhu qhə kə dō? mâ d*  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N M<sub>prfx</sub> V V Adv C<sub>r</sub>  
 quotative emphatic pipe inside insert pack into negative fit into
- (16) *šú-qhu dō pā ̄ chi hî è šú-qhu*  
 N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> N  
 pipe smoke (tobacco) agentive nominalizer topic only this much pipe  
*qha h̄ è ġō kə-vân ve-̄ .*  
 AE<sub>stat</sub> V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 perfectly fitted together lively action insert vigorously emphatic
- (17) *qhe-qo šú-qhu mâ dō pā chi ̄ , šu*  
 Conj N Adv V P<sub>v-nom</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub> Pron  
 so pipe negative smoke (tobacco) agentive nominalizer this topic others  
*mô à? h̄? ġâ kà? qhô mâ ġa o*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 personal property accusative get desiderative although steal negative manage to emphatic  
*, yô .*  
 Pron  
 he
- (18) *yô phî? jâ l , yô šú mâ dō-dō è kà?*  
 Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N Adv V<sub>redup</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 he be guilty very suspensive he tobacco negative smoke habitually even although  
*šu mô à? h̄? ġâ l qhô ve .*  
 Pron N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 somebody else's personal property accusative get desiderative because steal nominalizer
- (19) *šú chî? ci ve ̄ cho-hu qay*  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> V  
 tobacco make into a ball causative nominalizer topic too big (RL) go a certain way  
*ġâ-e l ,*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 reach the point of suspensive

(20)	<i>šú-qhu</i>	<i>dò</i>		<i>pā</i>		<i>ō</i>	<i>cô-lò? è</i>	<i>qay</i>	
	N	V		P <sub>v-nom</sub>		P <sub>unf</sub>	AE <sub>stat</sub>	V	
	pipe	smoke (tobacco)		agentive nominalizer		topic	perfectly	go a certain way	
	<i>gâ-e</i>		<i>le</i>	,	<i>šú-qhu</i>	<i>dò</i>		<i>pā</i>	<i>qò?</i>
	V <sub>v</sub>		P <sub>unf</sub>		N	V		P <sub>v-nom</sub>	vV
	reach	the point of	suspensive		pipe	smoke (tobacco)		agentive nominalizer	V again
	<i>qhò?</i>	<i>gâ</i>	<i>ve</i>		<i>cê</i>	.			
	V	V <sub>v</sub>	P <sub>univ</sub>		P <sub>uf</sub>				
	get back	get to	nominalizer		quotative				

### Translation

<See previous text for a longer version >

1. Well, I'll just tell a story about a smoker and a non-smoker in the old days, okay?
2. To all of you.
3. Once upon a time a person who was not a smoker saw somebody else's beautiful pipe and coveted it very much, wanting badly to get it for himself.
4. This smoker was very happy with his pipe.
5. Well, one day, since the non-smoker wanted to get that [so badly], he stole it and made off with it.
6. Since he stole it, these two guys then went to court.
7. These two people, the smoker and the non-smoker, went at each other in a great court case.
8. When they arrived at the official place<sup>1</sup> for their trial, they had to litigate <sup>2</sup> for a very long time, those guys.
9. It could not be done for them quickly.
10. When they got there the smoker had been very angry, since he treasured his possession so much.
11. The non-smoker wanted it badly, since the pipe was so beautiful, so he stole it.
12. So then having discussed it vigorously, and argued and argued with each other, when they got to the great courtroom, the officials<sup>3</sup> thought it over and instructed them thus: "If you are the smoker, crumple up<sup>4</sup> the [right amount of] tobacco," they said.
13. So they made the pipe-thief crumple tobacco, and also made the smoker crumple tobacco, both of them.
14. As for the non-smoker, the tobacco that he took and stuffed into the pipe was way too much!
15. It just wouldn't fit into the pipe when he tried to pack it in.<sup>5</sup>
16. As for the smoker, he only stuffed a small amount into the pipe, so it fit properly.
17. So that non-smoker who desired somebody else's possession and stole it did not win.

<sup>1</sup> *ī kà ō*: lit. "at the big place".

<sup>2</sup> *tá pī ve*: The post-head versatile verb *pī* here indicates that an action by a third person affects other 3rd persons.

<sup>3</sup> *khú tē phā*: *khú* 'chief; lord; bigshot' < Tai (cf. Si *khun*).

<sup>4</sup> *chī?*: 'crumple up; wad into a ball'. DL:557.

<sup>5</sup> *dò? mā dō*: lit. "pack not fit." *dō* is a *resultative complement* specifying the successful or non- successful completion of the act of packing in.

The smoker and the non-smoker dispute a pipe (Version II)

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18. He committed a grievous offense<sup>6</sup>, not even being a smoker himself, yet still desiring another's possession and stealing it.

19. When he was forced to stuff in tobacco, it was way too much, while the smoker put in exactly enough<sup>7</sup>, so the smoker was able to get his pipe back.

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<sup>6</sup>**phî?** 'commit an offense' < Tai (cf. Si *phit*)

<sup>7</sup>**gà-e**: this word consists of the post-head versatile verb **gà** 'V to a conclusion' plus the verb-particle **e** 'transitive motion', fused into a single syllable [gày]. See DL: 400-1.



## 7.11 The potter and the laundryman

- (1) *à-šwè thâ chɔ nî ġâ cò ve yò cê* .  
 AE N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 once upon a time people two for people be there nominalizer declarative quotative
- (2) *tê ġâ ɔ mɔ-chî-šê-phâ jô-mô cê* .  
 Q P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> N P<sub>uf</sub>  
 one person topic laundryman expert quotative
- (3) *tê ġâ ɔ mù?-qhu te šê-phâ jô-mô cê* .  
 Q P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> N P<sub>uf</sub>  
 another person topic pot make agentive nominalizer expert quotative
- (4) *tê ni qhe ġâ lɛ , phu têt? dà? ve*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 one for days topicalizer reach suspensive wealth measure mutual action relativizer  
*tê yân , mɔ-chî-šê-phâ ma mâ ġa cê , phu* .  
 Q N<sub>dvb</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> N  
 the time that laundryman as much as negative earn quotative money
- (5) *mù?-qhu te pā chi yô dɔ ve , mɔ-chî-šê-phâ chi lù-lù pî*  
 N<sub>dvb</sub> Det Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> Det V<sub>redup</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 potter this he think nominalizer laundryman this ruin benefactive (3p)  
*dɔ ve cê* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 think nominalizer quotative
- (6) *cāw-fā lón hɔ nâ?-tɔ tê khe cò ve*  
 N B<sub>n</sub> N AE Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 prince (Shan) important elephant jet black one for animals be there nominalizer  
*thâ? yô dɔ-ni ġa cê , mù?-qhu te pā jô-mô chi* .  
 P<sub>n</sub> Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> N Det  
 accusative he get an idea get to quotative potter expert this
- (7) *nô ve à? mɔ-chî-šê-phâ yô chî lɛ mâ phu qo*  
 N<sub>poss</sub> + ve P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> Pron V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 the one up there accusative laundryman he wash suspensive negative turn white if  
*yô mâ ġa te câ têt? yô ni-ma qhɔ qhe šî lɛ*  
 Pron Adv vV V + V<sub>v</sub> QUOT Pron N M<sub>px</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 he negative get to earn a living embedded quote his heart inside thus know because  
*yô cāw-fā ġe qay lɛ qô? pî ve cê* : ”  
 Pron N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 he prince (Shan) to go suspensive say benefactive (3p) nominalizer quotative  
*jô-mô lón , cāw-fā ò , nô hɔ chi chî a*  
 N B<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> Pron N Det V P<sub>v</sub>  
 lord sthg great prince (Shan) vocative your elephant this wash vigorous action  
*lɛ phú è te pî qo , šu ni ve tê yân* ”  
 P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>stat</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> Q  
 suspensive white make benefactive (3p) if others look at relativizer the time that  
*à-bon cò ve yò têt? qô? tù yò* ” qô?  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> QUOT V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V  
 good luck be there nominalizer declarative embedded quote say future declarative say

The potter and the laundryman

- ve* *cê* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer quotative
- (8) *qhe-te-ε jô-mô lón qô? ve , " ηà hɔ chi thà?*  
 Conj N B<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N Det P<sub>n</sub>  
 thereupon lord sthg great say nominalizer my elephant this accusative  
*chê-phu ve a-šũ cò le " têt? na-ni ā*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron V P<sub>uf</sub> QUOT V P<sub>v</sub>  
 wash white nominalizer who be there substantive qst embedded quote ask perfective  
*ve têt yân , " mô-chê-šê-phâ jô-mô têt ġâ lê chê-phu*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> Q N<sub>dvb</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 relativizer the time that laundryman expert one for people topic wash white  
*ve yò* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (9) *yê lê phu kà? mâ jâ , ηà a-ké mâ* .  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> Pron N<sub>ext</sub> V<sub>adj</sub>  
 he topic money also much very I more than much
- (10) *ηà mù?-qhu te pā jô-mô a-ké mâ ve yò* .  
 Pron N<sub>dvb</sub> N N<sub>ext</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 I potter expert more than much nominalizer declarative
- (11) *nô ve phâ thà? ca kù chê cî qo ,*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 up there genitivizer fellow accusative go and do summon wash causative if  
*phu la tù ve têt ηà yôn ve*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> QUOT Pron V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 turn white come to V future nominalizer embedded quote I believe nominalizer  
*yò , " qô? pî ve yò* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative say benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative
- (12) *qô? pî ve têt yân , jô-mô cāw-fā chi qô?*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q N N Det V  
 say benefactive (3p) relativizer the time that lord prince (Shan) this say  
*pî ve : " Mû-lò , mô-chê-šê-phâ jô-mô thà? nò*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> Pron  
 benefactive (3p) nominalizer male name laundryman expert accusative you  
*ca kù yù lò " qô? ve* .  
<sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 go and do summon V to good effect urging say nominalizer
- (13) *kù yù ε là ve têt yân thâ , " ηà mô chê*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Pron OV  
 summon V to good effect suspensive come relativizer when I wash clothes  
*ve à-lî mù?-qhu lón šá-qhâ? lón ġa te ġa chê*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N N B<sub>n</sub> N B<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> V  
 relativizer custom pot sthg big huge basin sthg big must make must wash  
*ve yò , " qô? pî ve cê* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative say benefactive (3p) nominalizer quotative

- (14) *qô? pî ve tê yân mù?-qhu te pā thà? jô-mô cāw-fā*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q N<sub>dvb</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N N  
 say benefactive (3p) relativizer when potter accusative lord prince (Shan)  
*lón qô? pî ve : ” mù?-qhu te pā nò , ò-tà?-pê*  
 B<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> Pron N  
 sthg great say benefactive (3p) nominalizer potter you apprentice  
*thà? šī lē mù?-qhu te lò ,” qô? pî*  
 P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 accusative take sthg along suspensive pot make urging say benefactive (3p)  
*ve cê .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer quotative
- (15) *mù?-qhu te tâ? və lâ*  
 N <sub>v</sub>V + V<sub>h</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 pot make sthg to V carry on shoulder transportatory motion benefactive (non-3p)  
*lē hɔ khî-šē yù kə , khô ve cê .*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N N V V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 suspensive elephant foot take V into shatter nominalizer quotative
- (16) *tê pô? te khô ve cê .*  
 Q V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 again do shatter nominalizer quotative
- (17) *nī pô? te khô ve cê .*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 two for times do shatter nominalizer quotative
- (18) *šē? pô? te lē khô pà qhà?-nó jô-mô qô? pî*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> M<sub>prfx</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub>  
 three for times do suspensive shatter finish V'ing after lord say benefactive (3p)  
*ve : ” nò šu thà? lù tù ve*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> Pron Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer you someone else (remote 3p) accusative ruin purposive nominalizer  
*a-ló dō ve thà? pa-tɔ chí-bà? nò lù pà ò .*  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>time</sub> Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 first think nominalizer because now you ruin finish V'ing completed action
- (19) *mù?-qhu te pā kà? tâ te cā lò .*  
 N<sub>dvb</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 potter topicalizer negative imperative do for a living urging
- (20) *mô-chî-šē-phâ lê qha-dê? chî cā lò ,” qô? pî*  
 N<sub>dvb</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 laundryman topic properly wash V for a living urging say benefactive (3p)  
*ve cê .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer quotative
- (21) *pà ve yò .*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be completed nominalizer declarative

## Translation

1. Once upon a time there were two people.<sup>1</sup>
2. One of them was an expert laundryman. The other was an expert potter.
3. One day, when they were comparing their wealth, [the potter thought] he didn't earn as much as the laundryman, money-wise.<sup>2</sup>
4. This potter thought that the laundryman was trying to ruin him.
5. [So] he got an idea about a certain jet-black elephant that the local prince<sup>3</sup> had.
6. The master potter knew in his heart that if the laundryman were to wash that elephant<sup>4</sup> and it didn't turn white, he [the laundryman] would lose his livelihood, so he went [to the prince] and said:
7. "My lord, O prince, if you would only wash the elephant white, when people would see it they'd say, "This is amazing!"
8. So then the Prince said, "Who is there who can wash this elephant of mine white?"
9. When he asked this, the potter said, "A certain expert laundryman can wash it white.
10. In fact he has a lot of money, more than me, more than me the master potter!"
11. "If you summon that fellow<sup>5</sup> and make him wash it, I believe it will really turn white," he said.
12. When he said this, the lord prince said, "Mûlò, go and summon here that master laundryman!"
13. Then when he had been summoned and came, he [the laundryman] said, "My method of washing is that I must have a great big pot made, a huge basin<sup>6</sup>, to wash in."
14. When he said this, the prince said to the potter, "O potter, you call your assistant(s) and make that pot!"
15. So [they] made the pot and carried it [in]<sup>7</sup>, and they took the elephant's foot and put it in, and it shattered.
16. After [the elephant] broke it once, broke it twice, broke it three times, the lord prince said, "Since you first thought you would ruin another person, now you have been ruined [yourself].
17. "Do not earn your living as a potter anymore!
18. "As for the laundryman, earn your living well by washing!" he said.
19. That's the end.

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<sup>1</sup>The quotative particle *cê* is left untranslated, since this story-teller uses it in virtually every sentence.

<sup>2</sup>This last word is meant to carry the afterthought-like postposing of the object *phu* 'money, wealth'.

<sup>3</sup>A *cāw-fā* (< Shan *caaw pha?* [cf. Si. *cāaw fáa*]) was a Shan "prince" or "sawbwa", of whom there were many in the Shan states.

<sup>4</sup>Instead of *hō* 'elephant', the story-teller here says *nō ve* 'the one up there', perhaps out of respect for the *sawbwa* whose possession it was. More details on the extent of the sawbwas' domains may be found in Wikipedia.

<sup>5</sup>*nō ve phā* 'the fellow up there'.

<sup>6</sup>*śá-qhâ?* usually means 'cylindrical rice-steamer' (see DL:1162), but in this context it seems to mean 'huge basin (large enough to wash an elephant in)'.

<sup>7</sup>The non-3rd person benefactive particle *lâ* is used instead of *pī*, apparently to impart greater vividness.

## 7.12 The fingerless lord

- (1) *tê pô? thâ jô-mô tê gâ cò ve cê* .  
 NP<sub>time</sub> N Q V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 once lord one person be there nominalizer quotative
- (2) *jô-mô ô-ve ò-hó lo a-mà? ló tê gâ cò*  
 N Det N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N B<sub>n</sub> Q V  
 lord that under locative minister (government) sthg great one person be there  
*ve cê* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer quotative
- (3) *a-mà?-ló chi cò ve ò-qhó lo tê ni yô ge*  
 N Det V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub>  
 high minister this be there relativizer during locative one for days him with  
*chê-chê ā ε jô-mô ve là?-nô-jê tê mà kê*  
 V<sub>redup</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V  
 while still staying durative suspensive lord genitivizer middle finger one for things rot  
*chê? šē ve yò cê* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 V so it breaks off regrettably nominalizer declarative quotative
- (4) *là?-nô-jê chi tê mà kê chê? šē le*  
 N Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 middle finger this one for things rot V so it breaks off regrettably suspensive  
*a-mà?-ló à? mā pî ve :*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 high minister accusative show benefactive (3p) nominalizer
- (5) " *a-mà?-ló , òà ve là?-nô tê mà — là?-nô-jê tê*  
 N N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N Num  
 minister (government) my finger one for things middle finger one  
*mà kê chê? šē ò* .  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 for things rot V so it breaks off regrettably completed action
- (6) *qhà-qhe te tù le* .  
 N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 how? do future substantive qst
- (7) *là ò?* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub>  
 come urging imperative
- (8) *ni la-? ,” têt ô qhe qô? pî ve tê yân*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> QUOT NP<sub>ext</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q  
 look at look at embedded quote like that say benefactive (3p) relativizer the time that  
*thâ , a-mà?-ló là ve tê yân thâ , mā pî*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 when high minister come relativizer the time that when show benefactive (3p)  
*a ve tê yân thâ , ” jô-mô ò? , phê? la*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub>  
 vigorous action relativizer the time that when lord vocative come to pass

The fingerless lord

- ve* *tê cə le-le* *ə-bo* *ĩ* *ve* *yò* " *tè?* *ô qhe*  
*P<sub>univ</sub>* *NP<sub>q</sub>* *N* *V<sub>adj</sub>* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>* *QUOT* *NP<sub>ext</sub>*  
 relativizer every kind advantage great nominalizer declarative embedded quote like that  
*qô?* *pĩ* *ve* *yò* *cê* .  
*V* *V<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 say benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative quotative
- (9) *chi thà? pa-tə* *tê pə?* *jə-mə* *chi* *yə* *bə?* *le* , *bə?* *jə* *ve*  
*NP* *Q* *N* *Det* *Pron* *V<sub>adj</sub>* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *V<sub>adj</sub>* *V<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>univ</sub>*  
 because of this immediately lord this he angry suspensive angry very nominalizer  
*thà? pa-tə* , *tê pə?* *yə* *də-ni* *ve* *ə-qhə* *lo* *ô* *vĩ*  
*P<sub>n</sub>* *Q* *Pron* *V* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *N<sub>time</sub>* *P<sub>n</sub>* *N<sub>sd</sub>* *V<sub>adj</sub>*  
 because now he think over carefully relativizer during locative over there far  
*kì* *hè?-pĩ-qhə* *lo* *šĩ* *qay* *le* *mì-tò?-qô* *ná* *kì*  
*P<sub>v-nom</sub>* *N* *P<sub>n</sub>* *V* *V<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *N* *V<sub>adj</sub>* *P<sub>v-nom</sub>*  
 locative woods locative lead along V away suspensive hole in the ground deep locative  
*tê* *kà* *mə* *ve* *cê* .  
*Num* *Cl<sub>f</sub>* *V* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 one for places see nominalizer quotative
- (10) *ô* *tê* *kà* *mə* *ve* *tê yān* *thā* , *a-mà?-lô* *chi*  
*N<sub>sd</sub>* *Num* *Cl<sub>f</sub>* *V* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *Q* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *N* *Det*  
 that one for places see relativizer the time that when minister (government) this  
*ə?* " *hā?* *ni* *la-?* , *hā?* *ni* *la-?* !  
*P<sub>n</sub>* *Adv* *V* *P<sub>v</sub>* *Adv* *V* *P<sub>v</sub>*  
 accusative quickly look at look at quickly look at look at
- (11) *à-ma* *nā* *pé-ə?* " *qô?* *pĩ* *le* , *tê pə?*  
*Pron<sub>intg</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>* *N<sub>sd</sub>* *V* *V<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *Q*  
 what? wonderment over there (colloq.) say benefactive (3p) suspensive immediately  
*a-mà?-lô* *chi* *là* *le* , *ô* *ŋó* *ni*  
*N* *Det* *V* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *N<sub>sd</sub>* *V* *V<sub>v</sub>*  
 minister (government) this come suspensive over there look intently try and V  
*a lâ* *ve* *tê yān thā* , *yə* *ə-to* *a-yé* *bĩ?* *ce* *šē*  
*P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *NP<sub>time</sub>* *Pron* *N* *Adv* *V* *V<sub>v</sub>* *V*  
 vivid action relativizer when his body slowly push V so it falls unpleasantly  
*pĩ* *ve* *cê* .  
*V<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 benefactive (3p) nominalizer quotative
- (12) *a-mà?-lô* *chi* *tê ġā* *mì-tò?-qô* *qhə* *lò?* *e* *le*  
*N* *Det* *Q* *N* *M<sub>px</sub>* *V* *P<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>unf</sub>*  
 high minister this one person hole in the ground inside enter motion away suspensive  
*tê pə?* *jə-mə* *chi* *ə-nu-pá* *lo* *qay* *chē* *ve* *tê yān* *thā* ,  
*Q* *N* *Det* *N* *P<sub>n</sub>* *V* *V<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *Q* *P<sub>univ</sub>*  
 now lord this another place locative go progressive relativizer the time that when  
*ô* *kà?* *lo* *chə-qu-ni* *chə-šā* *cā* *ve* *tê* *cú-mô*  
*N<sub>sd</sub>* *P<sub>n</sub>* *P<sub>n</sub>* *N* *N* *V* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *Num* *Cl<sub>f</sub>*  
 there locative locative naked savage human flesh eat relativizer one for groups of people  
*ló* *yə* *ġū-šĩ* *ə* *chē* *tā* *la* *ve* *cê* .  
*B<sub>n</sub>* *Pron* *N<sub>loc</sub>* *P<sub>n</sub>* *V* *P<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 sthg big him in front of locative be there durative come to V nominalizer quotative

- (13) *mò* *ɛ* *chɔ* *ô-ve* *yô* *šā* *câ* *gâ* *ve* *thà? pa-tɔ* , *yô*  
V P<sub>unf</sub> N Det Pron N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron  
see suspensive people that his flesh eat desiderative nominalizer because him  
*thà?* *tî* *ɛ* *câ* *a-tè* *te* *ve* *tê yân thâ* , " *chɔ* *chi* *šu*  
P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>quot</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N Det Pron  
accusative kill suspensive eat purposive do relativizer when person this others'  
*lɔ* *mâ* *šū* *tê cə-cə* *à?* *qha-dè?* *ni* " *qô?* *ve*  
M<sub>px</sub> Adv V Q P<sub>n</sub> AE V V P<sub>univ</sub>  
situation negative be the same as everything accusative properly look at say relativizer  
*tê yân thâ* , " *yô ve* *là?-nɔ-jî* *tê* *mà* *mâ* *cò*  
NP<sub>time</sub> N<sub>poss</sub>+ve N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Adv V  
when his middle finger one for things negative be there  
*lɔ* *cê* .  
P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
emphatic declarative quotative
- (14) *chi thà? pa-tɔ* *šu* *câ* *mâ* *phê?* *lɔ* , " *tê?* *ô qhe*  
NP Pron V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> QUOT NP<sub>ext</sub>  
therefore him eat negative able to emphatic declarative embedded quote like that  
*te* *ɛ* *tê pɔ? lè* *yô* *jô-mô* *dô-nô* *la* *ve* — *yô ve*  
V P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> Pron N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>poss</sub>+ve  
happen suspensive suddenly he lord realize come to V nominalizer his  
*à-bo* *thà?* *dô-nô* *ā* *ve* *cê* .  
N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
good luck accusative realize perfective nominalizer quotative
- (15) *chi thà? pa-tɔ* *a-mà?-lɔ* *chi* " *phê? la* *ve* *tê cə* *lè*  
NP N Det V+P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub>  
therefore minister (government) this come to pass relativizer anything topic  
*à-bo* *ī* *ve* *yò* , " *jô-mô* *tè* *yô* *à-po*  
N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N  
advantage great nominalizer declarative lord emphatic topicalizer his for N's sake  
*à-bo* *cò* *ve* *thà?* *yô* *dô-nô* *ɛ* , *šī* *la*  
N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
advantage be there nominalizer accusative he realize suspensive know come to V  
*ve* *thà? pa-tɔ* , *tê pɔ?* *qhə?-nɔ* *qò?* *qò?*  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Q N<sub>loc</sub> vV V  
nominalizer because immediately back (to starting point) V back return home  
*e* *ɛ* *a-mà?-lɔ* *thà?* *qò?* *ğò* *tɔ?*  
P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> vV vV V  
motion away suspensive minister (government) accusative V back V vigorously come out  
*pî* *ve* *cê* .  
V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
causative nominalizer quotative
- (16) *chi* *lè* *čí-kì* *qhà-qhe* *ve* *thà?* *čí* *tā* *le*  
Det P<sub>unf</sub> N N<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
this topic meaning what kind of? genitivizer accusative be inherent in durative durative  
*qô? qo* , *tê pɔ? thâ* *hà-hi* *qô?-yà?-yɔ-yà?* *ve* *à-cə* *tê phā* *qha*  
P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Pron Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Q Adv  
topicalizer previously we (pl) complain about relativizer thing pluralizer all

The fingerless lord

<i>phê? la</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>tê phā</i>	<i>lê</i>	,	<i>ḍ-bo</i>	<i>cḍ</i>	<i>tù</i>	<i>dê-dê</i>	<i>yò</i>
V + P <sub>v</sub>	P <sub>univ</sub>	Q	P <sub>unf</sub>		N	V	P <sub>v</sub>	N <sub>ext</sub>	P <sub>uf</sub>
come to pass	relativizer	pluralizer	topic		value	be there	future	all	declarative
<i>mē</i>	.								
P <sub>uf</sub>									
persuasive									
(17) <i>yò</i>	<i>nê-ḥ</i>	.							
V	P <sub>uf</sub>								
be true	suppositional								

**Translation**

1. Once there was a certain lord.
2. Under this lord there was a high minister.<sup>1</sup>
3. One day during the time this minister was in the lord’s service, while he was staying close<sup>2</sup> by him, one of his [the lord’s] middle fingers rotted and broke off.<sup>3</sup>
4. When this middle finger rotted off he showed it [his hand] to the minister.
5. “Minister, one of my fingers, one of my middle fingers has rotted off.
6. What shall I do? Come here, and look!”
7. When he said this, and when the minister came and was shown it, [he] said, “My lord, everything that happens is for the best.”<sup>4</sup>
5. So the lord immediately became angry, and since he was so furious, while he was thinking [about what to do], he took [the Minister] along far into a forest, where he [the lord] saw a place where there was a deep pit in the ground.
6. When he saw this place, he said to the minister, “Come here quickly, come here quickly! I wonder what that is over there!”
7. And the minister rushed to come, and while he was straining to see, [the lord] slowly pushed him so that he fell into [the pit].
8. After the minister had entered the pit, the lord continued on to another place, where he found himself face to face with a large band of naked savages who ate human flesh.
8. When they saw him they wanted to eat his flesh, but as they were about to kill him, they said “Take a good look at everything about this person that is different from other people<sup>5</sup> – one of his middle fingers is missing.
9. So we can’t eat him!”, and when this happened, all of a sudden [the lord] realized something – he recognized his good fortune.
10. So since he came to realize [the truth of] the minister’s [words] “Everything that happens is for the best,” he straightaway turned back for home and had the minister pulled out [of the pit].<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>**a-mâ?**: < Burmese (cf. WB **ḥamat**) ‘minister; vizier; high official’.  
<sup>2</sup>While staying close’ translates the reduplication of **chê** (V) ‘stay; be in a place; dwell’.  
<sup>3</sup>The Lahu verb-particle **ḥē** (called **ḥē**, or the “ḥē of regret” in GL) here signifies that the speaker regards the verbal event as unfortunate. It is normally left untranslated.  
<sup>4</sup>**ḍ-bo ḥ ve**: lit. “the advantage/grace” is great. For a discussion of the different nuances of **ḍ-bo(n)** in the animist, Christian, and Buddhist contexts, see DL 186-7.  
<sup>5</sup>**ḥu lo mâ ḥū**: “not be the same as others’ situation”. This expression recurs in the common phrase **ḥu lo ḥū la** ‘come up in the world; be as respectable as others’.  
<sup>6</sup>Four-verb concatenation: **qḍ?** (vV) ‘back’ + **ḡḍ** (vV) ‘vigorous action’ + **tḥ?** (V<sub>h</sub>) ‘emerge’ + **pḥ** (Vv) ‘causative’.



11. If we say “What meaning can we extract from this?”, everything that has ever happened, all the things we complained and bickered about, are all for the best!<sup>7</sup>

12. [*Somebody says skeptically*] : I suppose so.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>The high minister has the same optimistic view of the world as Pangloss in Voltaire’s *Candide*!

<sup>8</sup>The narrator ends with the emphatic final unrestricted particle **mē** after the declarative Puf **yò**. The skeptical heckler substitutes the suppositional Puf **nè-ṣ** for **mē**.

## **8 Myths and fairy tales**

## 8.1 How woman got her clitoris

- (1) à-šwè thâ Ğì-ša mû-phān-mì-phān pà qhà?-nó thâ là?-šō pî  
 AE N Elab<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N V  
 once upon a time God create heaven and earth finish V'ing after when gift give  
 ve ð-lon .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 relativizer matter
- (2) à-šwè thâ , Ğì-ša mû-phān-mì-phān pà lɛ , cho  
 AE N Elab<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 once upon a time God create heaven and earth finish suspensive human being  
 tê gâ le-le mì-gì ð-qhò? lō ve ð-cà tê phā , Ğì-ša te te tã  
 NP<sub>q</sub> NP<sub>loc</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N Q N vV + V<sub>h</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 everybody on earth need relativizer thing pluralizer God provide perfective  
 lɛ , cho tê gâ le-le mâ qô? , to-nû-to-šâ? tê cà le-le mâ qô? ,  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N NP<sub>q</sub> Adv + V Elab<sub>n</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> Adv + V  
 suspensive people everybody whether animals and creatures every kind whether  
 tê cà le-le ð-pon Ğì-ša phān te tã ve yò .  
 NP<sub>q</sub> N N V + V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 every kind for N's sake God create for future use establish nominalizer declarative
- (3) phān te tã pà lɛ , chi qhe qô? ve , Ğì-ša :  
 V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 create for future use perfective finish V'ing suspensive like this say nominalizer God  
 " yù la-? lò , a-šû-yô ve mô .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 take motion toward (imperative) imperative each one's genitivizer personal property
- (4) a-šû-yô lō ve qhe , " qô? ve tê yān thâ , láy-cà  
 Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Q  
 each one's need nominalizer just like that say relativizer when several kinds  
 to-nû-to-šâ? tê phā là ve cê .  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> Q V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 animals and creatures pluralizer come nominalizer quotative
- (5) ð-khò nò? ve ð-cà qo ð-khò thà? yù qay  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 horn grow sthg on oneself relativizer kind topic horn accusative take V away  
 ve , lɛ ð-mu nò? ve ð-cà qo ð-mu thà? yù  
 P<sub>univ</sub> Conj N V P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V  
 nominalizer and fur grow sthg on oneself relativizer kind topic fur accusative take  
 qay ve , chi qhe te pà lɛ , tê gâ tê cà  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Q Q  
 V away nominalizer like this do finish V'ing suspensive one person one thing  
 tê cà yù qay pà qhà?-nó , ní pô? tê pô? Ğì-ša yô-hi thà? qô?  
 Q V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> M<sub>px</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> N Pron P<sub>n</sub> vV  
 one thing take V away finish V'ing after second time God them accusative V again  
 te pî ve cê .  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 convene (as a meeting) benefactive (3p) nominalizer quotative

- (6) *lɛ* " *yù* *la* *o* " *qô?* *pî* *ā* *ve* *tê*  
 Conj V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Num  
 and take come to V emphatic say benefactive (3p) perfective relativizer one  
*yân* *thâ* *là* *ve* *yò* *cê* .  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 for periods of time when come nominalizer declarative quotative
- (7) *yâ-mî-ma* *tê gâ* *là* *ve* *ɔ̄* , *chi qhe* *qô?* *ve* , " *nî* *qô?*  
 N Q V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N V  
 woman one person come nominalizer topic like this say nominalizer penis call  
*ve* *tê* *cà* *te tɛ* *tā* *lɔ* *cê* ."  
 P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> <sub>v</sub>V + V<sub>h</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 relativizer one thing provide perfective emphatic declarative quotative
- (8) *ô-ve* *tê* *yân* *thâ* " *nî* *te tɛ* *tā* *ve* *yù*  
 Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V + V<sub>h</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V  
 that one for periods of time when penis provide perfective nominalizer take  
*la-?* *o* " *qô?* *ve* *tê yân thâ* *yâ-mî-ma* *chi tê pɔ?* *tí*  
 P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 motion toward (imperative) emphatic say relativizer when woman suddenly just  
*gǎ* *la* *lɛ* , *ô*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub>  
 run come to V suspensive there
- (9) *í-mû* *nî* *lón* *thà?* *yù* *ve* *cê* , *yô* - *nî* *te tɛ*  
 N N B<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron N <sub>v</sub>V + V<sub>h</sub>  
 horse penis sthg big accusative take nominalizer quotative she penis provide  
*ā* *ve* *à?* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 perfective nominalizer object
- (10) " *chi* *nò ve* *mâ hê?* *ɔ̄* .  
 Det N<sub>poss</sub> + ve Adv + V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 this one yours not be the case affirmative
- (11) *chi* *ɔ̄* *í-mû* *ve* *ɔ̄* , " *qô?* *pî* *ā* *ve*  
 Det P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 this one topic horse genitivizer affirmative say benefactive (3p) perfective relativizer  
*tê yân thâ* , *mì-châ* *ɔ̄* *chî-tê* *qha* *lɛ* *ò-mu*  
 NP<sub>time</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 when ground locative throw down and stamp on violent action suspensive hair  
*bí è* *qay* *ve* *cê* .  
 AE<sub>stat</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 tangled go a certain way nominalizer quotative
- (12) *chɔ-mô-khô* *chi qhe* *cò* *ve* .  
 N AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 ancient lore like this be there nominalizer
- (13) *nî pɔ?* *tê pɔ?* , *yâ-mî-qê?* *chi* " *a-cí* *mâ* *lò?* *šē* " *cê* , *yô* *qô?*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> N Det Adv Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron V  
 second time woman this a little negative be enough yet quotative she say

- ve  
P<sub>univ</sub>  
nominalizer
- (14) ” *ŋà ve a-cí mâ lǝ? šē* .  
N<sub>poss</sub> + ve Adv Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
mine quite negative be enough yet
- (15) *a-cí qǝ? kǝ-thē šē ” tē pǝ? ca qǝ? lǝ ve*  
Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> Q <sub>v</sub>V <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub>  
please go on to V add sthg extra still again go and do V again beg for nominalizer  
*cē*  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
quotative
- (16) *âa , ô phî ve nī-ó-qō chi híy šǝ? le yâ-mî-qê?*  
Interj N<sub>sd</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> N NP<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N  
well! over there dog genitivizer glans penis only this big cut off suspensive woman  
*à? bà-né pî ve cē*  
P<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
object throw sthg so it sticks benefactive (3p) nominalizer quotative
- (17) *chi à? pa-to yâ-mî-qê? ǝ ð-cú-ni cǝ ve cē* .  
NP N P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
because of this woman topic clitoris be there nominalizer quotative
- (18) *Lâhū cho-mô-khô chi qhe qǝ? ve yò* .  
N N AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
Lahu ancient lore like this say nominalizer declarative
- (19) \* \* \*
- (20) *nī cǝ tē cǝ , to-nū-to-šǝ? le cho-yâ a-mò? te dǝ? ve ð-lbn* .  
NP<sub>q</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N OV P<sub>univ</sub> N  
second thing animals and human beings have a lawsuit relativizer matter
- (21) *tē ni thâ chi qhe te ve cē* .  
Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
one for days when like this happen nominalizer quotative
- (22) *cho-yâ chi le šā a-mò? te dǝ? ve* .  
N Det P<sub>unf</sub> N OV P<sub>univ</sub>  
human beings these and animals have a lawsuit nominalizer
- (23) *šā chi Ğî-ša ge qay le qǝ? ve : ” âa , nò cho-yâ*  
N Det N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Interj Pron N  
animals these God to go suspensive say nominalizer well! your human beings  
*chi qǝ? ve , ŋà-hi à? qhâ-thâ?-kà? bǝ? lâ ve*  
Det V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron P<sub>v</sub> AE V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
these call nominalizer us object always shoot benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer

How woman got her clitoris

- (24) *kù kà? mâ kù lâ* .  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 invite even negative invite benefactive (non-3p)
- (25) *qhà-qhe kà? mâ te lâ* .  
 AE Adv V + P<sub>v</sub>  
 in any way negative treat well
- (26) *bô? a lâ ve tí qay ve qô?-ma ” qhe qô?*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V  
 shoot vivid action nominalizer only go a certain way nominalizer emphatic like this say  
*ve cê* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer quotative
- (27) ” *qha-dê? a-cí m̄ pî-?* , *nò cho-yâ chi thà?* ”  
 AE Adv V V<sub>v</sub> Pron N Det P<sub>n</sub>  
 properly please teach benefactive (imperative) you human these accusative
- (28) *le Ğî-ša šā thà? na-ni ve , chi-pí-qwè? tê khe*  
 Conj N N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 and so God animals accusative ask nominalizer barking deer one for animals  
*thà? na-ni ve , ” nò à? yô â kù lâ*  
 P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron P<sub>v</sub> Pron Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 accusative ask nominalizer you object they negative invite benefactive (non-3p)  
*le-lâ ” qô? ve cê , Ğî-ša yô à? na-ni ve tê yân*  
 P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Q  
 yes say nominalizer quotative God God accusative ask relativizer the time that  
*thâ , ” kù lâ ɔ qô?-ma* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 when invite benefactive (non-3p) affirmative emphatic
- (29) *kù a lâ qo hâ? la ve tí qay*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V  
 invite vivid action when strike motion towards nominalizer only go a certain way  
*ve qô?-ma* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer emphatic
- (30) *qhà-qhe kà? mâ ġa te tân ” chi qhe qô? ve cê* .  
 AE Adv <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 in any way negative get to do (not) have time to like this say nominalizer quotative

**Translation**

(Cà-bo)

1. This is a story about how God, once upon a time, after He had created Heaven and Earth, gave out gifts [to all his creatures].

2. Once upon a time, after God had finished creating Heaven and Earth, He provided all the things needed by all the people and creatures<sup>1</sup> on earth, whether it was all the human beings or all the kinds of animals, God created everything for them

<sup>1</sup> ð-cə can mean either ‘things’ or, in this context, ‘creatures’.

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3. After he finished creating all this], God spoke thus: “Come take them, everybody’s things! Whatever it is [you] need.”
  4. When he said this, all kinds of animals came.
  5. The creatures who would bear horns took away their horns, and the creatures who would bear fur took away their fur.
  6. Having done all this, after each creature<sup>2</sup> had carried everything off, for the second time God called them together again [to give them gifts].
  7. And so, when he said, “Take it!” they all came.
  8. A certain woman came, and this is what she said:
  9. “I’ve heard that You have made something called a ‘penis’.”
  10. Then, at that point, when God said, “OK, come take a penis that I’ve made,” this woman suddenly ran up, and she grabbed a big horse penis that was there.
  11. A penis that God had made.<sup>3</sup>
  12. When God said, “This one is not yours! This is for the horse!” he threw it onto the ground and stamped on it, so that’s why [pubic] hair is all tangled and bushy.
  13. That’s how the old story goes.
  14. For the second time she said, “We women are still not quite complete.”
  15. “Mine is still not quite complete.
  16. “Please add something,” she once again went to beg of God.
  17. Well, God cut off the tiny little glans<sup>4</sup> of a dog there, and threw it so it stuck onto the woman.
  18. Because of this, women have clitorises, it is said.
  19. An old Lahu story tells it this way.
- \*\*\*
20. Now a second matter, the story about how the animals and the human beings had a lawsuit with each other.
  21. One day it happened this way.
  22. The human beings and the animals took each other to court.
  23. These animals went to God and said, “Oh, those so-called humans of yours, they’re always shooting at us.
  24. “They don’t even invite us [to make friends].
  25. “They don’t treat us well at all.
  26. “All they do is shoot at us,” they said.
  27. “You please teach them properly, those humans.”
  28. So God asked the animals, he asked a certain barking-deer,<sup>5</sup> “Haven’t they invited you?” he said.

<sup>2</sup>The story-teller uses *gã* ‘classifier for humans’, here extended to all God’s creatures.

<sup>3</sup>Intending it for the horse.

<sup>4</sup>*nī ó-qō*: lit. “penis-head.”

<sup>5</sup>*Cervulus muntjac*, known as the best eating in the jungle, now all but wiped out in Thailand.

## How woman got her clitoris

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29. When God asked him this, he said, "As for inviting, they do invite us.
30. "But when they invite us, they just strike out at us!
31. "We don't have time to do anything [to escape them]."



## 8.2 The flea and the louse (YL)

- (1) *phĩ-še lɛ še ð-chô te dà? ve ð-l :*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> N OV P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 flea and louse be friends mutual action relativizer story
- (2) *phĩ-še lɛ še ð-chô te dà? ve tê yân , phĩ-še ni-ma yĩ?*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> N OV P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q N N V  
 flea and louse be friends mutual action relativizer the time that flea heart be angry  
*lɛ , še ġô-pè thâ? pô?-nâ? ve yò .*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 suspensive louse belly accusative jump on top of nominalizer declarative
- (3) *še ni-ma yĩ? lɛ , tê pô? phĩ-še tō thâ? pô?-nâ?*  
 N N V P<sub>unf</sub> Q N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V  
 louse heart be angry suspensive again flea buttocks accusative jump on top of  
*ve yò .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (4) *yà?-ni qha-gà phĩ-še ð-tō ð-pê?-nê? tí te chê ve*  
 N<sub>time</sub> N<sub>time</sub> N N N P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 today until flea bottom flat thing only be a certain way continuous nominalizer  
*yò .*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (5) *še ġô-pè ð-lô-ma te chê ve yò .*  
 N N N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 louse belly great big thing be a certain way continuous nominalizer declarative

### Translation

[told in some kind of Yellow Lahu, translated into Black Lahu by JAM, 5/27/16]

1. The story of the friendship of the flea and the louse.
2. Once when the flea and the louse were friends, the flea got angry and jumped onto the louse's belly.
3. So then the louse got angry and jumped onto the flea's buttocks.
4. To this very day, the flea's buttocks are flat and round.
5. And the louse's belly is still huge.

### 8.3 The pig and the dog (YL)

- (1) *â-šwê-thā* *phĩ* *ɛ* *vā?* *tě gɛ* *ká* *te* *ve*  
 NP<sub>time</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N NP<sub>q</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 once upon a time (YL) dog (YL) suspensive pig (YL) together (YL) work do nominalizer  
*yô*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative (YL)
- (2) *tě* *ni* *thā* *gā* *ɛ* *phĩ* *ɛ* *vā?* *ká* *te*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N N V  
 one (YL) for days when (YL) reach (YL) suspensive dog (YL) and pig (YL) work do  
*ve* *tě* *yā* , *vā?* ɔ *ká* *mā* *te* ,  
 P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> N Adv V  
 nominalizer one (YL) for time (YL) pig (YL) topicalizer work negative (YL) do  
*š-ťé-ku* *hó* *tí* *zī?* *chě* *ve* *yô* .  
 N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 big log (YL) under only sleep (YL) progressive (YL) nominalizer affirmative
- (3) *phĩ* ɔ *ká* *gā-thē?* *te* *ve* *yô* .  
 N P<sub>n</sub> N Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 dog (YL) topicalizer work diligently (YL) do nominalizer declarative (YL)
- (4) *yš-hi* , *nĩ* *gā* *kú dā?* *ɛ* , *vā?* ɔ  
 Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 they (YL) two (YL) for people (YL) quarrel (YL) suspensive pig (YL) topicalizer  
 ɔ-kɔ-lɔ *kɔ?* *gā* *ɛ* , *kú* *che* , ” *zā?-ni*  
 AE V V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv  
 first (YL) return home reach (YL) suspensive say (YL) nominalizer (YL) today (YL)  
*phĩ* *ká* *mā* *te* .  
 N N Adv V  
 dog (YL) work negative (YL) do
- (5) *ťé-ku* *hó* *tí* *zī?* *chě* *ve* *yô* .”  
 N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 big log (YL) under only sleep (YL) progressive (YL) nominalizer declarative (YL)
- (6) *tě-khi-tě-thā* *gā* *ɛ* *phĩ* *kɔ?* *gā* *la*  
 Elab<sub>adv</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N V V P<sub>v</sub>  
 after a while (YL) reach (YL) suspensive dog (YL) return home reach (YL) come to V  
*ve* *yô* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative (YL)
- (7) *phĩ* *kú* *che* ” *zā?-ni* *vā?* *ká* *mā* *te* ”  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv N N Adv V  
 dog (YL) say (YL) nominalizer (YL) today (YL) pig (YL) work negative (YL) do  
*tě* *kɔ?* *tho* *ve* *yô* .  
 QUOT V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative (YL) V in turn (YL) tell nominalizer declarative (YL)
- (8) *tě* *nĩ* *yš-hi* *nĩ* *gā* *ká* *te* *ve* *š-yā*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 one (YL) for days they (YL) two (YL) for people (YL) work do relativizer time (YL)

<i>thā</i>	,	<i>ŝ-šē-phā</i>	<i>ca</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>tē</i>	<i>yā</i>	,	<i>vā?</i>
P <sub>univ</sub>		N	vV	V	P <sub>univ</sub>	Num	Cl <sub>f</sub>		N
when (YL)		owner	go and do	check on	relativizer	one (YL)	for time (YL)		pig (YL)
ɔ		<i>ká</i>	<i>mā</i>	<i>te</i>	,	<i>phī</i>	ɔ		<i>ká</i> <i>te</i> <i>ve</i>
P <sub>n</sub>		N	Adv	V		N	P <sub>n</sub>		N V P <sub>univ</sub>
topicalizer		work	negative (YL)	do		dog (YL)	topicalizer		work do nominalizer
<i>thā?</i>		<i>ġa</i>	<i>mô</i>	<i>ve</i>		<i>yô</i>			.
P <sub>n</sub>		vV	V	P <sub>univ</sub>		P <sub>uf</sub>			
accusative (YL)		get to	see (YL)	nominalizer		declarative (YL)			

(9) *chi thā? pa-tɔ*      *a-mi-a*      *kha-gâ*      , *vā?*      ɔ      *kō-mě*      *hó*      *lo*  
 NP                      Adv              N<sub>ext</sub>              N              P<sub>n</sub>              N              M<sub>px</sub>      P<sub>n</sub>  
 for this reason (YL)    now (YL)    until (YL)    pig (YL)    topicalizer    veranda (YL)    under    locative

<i>vā?-phī</i>	<i>tí</i>	<i>cā</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>yô</i>	.
N	P <sub>univ</sub>	V	P <sub>univ</sub>	P <sub>uf</sub>	
chaff (YL)	only	feed	nominalizer	declarative (YL)	

(10) *phī*      ɔ      *kō-mě*      *thā?*      *lo*      *ḡ-phu-mā*      *cā*      *ve*  
 N              P<sub>n</sub>              N              M<sub>px</sub>      P<sub>n</sub>              N              V              P<sub>univ</sub>  
 dog (YL)    topicalizer    veranda (YL)    on top of    locative    fine white rice (YL)    feed    nominalizer

<i>yô</i>	.
P <sub>uf</sub>	
declarative (YL)	

**Translation**

1. Once upon a time a dog and a pig were working together.
2. One day while the dog and the pig were [supposed to be] working, the pig was not working but was just sleeping under a big log.
3. The dog was diligently working.
4. The two of them<sup>1</sup> quarreled and the pig got back home first [to their master’s presence] and said, “The dog is not working today. He’s just lying under a big log.”
5. After a while the dog also returned.
6. This time it was the dog’s turn to tell him, “Today the pig is not working!”.
7. One day while the two of them were [supposed to be] working the owner came to have a look, and he saw that the pig was not working but the dog was.
8. For this reason, up until the present day, pigs have to stay under the veranda and they’re only fed chaff.
9. But dogs are fed nice white rice on top of the veranda.

<sup>1</sup>Since these animals are thoroughly anthropomorphized, here the classifier for people is used instead of the one for animals.

## 8.4 The rabbit and the tiger

- (1) *qhâ?-šɛ* : *êɛ* , *a-ví-a-ni* *tê gî* *à* , *patây*  
 N Interj Elab<sub>n</sub> Q P<sub>n</sub> N  
 headman well brothers and sisters pluralizer interrogative vocative rabbit  
*ɛ* *lâ* *cû-yi te dâ?* *ve* *ð-lɔ* *a-cí qāw mā*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N OV P<sub>univ</sub> N Adv V V<sub>v</sub>  
 suspensive tiger match wits with relativizer matter just tell indicate by V'ing  
*lâ* *šā* *qô?-ma* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p) intentional (1p) emphatic
- (2) *na* *gâ* *lâ* ?  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 listen desiderative yes
- (3) *a-šu* *na* *gâ* *le* ?  
 Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 who listen desiderative substantive qst
- (4) : *ɲà* *na* *gâ* !  
 Pron V P<sub>v</sub>  
 I listen desiderative
- (5) *ɲà* *na* *gâ* !  
 Pron V P<sub>v</sub>  
 I listen desiderative
- (6) *qhâ?-šɛ* : *à-šwè thâ* *cû-yi* *ī* *jâ* *cê* *qô?-ma* , *patây* *chi* .  
 N AE N V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N Det  
 headman in olden times knowledge great very quotative emphatic rabbit these
- (7) *à-šwè* *tê* *co* *thâ* *lâ* *kâ?* *chɔ* *à?* *mâ* *chê?* *câ* .  
 NP<sub>time</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub>  
 long ago one for eras when tiger also people accusative negative bite V to eat
- (8) *šā* *kâ?* *ð-cí* *mâ* *câ* .  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv V  
 meat also raw thing negative eat
- (9) *patây* *kâ?* *chɔ-yâ* *gɛ* *chê* *ve* , *lâ* *kâ?* *chɔ-yâ* *gɛ* *chê*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V  
 rabbit also human beings with live nominalizer tiger also human beings with live  
*ve* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer
- (10) *tê* *ni* *thâ* *gà* *ɛ* , *lâ* *ɛ* *patây* *yô-hí-mà* *ð-chô* *te*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N Conj N Pron N V  
 one for days when reach suspensive tiger and rabbit they (dual) friend make  
*dâ?* *ɛ* , *ôo* , *chɔ-yâ* *chê-kì* *lo* *qay* *ve*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Interj N N<sub>dvb</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 mutual action suspensive oh! human beings dwelling place locative go nominalizer

- cê* *qôʔ-ma* .  
P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
quotative emphatic
- (11) *qay* *ɛ* *patây* *yâ-pâ* *tê gâ* *âʔ* *qôʔ* *pî* *ve* : “  
V P<sub>unf</sub> N N Q P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
go suspensive rabbit boy one person accusative say benefactive (3p) nominalizer  
*ôo* , *chò* *ni-ʔ* .  
Interj N<sub>sd</sub> V<sub>imp</sub>  
oh! here look!
- (12) *nò-pa-nò-e* *ṣ-chî* *ca* *ɛ* *qòʔ* *la* *qo* , *lâ* *chi*  
Elab<sub>n</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Det  
your father and mother food look for suspensive return come to V when tiger this  
*nò-hi* *tê ge* *câ* *gâ* *ɛ* *a-cí* *lo* *â* ” *cê* .  
Pron Q V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
you (pl) together eat desiderative suspensive just wait perfective quotative
- (13) *qhe* *qôʔ* *ɛ* , *lâ* *âʔ* *hē* *á* *pî* *ve*  
Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
like this say suspensive tiger accusative deceive perfective benefactive (3p) nominalizer  
, *patây* *chi* .  
N Det  
rabbit this
- (14) *patây* *chi* *cû-yî* *ī* *jâ* *ɛ* , *qhe-te-ɛ* *yô* *pho* *gèʔ-e* .  
N Det N V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Conj Pron V V<sub>v</sub>  
rabbit this intelligence great very because so he run away intensifier
- (15) *lâ* *chi* *ṣ-qhe* *ɛ* *ṣu* *yè* *yâ* *tê gî* *ṣu* *yâ-é* *tê gî* *kôʔ*  
N Det P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N N Q Pron N Q V  
tiger this topicalizer their house children pluralizer their small child pluralizer be afraid  
*ɛ* , *hò* *chê* *lo* *cê* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
because weep continuous emphatic declarative quotative
- (16) *ṣ-pa-ṣ-e* *qòʔ* *la* *ɛ* , *á-tho* *yù* *ɛ* , *lâ* *chi*  
Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> N Det  
parents return come to V suspensive heavy knife take suspensive tiger this  
*gò* *gâʔ* *cho* , *gò* *gâʔ* *dôʔ* .  
<sub>v</sub>V <sub>v</sub>V V <sub>v</sub>V <sub>v</sub>V V  
V vigorously chase sthg and V slash at V vigorously chase sthg and V hit
- (17) *lâ* *chi* *ê* *yô* *qo* , *ôo* , *â-ṣe-thâ* *patây* *pho*  
N Det P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> Temp Nom N V  
tiger this topicalizer he topic way over there a while ago rabbit run away  
*e* *kì* *ṣ-qhâ-ṣi* *qòʔ* *qay* *ɛ* , “ *patây* *chi* *ṣà*  
P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> N Det Pron  
motion away locative one’s trail keep on V’ing go suspensive rabbit this I  
*âʔ* *hē* *á* *lâ* *ve* *a-cí* *chêʔ* *câ*  
P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub>  
accusative tell a lie perfective benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer just bite V to eat

The rabbit and the tiger

- e*                    *šā*                    ,” *qô?* *ɛ*                    , *patây* *qhâ-šĭ*                    *ğâ?-yù*  
P<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>v</sub>                    V   P<sub>unf</sub>                    N   M<sub>px</sub>                    V  
motion away intentional (1p) say suspensive rabbit following a path chase to capture
- ve*                    *cê*                    .  
P<sub>univ</sub>                    P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer quotative
- (18) *patây* *chi* *qay-qay*                    *ɛ*                    , *ôo*                    *yâ?-qɔ-phĭ* *ɔ-qā*                    *qò*  
N   Det   V<sub>redup</sub>                    P<sub>unf</sub>                    N<sub>sd</sub>                    N   N   V  
rabbit this going and going suspensive way over there roadside buffalo defecate
- tā*                    *ve*                    *qhĕ* *phô?-ló* *tê* *phô?*                    *ə-pâ*                    *mĭ* *ɛ*                    *šɔ-lɔ*  
P<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>univ</sub>                    N   N   Num   Cl<sub>f</sub>                    N<sub>loc</sub>                    V   P<sub>unf</sub>                    V  
perfective relativizer feces big pile one for piles nearby sit suspensive keep watch over
- cê*                    *qô?-ma*                    .  
P<sub>uf</sub>                    P<sub>uf</sub>  
quotative emphatic
- (19) *lā*                    *chi*                    , “ *patây*                    , *nò*                    *à-šĕ-thā*                    *ŋà*                    *à?*                    *hĕ*                    *á*  
N   Det   N                    Pron   NP<sub>time</sub>                    Pron   P<sub>n</sub>                    V   P<sub>v</sub>  
tiger this rabbit you just now I accusative deceive perfective
- lā*                    *ve*                    , *nò*                    *lé*                    *nĕ-ɔ*                    !  
P<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>univ</sub>                    Pron   P<sub>uf</sub>                    P<sub>uf</sub>  
benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer you probably suppositional
- (20) *yâ?-ni* *lĕ*                    *nò*                    *à?*                    *chĕ?* *cā*                    !”  
N<sub>time</sub>   P<sub>unf</sub>   Pron   P<sub>n</sub>                    V   V<sub>v</sub>  
today topic you accusative bite V to eat
- (21) “ *mā*                    *hĕ?*                    *lɔ*                    ɔ                    , *ŋà*                    *mā* *hĕ?*                    ɔ  
Adv   V                    P<sub>uf</sub>                    P<sub>uf</sub>                    Pron   Adv + V                    P<sub>uf</sub>  
negative be the case emphatic declarative affirmative I not be the case affirmative  
!”
- (22) *qô?* *ve*                    .  
V   P<sub>univ</sub>  
say nominalizer
- (23) ” *à-thò?-ma* *te* *le*                    , *nò*                    ?”  
N<sub>intg</sub>   V   P<sub>uf</sub>                    Pron  
what do substantive qst you
- (24) *qô?* *cê*                    .  
V   P<sub>uf</sub>  
say quotative
- (25) “ *ŋà*                    *à-šwĕ*                    *tĕ*                    *cwe*                    *chɔ-mô*                    *cwe* *thā*                    *kā?*                    , *pû-nây-ló*                    *cwe* *kā?*                    *mĭ-qhō*  
Pron   NP<sub>time</sub>                    Num   Cl<sub>f</sub>                    N   B<sub>n</sub>   P<sub>univ</sub>                    P<sub>unf</sub>                    N   B<sub>n</sub>   P<sub>unf</sub>                    N  
I   long ago one for eras ancestors era when also forefathers era also stool
- chi* *mĭ* *ci*                    *šɔ*                    *ci*                    *á*                    *lā*                    *ve*                    ,” *qhe*  
Det   V   V<sub>v</sub>                    V   V<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>univ</sub>                    Adv  
this sit causative guard causative perfective benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer like this

- qô?* *ve* *cê* .  
V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
say nominalizer quotative
- (26) “ *âa* , *ηà* *tê khi* *lò* *mi a* *nē* ,” *qô?* *ve* *cê*  
Interj Pron Q <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
oh! I for a while ask to V sit intentive emphatic say nominalizer quotative  
, *lâ* *chi* .  
N Det  
tiger this
- (27) *Pî-chô* *khô* *qô?* *qo* , “ *yôn* *naj* *ít nîj* ,” *qô?* *cê* .  
Eth N P<sub>unf</sub> V V AE V P<sub>uf</sub>  
Shan language topicalizer beg (Shan) sit (Shan) a little bit (Shan) say quotative
- (28) “ *tê khi* *mi a* ” *qô?* *ve* .  
Q V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
for a while sit intentive mean nominalizer
- (29) “ *âa* , *mâ* *phê?* .  
Interj Adv V  
oh! negative able to
- (30) *pû-nây-ló* *cwe* *kà?* *mi-qhô* *chi* *šú* *mi ci* *qo* *pâ?*  
N B<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Det Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V  
forefathers era also stool this others sit let (permissive causative) if collapse  
*e* *lô* ” *qô?* *ve* .  
P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
motion away emphatic declarative say nominalizer
- (31) *qhe-te-le* *yà?-qhâ* *mâ* *mi ci* *kà?* *mâ* *phê?* , *patây*  
Conj Conj Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V<sub>v</sub> N  
so however negative sit let (permissive causative) even negative able to rabbit  
*chi* *lâ* *à?* .  
Det N P<sub>n</sub>  
this tiger accusative
- (32) *lâ* *chi* *mi-qhô* *ô* *qhô* *mi a te* *thâ* , *patây* *pô?-phû?* *le* ,  
N Det N N<sub>sd</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>+V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
tiger this stool that on top of sit try to when rabbit turn and jump turn and jump  
*pho* *gê* *e* , *ô* *š* .  
V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
flee V suddenly motion away over there locative
- (33) *lâ* *chi* *gô* *mi kə* *le* , *qhê-qhə* *ś-qā-qhê* *ηó* *le*  
N Det <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N V P<sub>unf</sub>  
tiger this V vigorously sit V into suspensive buttocks buffalo dung stick to suspensive  
*pō-nê?* *ló* *ší ê?* *qay* *cê* .  
M<sub>px</sub> B<sub>n</sub> AE<sub>stat</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
a sticky mess sthg big yellow go a certain way quotative
- (34) *ś-qā-qhê* *ηó* *ve* *te-le* *è?* , “ *patây* *chi* *chə* *à?*  
N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N Det N P<sub>n</sub>  
buffalo dung stick to nominalizer causal emphatic rabbit this people accusative

- hē lâ ve ” qô? lε , tē pô? qô?*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Q V<sub>v</sub>  
 tell a lie benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer say suspensive again V again
- ğâ?-yù ve lε , “ nò ηà à? hē á*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 chase to capture nominalizer suspensive you I accusative tell a lie perfective
- lâ ve , nò lé nê-5 ,” qô? cê .*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer you probably suppositional say quotative
- (35) *pê-há-phô? ló tē mà ð-pâ šŷ?-qá qô? è ve à?*  
 N B<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> N AE<sub>stat</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 beehive sthg big one for things nearby branch of tree crooked relativizer accusative
- ð-qhò à? mi nā-pɔ qā è? bo-lo-qō ló à? šɔ*  
 N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V N AE<sub>stat</sub> N B<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V  
 on top of accusative sit ear drooping gong sthg big accusative keep watch over
- ve cê , yô lâ à? .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron N P<sub>n</sub>  
 nominalizer quotative he tiger accusative
- (36) *qhe-te-lε lâ chi qô? pî ve : “ patây , nò lê ηà*  
 Conj N Det V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Pron  
 thereupon tiger this say benefactive (3p) nominalizer rabbit you topic I
- à? hē á lâ ve ,” qô? lε , “*  
 P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 accusative deceive perfective benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer say suspensive
- mâ hê? ɔ !*  
 Adv + V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 not be the case affirmative
- (37) *ηà à-šwè pû-nây-ló cwe kà? hi? lón chi à? šɔ ci*  
 Pron NP<sub>time</sub> N B<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N B<sub>n</sub> Det P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 I long ago forefathers era even duty sthg great this accusative guard causative
- á lâ ve ,” qô? ve cê .*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 perfective benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer say nominalizer quotative
- (38) “ *âa , tē qhe yôn lù? ni a , tē*  
 Interj Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> Num  
 oh! one for strokes beg (Shan) smoke (Shan) try and V intentive one
- qhe lâ dš? ni a ,” qô? ve cê qô?-ma ,*  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> V<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 for strokes ask to V hit try and V intentive say nominalizer quotative emphatic
- lâ .*  
 N  
 tiger
- (39) “ *mâ phê? ,” qô? ve cê , patây qô? ve .*  
 Adv V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 negative be possible say nominalizer quotative rabbit say nominalizer
- (40) “ *mâ phê? .”*  
 Adv V  
 negative be possible



- (41) “ *âa* , *tê qhe* *lò* *dô?* *a* *qô?*-*ma* ,” *qô?* *ve* *cê*  
 Interj Num Cl<sub>f</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 oh! one for strokes ask to V hit intentive emphatic say nominalizer quotative  
 , *lâ* *chi* .  
 N Det  
 tiger this
- (42) “ *âa* , *nò* *dô?* *qo* *ɲà* *pô?*-*phû?* *a* *šā* ,” *qô?*  
 Interj Pron V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V  
 well! you strike if I turn and jump intentive intentional (1p) say  
*ɛ* , *patây* *chi* *pô?*-*pho* .  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N Det V  
 suspensive rabbit this flee by jumping
- (43) *lâ* *chi* *yô* *ve* *lâ?*-*chî?*-*pi* *cô* *pê*-*há*-*phô?* *à?* *dô?* *kə* .  
 N Det N<sub>poss</sub> +ve N N<sub>sd</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 tiger this his fist over there beehive object hit V into
- (44) *pê* *ğə* *lò?*-*chè?* *ɛ* , *nā*-*qhš* *chi*-*qwi* , *mò?*-*qo* *chi* *hý*  
 N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> N AE N NP<sub>ext</sub>  
 bees V vigorously enter and bite suspensive nose all swollen mouth very small  
*qay* , *mò?*-*qo* *bú* *è?* *qay* *ve* , *ó*-*qō*-*ši* *mê?*-*phû*  
 V N AE<sub>stat</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N N  
 go a certain way mouth swollen go a certain way nominalizer head face  
*ī*-*ló* *qay* *cê* .  
 N V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 great big thing go a certain way quotative
- (45) *qhe*-*te*-*ɛ* , “ *patây* *chi* *chə* *à?* *hē* *lâ* ,” *qô?*  
 Conj N Det N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V  
 after that rabbit this people accusative deceive benefactive (non-3p) say  
*ɛ* , *tê* *pô?* *qò?* *ğə?* *vā* *ve* *ā* , *ə*-*qhā*-*ši*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Q <sub>v</sub>V V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>v</sub> N  
 suspensive again V again chase go for enthusiastically nominalizer perfective tracking  
*ši* *pí* *jā* *cê* , *lâ* *chi* .  
 V + V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N Det  
 be expert at very quotative tiger this
- (46) *ə*-*qhā*-*ši* *tí* *ğə?* *vā* *ve* .  
 N P<sub>univ</sub> V V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 tracks only follow go for enthusiastically nominalizer
- (47) *ô*-*o* *ɔ* , *yā?*-*qo*-*phī* *hɛ*-*šā* *šī?*-*mú*-*do* *nā?* *lè* *ve* ,  
 N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N N N AE<sub>stat</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 over there locative roadside abandoned field stump of tree black nominalizer  
*šī?*-*kù*-*pī* *à?* *vì*-*no* *tê* *mā* *hó?* *ɛ* ,  
 N P<sub>n</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 old dried-up log accusative green pit viper one for things wrap around suspensive  
*qò?* *è?* *mū*-*cha* *lè* *yì?* *à?* *pī* *cê* *qô?*-*ma* .  
 AE<sub>stat</sub> N V V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 curled up sunlight warm oneself sleep durative benefactive (3p) quotative emphatic

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- (48) “ *patây* , *nò* *ηà* *hē* *á* *lâ* *ve* ,” *qô?*  
 N Pron Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V  
 rabbit you me tell a lie perfective benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer say  
*cê* *qô?-ma* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative emphatic
- (49) “ *ηà* *chê?* *câ* *tù* *yò* , *yà?-ni* *qo* .”  
 Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 I bite V to eat future declarative today topic
- (50) “ *mâ* *hê?* ,” *qô?* *cê* .  
 Adv + V V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 not be the case say quotative
- (51) “ *à-šwè* *è?* *thâ* *ηà* *pû-nây-ló* *cwe* *ηà-pû-ηà-pi* *cwe* *thâ* *kà?*  
 NP<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N B<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> B<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 long ago topic when my forefathers era my grandparents era time even
- (52) *mò-ya-ηô?* *chi* *à?* *š* *ci* *á* *lâ*  
 N Det P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 curved pipe this accusative keep watch over causative perfective benefactive (non-3p)  
*ve* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer
- (53) “ *âa* , *tê* *qhe* *yô* *lù?* *a* ,” *qô?* *cê* *qô?-ma*  
 Interj Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 oh! one for short whiles it smoke (Shan) intentive say quotative emphatic  
 , *lâ* *chi* .  
 N Det  
 tiger this
- (54) *Pî-chô-khô* *à?* *yê* *ve* *lê* , *à-šwè* *tê* *co* *thâ*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 Shan language accusative use nominalizer request for assent long ago one era when  
*š* .  
 P<sub>unf</sub>  
 topic
- (55) *tê* *qhe* *yô* *lù?* *a* *mò-ya-ló* *chi* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub> N Det  
 one for short whiles it smoke (Shan) vigorous action big pipe (for smoking) this
- (56) “ *mâ* *phê?* , *šaháy* *ò* ,” *qô?* *ve* *cê* *qô?-ma* .  
 Adv V N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative be possible pal vocative say nominalizer quotative emphatic
- (57) “ *pû-nây-ló* *cwe* *kà?* *š* *ci* *ā* *lâ* *ve* ,”  
 N B<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 forefathers era even guard causative perfective benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer  
*qô?* *ve* *cê* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 say nominalizer quotative

- (58) *âa* , *mâ* *tɔ* *pî* *mâ* *phê?* .  
 Interj Adv V  $V_v$  Adv  $V_v$   
 well! negative give to smoke benefactive (3p) negative able to
- (59) *ô* *ɔ̄* *vì-nɔ* *ó-qō* *nó è* , *vì-nɔ* *ó-qō* *qò?* *è?*  
 $N_{sd}$   $P_n$  N N  $AE_{stat}$  N N  $AE_{stat}$   
 over there locative green pit viper head green green pit viper head coiled up  
*ve* *thà?* , *lâ* *chi* *tê qhe tí* “ *dò* *mè* *à* ”  
 $P_{univ}$   $P_n$  N Det  $NP_q$  V  $V_{adj}$   $P_v$   
 nominalizer accusative tiger this suddenly smoke (tobacco) taste good asseverative  
*dô* *le* *gò* *vâ* , *mò?-qo-ló* *chi* *bú è?* *qay* *cê*  
 V  $P_{unf}$   $vV$  V N Det  $AE_{stat}$  V  $P_{uf}$   
 think suspensive V vigorously go at it big mouth this swollen go a certain way quotative  
*qô?-ma* .  
 $P_{uf}$   
 emphatic
- (60) *qhe* *te* *á* *le* , *mâ* *qò?* *hê?* *šē* , *patây* *chi*  
 Adv V  $P_v$   $P_{unf}$  Adv  $vV$  V  $P_v$  N Det  
 like this do perfective suspensive negative still V be the case yet rabbit this  
*phɔ* *gè* *e* *qò?* *gà?* *vâ* *qay* ,  
 V  $V_v$   $P_v$   $vV$  V V  $V_v$   
 run away V suddenly motion away V again chase go for enthusiastically continue V'ing  
*ôo* , *qhɔ-qhó* *tê* *kà* , *chɔ-yâ* *yî* *gò?*  
 $N_{sd}$  N Num  $Cl_f$  N N V  
 way over there in the mountains one for places human thatch-grass thatch-grass  
*le* , *yî* *šɔ* *chí* *pû* *qò?* *e* *thâ* *patây*  
 $P_{unf}$  N V V V V  $P_v$   $P_{univ}$  N  
 suspensive grass select lift up carry on the back go home motion away when rabbit  
*thà?* *gá mò* *ve* *cê* .  
 $P_n$   $vV+V_h$   $P_{univ}$   $P_{uf}$   
 accusative catch sight of nominalizer quotative
- (61) “ *patây* , *nò* *qhò* *qay* *le* , ” *qò?* *cê* .  
 N Pron  $N_{intg}$  V  $P_{uf}$  V  $P_{uf}$   
 rabbit you where? go substantive qst say quotative
- (62) “ *âa* , *lâ* *gà?* *chê?* *lâ* .  
 Interj N  $vV+V_h$   $P_v$   
 oh! tiger chase to bite benefactive (non-3p)
- (63) *lâ* *gà?* *dò?* *lâ* *ve* .  
 N  $vV+V_h$   $P_v$   $P_{univ}$   
 tiger pursue with blows benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer
- (64) *yà?-ni* *ηà* *šî* *la* *yò* .  
 $N_{time}$  Pron V  $P_v$   $P_{uf}$   
 today I die come to V declarative
- (65) *qhò-qhe* *phɔ* *e* *hé* .”  
 $N_{intg}$  V  $P_v$   $P_{uf}$   
 where? escape motion away dubitative

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- (66) “ *yî-vì* *qhɔ* *lò?* *la-?* ,” *qô?* *ve*  
 N M<sub>px</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 load of thatch-grass inside enter motion toward (imperative) say nominalizer  
*cê* , *patây* *à?* *chɔ-yâ* *qô?* *pî* *ve* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 quotative rabbit accusative human say benefactive (3p) nominalizer
- (67) “ *chê?* *kà?* !  
 Adv<sub>onomat</sub>  
 sound of rustling leaves
- (68) *yî-vì* *qhɔ* *lò?* *e* *ve* .  
 N M<sub>px</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 load of thatch-grass inside enter motion away nominalizer
- (69) *âa* , *lâ* *chi* *â-qhâ-šî* *qô?* *gà* *la* , *â-qâ-qhê* *ŋó* ,  
 Interj N Det N V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> N V  
 well! tiger this one’s trail V again reach come to V buffalo dung be smeared with  
*pê-há* *chê?* *tâ* *ve* *mê?* *bí ê?* *te* *lɛ* ,  
 N N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N AE<sub>stat</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 bees in a honeycomb bite perfective relativizer eye swollen be a certain way suspensive  
*vì-nɔ* *chê?* *tâ* *ve* *mò?-qɔ* *bí ê?* *qay* *lɛ* , “  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N AE<sub>stat</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 green pit viper bite perfective nominalizer mouth swollen go a certain way suspensive  
*chò* *patây* *â* *là* *mò* *là ?*”  
 N<sub>sd</sub> N Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 here rabbit negative come see or hear of yes
- (70) *qô?* *cê* .  
 V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 say quotative
- (71) “ *â* *là* *mò* ” *qô?* *cê* .  
 Adv V V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative come see or hear of say quotative
- (72) “ *thôo* , *nò* *mɛ* , *chɔ* *̄* *chi híy* *nò* *vì* *ī*  
 Interj Pron P<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub> Pron N V<sub>adj</sub>  
 wow! you contrastive topicalizer human being topic only this big you load big  
*cì-à?* *yâ* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 very emphatic
- (73) *tê* *qhe* *pû* *a ni* ,” *qô?* *cê* , *lâ* *chi* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> N Det  
 one for short whiles carry on the back try to say quotative tiger this
- (74) *chɔ-yâ* *qô?* *pî* *ve* , “ *mâ* *phê?* ,” *qô?* *ve*  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 human say benefactive (3p) nominalizer negative be possible say nominalizer  
*cê* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative

- (75) *lò ve cê qô?-ma , “ tê qhe lò*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> vV  
 beg for nominalizer quotative emphatic one for short whiles ask to V  
*pû a ,” qô? ve , yô .*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron  
 carry on the back hortatory say nominalizer he
- (76) *yî-vì ï jâ lɛ .*  
 N V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 load of thatch-grass big very because
- (77) *tê pô? lè , “ lò qhe pò pî a , lâ*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> N  
 right now beg for to excess get sthg over with benefactive (3p) hortatory tiger  
*à? .”*  
 P<sub>n</sub>  
 accusative
- (78) *ô yî ð-qhɔ “ khê?-khê? ” qay cê qô?-ma .*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub> Adv<sub>onomat</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 over there thatch-grass inside crackling go a certain way quotative emphatic
- (79) “ *âa , nò yî ð-qhɔ à-thò?-ma chê nâ .*  
 Interj Pron N N<sub>loc</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 oh! your thatch-grass inside what be there wonderment
- (80) ‘ *khê?-khê? ’ qay qô?-ma , qô? cê .*  
 Adv<sub>onomat</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 crackling go a certain way emphatic say quotative
- (81) “ *âa , yî bù ve ,” qô? cê .*  
 Interj N V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 oh! thatch-grass make a sound nominalizer say quotative
- (82) *patây cô ð-qhɔ chê ā lɛ à-mī thè? chê*  
 N N<sub>sd</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> OV V<sub>v</sub>  
 rabbit over there inside stay perfective suspensive start fire by friction progressive  
*cê qô?-ma , yî à?*  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 quotative emphatic thatch-grass accusative
- (83) *lâ chi pû à? lɛ khó-khó qay ,*  
 N Det V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE V  
 tiger this carry on the back durative suspensive staggering go a certain way  
*tê?-tê? qay cê qô?-ma .*  
 Onomat V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 crackle (of flames) go a certain way quotative emphatic
- (84) *cô à-mī mí-jò? thè? ve .*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> N N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 there fire flint scrape nominalizer
- (85) “ *âa , nò yî qhɔ à-thò?-ma chê nâ ma .*  
 Interj Pron N M<sub>px</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 oh! you thatch-grass inside what be there wonderment exclamatory

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- (86) *tê?-tê?* *qay* *ve* .”  
 Adv<sub>onomat</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 scratch! scratch! go a certain way nominalizer
- (87) “ *yî* *bù* *ve* , *yî* *bù* *ve* ,” *qô?*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> V  
 thatch-grass make a sound nominalizer thatch-grass make a sound nominalizer say  
*cê* , *chə-yâ* *chi* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> N Det  
 quotative human this
- (88) *tê pô?* *lè* *khê?-khê?* *te* *à-mī* *bô è* *tò?* *qha-lâ* , *à-mī-ha*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> Adv<sub>onomat</sub> V N AE<sub>stat</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> N  
 suddenly crackling be a certain way fire burning brightly burn lively action flame  
*tò?* *qha-lâ* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub>  
 burn lively action
- (89) *bà* *á* *khô* *mâ* *nô* *ā-a* , *phə* *e*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> N Adv V Interj V P<sub>v</sub>  
 throw away perfective good sense negative be alert well! run away motion away  
*ve* *hô?-tò?* *chə-yâ* *â?* *kà?* *mâ* *ca* *ò* ,  
 P<sub>univ</sub> V N P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 nominalizer engulfed by fire human accusative even negative look for completed action  
*hə-šā* *qhə* *ná* *chò* *phə* *e* .  
 N N<sub>intg</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 abandoned field where? deep here flee motion away
- (90) *ôo* , *âa* , *í-mû* *lɛ* *nû* *tê mō* *ló* *qâ?* *chê*  
 Interj Interj N P<sub>unf</sub> N Q B<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 oh! well! horse and cattle one group sthg big graze (of cattle, sheep) progressive  
*cê* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative
- (91) “ *Cà-nû* *ò* , *Cà-mû* *ò* , *qhə-qhe* *phə* *e* *tù*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 male name vocative vocative where? escape motion away future  
*le* , *yà?-ni* ?”  
 P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>time</sub>  
 substantive qst today
- (92) “ *cô* , *hə-šā* *qhə* *ná* *chò* *phə* *e-?* ,” *qô?*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> N N<sub>intg</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> V  
 over there abandoned field where? deep here run away motion away (imp.) say  
*cê* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative
- (93) *hə-šā* *qhə* *ná* *chò* *phə* *e* *a ni* , *ğö*  
 N N<sub>intg</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 abandoned field where? deep here run away motion away try to V vigorously

- tò?* *ve* *ḡ-gà?* *ḡ-gà?* *ḡ-to* *ló* *phè?* *cê* , *lâ-qhâ-pi*  
V P<sub>univ</sub> N N N B<sub>n</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N  
be on fire relativizer stripes stripes body sthg big be a certain way quotative tiger  
*chi* .  
Det  
this
- (94) *pho* *e* *mâ* *pò* .  
V P<sub>v</sub> Adv C<sub>r</sub>  
escape motion away negative be saved from
- (95) *qhe* *te* *è?* *ɛ* , *pho* *qay* *pho* *qay*  
Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
this way do topic suspensive run away continue V'ing run away continue V'ing  
*ô* *ḡ-qā* *ḡt-po* *lo* *ḡ-qā* *í-kâ?* *hé* *chê* *ɛ* *ḡa mð* , “  
N<sub>sd</sub> N N P<sub>n</sub> N N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V + V<sub>h</sub>  
over there buffalo pond locative buffalo water bathe progressive suspensive find  
*Câ-qā* *à* , *yâ?ni* *ḡâ* *à-mi* *chî?* *ḡi* *e* *la* .  
N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>time</sub> Pron N V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
interrogative vocative today I fire get burned die motion away come to V
- (96) *qhð-qhe* *pho* *e* .”  
N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
where? escape motion away
- (97) “ *chò* *lò?* *la-?* ,” *qò?* *ve* .  
N<sub>sd</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
here enter motion toward (imperative) say nominalizer
- (98) *ḡt-po* *qhò* *lò?* *à-mi* *ḡi* *e* , *à-mi* *kà?* *ḡi* *ḡē* .  
N M<sub>px</sub> V N V P<sub>v</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
pond inside enter fire die motion away fire topicalizer die right away
- (99) *yô* *à-mi* *chî?* *ve* *ḡ-khà?* *chi-bà?* *nâ?-tô* *ḡ-qhâ-qhâ* , *nó è* *ḡ-qhâ-qhâ*  
Pron N V P<sub>univ</sub> N N<sub>time</sub> AE N AE<sub>stat</sub> N  
he fire get burned relativizer burnt spot now jet black spots green spots  
*ḡ-khà?-pu* , *mê?* *bí è?* , *mð?-qo* *ī-ló* *qay* , *ḡ-qā-qhê* *phô?*  
AE N AE<sub>stat</sub> N N V N M<sub>px</sub>  
all burnt up eye swollen mouth great big thing go a certain way buffalo dung heap  
*mi* *ve* *ḡ* *ḡ-gà?* *ô-ve* *nó è* *pḡ-nê?* *ló* *chi qhe* *qay*  
V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Det AE<sub>stat</sub> M<sub>px</sub> B<sub>n</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V  
sit nominalizer topic pattern that green a sticky mess sthg big like this go a certain way  
*cê* .  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
quotative
- (100) *pê-hâ-phô?* *ḡ* *bo-lo-qô* *mɛ* *ɛ* *qò?* *vâ* *mê?* *qhò*  
N P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V N M<sub>px</sub>  
beehive topic gong mistake for sthg else suspensive go on to V go at it eye into  
*chê?* *kə* *mê?* *bí è?* *qay* *ve* .  
V V<sub>v</sub> N AE<sub>stat</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
bite V into eye swollen go a certain way relativizer

The rabbit and the tiger

- (101) *vè-nɔ*                      *mɔ̀ʔ-qɔ*   *qɔ̀ʔ èʔ*   *te*   *ve*                      *kàʔ*   *ʃú-qhu*   *mɔ̀-ya-ŋʃʔ*   *yɔ̀*   *qôʔ*  
 N                                  N                      AE<sub>stat</sub>   V   P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub> N                      N                      Pron V  
 green pit viper   mouth   crooked   make   nominalizer   also   pipe   curved pipe   he   say  
*ɛ*                      *tê*                      *qhe*                                      *yɔ̀*   *lùʔ*                                      *qôʔ*   *ɛ*                                      ,   *mɔ̀ʔ-qɔ*   *gò*  
 P<sub>unf</sub>                      Num   Cl<sub>f</sub>                                      Pron V                                      V   P<sub>unf</sub>                                      N                      vV  
 suspensive   one   for short whiles   he   smoke (Shan)   say   suspensive   mouth   V vigorously  
*thɔ̀ʔ*                                      *kə*                      *mɔ̀ʔ-qɔ*   *bú èʔ*                      *qay ve*                                      .  
 V                                      V<sub>v</sub>                      N                      AE<sub>stat</sub>   V   P<sub>univ</sub>  
 bite (of a snake)   V into   mouth   swollen   go   nominalizer
- (102) *te-ɛ*                      *ɔ̀-gàʔ*                      *ʃā*                      *ní èʔ*                      *qay*                                      *ve*                                      *qha-gà*                                      ,   *à-mí*   *tòʔ*  
 Conj                      N                      N                      AE   V                                      P<sub>univ</sub>                                      N<sub>time</sub>                                      N                      V  
 after that   stripes   flesh   red   go a certain way   nominalizer   nominalizer   fire   burn  
*ɛ*                                      *èʔ*                                      ,   *qèʔ-qèʔ-lè-lè*                      *qay*                                      *ô*                                      *ɔ̀*                                      *nú*                      *ge*  
 P<sub>unf</sub>                                      P<sub>uf</sub>                                      AE                                      V                                      N<sub>sd</sub>                                      P<sub>n</sub>                                      N                      P<sub>n</sub>  
 suspensive   emphatic   all red and raw   go a certain way   over there   locative   cattle   to  
*phɔ̀*                      *e*                                      *í-mú*                      *ge*   *phɔ̀*                                      *e*                                      *á*                      *pò*                                      .  
 V                      P<sub>v</sub>                                      N                      P<sub>n</sub>   V                                      P<sub>v</sub>                                      Adv                      C<sub>r</sub>  
 run away   motion away   horse   to   run away   motion away   negative   be saved from
- (103) *he-šā*                                      *qhɔ̀*                      *tí*                      *mā*                                      *pə*                                      *e*                                      .  
 N    M<sub>px</sub>   P<sub>univ</sub>   V                                      V<sub>v</sub>                                      P<sub>v</sub>  
 abandoned field   into   only   point out   send V'ing   motion away
- (104) *gè-po*   *qhɔ̀*                      *gà*                      *ɛ*                                      ,   *ɔ̀-qā*                      *ge*                      *lòʔ*                      *e*                                      *ɛ*                                      *pò*  
 N                      M<sub>px</sub>   V                      P<sub>unf</sub>                                      N                      P<sub>n</sub>   V                      P<sub>v</sub>                                      P<sub>unf</sub>                                      V  
 pond inside   reach   suspensive   buffalo with   enter   motion away   suspensive   be saved  
*ve*                                      .  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer
- (105) *qhe-te-ɛ*   *yàʔ-ni*   *qha-gà*   *ɔ̀-qā*                      *àʔ*                                      *Ĝì-ša*   *à-lō*                      *mā*                      *cô*  
 Conj                      N<sub>time</sub>   N<sub>time</sub>   N                      P<sub>n</sub>                                      N                      N                      Adv                      V  
 so                      today   until   buffalo   accusative   God   will   negative   be in accordance with  
*ve*                      *ɔ̀-cà*                      *te*                      *ve*                                      *mā hêʔ qo*                                      ,   *yàʔ-jā-phîʔ-jā*                                      *ve*  
 P<sub>univ</sub>                      N                      V   P<sub>univ</sub>                                      Cl<sub>nf</sub>                                      Elab<sub>v</sub>                                      P<sub>univ</sub>  
 relativizer   thing   do   nominalizer   unless   wrong one another severely   nominalizer  
*mā hêʔ qo*                      ,   *ɔ̀-qā*                      *àʔ*                                      *lā*                      *mā*                      *chêʔ*                                      .  
 Cl<sub>nf</sub>                      N                      P<sub>n</sub>                                      N                      Adv                      V  
 unless                      buffalo   accusative   tiger   negative   bite
- (106) *í-mú*                      *àʔ*                                      *nú*                      *àʔ*                                      *lā*                      *mā*                      *thā*                                      ,   *yàʔ-ni*   *chi*   *qha-gà*   *lā*                      *chêʔ*  
 N                      P<sub>n</sub>                                      N                      P<sub>n</sub>                                      N                      Adv                      V                                      N<sub>time</sub>   Det   N<sub>time</sub>   N                      V  
 horse   accusative   cattle   accusative   tiger   negative   tolerate   today   this   until   tiger   bite  
*cā*                      *ve*                                      .  
 V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>  
 V to eat   nominalizer
- (107) *ɔ̀-lɔ*                      *chi*   *qhe*                      *yò*                                      .  
 N                      AE<sub>ext</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 story   like this   declarative



## Translation

< told by Headman Cà-bí >

1. H: We-e-ll, brethren of mine, I'll just tell you a story about how a rabbit and a tiger matched wits<sup>1</sup> with each other! Do you want to hear it? Who wants to hear it?
2. Several voices: I want to hear! I want to hear it!
3. They say that long, long ago rabbits were very intelligent.
4. And in the old days tigers didn't bite people and eat them.
5. They didn't even eat raw meat.
6. Rabbits lived among humans, and tigers lived among humans.
7. One day a tiger and a rabbit made friends with each other, and went along together towards a place where humans were living.
8. When they got there, Rabbit<sup>2</sup> said to a child, "Oh, look there! That tiger says that when your father and mother come back from finding you food, he'll also be waiting to eat with you all."
9. When he said this, he was deceiving Tiger, that rabbit was.<sup>3</sup>
10. Rabbit was very smart, so he ran the hell away.<sup>4</sup>
11. As for Tiger, he frightened the children in that [human] house, the little kids in that house, and they were crying!
12. When the father and mother came home, [the father] took a knife and chased after Tiger, slashing at him and striking at him.
13. Tiger for his part followed the path over there that Rabbit had taken a while before, saying [to himself], "Rabbit betrayed me, so I'll just bite and eat him<sup>5</sup>," and he went chasing after Rabbit.
14. Rabbit went on and on, and in a certain place on the path he sat down near a great big pile of buffalo-shit and kept watch over it.
15. Tiger said, "Rabbit, the one who betrayed me just now must have been you. Today I'm going to eat you up."
16. R: "No, no! It sure wasn't me" he [Rabbit] said.
17. T: "What are you doing there?" he [Tiger] said.
18. R: "Long, long ago, in the age of my ancestors, in the time of my great forefathers, they gave me this stool<sup>6</sup> and made me sit near it and watch over it," he said.
19. T: "Oh, I beg you to let me sit on it for a while!" said Tiger. (If you say it in Shan, he said "yǒn naŋ ít niŋ.")<sup>7</sup> That means "Let me sit for a while."
20. R: "Oh, that's impossible. In the time of my ancient forefathers, they said that if I let anybody else sit on it, it would collapse!"

<sup>1</sup> *cû-yī te dà? ve*: lit. "squabble over intelligence".

<sup>2</sup> Rabbit evidently reached the human habitation before Tiger did. From now on we usually omit the article and capitalize the animals' names. They are usually referred to with the determiner *chi* 'this': *patây chi* 'this/the rabbit' *lâ chi* 'this/the tiger'.

<sup>3</sup> I.e., he was blowing Tiger's cover. The humans probably wouldn't have been willing to share their food with him, if they had been forewarned.

<sup>4</sup> *gè?e* (< *gè* 'be fast') is an intensifier added to certain verbs (especially verbs of motion). See DL:408.

<sup>5</sup> *chê? câ ve*: the usual Lahu expression for being devoured by an animal.

<sup>6</sup> There is a fortuitous polysemy here between two senses of English *stool*: 1. backless chair 2. excrement.

<sup>7</sup> Lit. "beg to sit one time." This story is evidently of Shan origin, since this Shan phrase stuck in the narrator's mind. Several other Shan words appear later in the story.

## The rabbit and the tiger

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21. “However, I can’t not let you sit on it,” said Rabbit to Tiger.
22. When Tiger started to sit down, Rabbit jumped up, turned around, and ran the hell out of there.
23. Tiger sat down heavily,<sup>8</sup> and the buffalo-shit stuck to his arse in a big yellow gloppy mess.
24. When the buffalo-shit stuck onto him, Tiger said, “That Rabbit deceives people!” and he suddenly went chasing after him again.
25. When he chased him down again, he said “The one who lied to me must have been you.”
26. Rabbit was sitting up on a crooked branch of a tree, near a great big beehive, with his ears drooping, saying to Tiger that he was watching over a huge gong.<sup>9</sup>
27. Then when [Tiger] said, “Rabbit, you’re tricking me,” [Rabbit] said “No-o-o! Ages ago in my forefathers’ time they entrusted me with this great duty [to watch over the gong].”
28. “Oh, I beg you to let me try striking it once, please let me strike it just once!<sup>10</sup>” Tiger said.
29. “Impossible,” said Rabbit. “Impossible.”
30. “Oh, please, I beg you to let me strike it!” said Tiger.
31. “Well, if you do strike it, I’ll just have to jump up and turn around,” said Rabbit, and he jumped up and ran away.
32. Tiger then smashed his fist into the beehive over there.
33. The bees went inside [his body] and bit him, and his nose got all swollen, his mouth got tiny,<sup>11</sup> his mouth swelled up, his head and his face got huge.
34. So then Tiger said, “That Rabbit lied to me!<sup>12</sup>!” and went chasing after him again. He was quite expert at following trails, that Tiger.
35. He was always chasing to attack.
36. Some distance away, by the side of the road in an abandoned field, [Rabbit] had coiled a green pit viper<sup>13</sup> around an old dried out tree-stump, a black log, and put it to sleep warming itself in the sun.
37. “Rabbit, you deceived me,” he [Tiger] said. “I’m going to bite into you and eat you up, this very day.”
38. “Oh, no!” he [Rabbit] said. “Long, long ago, in the time of my forefathers, in the time of my grandpa and grandma, they put me in charge of guarding this curved tobacco-pipe.”
39. So Tiger said he would like to try smoking it just once. (He was using the Shan language, [as was normal] long, long ago.) “I’d like to try smoking just one puff from that big pipe.”
40. “Impossible, pal of mine!<sup>14</sup> I have been entrusted with it since the time of my ancient forefathers,” he said.
41. Well, he finally ended up having to let him have a smoke.<sup>15</sup>
42. So tiger eagerly went for that green head of the pit viper, that coiled-up head, thinking that even one puff would be delicious, and his great big mouth swelled up.

<sup>8</sup> *gə̀ mi*: the pre-head versatile verb *gə̀* (lit. “drag”) gives a vigorous meaning to the head verb.

<sup>9</sup> I.e., Rabbit pretended that the bees’ nest was a gong.

<sup>10</sup> Tiger says it first in Shan (*yə̀n māun*), then in Lahu (*lə̀ dʒ?*)

<sup>11</sup> Because of the stings around his mouth, his oral orifice was almost completely blocked.

<sup>12</sup> Lit. “lies to people,” but the non-3<sup>rd</sup> person benefactive Pv *lā* shows that Tiger means that he is the object of deception.

<sup>13</sup> *vī-nə Trimeresurus popeorum*. Only slightly venomous, but with a very painful bite.

<sup>14</sup> He uses a Lahuized Shan loanword *lū?* for ‘smoke’.

<sup>15</sup> Rabbit uses the friendly Shan-derived word *śaháy* ‘buddy; pal’, ult. < Pali *sahāya* ‘friend, ally’. See DL: 1158.

43. So then—and this was not all<sup>16</sup>—Rabbit ran the hell away again and [Tiger] raced after him, and over there in a place in the mountains, a human being who was selecting some thatch-grass to pick up and carry home caught sight of the rabbit.<sup>17</sup>
44. “Rabbit, where are you going?” he said.
45. “Oh, there’s a tiger that’s chasing me to eat. The tiger is running after me and beating me.<sup>18</sup> I’m nearly dead. Where could I go to escape [him]?”
46. “Come inside my load of thatch-grass!” said the human to Rabbit.
47. Whoosh!<sup>19</sup> He went into the load of thatch.
48. Well, having followed him again, Tiger got there, all smeared with buffalo-shit, with swollen eyes where the bees had stung him, with his mouth swelled up where the viper bit him<sup>20</sup>, and said, “Haven’t you seen a rabbit around here?”
49. “No, I haven’t,” he [the human] said.
50. “Wow, you’re such a tiny little person, but your load is so big! Let me carry it a little,” said Tiger.
51. The human said, “That’s impossible.”
52. So he begged him, “Pu-leeze<sup>21</sup> just let me carry it a little!
53. Your load is too big for you!”
54. So then [the human] said to Tiger, “Let’s make an end to your damn<sup>22</sup> begging right now!”
55. From inside that thatch something was going **khê?-khê?**<sup>23</sup>
56. “Hey, I wonder what’s inside your thatch? Something is going **khê?-khê?**!” he [Tiger] said.
57. “Oh, it’s just the thatch rattling around,” he said.
58. It was Rabbit inside there that was setting the thatch on fire.
59. Tiger was staggering under the weight.
60. It was going **tê?-tê?**.
61. A flint had been struck there.
62. “Oh, I wonder what in the world is in your thatch! It’s going **tê?-tê?** now.”
63. “The thatch is just rattling around,” the human said.
64. All of a sudden the thatch burned brightly and the flames leapt high.
65. [Tiger] didn’t have the sense<sup>24</sup> to throw it away, you see, so he ran away all on fire, not looking for human beings anymore, and fled into the most overgrown parts<sup>25</sup> of some old abandoned fields.
66. Well, there were large herds of horses and cattle grazing there.

<sup>16</sup>tɔ: causative of dɔ ‘drink; smoke (tobacco)’, like Jse. *tabako wo nomaseru* < *nomu* ‘drink; smoke’.

<sup>17</sup>má qɔ? hê? sɛ: lit. “still not the case this time.” See DL: 972

<sup>18</sup>Note the sequence of four verbs in fortuitous concatenation, (**sɔ chi pɔ qò?**), expressing a series of consecutive actions.

<sup>19</sup>gà? dɔ? lá ve: “pursuing me with blows.”

<sup>20</sup>vɪ-nɔ chɛ? tã ve mɔ?-qɔ bá è qay le: Clause added by JAM.

<sup>21</sup>Tiger uses the Shan word yɔ(n) ‘beg’ instead of normal Lahu lɔ.

<sup>22</sup>This expletive translates the verb-particle **qhe** ‘iterative excess’. At this point the human gives Tiger the load to carry.

<sup>23</sup>Onomatopoeic adverb: “with a scratching sound, like a match on sandpaper.” DL: 379.

<sup>24</sup>For the ramifications of the polysemous morpheme **khɔ**, see DL 382

<sup>25</sup>qhɔ ná chò phɔ e: Correlative conjunction **qhɔ...chò** “where V1, there V2”. DL 307-8.

## The rabbit and the tiger

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67. “Mr. Ox, Mr. Horse,<sup>26</sup> where could I run away to today?”
68. “Run into the most overgrown part of the abandoned field over there,” they said.
69. When he tried to flee into the deepest part of the abandoned field he was burning so badly that his flesh became covered with big stripes,<sup>27</sup> that mighty tiger.<sup>28</sup>
70. He couldn’t flee to a safe place.
71. So then, after running and running he caught sight of a water-buffalo bathing in a buffalo-wallow.
72. “Oh, Mr. Buffalo, today I’m burning almost to death. Where can I run to get away?”
73. “Come on in here,” he [Mr. Buffalo] said.
74. When he went into the pool the fire died, the fire just died.
75. The charred parts where the fire burned him, some of those burnt spots were now black and others were blue, his eyes were puffed out, his mouth had become huge, he had sat on a pile of buffalo-shit, and those black-and-blue stripes—he was a terrible mess!
76. That hive of bees that he hit mistaking it<sup>29</sup> for a gong bit into him so his eyes swelled up.
77. And the pit-viper making his mouth all bent out of shape was because he [Rabbit] had told him [Tiger] that it [Mr. Viper] was a pipe, a crooked tobacco-pipe, so he said he would just take a puff, and [the viper] bit into him and his mouth got all swollen.
78. After that he got burned until he had stripes of bare<sup>30</sup> flesh, all red and raw<sup>31</sup>, and ran to the cattle, ran to the horses, but wasn’t saved.
79. They just showed him the way to an abandoned field.
80. When he reached a pool where a water-buffalo was he went into it, and was saved.
81. So to this day, unless a water-buffalo should do something against God’s will, unless he is guilty of sins and crimes, a tiger will not bite him.
82. But a tiger has no respect for horses or cattle.
83. To this very day tigers eat them.
84. And that’s the story.

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<sup>26</sup>Tiger adds the male-name prefix *cà-* to the animals (*cà-nû*, *cà-mû*), which creates a humorous humanizing effect, since most traditional Lahu men’s names were also derived from the day in the 12-day calendrical cycle of animals when the boy was born. See DL 448-451.

<sup>27</sup>As tigers are to the present day!

<sup>28</sup>*lâ-ghâ-pi*: a more dignified name for the tiger than simply *lâ*.

<sup>29</sup>Lit. “naming it a gong.” See DL: 1012.

<sup>30</sup>*ní è* (AE ext): ‘something red; something bare, naked’. DL 765-6.

<sup>31</sup>*qè?-qè?-lè-lè*: DL 249.

## 8.5 The wicked older brother and the good younger brother

- (1) *à-šwè thâ cê , chɔ tê gã cò lɛ yâ nî*  
 AE P<sub>uf</sub> , N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N Num  
 once upon a time quotative person one for people be there suspensive son two  
*gã cò ve*  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 for people be there nominalizer
- (2) *qhe-te-lɛ , ð-qhð?-nó gã lɛ chɔ ô-ve šĩ e lɛ , yâ-pā*  
 Conj N<sub>time</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N Det V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 then afterwards reach suspensive person that die motion away suspensive son  
*nî gã cò á ve*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 two for people be there perfective nominalizer
- (3) *te-lɛ mô pè dâ? qô?-ve , ð-ví-ð-ni*  
 Conj N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub>  
 thereupon belongings divide up mutual action topicalizer older and younger brothers
- (4) *mô pè dâ? lɛ-ɔ , ð-ví-pā chi ð-ni-pā*  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Det N  
 belongings divide up mutual action suspensive elder brother this younger brother  
*à? phĩ nî khe pĩ lɛ , á-thɔ-qwè? tê mà*  
 P<sub>n</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 accusative dog two for animals give suspensive curved bush-knife one for things  
*è? pĩ lɛ*  
 P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 only give suspensive
- (5) *ð-ví-pā qo nû nî khe hâ? ve cê*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 elder brother topic oxen two for animals get nominalizer quotative
- (6) *mô-jè qha cò ve yô tí hâ? ve qô? ve*  
 N Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 property all be there relativizer he only get nominalizer say nominalizer  
*lê*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 request for assent
- (7) *qhe-te-lɛ tê ni qhe gã lɛ , ð-ni-pā chi ,*  
 Conj Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N Det  
 then one for days topicalizer arrive suspensive younger brother this  
*ôo , á-thɔ-qwè? yù lɛ hɛ ca*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> N V  
 way over there curved bush-knife take suspensive swidden go and do  
*phô-phô e lɛ , mù-šĩ phú è ve*  
 V<sub>redup</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N AE<sub>stat</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 hack undergrowth repeatedly motion away suspensive mushroom white relativizer  
*khâ?-khò? lɛ yĩ? ā ve cê*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 scoop up and munch scoop up and munch sleep durative nominalizer quotative

The wicked older brother and the good younger brother

- (8) *mù-šĩ* *phú è ve* *khâ?-khò?* *ɛ* *yì?* *ā* *ɛ* ,  
 N AE<sub>stat</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 mushroom white relativizer scoop up and munch suspensive sleep durative suspensive  
*tê ni qhe* *gà ɛ mǝ?* *tê mō* *ló là ɛ* , “  
 Num M<sub>px</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N Q B<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 one day topicalizer arrive suspensive monkey one group sthg big come suspensive  
*āa* , *chǝ* *chi šĩ ò* *ve* *ɔ* .  
 Interj N Det V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! human being this die completed action nominalizer mildly exclamatory
- (9) *ni-ma kǝ?* *thê jǎ* .  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 heart also upright very
- (10) *né-hi chí* *vǝ* *ɛ* *bo* *te*  
 Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V  
 we lift up transportatory motion suspensive blessing perform (a religious service)  
*pĩ* *a* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 benefactive (3p) hortatory
- (11) *li?-he-kwân* *te* *pĩ* *a* ,” *qǝ?* *ɛ* ,  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 hymn perform (as a song) benefactive (3p) hortatory say suspensive  
*chĩ-te* *e* *ve* *cê* , *há-phǝ* *qhǝ* *ǝ* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 set oneself upright motion away nominalizer quotative rocky slope up there locative
- (12) *chĩ-tǎ?* *e* *ɛ* , *cǝ* *há-qǝ* *qhǝ* *gǎ* *ɛ* ,  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 pick up and carry motion away suspensive over there cave inside reach suspensive  
*yǝ-hi li?-he-kwân* *te* *ɛ-ē* , *te* *hǎ?* *pĩ*  
 Pron N V P<sub>unf</sub> vV V V<sub>v</sub>  
 they hymn perform (as a song) suspensive do and care for lovingly benefactive (3p)  
*ve* *qǝ?-ve* , *yǎ-cù-šĩ* *ô-ve* *ǎ?* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N Det P<sub>n</sub>  
 nominalizer it is said orphan that accusative
- (13) *qhe-te-ɛ* *ŋǎ?* *tê* *khe* *šĩ* *ɛ* , *li?-he-kwân* *te*  
 Conj N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N V  
 after that bird one for animals summon suspensive hymn perform (as a song)  
*ci* *ve* *cê* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 causative nominalizer quotative
- (14) *ŋǎ?* *tê* *khe* *šĩ* *ɛ* , *li?-he-kwân* *te* *ci* *ɛ* , *yǝ*  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron  
 bird one for animals summon suspensive hymn do causative suspensive he  
*tê qhe tí* *tu* *ɛ* *hǎ* *pĩ* *a* *ɛ* , *mǝ?*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 suddenly stand up suspensive shout benefactive (3p) vigorous action suspensive monkey  
*chi* *qha-pǝ-è* *phǝ* *e* *pǝ* *ve* *cê* .  
 Det AE V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 these all run away motion away finish V'ing nominalizer quotative

- (15) *qhe-te-ε há-qō ð-qhɔ ca ni e ε phu-ši qð? mð*  
 Conj N N<sub>loc</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N V<sub>v</sub> V  
 then cave inside go and do look at motion away suspensive silver and gold V also see  
*ε , qha-pə-è yù ε qð? e ε , á-qhɔ ɔ*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> AE V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 suspensive everything take suspensive return motion away suspensive home locative  
*ð-ví-pā qð? pî ve , “ a-ni ð , qhà-qhe te*  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub>  
 elder brother say benefactive (3p) nominalizer younger brother vocative how  
*gā le ” qð? ε , “ áa , nð á-thɔ-qwè? tê mà*  
 V P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Interj Pron N Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 get substantive qst say suspensive well! you curved bush-knife one for things  
*pè? ā lâ ve*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 give perfective benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer
- (16) *á-thɔ-qwè? ð-ve à? yù ε , ηà mù khà?-khò?*  
 N Det P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N V  
 curved bush-knife that accusative take suspensive I mushroom scoop up and munch  
*ε , hε phô-phô ε yî? ā ε*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N V<sub>redup</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 suspensive swidden hack undergrowth repeatedly suspensive sleep perfective suspensive  
*, mð? tê mō ló là ε , “ áa , chi phâ šî*  
 N Q B<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Interj Det N V  
 monkey one group sthg big come suspensive well! this fellow die  
*ð lɔ*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 completed action emphatic declarative
- (17) *pí-ma-u kà? dɔ è phè? ð lɔ , qð?*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>stat</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V  
 fly eggs also teeming with be a certain way completed action emphatic declarative say  
*ε , ‘ ni-ma kà? thê è ’ qð? ε , chí-tâ?*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>stat</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 suspensive heart topicalizer upright say suspensive pick up and carry  
*e ε , há-qō qhɔ gà ε , ηà hà? lì?-he-kwân*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N M<sub>prfx</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> N  
 motion away suspensive cave inside reach suspensive I accusative hymn  
*te hà? lâ ε , ηà hâ*  
 V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V  
 perform (as a song) care for lovingly benefactive (non-3p) suspensive I shout  
*pî a ε phɔ e pə ε ,*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 benefactive (3p) vigorous action suspensive flee motion away finish V'ing suspensive  
*ô há-qō ɔ ca ni ε , phu-ši kə ā*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> vV V P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub>  
 there cave locative go and do look at suspensive silver and gold have inside perfective  
*lɔ*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic declarative

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- (18) *qhe-te-ε ηà yù və lâ ε qə? la*  
 Conj Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 so I take transportatory motion benefactive (non-3p) suspensive return come to V  
*ve ” qə? pî a ε .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 nominalizer say benefactive (3p) vigorous action suspensive
- (19) “ *âa , a-ni ò , a-ví kà? qay a .*  
 Interj N P<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 oh! younger brother vocative (your) elder brother also go intentive
- (20) *a-ví kà? ca te a .*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub>  
 (your) elder brother also go and do do intentive
- (21) *á-tho-qwè? pè? a ” qə? ε , ð-ví-pā qay ε , cê*  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 crooked knife give hortatory say suspensive elder brother go suspensive quotative  
*, tê pə?*  
 Q  
 immediately
- (22) *ð-ví-pā qay ε-ḡ , hε phô-phô ε ,*  
 N V P<sub>unf</sub> N V<sub>redup</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 elder brother go suspensive swidden hack undergrowth repeatedly suspensive  
*mù phú è qə? khâ?-khò? ε yì? ā ε ,*  
 N AE<sub>stat</sub> vV V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 mushroom white V also scoop up and munch suspensive sleep perfective suspensive  
*mə? ô tē mō ló là ε , “ âa , chi qo lē ,*  
 N N<sub>sd</sub> Q B<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Interj Det P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 monkey that one group sthg big come suspensive well! this one topic topic  
*ni-ma kà? qə? jâ nē .*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 heart topicalizer dishonest very emphatic
- (23) *chi qo lē , ni-ma qə? kà? te pî*  
 Det P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 this one topic topic heart dishonest although be occupied with benefactive (3p)  
*a , ga pî ” chi qhe qə? ε , chî-tâ?*  
 P<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 intentive help benefactive (3p) like this say suspensive pick up and carry  
*e ve cê , há-phô qhō ḡ .*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 motion away nominalizer quotative rocky slope up there locative
- (24) *chî-tâ? e cō ð-qə-ji gâ e ε , tâ?*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 pick up and carry motion away over there middle reach motion away suspensive go up  
*e tâ? e ε , yô mē? ηá pî*  
 P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N V V<sub>v</sub>  
 motion away go up motion away suspensive he eye open wide benefactive (3p)  
*a ε , “ qha-dè? te , tâ phê ce ” qə?*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE V Adv V+V<sub>v</sub> V  
 vigorous action suspensive properly do negative imperative let fall say



- pî* *a* *ɛ* , *mò?* *chi* *kô?* *ɛ* ,  
V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Det V P<sub>unf</sub>  
benefactive (3p) vigorous action suspensive monkey these get frightened suspensive
- phê ce pî* *a* *ɛ* , *mô* *ce* *lò?*  
V + V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
let fall benefactive (3p) vigorous action suspensive down there fall (from a height) V into
- ɛ* *lâ-phi* *ð-qhɔ* *ce* *lò?* *e* *cê* .  
P<sub>unf</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
suspensive tiger's den inside fall (from a height) V into motion away quotative
- (25) *lâ-phi* *ð-qhɔ* *lò?* *e* *ɛ* , *mâ* *qò?* *la* *ve*  
N N<sub>loc</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
tiger's den inside enter motion away suspensive negative return come to V nominalizer
- nî ni* *šê?* *ni* *gà* *ɛ* , *ð-ni-pā* *ni-ma hā* *ɛ*  
Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N N<sub>spec</sub> + V P<sub>unf</sub>  
two for days three for days reach suspensive younger brother worried suspensive
- ca* *ni* *ɛ* *ca* *pû* *qhò?* *e*  
<sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
go and do check on suspensive go and do carry on the back do back motion away
- ve* *cê* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer quotative
- (26) *chi qhe* *te* *ɛ* *tê* *ni* *gà* *ɛ* *phî* *nî* *khe*  
AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
like this be a certain way suspensive one for days reach suspensive dog two for animals
- šî* *və* *ɛ* , *ð-ni-pā* *chi* .  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Det  
lead along transportatory motion suspensive younger brother this
- (27) *phî* *nî* *khe* *šî və* *ɛ* , *ti-mi* *ca* *tháy*  
N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V  
dog two for animals accompany suspensive paddy field (irrigated) go and do plow
- e* *ɛ* *tâ-kà-pā* *tê mō* *là* *cê* .  
P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Q V P<sub>uf</sub>  
motion away suspensive traders one group come quotative
- (28) “ *nò* *phî* *chi* *ti-mi* *â* *tháy* *pí* *nè-š* ,” *qô?*  
Pron N Det N Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V  
your dog these paddy field (irrigated) negative plow able to V suppositional say
- ɛ* , “ *tháy* *pí* *a* ” *qô?* *ɛ* , *mâ* *yō* *qô?-ve* ,  
P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
suspensive plow able to V emphatic say suspensive negative believe it is said
- tâ-kà-pā* *chi* .  
N Det  
traders these
- (29) *qhe-te-ɛ* *š* *yâ-cù-šî* *ô-ve* *phî* *nî* *khe* *šî* *ā* *ɛ* ,  
Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N Det N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
so topic orphan that dog two for animals summon perfective suspensive
- š-tú-chî?* *ô* *bā* *pə* *a* *qo* *ô*  
N N<sub>sd</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub>  
rice-ball over there throw away set into vigorous motion vigorous action when over there

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- cɔ*                    *e*                    *qô?* *ve*                    .  
V                    P<sub>v</sub>                    V    P<sub>univ</sub>  
follow a trail    motion away    tell    nominalizer
- (30) *ɔ̄-tú-chî?*    *ô*                    *bà*                    *pə*                    *a*                    *qo*                    *ô*  
N                    N<sub>sd</sub>                    V                    V<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>unf</sub>                    N<sub>sd</sub>  
rice-ball    over there    throw away    set into vigorous motion    vigorous action    when    over there
- qə?*                    *cɔ*                    *e*                    *qô?-ve*                    .  
<sub>v</sub>V                    V                    P<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>uf</sub>  
V also    follow a trail    motion away    it is said
- (31) “ *ni-?*                    , *ηà*                    *phê*                    *ti-mi*                    *mâ*                    *tháy*                    *pí*                    *nə-hi*                    *qô?*  
V<sub>imp</sub>                    Pron    N                    N                    Adv                    V                    V<sub>v</sub>                    Pron                    V  
look!                    my                    dog    paddy field (irrigated)    negative    plow    able to V    you (pl)    say
- lâ*                    *thô*                    , *tháy*                    *pí*                    *à*                    ” *qô?*                    *pí*  
P<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>unf</sub>                    V                    V<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>v</sub>                    V                    V<sub>v</sub>  
benefactive (non-3p)    even though                    plow    able to V    asseverative                    say    benefactive (3p)
- le-ɔ̄*                    , *qhe-te-le*    *ɔ̄*                    , *í-mû-lə*                    *gə*                    *e*                    *ve*                    *cê*                    , *yá-cù-ši*  
P<sub>unf</sub>                    Conj                    P<sub>unf</sub>                    N                    V                    P<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>univ</sub>                    P<sub>uf</sub>                    N  
suspensive                    so                    topic    horse cart    get    motion away    nominalizer    quotative                    orphan
- ô-ve*                    .  
Det  
that
- (32) *í-mû-lə*                    *gə*                    *e*                    *le*                    *qə?*                    *e*                    *le*                    , *á-qhɔ*                    *ɔ̄*  
N                    V                    P<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>unf</sub>                    V                    P<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>unf</sub>                    N                    P<sub>n</sub>  
horse cart    get    motion away    suspensive    return    motion away    suspensive                    home    locative
- ə-ví-pā*                    *à?*                    *qə?*                    *tho*                    *pí*                    *ve*                    :  
N                    P<sub>n</sub>                    <sub>v</sub>V                    V                    V<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>univ</sub>  
elder brother    accusative    V again    tell    benefactive (3p)    nominalizer
- (33) “ *qhà-qhe te*                    *gə*                    *le*                    , *a-ni*                    *ò*                    ” *qô?*                    *le*                    ,  
Cl<sub>nf</sub>                    V                    P<sub>uf</sub>                    N                    P<sub>n</sub>                    V                    P<sub>unf</sub>  
how                    get    substantive qst                    younger brother    vocative                    say    suspensive
- ə-ví-pā*                    *qhe*                    *qô?-na*                    *le*                    .  
N                    Adv                    V                    P<sub>unf</sub>  
elder brother    like this    ask                    suspensive
- (34) “ *nə*                    *phê*                    *ní*                    *khɛ*                    *pə?*                    *ā*                    *lâ*                    *ve*                    , *tâ-kà-pā*  
Pron    N                    Num    Cl<sub>f</sub>                    V                    P<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>univ</sub>                    N  
you    dog    two    for animals    give perfective    benefactive (non-3p)    relativizer                    traders
- tê mō*                    *lâ*                    *le*                    , *nə*                    *phê*                    *chi*                    *ti-mi*                    *â*                    *tháy*  
Q                    V                    P<sub>unf</sub>                    Pron    N                    Det                    N                    Adv                    V  
one group    come    suspensive                    you    dog    these    paddy field (irrigated)    negative    plow
- pí*                    *nè-ɔ̄*                    , *qô?*                    *le*                    , *tháy*                    *pí*                    *à*                    , *qô?*                    *le-ɔ̄*  
V<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>uf</sub>                    V                    P<sub>unf</sub>                    V                    V<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>v</sub>                    V                    P<sub>unf</sub>  
able to V    suppositional                    say    suspensive                    plow    able to V    asseverative                    say    suspensive
- , *ti-mi*                    *tháy*                    *mā*                    *pí*                    *a*                    *le*                    ,  
N                    V                    V<sub>v</sub>                    V<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>unf</sub>  
paddy field (irrigated)    plow    show how to V    benefactive (3p)    vigorous action    suspensive
- í-mû-lə*                    *pə?*                    *lâ*                    *ve*                    .”  
N                    V                    P<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>univ</sub>  
horse cart    give    benefactive (non-3p)    nominalizer

- (35) *chi qhe qô? pî a le ð-ví-pā qð? qay*  
 AE<sub>ext</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V  
 like this say benefactive (3p) vigorous action suspensive elder brother V again go  
*ve qô? ve*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer say nominalizer
- (36) *ð-ví-pā qay le-ṣ , ṣ mâ yù və*  
 N V P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 elder brother go suspensive cooked rice negative take transportatory motion
- (37) *šî?-tà phú è bà le-ṣ , tâ-kà-pā tê mō ló là cê*  
 N AE<sub>stat</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N Q B<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 stick white throw away suspensive traders one group sthg big come quotative
- (38) *là le-ṣ , “ nð phî chi ti-mi tháy pí qo , nð*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N Det N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron  
 come suspensive your dog these paddy field (irrigated) plow able to V if you  
*à? í-mû-lò chi pè? lâ a ”*  
 P<sub>n</sub> N Det V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 accusative horse cart this give benefactive (non-3p) intentive
- (39) *qhe-te-le šî?-tà phú è gð bà le , phî à? ô*  
 Conj N AE<sub>stat</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>sd</sub>  
 then stick white V vigorously throw away suspensive dog accusative over there  
*pə a qð? mâ qay qô?-ve*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> <sub>v</sub>V Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 send off vigorous action still V negative go it is said
- (40) *qð? bà ô gâ?-chù thô qð? mâ qay*  
<sub>v</sub>V V N<sub>sd</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V Adv V  
 V again throw away over there incite to chase even though V again negative go
- (41) *qhe-te-le gð dš?-pē šē qô?-ve*  
 Conj <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 so V vigorously beat to death regrettably it is said
- (42) *gð dš?-pē á le , á-qhə ṣ ð-ni-pā*  
<sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> N  
 V vigorously beat to death perfective suspensive home locative younger brother  
*à? mð dâ? ve cê*  
 P<sub>n</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 accusative meet each other nominalizer quotative
- (43) “ *nð , ηà phî qhð qay le ” chi qhe ð-ni-pā qô?-na*  
 Pron Pron N N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> N V  
 you my dog where? go substantive qst like this younger brother ask  
*le , “ ηà phî – nð phî ηà dš?-pē á ò*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N Pron N Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 suspensive my dog your dog I beat to death perfective completed action  
*lè?*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic

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- (44) *chi qhe qay qo ti-mi tháy pə qo lè á*  
 AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv  
 like this turn out topic paddy field (irrigated) plow send smn to V when topic negative  
*tháy lâ*  
 V P<sub>v</sub>  
 plow benefactive (non-3p)
- (45) *gà?-chù qo lè á qay lâ ,” qô? lɛ-ʃ , “ chi qhe*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub>  
 incite to chase when topic negative go benefactive (non-3p) say causal like this  
*te dʒ?-pɛ á lɛ*  
 vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 do and beat to death perfective suspensive
- (46) *mô tū á ò lè? ” qô?*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V  
 down there bury (in the ground) perfective completed action emphatic say  
*pí a lɛ , ð-ni-pā chi hò cê*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Det V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (3p) vigorous action suspensive younger brother this weep quotative
- (47) *tê ni é tê ni é hò lɛ , mô yô phî*  
 Num M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> Pron N  
 one day suspensive one day suspensive weep suspensive down there his dog  
*šī ā kî ca gâ?-hò lɛ , šī?-vê? tê cê tʃ?*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> vV V P<sub>unf</sub> N Cl<sub>f</sub> V  
 die perfective locative go and do sob bitterly suspensive flower for plants come up  
*la cê*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 come to V quotative
- (48) *šī?-vê? tʃ? la lɛ-ʃ , hî? pí a lɛ-qô?*  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 flower come up come to V suspensive shake benefactive (3p) vigorous action suspensive  
*, ð-hó ʃ phu-ši ce la cho qhe*  
 N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> N Adv  
 under locative money fall (from a height) come to V human being this way  
*mâ hê? o cê*  
 VP P<sub>uf</sub>  
 definitely not the case quotative
- (49) *qhe-te-lɛ gʒ?-pû e lɛ qô? e lɛ á-qhɔ*  
 Conj V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 so pick up and carry motion away suspensive return motion away suspensive home  
*ʃ ð-ví-pā à? ca qô? qô? pí a*  
 P<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> vV vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 locative elder brother accusative go and do V again say benefactive (3p) vigorous action  
*lɛ , “ qhà-qhe te gā le , a-ni à*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 suspensive how get substantive qst younger brother interrogative vocative  
*qô? cê*  
 V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 say quotative

- (50) *qhe-te-ε* “ *mô* *nò* *phê* *dô?-pê* *á* *lá* *kì*  
 Conj N<sub>sd</sub> Pron N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub>  
 so down there you dog beat to death perfective benefactive (non-3p) locative  
*̄* *tū-phu* *qhô* *̄* *šî?-vê?* *nò?* *la* *ε* ,  
 P<sub>n</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 locative grave on top of locative flower bear (as fruit or flower) come to V suspensive  
*ni* *a* *qo* *šî?-vê?* *mò* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V  
 look at try to when flower see
- (51) *hî?* *a* *qo* *̄* *phu* *ce* *la* *ε* , *ɲà*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron  
 shake try to when topic silver fall (from a height) come to V suspensive I  
*gô?-pû* *ε* *qò?* *la* *ve* ,” *qô?* *pî*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 pick up and carry suspensive return come to V nominalizer say benefactive (3p)  
*a* *ε* , “ *a-ví* *kà?* *ca* *hî?* *e* ”  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub>  
 vigorous action suspensive (your) elder brother also go and do shake motion away  
*qô?* *ε* , *ò-ni-pā* *chi* “ *qay-?* , *qay-?* ” *qô?* *pî* *ε*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> N Det V<sub>imp</sub> V<sub>imp</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 say suspensive younger brother this go! go! say benefactive (3p) suspensive  
 , *ò-ví-pā* *ca* *hî?* *ε-qò?* *mû-phe* *qo* *šî?-vê?* *mò* *cê* .  
 N vV V P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 elder brother go and do shake suspensive up above topic flower see quotative
- (52) *qò?* *hî?* *a* *ε* *ce* *la* *qo* *̄* , *pò?-mā*  
 vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 V in turn shake try to suspensive fall (from a height) come to V when topic caterpillar  
*chê?* *ve* *̄* , *ò-qò?-ò-le* *mā* *dà?* *o* *qô?-ve* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 bite nominalizer topic all over negative good emphatic it is said
- (53) *qhe-te-ε* *yô* *bà?* *ε* *gò* *thu* *bà* *á*  
 Conj Pron V P<sub>unf</sub> vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 thereupon he get angry suspensive act violently chop down away perfective  
*pî* *a* *qô?-ve* , *ô* *kà?* *̄* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 benefactive (3p) vigorous action it is said over there locative locative
- (54) *gò* *thu* *bà* *á* *ε-̄* , *ò-ni* *chi* *̄* ,  
 vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Det P<sub>unf</sub>  
 act violently chop down away perfective suspensive younger sibling this topic  
*qò?* *hò* *ve* *qô?-ve* , *tê* *ni* *tê* *ni* *è* , *hò-hò*  
 vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Num M<sub>px</sub> Num M<sub>px</sub> Prt V<sub>redup</sub>  
 V again weep nominalizer it is said one day one day adverbializer weeping a lot  
*é* *ε* , *ô* *kà?* *vâ-cè* *tê* *cè* *qò?* *tô?*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> vV V  
 suspensive suspensive over there locative bamboo plant one for trees V also come out  
*la* *qô?-ve* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 come to V it is said

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- (55) *vâ-cè* *ô-ve* *qò?* *chɔ* *le* *á-qhɔ* *ɲâ?-phi* *te* *qô?-ve* .  
 N Det <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> N N V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 bamboo plant that V again chop down suspensive home bird's nest make it is said
- (56) *ɲâ?-phi* *te* *le* *tê* *khe* *là* *qò?* *ð-u* *u* *qô?-ve* ,  
 N V P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V <sub>v</sub>V N V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 bird's nest build suspensive one for animals come go on to V egg lay an egg it is said  
*nî* *khe* *là* *qò?* *ð-u* *u* *qô?-ve* , *tê* *šš* *é*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V <sub>v</sub>V N V P<sub>uf</sub> Q Prt  
 two for animals come V also egg lay an egg it is said one morning adverbializer  
*tê* *šš* *é* *ɲâ?-u* *tí* *câ* *qô?-ve* .  
 Q Prt N P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 one morning adverbializer bird's egg only eat it is said
- (57) *qhe-te* *ð-ví-pā* “ *ɲà* *ní* , *nð* *qhà-qhe* *te* *gã* *câ* *le* ”  
 Conj N Pron M<sub>prfx</sub> Pron Cl<sub>nf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 so elder brother my younger sibling you how get to eat substantive qst  
*qô?* *le* , “ *nð* *phî* *dɔ?-pē* *á* *lâ* *kì*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub>  
 say suspensive you dog beat to death perfective benefactive (non-3p) locative  
*ɔ* *vâ-cè* *tê* *cè* *tɔ?* *la* *ve* , *ɲâ?-phi* *te*  
 P<sub>n</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N V  
 locative bamboo plant one for trees appear come to V nominalizer bird's nest build  
*ā* *le* *qhà-nî* *khe* *là* *kà?* *ð-u* *u* *kə* *á*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 perfective suspensive so many for animals come even egg lay an egg V into perfective  
*lâ* *ve* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer
- (58) *ɲâ?-u* *tí* *câ* *chê* *ve* ” *qô?* *le* , “ *âa* , *ɲà*  
 N P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Interj Pron  
 bird's egg only eat continuous nominalizer say suspensive well! my  
*ní* *ò* , *ɲà* *à?* *kà?* *ɲā* *a* *nē* ” *qô?*  
 M<sub>prfx</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V  
 younger sibling vocative me accusative also lend vigorous action emphatic say  
*le* , *ɲā* *pî* *a* *le* , *ð-ví-pā* *yù* *qay*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub>  
 suspensive lend benefactive (3p) vigorous action suspensive elder brother take V along  
*le* , *ô* *á-qhɔ* *kô-cá* *mâ* *te* *ā* *pî*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> N N M<sub>prfx</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 suspensive over there home veranda edge put down perfective benefactive (3p)  
*le-ɔ* , *tê* *khe* *là* *qhê* *qò* *kə* *qô?-ve* , *nî* *khe*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 suspensive one for animals come feces defecate V into it is said two for animals  
*là* *qhê* *qò* *kə* *qô?-ve* .  
 V N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 come feces defecate V into it is said
- (59) *qhe-te-le* *ð-ví-pā* *chi* *gò* *tú* *kə* *šē* *pî*  
 Conj N Det <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 so elder brother this V vigorously burn sthg V into regrettably benefactive (3p)

- lɛ-qɔ̃ʔ* , *ɔ̃-ni-pā* *hò* *cê* .  
P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>uf</sub>  
suspensive younger brother weep quotative
- (60) *ɔ̃-ni-pā* *hò* *lɛ* *gâʔ-hò-hò* *á* *lɛ* , *thù-khá-ši* *tê*  
N V P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>redup</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Num  
younger brother weep suspensive weep constantly perfective suspensive sugar pea one  
*ši* *cò* *lɛ* *gò* *cá* *lɛ* *gò*  
Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> vV V P<sub>unf</sub> N  
for round objects be there suspensive act violently eat suspensive belly  
*phú* *lɛ* , *mô* *vên* *qhɔ* *qay* *cê* .  
V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> N M<sub>prfx</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
bloated (as with intestinal gas) because down there town into go quotative
- (61) *vên* *qhɔ* *qay* *lɛ* *qhê tɛʔ* *a* *lɛ* , *qhê* *ɔ̃-khò* *chi híy*  
N M<sub>prfx</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>spec</sub> + V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N NP<sub>ext</sub>  
town into go suspensive fart vigorous action suspensive feces sound only this big  
*qay* *lɛ* *šu* *chɔ* *cò* *pā* “ *áa* , *nò*  
V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> Interj Pron  
go a certain way suspensive others people be there agentive nominalizer well! you  
*yàʔ-šó* *à-thòʔ-ma* *gá* *cá* *á* *le* , *qhê* *qhe-cɛ* *tɛʔ*  
N<sub>time</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N AE V  
this morning what get to eat perfective substantive qst feces only this much fart  
*ve* .  
P<sub>univ</sub>  
nominalizer
- (62) *là* *òʔ* *là* *òʔ* ” *qòʔ* *lɛ* , *qay* *lɛ-qɔ̃ʔ* “  
V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
come urging imperative come urging imperative say suspensive go suspensive  
*yàʔ-šó* *thù-khá-ši* *cá* *lɛ* , *ɔ̃* *má* *gá* *cá* *lɛ* *gò*  
N<sub>time</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv vV V P<sub>univ</sub> N  
this morning sugar pea eat suspensive cooked rice negative get to eat because belly  
*phú* *lɛ* , *chò* *là* *ve* ” *chi qhe* *qòʔ*  
V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V  
bloated (as with intestinal gas) suspensive here come nominalizer like this say  
*pî* *a* *lɛ* , *pha-dɔ* *kàʔ* *pî* , *ɔ̃* *qha-dêʔ*  
V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> V N AE  
benefactive (3p) vigorous action suspensive bolt of cloth also give cooked rice properly  
*cā* *lā* *a* *lɛ* , *qòʔ* *e* *pə*  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
feed benefactive (non-3p) vigorous action suspensive return motion away send smn to V  
*ha* *ve* *cê* .  
P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
vigorous action nominalizer quotative
- (63) *qhe-te-lɛ* *ɔ̃-ví-pā* *qòʔ* *na* *lɛ* “ *qhà-qhe te* *gá* *le* , *ɲà*  
Conj N vV V P<sub>unf</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> V Pron  
so elder brother V again ask suspensive how get substantive qst my  
*ni* *à* ” *qòʔ* *pî* *a* *lɛ-ɔ̃* ,  
M<sub>prfx</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
younger sibling interrogative vocative say benefactive (3p) vigorous action suspensive

- “ *mô*      *̄*      *nò*   *ɲà*   *ɲâ?-phi*   *tú*      *kə*      *á*      *ve*      *chi*  
*N<sub>sd</sub>*      *P<sub>n</sub>*      *Pron*   *Pron*   *N*      *V*      *V<sub>v</sub>*      *P<sub>v</sub>*      *P<sub>univ</sub>*      *Det*  
down there   locative   you   my   bird’s nest   burn sthg   V into   perfective   relativizer   this
- ̀-qhɔ*   *̄*      *gâ?-phû?*      *gâ?-phû?*      *a*      *ɛ*      ,  
*N*      *P<sub>n</sub>*      *V*      *V*      *P<sub>v</sub>*      *P<sub>unf</sub>*  
area   locative   search by scrabbling   search by scrabbling   vigorous action   suspensive
- thù-khá-ši*   *tê*      *ši*      *câ*   *á*      *ɛ*      *qay*   *ɛ*      *mô*  
*N*      *Num*   *Cl<sub>f</sub>*      *V*   *P<sub>v</sub>*      *P<sub>unf</sub>*      *V*   *P<sub>unf</sub>*      *N<sub>sd</sub>*  
sugar pea   one   for round objects   eat   perfective   suspensive   go   suspensive   down there
- vên*   *qhɔ*   *̄*      *gà*   *e*      *ɛ-̄*      ,   *qhê*   *tê?*      *a*      *ɛ*  
*N*      *M<sub>prfx</sub>*   *P<sub>n</sub>*      *V*      *P<sub>v</sub>*      *P<sub>unf</sub>*      *N<sub>spec</sub> + V*   *P<sub>v</sub>*      *P<sub>unf</sub>*  
town   inside   locative   reach   motion away   suspensive   fart   vigorous action   suspensive
- “ *qhê*   *khô*   *qhe-cɛ*   *dâ?*      *ve*      ,   *là*      *ò?*      !  
*N*      *N*      *AE*      *V<sub>adj</sub>*      *P<sub>univ</sub>*      *V*      *P<sub>v</sub>*  
feces   sound   so very   beautiful   nominalizer   come   urging imperative
- (64) *a-šu*   *ɛ*      ,”   *qô?*   *ɛ*      ,   *ɲà*   *qay*   *a*      *ɛ*      ,  
*Pron*   *P<sub>uf</sub>*      *V*   *P<sub>unf</sub>*      *Pron*   *V*   *P<sub>v</sub>*      *P<sub>unf</sub>*  
who   substantive qst   say   suspensive   I   go   vigorous action   suspensive
- ̄*      *câ*      *lâ*      *ɛ*      ,   *pha-dɔ*      *pè?*      *lâ*  
*N*      *V*      *P<sub>v</sub>*      *P<sub>unf</sub>*      *N*      *V*      *P<sub>v</sub>*  
cooked rice   feed   benefactive (non-3p)   suspensive   bolt of cloth   give   benefactive (non-3p)
- ɛ*      ,   *qô?*      *la*      *ve*      ,”   *chi*   *qhe*   *qô?*      *pî*  
*P<sub>unf</sub>*      *V*      *P<sub>v</sub>*      *P<sub>univ</sub>*      *AE<sub>ext</sub>*      *V*      *V<sub>v</sub>*  
suspensive   return   come to V   nominalizer   like this   say   benefactive (3p)
- a*      *ɛ*      ,   *̀-ví-pā*      *kâ?*      *thù-khá-ši*      *tê*   *khê-khê*      *ló*      *cá*  
*P<sub>v</sub>*      *P<sub>unf</sub>*      *N*      *P<sub>unf</sub>*      *N*      *NP<sub>q</sub>*      *B<sub>n</sub>*      *V*  
vigorous action   suspensive   elder brother   also   sugar pea   a big bowlful   sthg big   boil
- câ*      *á*      *ɛ*      ,   *qay*   *ve*      *cê*      .  
*V<sub>v</sub>*      *P<sub>v</sub>*      *P<sub>unf</sub>*      *V*      *P<sub>univ</sub>*      *P<sub>uf</sub>*  
V to eat   perfective   suspensive   go   nominalizer   quotative
- (65) *cá*      *câ*      *ɛ*      *qay*   *ɛ-̄*      ,   *qhê*      *gò*      *tè?*      *ɛ*      ,   *yô*  
*V*      *V<sub>v</sub>*      *P<sub>unf</sub>*      *V*      *P<sub>unf</sub>*      *N*      *vV*      *V*      *P<sub>unf</sub>*      *Pron*  
boil   V to eat   suspensive   go   suspensive   feces   V vigorously   fart   suspensive   he
- ̄*      ,   *jâ*      *à*      *qô?-ve*      *̀-ví-pā*      *ve*      *chi*      *̄*      .  
*P<sub>unf</sub>*      *V<sub>adj</sub>*      *P<sub>v</sub>*      *P<sub>uf</sub>*      *N*      *P<sub>univ</sub>*      *Det*      *P<sub>unf</sub>*  
topic   plenty big   asseverative   it is said   elder brother   genitivizer   this one   topic
- (66) *jâ*      *ɛ-̄*      ,   *qhê*      *khô*      *qhe-cɛ-cɛ*   *jâ*      *ve-̄*      ,   “   *là*  
*V<sub>adj</sub>*      *P<sub>unf</sub>*      *N*      *N*      *AE*      *V<sub>adj</sub>*      *P<sub>uf</sub>*      *V*  
excessive   suspensive   feces   sound   so very   excessive   emphatic   come
- ò?*      ,   *a-šu*   *ɛ*      ”   *qô?*   *ɛ-̄*      ,   *qay*   *ɛ*      ,   “   *ɲà*  
*P<sub>v</sub>*      *Pron*   *P<sub>uf</sub>*      *V*   *P<sub>unf</sub>*      *V*   *P<sub>unf</sub>*      *Pron*  
urging imperative   who   substantive qst   say   suspensive   go   suspensive   I
- ɔ*      ,   *ɲà*      *ɔ*      ,   *jô-mô*      *ò*      .  
*P<sub>uf</sub>*      *Pron*   *P<sub>uf</sub>*      *N*      *P<sub>n</sub>*  
affirmative   I   affirmative   master   vocative
- (67) *̄*      *mâ*      *gà*      *câ*   *ɛ*      *nò*      *gɛ*   *là*      *ve*      ”   *chi*   *qhe*      *qô?*  
*N*      *Adv*      *vV*      *V*      *P<sub>univ</sub>*      *Pron*   *P<sub>n</sub>*      *V*      *P<sub>univ</sub>*      *AE<sub>ext</sub>*      *V*  
food   negative   get to   eat   because   you   to come   nominalizer   like this   say



- pî* *a* *ɛ* , *ɔ̄* *cā* *pî* *ɛ* ,  
V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
benefactive (3p) vigorous action suspensive food feed benefactive (3p) suspensive
- qhê-qhɔ* *tɔ̄-cú* *ve* *cê* .  
N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
anus sew up tight nominalizer quotative
- (68) *qhê-qhɔ* *tɔ̄-cú* *pə* *ɛ* *á-qhɔ* *qə?* *e* *ɛ* ,  
N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
anus sew up tight finish V'ing suspensive home return motion away suspensive
- cô* *qhâ?-jâ* *chê* *ā* *ɛ* , *ɔ̄-mî-ma* *à?* *kù* *qô?-ve* .  
N<sub>sd</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
over there village outskirts stay perfective suspensive wife accusative call it is said
- (69) “ *ɲà* *mî* *ò* , *ɲà* *mî* *ò* , *là* *ò?* ” *qô?* *ɛ-ɔ̄*  
Pron M<sub>prfx</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron M<sub>prfx</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
my wife vocative my wife vocative come urging imperative say suspensive
- , “ *à-thò?-ma* *te* *le* ” *qô?* *ve* , *ɔ̄-mî-ma* *ɔ̄* .  
Adv<sub>interrog</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub>  
why substantive qst say nominalizer wife topic
- (70) “ *mé-nû?* *yù* *a* , *mé-nû?* *yù* *a* ” *qô?* *ɛ-ɔ̄* , *ɔ̄-mî-ma* *mé-nû?*  
N V P<sub>v</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N N  
scissors fetch hortatory scissors fetch hortatory say suspensive wife scissors
- yù* *ɛ* *qay* *ɛ* *ô* *kà?* *gà* *ɛ* *qhê-qhɔ* *gə*  
V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N V<sub>v</sub>  
take suspensive go suspensive over there locative reach suspensive anus V vigorously
- nû?* *chê?* *ɛ-ɔ̄* *qhê* *gə* *hɔ?* *a* *lâ* *ve-ɔ̄* , *ɔ̄-mî-ma* *mé?*  
V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N N  
snip apart suspensive feces act violently burst out vivid action emphatic wife eye
- tê* *pá* *phí* *è* *qay* *ve* *cê* .  
Num M<sub>prfx</sub> AE<sub>stat</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
one one of a pair cloudy go a certain way nominalizer quotative
- (71) *pə* *ò* .  
V P<sub>v</sub>  
be completed completed action

### Translation

1. Once upon a time there was a man who had two sons.
2. Then later the man died, and the two sons were left.
3. So then the older and younger brothers divided up the property.
4. Dividing up the property, all the older brother gave his younger brother were just two dogs and a curved bush-knife.<sup>1</sup>
5. As for the older brother, he got two oxen.
6. All the rest of the property he kept for himself too, the story says.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*á-thɔ-qwè?*: a heavy curved machete used to cut undergrowth before burning a swidden.

<sup>2</sup>The phrase *qô?-ve* is used here as a sort of quotative topicalizer, rendered as ‘it is said (that)’. Its effect is similar to that of the final unrestricted particle *cê* ‘quotative’.

## The wicked older brother and the good younger brother

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7. Well, one day when the younger brother was off clearing his swidden with his curved bush-knife, he scooped

up a white mushroom and munched it<sup>3</sup> and fell asleep.

8. Having scooped up the white mushroom and munched it and fallen asleep, one day<sup>4</sup> a great troop of monkeys showed up and said, “Ah, this person has died! His heart was very pure. Let us pick him up and carry

him to where we’ll perform a service for him.<sup>5</sup> Let us sing hymns for him,” they said, and they picked him up and laid him down somewhere way up on a rock cliff.

9. Having carried him up there, they arrived at a cave, where they sang hymns and ministered to him, that orphan.

10. Then they summoned a certain bird and had it sing hymns.

11. That bird having been summoned and made to sing hymns, he [the younger brother] suddenly stood up

and shouted, so all those monkeys ran away.

12a. Then, when he looked around inside the cave, he found silver and gold, and he took it all and went back

home, where his elder brother said, “Younger brother, how did you get all this?”

12b. “Well, you once gave me a bush-knife. I cut down a mushroom with that knife and munched it while I

was clearing my field and I fell asleep, and a big troop of monkeys came, and they said, ‘Oh, this fellow is dead! Blowfly eggs are swarming all over him! But his heart is pure’, and they picked me up and carried me,

and we got to a cave, and they sang hymns for me and took care of me, and I shouted at them and they ran away, and when I looked around the cave it was full of silver and gold. So I took it for you and brought it back,” he said.<sup>6</sup>

13. “Oh younger brother, your older brother will go too! Older brother will go do it too. Let me have your bush-knife,” he said, and the older brother set off right away.

14. The elder brother set off, and while clearing his field he scooped up a white mushroom and munched it

and fell asleep, and that great troop of monkeys came and said, “Oh, this one’s heart is very evil!” But even so, although his heart is evil, we’ll do something for him, we’ll help him,” so they picked him up and carried him up onto a rock cliff.

15. As they were carrying him up, when they reached the halfway point, climbing and climbing up, he opened

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<sup>3</sup>**khâ?-khò?**: **khâ?** ‘scoop up,’ **khò?** ‘chew noisily’. Evidently the younger brother cut off the hallucinogenic mushroom by accident, then decided to taste it.

<sup>4</sup>The younger brother had clearly been knocked out for several days.

<sup>5</sup>**bo te ve** (OV) ‘perform a religious ceremony’. An expression used by both animist and Christian Lahu. See DL:942.

<sup>6</sup>This stretch of speech (12d-e) is a fine example of the use of the suspensive **Punf le**, which occurs multiple times, as the younger brother compresses his whole adventure into a single sentence.

his eyes and said, “Do it right, don’t let go of me and let me fall!” So those monkeys got frightened and let go

of him so that he fell, and falling down there he landed right inside a tiger’s den.

16. After he landed inside the tiger’s den, two or three days went by without his coming back, so the younger

brother was very worried, and went to look for him, and carried him back.<sup>7</sup>

17. After this, one day the younger brother went off with his two dogs.

18. Taking the two dogs along, on the way to plow his paddy-field,<sup>8</sup> a group of traders came by.

19. “These dogs of yours can’t plow a paddy-field, we bet,<sup>9</sup>” they said. “They can *too* plow!” he said, but they

said they didn’t believe it, those merchants.

20. So then the orphan summoned the two dogs, and let fly with a riceball and told them to go get<sup>10</sup> it.

21. Then he threw a riceball [in the opposite direction] and told them to go get it also.

22. “Look, you guys said my dogs couldn’t plow a field, but they can *too* plow!” he said, so that orphan won a

horse-drawn cart.

23. Having won the horse-drawn cart, he went back home, and told his elder brother about it.

24. “How did you get this, younger brother?” asked the older brother.

25. “Those two dogs that you gave me, when a bunch of traders came along they said, ‘We bet that these dogs

of yours can’t plow a paddy-field’, and I said, ‘Sure they can!’ and when I taught them how to plow the field, they

gave me a horse-cart.”

26. When he had said this, the older brother said he would go too.

27. The older brother set off, but he didn’t take any rice with him.

28. He was tossing a white stick when the big group of traders came along.

29. When they came they said, “If your dogs are able to plow this paddy-field, we’ll give you this horse-cart.”

30. So he threw the white stick to the dogs with all his might, trying to send them off, but they wouldn’t go.

31. He threw it again, and urged them on, but they still wouldn’t go.

32. So he just beat them to death.

33. After he had beaten them to death he told his younger brother. When he asked, “Where did you go with my

dogs?” he [the older brother] said, “My dogs, er, your dogs I whacked to death.”

<sup>7</sup>We are not told what had happened to him in the tiger’s den.

<sup>8</sup>Instead of clearing a swidden (**hē phō ve**), the younger brother is now preparing to plow a wet-rice field (**ti-mi-tháy ve**). Perhaps the riches acquired in the previous episode helped the brothers come up in the world.

<sup>9</sup>“We bet” translates **nē-5** (Pnf) ‘suppositional’.

<sup>10</sup>**co** (V) ‘follow a trail (as a hunting dog)’, **e** (Pv) ‘transitive motion’.

The wicked older brother and the good younger brother

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34. “What happened was, when I sent them to plow the field they wouldn’t plow it for me.

35. “When I urged them on they wouldn’t do it for me, so I just beat them to death and buried them down there,”

he said, and the younger brother wept.

36. He wept for days and days, and when he went to sob bitterly down where his dogs had died, a flower had

sprung up.

37. When he shook that flower that had sprung up, silver and gold came falling down under it, such as no one

had ever seen.<sup>11</sup>

38. So he picked it up and carried it back, and when he went to talk to his older brother at home, he said, “How

did you get this, younger brother?”

39. So he said, “At that place down there where you beat the dogs to death, on their grave a flower was growing, when I looked I saw a flower. When I shook it, silver came falling down, so I picked it up and carried

it back here,” he said.

40. So the older brother said, “I’m going to shake it too,” and the younger brother said “Go for it!”<sup>12</sup> and when older brother went to shake it, he also saw a flower up above him.

41. When he shook it, what came falling down was caterpillars biting him, and it went badly for him all over

[his body].

42. So he got angry and slashed down the flower, right on that spot.

43. When it had been slashed down, Younger Brother wept again, day after day, he kept weeping and weeping, until

a bamboo stalk sprouted.

44. So he chopped down the bamboo stalk and made a bird’s nest out of it at home.

45. When he had built the nest, one bird came and laid an egg, then two birds came and laid their eggs, so every morning he had eggs to eat.

46. So Older Brother said, “Younger Brother, how did you get these to eat?”

47. “At the place where you beat the dogs to death a bamboo stalk came up, and I made a bird’s nest out of it,

and ever so many birds came and laid eggs in it for me. All I’m eating is bird’s eggs,” he said, and Older Brother said, “Oh, Younger Brother, lend it [the nest] to me!” so he did lend it to him, and Older Brother took

it away and set it on the edge of the veranda of his house, and one bird came and shat in it, then two birds

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<sup>11</sup> **chə qhe mâ hê? o:** lit. “not like a person.”

<sup>12</sup> **qay-?qay-?:** lit. “go, go!”

came and shat in it.

48. So Older Brother set fire to it, and Younger Brother wept.

49. Younger Brother wept, he sobbed and sobbed, then he ate up a single sugar-pea<sup>13</sup> that he had, and his belly

got bloated with gas, so he went down to the town.

50. When he got to the town he farted, but the sound of his fart was so gentle that the people there said, “Oh, what

did you eat this morning that you fart like this?<sup>14</sup> Come here, come here!”

51. So he went with them, and when he said, “This morning I ate a sugar-pea, but I didn’t get to eat any rice, so

my stomach got bloated and I came here,” so they gave him a bolt of cloth, fed him well, and sent him back.

52. So Older Brother asked him, “How did you get this, Younger Brother?”, and he said, “Down there in the

place where you burned up my bird’s nest I scratched around and searched, and I ate a sugar-pea, and I went

off and arrived at the town, and I farted, and they said, ‘Since you fart so beautifully, come over here! Who are you?’ so I went along, and they fed me, and gave me a bolt of cloth, and I came back,” so Older Brother boiled up a big bowl of sugar-peas to eat, and went off.

53. He boiled them up and ate them and went off [to the town], and he farted mightily, he did! It was loud, that

older Brother’s!

54. Since it was loud, since the sound of his farting was so very loud, they said “Come here, who are you?” so

he went [with them] and said, “It’s me, it’s me, masters! Since I haven’t had any food to eat, I’ve come to you.”

55. When he said this, they fed him rice and sewed up his asshole.

56. After they had finished sewing up his asshole, he went home, and staying at the outskirts of the village,<sup>15</sup> he called to his wife.

57. “My wife, my wife, come here!” he said. “Why?” his wife said.

58. “Fetch a scissors, fetch a scissors!” he said, and the wife took a scissors and got back to where he was, and snipped his asshole right open, and the shit came bursting out on her, and one of her eyes became cloudy.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> **thù-khá-sī**: called *thùa lantaw* in Thai.

<sup>14</sup> The expression **qhê tê?** usually occurs with nothing intervening between the elements, but sometimes (as here) they are separated by other material.

<sup>15</sup> Where the villagers would normally go to relieve themselves.

<sup>16</sup> This ending seems both abrupt and morally unsatisfactory. Why did the older brother’s wife have to suffer? And didn’t the younger brother ever get a definitive reward for his naïve virtue? Evidently this was part of a longer story where these loose threads were tied up.

## 8.6 The three lazy men and the princess (Version I)

- (1) *H : âa , qhe-qo à-pū tê mà qô? qhay mā*  
 . Interj Conj N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub>  
 well! so story one for things go on to V tell a story instruct by V'ing  
*lā šā mē*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p) intentional (1p) emphatic
- (2) *qha-dê? na , nò-hi tê gâ le-le* .  
 AE V Pron NP<sub>q</sub>  
 properly listen you (pl) everybody
- (3) *à-šwè-è-thâ-è cê , cho-bò-pā cê qô?-ma , šê? gâ tân-kà te*  
 AE P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N V  
 once upon a time quotative lazy man quotative emphatic three for people trade do  
*ve cê*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer quotative
- (4) *ô ̄ yà?-qo láy cā? cε dà? kî ̄*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 over there locative road several for long objects intersect mutual action locative locative  
 , *yà?-qo šê? cā? cε dà? kî ̄ mi ā*  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 road three for long objects intersect mutual action locative locative sit perfective  
*ve cê qô?-ma* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer quotative emphatic
- (5) *a-qó-pê thâ tê gâ tân-kà ca te qô? le , ô kà? mi à?* ,  
 Adv P<sub>univ</sub> Q N <sub>v</sub>V V V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 first when one person trade go and do do say suspensive there also sit durative  
 " *âa , nò qhò qay le* " *qô? ve cê* .  
 Interj Pron N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! you where? go substantive qst say nominalizer quotative
- (6) *tê ni cho-bò-pā tê gâ tō? la ve cê* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N Q V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 one for days lazy man another person appear come to V nominalizer quotative
- (7) " *âa , ηà tân-kà te ve* " *qô? ve cê* .  
 Interj Pron N V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! I trade do nominalizer say nominalizer quotative
- (8) " *kà? mi-?* " .  
 N<sub>sd</sub> V  
 here sit (imperative)
- (9) *tê khi gâ le yà?-qo šê? cā? cε la*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 one a while reach suspensive road three for long objects intersect come to V

- lɛ* , *ô-ve tê câ?* *ɔ̄* *ɔ̄-šǐ* *tê ġâ* *là* .  
P<sub>unf</sub> Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N Q V  
suspensive that one for long objects locative another one one person come
- (10) *gâ la* .  
V P<sub>v</sub>  
reach come to V
- (11) *yô-hi tê phā nà?-ú te dà?* *ve* .  
Pron Q N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
they pluralizer conversation make mutual action nominalizer
- (12) " *nò à-thò?-ma te le* " *qô?* *ve* *cê* .  
Pron N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
you what do substantive qst say nominalizer quotative
- (13) " *tè?-chí mâ te* .  
Adv Adv V  
nothing negative do
- (14) *tân-kà te tō ve* " *qô?* *cê* .  
N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
trade do go around V'ing nominalizer say quotative
- (15) " *nò à-thò?-ma te pí ve* , " *qô?* *ve* *cê* .  
Pron Adv<sub>interrog</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
you why good at V'ing nominalizer say nominalizer quotative
- (16) *yô-hi tê phā mī ā lɛ* , *nà?-ú vān dà?* *lɛ*  
Pron Q V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
they pluralizer sit perfective suspensive conversation go for it mutual action suspensive  
*qô?* *ve* , " *âa* , *ɲà khâ?* *te pí à* " *qô?*  
V P<sub>univ</sub> Interj Pron N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V  
say nominalizer well! I crossbow make able to V asseverative say  
*cê* .  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
quotative
- (17) " *âa* , *nò à-thò?-ma te pí* *è* "...  
Interj Pron Adv<sub>interrog</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
well! you why good at V'ing substantive qst
- (18) " *âa* , *ɲà mós tō thè?* *pí à* " *qô?* *cê* , *yô-hi*  
Interj Pron N OV V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> Pron  
well! I expert predict the future able to V asseverative say quotative they  
*tê phā šǐ? ġâ chi* .  
Q Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Det  
pluralizer three for people these
- (19) *qhe-te-lɛ yô-hi tê phā* , " *mós tō thè?* *ve* *qhà-qhe qô?*  
Conj Pron Q N OV P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> V  
so they pluralizer master predict the future nominalizer how? say  
*ve le* " *qô?* *ve* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
nominalizer substantive qst say nominalizer

The three lazy men and the princess (Version I)

- (20) " *tô thê?*                      *a ni* , *mó*                      *ò*                      " *qô?* *ve*                      *cê* .  
 OV                      P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub>                      N                      P<sub>n</sub>                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 predict the future                      try to                      fortune-teller                      vocative                      say                      nominalizer                      quotative
- (21) *âa* , *mò?-qo* *à?*                      *chò* *pá* *ší* *ô* *pá* *ší* *te* *ε*                      *qô?*  
 Interj                      N                      P<sub>n</sub>                      N<sub>sd</sub>                      M<sub>px</sub>                      V                      N<sub>sd</sub>                      M<sub>px</sub>                      V                      V                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      V  
 well!                      mouth                      accusative                      here                      side                      twist                      that                      side                      twist                      do                      suspensive                      say  
*ve* , *yô* , " *âa* , *à-mù tê khi*                      *ša-gû* *thâ* *gà* *qo* ,  
 P<sub>univ</sub>                      Pron                      Interj                      NP<sub>q</sub>                      N                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      V                      P<sub>unf</sub>  
 nominalizer                      he                      well!                      a short time from now                      midday                      when                      reach                      when  
*ô*                      *̄*                      *Caw-mā-nā* *hó-khân* *yâ-mî*                      *á-cè* *chè?* *la*                      *ε*                      *chò*  
 N<sub>sd</sub>                      P<sub>n</sub>                      N                      N                      N                      N                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      N<sub>sd</sub>  
 over there                      locative                      princess                      king                      daughter                      hawk                      bite                      come to V                      suspensive                      here  
*nó-po* *qhô?* *à?*                      *pò* *lâ*                      *tù* *yò* , " *qô?* *ve*  
 N                      M<sub>px</sub>                      P<sub>n</sub>                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>  
 lake                      over                      accusative                      fly                      benefactive (non-3p)                      future                      declarative                      say                      nominalizer  
*cê* , *mó* *tô thê?*                      *ve* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>                      N                      OV                      P<sub>univ</sub>  
 quotative                      expert                      predict the future                      nominalizer
- (22) " *âa* , *nò* *khâ?*                      *te* *pí*                      *à*                      *qô?* *ve*                      *â*                      *hê?*  
 Interj                      Pron                      N                      V                      V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>v</sub>                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      Adv                      V  
 well!                      you                      crossbow                      do                      able to V                      asseverative                      say                      nominalizer                      negative                      be the case  
*lâ*                      " *qô?* *ve*                      *cê* .  
 P<sub>v</sub>                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p)                      say                      nominalizer                      quotative
- (23) " *yò* , *khâ?*                      *te* *pí*                      *à*                      " *yô* *khâ?*                      *te* *ve*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>                      N                      V                      V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>v</sub>                      Pron                      N                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>  
 declarative                      crossbow                      do                      able to V                      asseverative                      he                      crossbow                      do                      nominalizer  
*cê* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative
- (24) " *âa* " *tê* *gâ*                      *qò?*                      *qô?* *ve*                      , " *nò* *à-thò?-ma* *te* *pí*  
 Interj                      Num                      Cl<sub>f</sub>                      vV                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      Pron                      N<sub>intg</sub>                      V                      V<sub>v</sub>  
 well!                      another                      for people                      V in turn                      say                      nominalizer                      you                      what                      do                      able to V  
*è* " .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 substantive qst
- (25) " *hà* *í-kâ?* *lwé* *pí*                      *à*                      " *qô?* *ve*                      *cê* .  
 Pron                      N                      V                      V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>v</sub>                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 I                      water                      swim                      able to V                      asseverative                      say                      nominalizer                      quotative
- (26) *yô-hi* *tê phā*                      *qhe* *qô?* *dà?*                      *ché*                      *ve*                      *tê yân thâ* , *à-šc*  
 Pron                      Q                      N<sub>ext</sub>                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      NP<sub>time</sub>                      N<sub>time</sub>  
 they                      pluralizer                      like                      speak                      mutual action                      progressive                      relativizer                      when                      just now  
*mó*                      *tô thê?*                      *ve*                      *qhe* *bî* *la*                      *ve*                      *yò* .  
 N                      OV                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      N<sub>ext</sub>                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 fortune-teller                      predict the future                      nominalizer                      like                      fulfill                      come to V                      nominalizer                      declarative



- (27) *kà-pâ?* *cò* *tā* *ve* *qhe* *gà* *la*  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 prediction be in accordance with perfective nominalizer like come to pass come to V  
*ve* *yò*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (28) *qhe-le-ṣ* , *khâ?* *kâ?* *te* *pà* *ò*  
 Conj N P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 then crossbow also do finish V'ing completed action
- (29) *yô-hi* *tê ge* *chê* *ā* *ve*  
 Pron Q V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 they together stay perfective nominalizer
- (30) *ša-gû* *thā* *gà* *le* , *ô* *ṣ* *hó-khân* *yâ-mî* *à?* *á-cè*  
 N P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N N P<sub>n</sub> N  
 midday when reach suspensive over there locative king daughter accusative hawk  
*chî* *le* *nó-po* *qhô?* *gà* *la* *cê*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 lift up suspensive lake over reach come to V quotative
- (31) *yô* *khâ?* *qha-dê?* *gò* *vân* *qha-pî* *le* , *nó-po*  
 Pron N AE <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 he crossbow properly V vigorously go for it vivid or violent action suspensive lake  
*qhó* *ce* *lò?* *la* *ve* *cê*  
 M<sub>px</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 into fall (from a height) V into come to V nominalizer quotative
- (32) *nó-po* *qhó* *ce* *lò?* *e* *le* , *í-kâ?* *lwê* *pí*  
 N M<sub>px</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub>  
 lake inside fall (from a height) V into motion away suspensive water swim able to V  
*pā* *tê khi* *è* *tí* *gò* *lwê* *le* , *ô*  
 P<sub>v-nom</sub> Q P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub>  
 agentive nominalizer very soon only only V vigorously swim suspensive over there  
*ṣ* *hó-khân* *yâ-mî* *à?* *gò* *lwê* *yù* *šē* ,  
 P<sub>n</sub> N N P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 locative king daughter accusative V vigorously swim V to get sthg right away  
*yâ-mî-há* *à?*  
 N P<sub>n</sub>  
 unmarried young woman accusative
- (33) *gò* *lwê* *yù* *šē* *le* *yô-hi* *tê phā* *šē?* *gā* *ve*  
<sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Q Q P<sub>univ</sub>  
 V vigorously swim V to get sthg first suspensive they pluralizer three people genitivizer  
*ṣ* , *yâ-mî-há* *ô-ve* *à?* *tí* *ve* *dā?*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N Det P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 topic unmarried young woman that accusative only stake out a claim mutual action  
*ve*  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer

The three lazy men and the princess (Version I)

- (34) *a-šu tê gâ hâ? tù le qô? ve* .  
 Pron Q V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 who one person get future substantive qst say nominalizer
- (35) *tê gâ le-le hâ? gâ ε , ” ηà tî thè? ε , ηà*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron OV P<sub>unf</sub> Pron  
 everybody get desiderative suspensive I predict the future suspensive I  
*mó ηà hâ? cô ve ,” qô? ve* .  
 N Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 fortune-teller I get ought to nominalizer say nominalizer
- (36) ” *âa , nò tî thè? ve tí qo nò mâ gâ ,*  
 Interj Pron OV P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron Adv V  
 well! you predict the future nominalizer topicalizer topicalizer negative succeed  
*ηà í-kâ? gâ lwê yù à? ve ” qô? ve* .  
 Pron N <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 I water manage to swim V to get sthg perfective nominalizer say nominalizer
- (37) ” *nò í-kâ? lwê ve ηà khâ? mâ bô? ce*  
 Pron N V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N Adv V V<sub>v</sub>  
 you water swim nominalizer I crossbow negative shoot V downwards with vigor  
*qo mâ gâ qô? ve ”* .  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 if negative succeed say nominalizer
- (38) *yô-hi šê? gâ hí dâ? ve cê* .  
 Pron Q V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 they three people compete mutual action nominalizer quotative
- (39) *nò-hi dô a ni , a-šu tê gâ hâ? cô le* .  
 Pron V P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub> Pron Q V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 you (pl) think try to whoever one person get ought to substantive qst
- (40) *dô a ni , tê gâ le-le* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub> NP<sub>q</sub>  
 think try to everybody
- (41) *Yâ-pâ-é : hô-khân-ma à? qô? ve lâ* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 man's name princess accusative mean nominalizer benefactive (non-3p)
- (42) : *bô? ce pā hâ? cô ve* .  
 V V P<sub>v-nom</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 shoot fall (from a height) agentive nominalizer get ought to nominalizer
- (43) *T : lwê yù pā* .  
 V V P<sub>v-nom</sub>  
 swim take agentive nominalizer
- (44) *Ty : thè?-ni pā hâ? cô qô?-ma* .  
 V P<sub>v-nom</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 look into the future agentive nominalizer get ought to emphatic
- (45) *yô mâ thè?-ni qo mâ šī è?* .  
 Pron Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 he negative look into the future if negative know emphatic

- (46) *T* : *yô* *thè?* *thô* *mâ* *lwê* *qo* *mâ* *gga* .  
 . Pron V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
 he predict the future also negative swim if negative succeed
- (47) *H* : *âa* , *hó-khân* *gε* *tā* *dà?* *ve* *yô-hi* *tê phā*  
 . Interj N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron Q  
 well! king with set before smn mutual action nominalizer they pluralizer  
*qô?* *ve* *ḡ* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 speak nominalizer topic
- (48) *qhò-qhe* *le* .  
 N<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 how? substantive qst
- (49) *à-khī-pī* *thā* *a-šū* *tê gā* *phān* *ā* *ve* *le* ,  
 N P<sub>univ</sub> Pron Q V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 first when whoever one person create perfective nominalizer substantive qst  
*mó* *tô-thè?* *pā* *lā* .  
 N N P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 fortune-teller fortune-teller agentive nominalizer benefactive (non-3p)

## Translation

### *Headman Cà-bí*

1. Well, then, let me tell you another story. Listen carefully, everybody.
2. Long, long ago, the story goes, there were some lazy men, three traders.<sup>1</sup>
3. They were resting<sup>2</sup> in a certain place where several roads met, where three roads met.
4. The first man<sup>3</sup>, saying he was going off to trade, had sat down there<sup>4</sup>, and would say “Ah, where are you going?” [to those who passed].
5. One day another lazy man appeared.
6. [In response to the other’s usual question] he said, “Oh, I’m doing some trading.”<sup>5</sup>
7. “Have a seat here.”
8. After a while a [third] man came along [one of the] roads to the place where the three roads met.
9. He arrived there, and they all had a conversation.
10. “What do you do?,” they said.
11. “Nothing much.<sup>6</sup> I go around trading,” he said.
12. “What are you good at?” they said.
13. All of them were sitting there and talking back and forth.
14. “Well, I know how to make crossbows,” he said.

<sup>1</sup> *tā(n)-kā te ve* ‘to trade; go around trading.’

<sup>2</sup> Lit., “sitting.”

<sup>3</sup> Lit., “at first, one man...”

<sup>4</sup> He sat down on his way, and didn’t bother to get up again.

<sup>5</sup> It is probable that the Headman reversed two sentences and meant to have “where are you going” come *after* “one day another lazy man appeared.”

<sup>6</sup> Lit: “I don’t do anything.”

The three lazy men and the princess (Version I)

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15. “Well, then, you–what can you do?”
16. “Oh, I know how to predict the future.<sup>7</sup>” These three men [were talking like that].
17. Thereupon they said, “What do you have to say, then, if you tell fortunes? Try predicting the future, maestro!<sup>8</sup>” they said.
18. Well, he spoke, screwing his mouth up from one side to the other<sup>9</sup>: “Hm, in a short while, at midday, we’ll see<sup>10</sup> that a hawk carrying a princess—a king’s daughter—in his beak will fly over the lake here,” he said, foretelling the future.
19. “Well, didn’t *you* say you could make crossbows?”
20. “Yes, I can (make crossbows).” And he made a crossbow.
21. Well, another of them said, “And what can *you* do?”
22. “I know how to swim,” he said.
23. As they were all talking like this, that which had just been foretold would come to pass.
24. It would happen according to the prediction.
25. So, the crossbow was all made, and they stayed there together.
26. When midday came, there was the hawk carrying the king’s daughter, and he was already over the lake.<sup>11</sup>
27. So he took careful aim and fired off a shot, and they fell into the lake.
28. When they had fallen into the lake, the man who could swim immediately struck out swimming, and by his swimming rescued the princess who was out there—the young girl.
29. When he had swum back with her, the three of them made conflicting claims on [the girl].
30. They were arguing over who would marry her.
31. Everybody wanted to marry her, [and the fortune-teller said] “I foretold it, so I, the maestro, ought to marry her!”
32. “Well, you couldn’t get her just by telling your fortunes—I had to swim out and get her!”
33. “If I hadn’t shot him down with my crossbow you couldn’t have gotten her by your swimming!”
34. Thus the three of them vied with each other.
35. You people think about it! Which one of them probably should have married her? Think about it, everybody.
36. Pà-é: You mean the queen<sup>12</sup>? The one who shot [the arrow] ought to get her.
37. T: The swimmer!
38. Ty: It’s the fortune-teller who should get her! If he hadn’t foretold it they’d never have known.
39. T: Even if he foretold it, if he didn’t swim he couldn’t get her.

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<sup>7</sup>**mǎ-tǎ thè?** *ve*. There is apparently a folk-etymology here. **mǎ-tǎ** is prob. < Thai *mǎ-duu* “seeing master”, but there are also Lahu roots **mǎ** ‘be an elder; be venerable’ and **tǎ** ‘words.’

<sup>8</sup>The Thai-derived vocative **mǎ** ‘teacher’ is used.

<sup>9</sup>Fortune-tellers often speak out of the side of their mouths, to appear more impressive.

<sup>10</sup>The benefactive verb-particle **lâ** implies that the hawk’s actions are directed at the men: ‘for their benefit’ in the sense that they will be the witnesses of the action.

<sup>11</sup>Lit., “and he had gotten as far as above the lake.”

<sup>12</sup>Pà-é uses the word **hǎ-khâ-ma** instead of **hǎ-khâ yâ-mî**.

40. H: Well, they took the case to the king and told him about it—and how did it come out? Who was the one who created [this situation]<sup>13</sup> first? Was it the fortune-teller?

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<sup>13</sup>**phā** may mean either 'pass by' or 'create' (both < Shan), though neither makes much sense here. The Headman brought this narrative to an abrupt close, but retold the story on another occasion. See Version II.

## 8.7 The three lazy men and the princess (Version II)

- (1) *âa* , *yà?-pí-há* *ò-ví-ò-ni* *à?* *à-šwè thâ* *chɔ-bò-pā* *šé?* *gâ*  
 Interj N<sub>time</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> AE N Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 well! this evening my brethren accusative once upon a time lazy man three for humans  
*ò-lɔn* *a-cí* *qāw-dâ?-qhay-dâ?* *ni* *a* *lê*  
 N Adv Elab<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 story just tell and recount try and V intentive request for assent
- (2) *qha-dê?* *na* *tā* *mē* .  
 AE V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 properly listen durative urging
- (3) *à-šwè thâ* *chɔ-bò-pā* *tê gâ* *ō* *tân-kà* *ca* *te* *qay* *ve* .  
 AE N Q P<sub>unf</sub> N V<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 once upon a time lazy man one person topic trade go and do do go off to V nominalizer
- (4) *yô* *bò* *jâ* *ɛ* , *qay-qay* *ɛ* *ô* *ō* *yà?-qɔ* *ô*  
 Pron V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V<sub>redup</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N Num  
 he be lazy very because going and going suspensive over there locative road four  
*câ?* *cɛ* *la* *kì* *ō* *mi* *ā* *chê* *ve*  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 for long objects intersect come to V locative locative sit durative continuous nominalizer  
*cê*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative
- (5) *chɔ* *là* *ve* *à?* *lɔ* *chê* *ve* *yà?-qɔ-phî* *ō* *mi*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V  
 people come nominalizer accusative wait for continuous relativizer roadside locative sit  
*ɛ* , *qhâ-mɔ* *chwe* , *ò-yân* *mɔ* *chwe* *à?* , *chɔ-bò-pā*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> AE B<sub>v</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> B<sub>v</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N  
 suspensive for a long time very time long (of time) very accusative lazy man  
*tê gâ* *qò?* *tô?* *la* *ve* *cê* , *ô* *kâ?*  
 Q V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 another person V in addition appear come to V nominalizer quotative there locative  
*ō* , *yà?-qɔ-cɛ* *ō* .  
 P<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 locative fork in road locative
- (6) *yô-hí-mà* *qò?* *mi* *chê* *ā* *ve* *tê yân thâ* *qò?* *na*  
 Pron V<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> V<sub>v</sub> V  
 they (dual) go on to V sit continuous perfective relativizer when go on to V ask  
*dâ?* *ve* , *qò?* *lɔ* *chê* *šō* , *ô* *kâ?*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 mutual action nominalizer keep on V'ing wait continuous durative there locative  
*ō* .  
 P<sub>n</sub>  
 locative
- (7) *qò?* *lɔ* *chê* *ve* *tê yân* *chɔ-bò-pā* *tê gâ* *qò?*  
 V<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q N Q V<sub>v</sub>  
 keep on V'ing wait continuous relativizer the time that lazy man another person V again

- tô?* *la* *l* *cê* .  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
appear come to V emphatic declarative quotative
- (8) *tê gâ* *tô?* *la* *l* *chê* *ve* *šê?* *gâ*  
Q V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
another person appear come to V suspensive wait continuous relativizer three for people  
*gâ* *ò* .  
V P<sub>v</sub>  
reach completed action
- (9) *qô?* *l* *chê* *š* , *yô-hi* *tê pa* *ô* *kà?* .  
<sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> Pron Q N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
V again wait continuous still they group there locative
- (10) *bô* *jâ* *l* , *yâ?-qo-phê* *ô* *l* *chê* *ve* .  
V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
be lazy very suspensive roadside locative wait continuous nominalizer
- (11) *qhe-te-l* , *yô-hi* *tê pa* *qô? dâ?* *ve* , *jê dâ?* *ve* *cê* .  
Conj Pron Q V+V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V+P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
then they group speak to one another nominalizer discuss nominalizer quotative
- (12) " *âa* , *nò* *à-thò?-ma* *te* *pí* *à* *le* , *mó* *ò* " *qô?*  
Interj Pron N<sub>intg</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V  
well! you what do able to V asseverative substantive qst sir vocative say  
*ve* *cê* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer quotative
- (13) " *âa* , *ŋà* *mó* *tô thè?* *pí* *à* " *qô?* *ve*  
Interj Pron N RC V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
well! I expert predict the future good at asseverative say nominalizer  
*cê* .  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
quotative
- (14) " *nò* *à-thò?-ma* *te* *pí* *le* " .  
Pron N<sub>intg</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
you what do able to V substantive qst
- (15) " *ŋà* *khâ?* *te* *pí* *à* " *qô?* *ve* *cê* .  
Pron N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
I crossbow make able to V asseverative say nominalizer quotative
- (16) " *khâ?* *te* *pí* *à* " *qô?* *ve* .  
N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
crossbow do able to V asseverative say nominalizer
- (17) " *nò* *à-thò?-ma* *te* *pí* *le* " .  
Pron N<sub>intg</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
you what do able to V substantive qst
- (18) " *ŋà* *í-kâ?* *lwê* *pí* *à* " *qô?* *ve* *cê* .  
Pron N<sub>spec</sub>+V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
I swim able to V asseverative say nominalizer quotative

The three lazy men and the princess (Version II)

- (19) " *âa* , *yô-hi tê pa jè dà? chê ve tê yân , qhò-qhe phê?*  
 Interj Pron Q V+P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q N<sub>intg</sub> V  
 well! they group discuss progressive relativizer the time that how? come to pass  
*tù ve le " tê gã qđ? na ve ...*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Q V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 future nominalizer substantive qst one person go on to V listen nominalizer
- (20) " *à-mù tê khi mù phà? la phô , ô-o ̄ vên qhɔ*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> SV P<sub>v</sub> M<sub>px</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N M<sub>px</sub>  
 a short time from now get dark come to V direction over there locative town in  
*̄ ve khún-yâ-mî khún-hó-khân yâ-mî á-cè chề?-chì*  
 P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N N N N V  
 locative genitivizer princess king daughter eagle bite into and lift up  
*və la lɛ chò ñà-hi qhò? là tù*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> Pron N<sub>loc</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 transportatory motion motion towards suspensive here us above come future  
*yò*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (21) *nò khâ? qha-dê? te-? , qô? pî ve cê*  
 Pron N AE V<sub>imp</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 you crossbow properly do! say benefactive (3p) nominalizer quotative
- (22) *nó-po ð-pâ chê ā ve cê yô-hi tê pa*  
 N N<sub>loc</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron Q  
 lake nearby be there durative nominalizer quotative they group
- (23) *nó-po lón tê mà ð-pâ yà?-qɔ-ce ̄ chê ā ve*  
 N B<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 lake sthg big one for things nearby fork in road locative stay durative nominalizer
- (24) *qhe-te-lɛ , khâ? te pà thâ , ô-ve hó-khân yâ-mî á-cè-lón tê mà*  
 Conj N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Det N N N Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 then crossbow make finish V'ing when that princess eagle one for things  
*chề? e la lɛ yô-hi qhò? là ve cê*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N<sub>loc</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 bite motion away come to V suspensive them above come nominalizer quotative
- (25) *khâ? gđ tho lɛ bđ? qha ve-̄ í-kâ?*  
 N V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N  
 crossbow V vigorously cock (a weapon) suspensive shoot violent action emphatic water  
*qhɔ qhân-kâ? ce lđ? la ve cê , nó-po*  
 M<sub>px</sub> Adv<sub>onomat</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N  
 inside with a splash fall (from a height) V into come to V nominalizer quotative lake  
*qhɔ ̄*  
 M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 inside locative
- (26) *ce lđ? la lɛ , í-kâ? lwê pí*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub>  
 fall (from a height) V into come to V suspensive water swim able to V





The three lazy men and the princess (Version II)

- (37) *qhe-qo* , ” *ηà khâ? te le bô? le ġa ve* ”,  
 Conj Pron N V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 then I crossbow make because shoot suspensive get nominalizer  
*nî ġâ tê ġâ qô? ve cê* .  
 NP<sub>q</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 second person say nominalizer quotative
- (38) ” *nò khâ? te kâ? , ηà í-kâ? lwê ġa ve* ”  
 Pron N V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N V <sub>v</sub>V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 you crossbow make although I water swim manage to nominalizer  
*šê? ġâ tê ġâ qô? ve* .  
 NP<sub>q</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 the third person say nominalizer
- (39) *yô-hi tê pa šê? ġâ ġò dà? ve* .  
 Pron Q Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 they group three for people argue nominalizer
- (40) *ġò dà? ġò dà? ve jô-mô hó-khân ge khún ge qô? ġà e*  
 V + P<sub>v</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N N P<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub>  
 argue argue relativizer master king to officials to V finally reach motion away  
*ve* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer
- (41) *a-šu tê ġâ ġa le qô? ve* .  
 Pron Q V P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 who one person win substantive qst say nominalizer
- (42) *í-kâ? lwê ve pa-to ġa ve* .  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 water swim nominalizer because of get nominalizer
- (43) *í-kâ? lwê pā qhò?-nó tê ġâ ġa ve yò*  
 N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> M<sub>prfx</sub> Q V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 water swim agentive nominalizer the last one one person win nominalizer declarative  
*cê* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative

**Translation**

(Told by Headman Cà-bí; replaces the badly told #83)

< **chò-bò-pā šê? ġâ le Jômô-yâ-mî** >

1. Well, this evening I'm just going to try telling you, my brethren, about three lazy men long ago.
2. Listen up well!
3. Once upon a time, there was a lazy fellow who went around trading.
4. Since he was very lazy, he went along until he came to a place where four roads met, and sat himself down there.
5. He sat down there by the roadside waiting for people to come, and after a long time another lazy guy appeared, right there, at the crossroads.

6. When the two of them met, they asked questions of each other, and kept on waiting over there.
7. While they were still waiting, another person appeared!
8. Now there were as many as three people there waiting.
9. They still kept on waiting, all of them there.
10. Since they were so lazy they just waited and waited.
12. So they all talked to each other, and discussed things with each other.
13. “So, what can you do, sir?” [somebody] said.
14. “Well, I can predict the future<sup>1</sup>,” he said.
15. “And you, what can *you* do?”
16. “I know how to make crossbows,” he said. “I can make crossbows.”
18. “What can *you* do?”
19. “I know how to swim,” he said.
20. Well, while they were all talking this way, one of them asked [the fortune-teller], “What is probably going to happen?”
21. “Pretty soon, around nightfall, the daughter of the ruler of that city there, the princess, will pass above us having been bitten and lifted up by an eagle. <sup>2</sup>”
22. “You make a crossbow carefully!” he said.
23. They were staying near a lake, these guys.
24. The crossroads they were at was near a big lake.
25. Then, after he had finished making the crossbow, that princess who had been carried along in the beak of the great eagle passed above them.
26. He cocked his crossbow and shot it off, and [the eagle] fell down with a big splash, into the lake.
27. When it had fallen in, the one who could swim immediately swam out and got her. She was very beautiful, they say.
28. So these three guys argued with each other: “She’s for me!” “No, she’s for me!” they said.
29. After they had retrieved the girl, they argued with each other [as if] in a court of law, those three guys.
30. What should be done? When they went to the great place, the great and mighty lords’ place, they were all arguing and quarreling with each other.
31. Which person would win?
32. “Me, me, I win because I predicted the future!” he said.
34. “I made the crossbow, and got it [the eagle] with a shot,” the second guy said. “Yeah, I made the crossbow and shot it.”
35. “I got her by swimming,” the third guy said.
36. The three of them argued with each other.

<sup>1</sup> **mó tš thè?** *ve*: The phrase **mó tš thè?**, lit. “fortune-telling expert”, consists of the head noun **mó** ‘expert’ followed by the relative clause **tš thè?**. This latter is an example of a “right relative clause” (RRC), unlike the majority of Lahu RC’s which precede their head-noun. See GL 6.49. pp. 490-500.

<sup>2</sup> **á-cè** is the general word for birds of prey like kites, hawks, and eagles. When the morpheme **-l6(n)** ‘great; big’ is added, the best translation is ‘eagle’.

The three lazy men and the princess (Version II)

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37. Arguing and arguing, they arrived at the palace and said, "Which person won?"

38. "She was recovered by swimming, so the swimmer, the last person, is the winner," so they said.

## 8.8 The orphan and the tigers

- (1) à-šwè thā cê šā-bô?-pā tê chi gâ cò ve cê  
 AE P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 once upon a time quotative hunter ten for people be there nominalizer quotative
- (2) šā-bô?-pā tê chi gâ ve ð-qhɔ lo yâ-cò-ši  
 N<sub>dvb</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N  
 hunter ten for people genitivizer amongst locative half-orphan  
 fī-kô?-ni tê gâ yô šu cè te qay ve  
 N Q Pron Pron N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 orphan (both parents dead) one person he their servant act as continue V'ing nominalizer  
 cê  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative
- (3) qhe-te-ɛ , hê?-pí-qhɔ šā-bô?-kì thān-lón ð-qhɔ lo gà ɛ , yô-hi  
 Conj N N<sub>dvb</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron  
 well then jungle hunting place great forest into locative reach suspensive they  
 chē-kì ô-ve ð-qhɔ lo gà ve tê yān thā , lâ-khi thà?  
 N<sub>dvb</sub> Det N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 dwelling place that inside locative reach relativizer when tiger footprint accusative  
 gā mò ɛ , yô-hi há mâ phê? cê  
 vV+V<sub>h</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 find suspensive they spend the night negative able to quotative
- (4) qhe-te-ɛ yô-hi šā-bô?-pā ô-ve tê phā kô? jâ ɛ ,  
 Conj Pron N<sub>dvb</sub> Det Q V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 so they hunters those pluralizer be afraid very suspensive  
 qhā-pū-lu ló te ve cê  
 N B<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 deep carrying-basket with head-strap sthg big make nominalizer quotative
- (5) qhā-pū-lu chi ð-qhɔ lo lò? ɛ yì?-kì te ve cê  
 N Det N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 basket this inside locative enter suspensive sleeping place make nominalizer quotative
- (6) mû phà? thā gà ɛ , yô-hi qhā-pū-lu ô-ve thà? mû-phe lo  
 SV P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N Det P<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 get dark when reach suspensive they basket that accusative up above locative  
 ca phē-chī ɛ , tâ? yì? tù ve te  
 vV V P<sub>unf</sub> V V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V  
 go and do hang up by ropes suspensive go up sleep purposive nominalizer do  
 ve cê  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer quotative
- (7) qhe-te-ɛ , yâ-cù-ši ô-ve qô? pī ve : ” šā-mó tê phā  
 Conj N Det V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Q  
 so orphan that say benefactive (3p) nominalizer expert hunter pluralizer

The orphan and the tigers

- ò , á-thɔ a-cí ηā ” ô qhe qô? pî ve cê  
 P<sub>n</sub> N Adv V NP<sub>ext</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 vocative heavy knife please lend like that say benefactive (3p) nominalizer quotative
- (8) ” nò-hi pòn ve qhe ηà kà? pòn gâ  
 Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 you (pl) be safe nominalizer like I also be safe desiderative
- (9) ηà thô mâ šî gâ  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 I also negative die desiderative
- (10) chò kà? lâ chê kî cò mâ jâ lɛ , lâ mâ ve  
 N<sub>sd</sub> + P<sub>n</sub> N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 here tiger live locative be there be many very because tiger many nominalizer  
 pa-tɔ ηà kà? nò-hi qhe mù-phe yî? gâ ,” ô qhe qô?  
 P<sub>n</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N<sub>ext</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub> V  
 because of I also you (pl) like up above sleep desiderative like that say  
 pî ve cê  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (3p) nominalizer quotative
- (11) qhe-te-lɛ , šā-mó ô-ve tɛ pa , á-thɔ mâ ηā pî  
 Conj N Det Q N Adv V V<sub>v</sub>  
 then expert hunter that group heavy knife negative lend benefactive (3p)
- (12) yô-hi vâ-qhê thè? bà ve à? yâ-cù-šî chi yô gô?  
 Pron N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N Det Pron V  
 they scraps of bamboo shave off away nominalizer accusative orphan this he pick up  
 lɛ , vâ-pu lón tɛ mà ð-qhɔ lò? e  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N B<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 suspensive clump of bamboo sthg big one for things inside enter motion away  
 ve cê  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer quotative
- (13) cò kà? lò? e lɛ ca ni ve  
 N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 over there locative enter motion away suspensive go and do look around relativizer  
 tɛ yân thâ , chɔ yî? lò? ê? qhe-cɛ è gâ mð ve cê  
 NP<sub>time</sub> N V AE<sub>stat</sub> AE Prt vV + V<sub>h</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 when person sleep enough to just adverbializer find nominalizer quotative
- (14) qhe-te-lɛ yô vâ-qhê ô-ve yù lɛ te á ve á-khe  
 Conj Pron N Det V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 so he scraps of bamboo those take suspensive make perfective nominalizer rope  
 gô? və lɛ , ô kà? ð-qhɔ lo yô  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron  
 pick up transportatory motion suspensive over there locative inside locative he

- ca* *ni* *lɛ* , *ô* *kâ?* *yì? e* *ve* *cê* ,  
<sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 go and do look around suspensive over there locative fall asleep nominalizer quotative  
*tân-khîn* *thâ* .  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 all night long when
- (15) *qhe-te-lɛ* , *yô-hi* *šā-bô?-pā* *tê phā* *mû phà?* *la* *ve* *tê yân thâ* , *qhá-pū-lu*  
 Conj Pron N<sub>dvb</sub> Q SV P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N  
 so they hunters pluralizer get dark come to V relativizer when basket  
*à-qhɔ* *lo* *lò?* *yì? e* *ve* *cê* .  
 N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 inside locative enter fall asleep nominalizer quotative
- (16) *qhe-te-lɛ* , *lâ* *gà* *la* *ve* *tê yân thâ* , *lâ* *pô?* *chè?-câ*  
 Conj N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N V V  
 well then tigers arrive come to V relativizer when tigers jump bite into and eat  
*ve* *cê* , *qha-pà-è* *tê chi* *gā* *ve* *thà?* *chè?-câ*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> AE Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V  
 nominalizer quotative all ten for people genitivizer accusative bite into and eat  
*pà* *šē* *ve* *cê* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 finish V'ing regrettably nominalizer quotative
- (17) *tê pô? lè* *yô-hi* *qha-pà-è* *ve* *thà?* *chè?-câ* *pà* *lɛ* ,  
 NP<sub>q</sub> Pron AE P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 thereupon them all genitivizer accusative bite into and eat finish V'ing suspensive  
*yâ-cò-šī* *vâ-pu* *qhɔ* *yì?* *ā* *ve* *à?* *yô-hi*  
 N N M<sub>px</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron  
 orphan clump of bamboo inside sleep perfective nominalizer accusative they  
*gā mò* *lɛ* *lâ* *ô-ve* *tê phā* *mē-tu* *cɔ* *jû?* *kə*  
<sub>v</sub>V + V<sub>h</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Det Q N <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub>  
 catch sight of suspensive tigers those pluralizer tail go around and V stick into V into  
*lɛ* *cɔ* *šī* *ve* *cê* .  
 P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 suspensive go around and V stick into nominalizer quotative
- (18) *qhe-te-lɛ* , *lâ* *mē-tu* *jû?* *kə* *lɛ* *šī* *ve* *thà?*  
 Conj N N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 then tigers tail stick into V into suspensive stick into nominalizer accusative  
*yâ-cò-šī* *chi-ve* *yô* *á-khe* *lâ* *mē-tu* *thà?* *phɛ* *lɛ* *vâ-pu*  
 N Det Pron N N N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 orphan this his rope tigers tail accusative tie suspensive clump of bamboo  
*thà?* *hwē-tī* *ve* *cê* .  
 P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 accusative tether nominalizer quotative
- (19) *ô qhe* *tí* *te* *ve* *cê* , *lâ* *tê chi* *khe* *ve* *hà?*  
 NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 like that just do nominalizer quotative tigers ten for animals nominalizer accusative

The orphan and the tigers

- (20) *qhe-te-ɛ* *mû thî* *la* *ve* *tê yân thâ* , *yô* *ò-bà-pá* *lo* *tô?*  
 Conj SV P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Pron N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V  
 then dawn comes come to V relativizer when he outside locative come out  
*qay* *ɛ* , *šā-bô?-pā* *šî* *ā* *ve* *á-tho* *tê phā* *yù*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Q V  
 end up V'ing suspensive hunters die perfective genitivizer heavy knife pluralizer take  
*ɛ* , *lā* *tê phā* *thà?* *cho* *phê* *ve*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N Q P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 suspensive tigers pluralizer accusative slash at launch violent action nominalizer  
*cê* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative
- (21) *qhe-te-ɛ* *lā* *ô-ve* *tê phā* *qha-pà-è* *šî* *e* *pà* *ve*  
 Conj N Det Q AE V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 so tigers those pluralizer all die motion away finish V'ing nominalizer  
*cê* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative
- (22) *pà* *ve* *yò* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 come to an end nominalizer declarative

**Translation**

1. Once upon a time there were twelve hunters.
2. Among these twelve hunters there was an orphan, bereft of his mother, of both parents<sup>1</sup>, who worked as their servant.
3. Well, then, [one day] they arrived at a place in the jungle, a hunting ground in the deep forest, and when they got to their camp<sup>2</sup>, they found some tiger footprints, so they couldn't spend the night there.
4. Well, those hunters were all scared stiff, so they made a huge basket.<sup>3</sup>
5. They went inside this basket, and made places for themselves to sleep.
6. When it got dark, they went and hoisted up the basket to a high place<sup>4</sup>, and climbed up into it to sleep.
7. At this point, the orphan said, "Master hunters, please lend me a knife<sup>5</sup>!", he said.<sup>6</sup>
8. "I want to be safe just like you guys are safe."
9. "I don't want to die either."
10. "'Since there are so many places where tigers live around here, since there are lots of tigers, I want to sleep up high just like you guys!" he said.
11. But those master hunters didn't lend him a knife.

<sup>1</sup>*yā-cò-šî* 'motherless child', *fi-kô?-ni* 'orphan bereft of both parents'.

<sup>2</sup>*che kî* lit. "staying place"

<sup>3</sup>*qhā-jū-lu* ~ *qhā-pū-lu* 'large loosely-woven carrying basket with a headstrap'. See Plate #11 in DL.

<sup>4</sup>Probably tied to a high tree-branch by its carrying strap.

<sup>5</sup>In order to cut bamboo to make a basket for himself, not to use as a weapon against tigers!

<sup>6</sup>It is common in Lahu narratives to both introduce and follow a quotation by "he said", but of course one of these is best left untranslated.



12. So the orphan picked up some scraps of bamboo that had been whittled off and discarded<sup>7</sup>, and went inside a great big clump of bamboo.<sup>8</sup>
  13. When he went in there and looked around, he saw that it was just big enough for a person to sleep in.
  14. So he picked up the rope he had made out of the bamboo scraps, and having looked around inside, he went in there to sleep for the night.
  15. Then, when it got dark, all those hunters went into the basket to sleep.
  16. Well, when the tigers came, they jumped up, bit into them and ate them up, all of them, the ten of them, they bit into them and ate them all up.
  17. At this point, after they had all been bitten and eaten up, those tigers caught sight of the orphan who had slept in the bamboo clump, so they went around it and thrust their tails into it, went around and stuck them in.
  18. Then, when the orphan [saw] the tigers' tails had been thrust in and stuck in, he took his rope and tied up their tails, tethering them to the bamboo clump.
  19. That's just what he did, to those ten tigers.<sup>9</sup>
  20. Then, when dawn broke, he came outside [from the bamboo clump], and took all the knives of the dead hunters, and hacked away at all the tigers.
  21. So that whole bunch of tigers all died.
  22. That's the end.
- 

<sup>7</sup>When the master hunters were making their basket.

<sup>8</sup>**vā-pu**: a mass of bamboo with their roots intertwined.

<sup>9</sup>Here we learn for the first time that there were ten of them.

## 8.9 The orphan and the magic frog

- (1) à-šwè thâ cê , yâ-cù-sĩ tê gâ cò lɛ , tê ni tê ni šĩ?  
 AE P<sub>uf</sub> N Q V P<sub>unf</sub> AE N  
 once upon a time quotative orphan one person be there suspensive every day firewood  
 ca khâ? e lɛ , tê ni qhe gâ  
 vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> V  
 go and do chop up (felled logs) motion away suspensive one for days topicalizer reach  
 lɛ šĩ? khâ?-khâ? lɛ , ɔ̄ mǎ? lɛ , ɔ̄ câ  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N V<sub>redup</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> N V  
 suspensive tree while chopping up while chopping up food hungry because food eat  
 lɛ , pā-té-nê? tê khɛ tǎ? la cê .  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 suspensive frog one for animals appear come to V quotative
- (2) pā-té-nê? tǎ? la lɛ , yô ɔ̄ cā pî ve  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 frog appear come to V suspensive he topic feed benefactive (3p) nominalizer  
 qô?-ve , tê ni tê ni .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> AE  
 it is said every day
- (3) chi qhe te lɛ á-qhɔ̄ ɔ̄ tê ni tê ni ġa qǎ? e  
 AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> AE vV V P<sub>v</sub>  
 like this happen suspensive home locative every day get to return motion away  
 lɛ , ɔ̄ te ā lâ ve cê .  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 suspensive food cook (as food) perfective benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer quotative
- (4) ɔ̄ te ā lâ lɛ šu à? ca  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> vV  
 food cook (as food) perfective benefactive (non-3p) suspensive others object go and do  
 na-ni lɛ-qǎ? , ” ñà á-qhɔ̄ ɔ̄ , ɔ̄ a-šu te ā  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N P<sub>n</sub> N Pron V P<sub>v</sub>  
 ask suspensive my home locative food who cook (as food) perfective  
 lâ le , qǎ? pî a lɛ , ”  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p) substantive qst say benefactive (3p) vigorous action suspensive  
 nò á-qhɔ̄ ɔ̄-qhe chɔ̄ ɔ̄ mâ te , á-qhâ-yè , chà?  
 Pron N P<sub>unf</sub> N N Adv V N V  
 your home topicalizer person food negative cook (as food) ragweed hut to be dirty  
 à ” chi qhe qǎ? la lɛ , tê ni qhe gâ  
 P<sub>v</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> V  
 asseverative like this say come to V suspensive one for days topicalizer reach  
 lɛ , vǎ? ni a lɛ , ôo , í-mò?-qô ð-qhɔ̄  
 P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Interj N N<sub>loc</sub>  
 suspensive hide (oneself) try and V intentive suspensive wow! gourd from inside  
 pǎ? tǎ? la cê .  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 jump V out motion towards quotative

- (5) *pɔʔ tɔʔ la* , *tɛ qhe tɪ* *gò* *ní-yù* *lɛ* *gà*  
V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V  
jump V out motion towards suspensive suddenly V vigorously grab suspensive catch  
*ve* *qôʔ-ve* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer it is said
- (6) " *nò* *ɲà* *ví* *te* *ā* *lâ* " *qôʔ* *qo* ,  
Pron Pron M<sub>prfx</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
you my older sibling act as durative yes say when
- (7) " *mâ hêʔ* " *qôʔ* *ve* ,  
Adv + V V P<sub>univ</sub>  
not be so say nominalizer
- (8) " *ɲà* *ni* *te* *ā* *lâ* " *qôʔ* *qo* ,  
Pron M<sub>prfx</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
my younger sibling act as durative yes say when
- (9) " *mâ hêʔ* "   
Adv + V  
not be so
- (10) " *ɲà* *e* *te* *ā* *lâ* " *qôʔ* *qo* ,  
Pron N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
my mother act as durative yes say when
- (11) " *mâ hêʔ* "   
Adv + V  
not be so
- (12) " *nò* *ɲà* *mî-ma* *te* *ā* *lâ* " *qôʔ* *qo* ,  
Pron Pron M<sub>prfx</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
you my wife act as durative yes say when
- (13) " *êe* , *êe* " *qôʔ* *ve* .  
Interj Interj V P<sub>univ</sub>  
yes yes say nominalizer
- (14) *qhe-te-lɛ* *ð-qhɔʔ-nɔ* *gà* *lɛ* , *hâʔ-hâʔ* *lɛ* ,  
Conj N<sub>time</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>redup</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
so afterwards reach suspensive married for a long time suspensive
- (15) " *nò* *vâʔ-khɔʔ* *te-ʔ* , *nû-khɔʔ* *te-ʔ* " *qôʔ* *ve* *cê* .  
Pron N V<sub>imp</sub> N V<sub>imp</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
you pigsty build! cattle shed build! say nominalizer quotative
- (16) *chì qhe* *te* *lɛ* , *nû-khɔʔ* *vâʔ-khɔʔ* *te* *lɛ-ʃ* , *te*  
AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N N V P<sub>unf</sub> V  
like this be a certain way suspensive cattle shed pigsty build suspensive build  
*pə* *lɛ* ,  
V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
finish V'ing suspensive
- (17) *nû* *kàʔ* *cò* , *vâʔ* *kàʔ* *cò* , *láy-cà* *cò* , *í-mû* *cò* -  
N P<sub>unf</sub> V N P<sub>unf</sub> V Q V N V  
cattle also be there pig also be there several kinds be there horse be there

- (18) *chi qhe phè? la lɛ , ð-qhò?-nó yô bɛ-bɛ kɛ-kɛ phè? la lɛ , yô*  
 AE<sub>ext</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> Pron AE V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron  
 like this come to pass suspensive afterwards she all infected become suspensive he  
*mâ qò? hâ? gâ , qhâ?-šɛ-ma yâ-mî thà?*  
 Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> N N P<sub>n</sub>  
 negative still V want to stay married desiderative headman's wife daughter accusative  
*yô qò? hâ? gâ lɛ ,*  
 Pron <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 he V for a change marry desiderative because
- (19) *chi qhe te lɛ-ɔ̄ , yô ð-mî-ma ô-ve thà? yô bà gâ*  
 AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N Det P<sub>n</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub>  
 like this happen suspensive his wife that accusative he divorce desiderative  
*lɛ , tɛ ni tɛ ni gâ?-qò lɛ , ” ôo , qhâ?-jâ*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> AE V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> N  
 suspensive every day drive away suspensive way over there village outskirts  
*ɔ̄ gî-po ca dû e-? ,*  
 P<sub>n</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub>  
 locative pond go and do dig motion away (imp.)
- (20) *chi qhe qò? pî a lɛ , tɛ ni qhe gâ*  
 AE<sub>ext</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> V  
 like this say benefactive (3p) vigorous action suspensive one for days topicalizer reach  
*lɛ , gî-po ca dû e lɛ , tɛ ni gâ*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V  
 suspensive pond go and do dig motion away suspensive one for days reach  
*lɛ qay ve cê , á-qhɔ mâ qò? la*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 suspensive leave a place nominalizer quotative home negative return motion towards  
*lɛ .*  
 P<sub>unf</sub>  
 suspensive
- (21) *qay lɛ-ɔ̄ gî-po lò? e lɛ-ɔ̄ cò?-pɛ-ni šî gâ*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N<sub>ext</sub> V  
 leave a place suspensive pond enter motion away suspensive waist up to (a place) reach  
*lɛ-ɔ̄ ” nò ñà à? â tà nè-ɔ̄ .*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Pron P<sub>n</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 suspensive you me object negative want to separate suppositional
- (22) ” *tà yò-è? ” qò? ve cê .*  
 V P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 want to separate emphatic declarative say nominalizer quotative
- (23) *tɛ pò? qò? lò? e qo , tɛ pò? qò? lò? e lɛ-ɔ̄*  
 Q <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Q <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 again V further enter motion away when again V further enter motion away suspensive  
*, q̄-ɔ̄-pɛ cɛ gâ lɛ qò? ve ” nò ñà à? â*  
 N P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron Pron P<sub>n</sub> Adv  
 neck up to reach suspensive say nominalizer you me object negative  
*tà nè-ɔ̄ ,*  
 V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 want to separate suppositional



- khe*      *là*      *qôʔ-ve*      .  
 Cl<sub>f</sub>      V      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 for animals    come    it is said
- (35) *pā-té-nêʔ*    *tê*      *khe*      *là*      *le-ʃ*      ,    ”    *âa*      ,    *nò*      *à-thòʔ-ma te*    *hò*  
 N      Num    Cl<sub>f</sub>      V      P<sub>unf</sub>      Interj    Pron    Adv<sub>interrog</sub>    V  
 frog      one    for animals    come    suspensive      well!    you    why      weep  
*le*      ,    *yâ-cù-ši*      *ò*      ”    *chi qhe*    *qôʔ*    *pî*      *a*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>      N      P<sub>n</sub>      AE<sub>ext</sub>    V    V<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>v</sub>  
 substantive qst    half-orphan    vocative      like this    say    benefactive (3p)    vigorous action  
*thâ*      ,  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 when
- (36) ”    *ηà*      *mî-ma*    *chò*    *lòʔ*    *e*      *le*      *hò*      *ve*      ”    *chi qhe*    *qôʔ*  
 Pron    M<sub>prfx</sub>    N<sub>sd</sub>    V      P<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>    V      P<sub>univ</sub>      AE<sub>ext</sub>    V  
 my    wife    here    enter    motion away    because    weep    nominalizer      like this    say  
*pî*      *a*      *le*  
 V<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>  
 benefactive (3p)    vigorous action    suspensive
- (37) ”    *nò*      *á-phèʔ*      *che-má-qō*    *tē-ʔ*      .  
 Pron    N      N      V<sub>imp</sub>  
 you    chili peppers    mortar      crush!
- (38) *chi qhe*    *tē*      *ve*      *qo*    *lè*      ,    *ηà*      *chòʔ-fî*      *lá*      *a*      ”  
 AE<sub>ext</sub>    V      P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>    P<sub>unf</sub>      Pron    V      P<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>v</sub>  
 like this    crush    nominalizer    if    topic    I    suck empty    benefactive (non-3p)    intentive  
*qôʔ*    *pî*      *a*      *le*      ,    *tê pôʔ*    *lè*      *yô*      *tē*      *ve*  
 V    V<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>      NP<sub>q</sub>      Pron    V      P<sub>univ</sub>  
 say    benefactive (3p)    vigorous action    suspensive      right away    he    crush    nominalizer  
*cê*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative
- (39) *tē*      *le-ʃ*      *lèʔ*    *pà*      *le*      ,    *gò*      *chòʔ*      ,    *gò*      *chòʔ*  
 V      P<sub>unf</sub>      V      V<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>      vV      V      vV      V  
 crush    suspensive    eat    finish V'ing    suspensive    V vigorously    suck    V vigorously    suck  
*le-ʃ*      ,    *qhê-qhə*    *ní è*    *qay*      *le*      *ô-phâ*    *gî*      *cê*  
 P<sub>unf</sub>      N      AE    V      P<sub>unf</sub>      N      V      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 suspensive    anus    red    go a certain way    suspensive    that guy    laugh    quotative
- (40) *pèʔ*      *tôʔ*      *ηə-ηə*    *qay*      *le*  
 V      V<sub>v</sub>      Adv    V      P<sub>unf</sub>  
 split open    V outwards    nearly    go a certain way    suspensive
- (41) ”    *tê pôʔ*    *lè*      *nò*      *nî*      *pôʔ*      *tí*      *cò*      *ò*  
 NP<sub>q</sub>      Pron    Num    Cl<sub>f</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>    V      P<sub>v</sub>  
 this time    you    two    for chances    only    be there    completed action
- (42) *tâ*      *gî*      ,”    *chi qhe*    *qôʔ*    *pî*      *a*      *ve*  
 Adv      V      AE<sub>ext</sub>    V    V<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>  
 negative imperative    laugh      like this    say    benefactive (3p)    vigorous action    relativizer

- (43) *tê yân thâ* , *yô* *tê pô?* *qô?* *chô?* , *tê pô?* *qô?* *gë* *cê* .  
 NP<sub>time</sub> Pron Q <sub>v</sub>V V Q <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 when it again V again suck again V again laugh quotative
- (43) *tê pô?* *qô?* *gë* *lɛ-ɔ* , *tê pô?* *í-kâ?* *qô?* *phê* *pə*  
 Q <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> Q N <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub>  
 again V again laugh suspensive again water V again release set into vigorous motion  
*ve* *chwē-kà?* *qay* *qô?-ve* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> AE V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer splash! go a certain way it is said
- (44) ” *tê pô?* *lê* *nò* *tê pô?* *tí* *cò* *ò* .  
 NP<sub>q</sub> Pron NP<sub>q</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 this time you only one chance be there completed action
- (45) *tê pô?* *gë* *qo* *lê* *nò* *mâ* *gà* *ò* .  
 Q V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 again laugh if topic you negative succeed change of state
- (46) *nò* *mî-ma* *mâ* *gə* *mò* ”,  
 Pron M<sub>px</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V V  
 your wife negative get to see
- (47) *chi qhe* *qô?* *pî* *a* *thâ* , *qha-dê?* *jê-jê* *ā*  
 AE<sub>ext</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> AE V<sub>redup</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 like this say benefactive (3p) vigorous action when carefully restrain oneself durative  
*lɛ* , *gò* *chô?-fî* *ve* *tê yân thâ* , *yô* *ò-mî-ma* *gə* *qô?*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Pron N <sub>v</sub>V <sub>v</sub>V  
 suspensive V vigorously suck empty relativizer when his wife get to V again  
*mò* *ve* *qô?-ve* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 see nominalizer it is said
- (48) *pə* *ò* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub>  
 finish completed action

### Translation

1. Once upon a time, there was a certain orphan. Day after day he would go to chop firewood. One day while chopping up firewood he got hungry and ate a meal, when a frog appeared.
2. When the frog came out, he fed her [the frog] day after day.
3. So every day when he would return home, a meal would be cooked for him.
4. Since food had been cooked for him, even though he went and asked other people, “Who has cooked food for me in my house?”, they said “Nobody has been cooking in your house, that ragweed hut<sup>1</sup>, it’s too filthy!” So one day he tried hiding himself, and — wow! — she [the frog] came jumping out from inside a gourd.
5. When she jumped out, he quickly grabbed at her and caught her.
6. “Will you be my older sister?”, he said.
7. But she said, “No!”

<sup>1</sup> *á-qhâ-yè* ‘ragweed hut’, taken as the archetype of a miserable place to live. DL:83.

## The orphan and the magic frog

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8. "Will you be my younger sister?", he said.
9. But she said, "No!"
10. "Will you be my mother?", he said.
11. But she said, "No!"
12. "Will you be my wife?", he said.
13. And she said, "Yes, yes!"
14. So then for a long time afterwards they stayed married.
15. Then she said, "Build a pigsty, build a cattle shed."
16. After this, when he had built a cattle shed and a pigsty,
17. there were cattle there, there were pigs there, there were all kinds of animals, there were horses —
18. After this happened, later on she got all infected, and he didn't want to stay married to her, he wanted rather to marry the headman's wife's daughter.
19. So then since he wanted to divorce that wife of his he drove her out day after day, saying, "Hey, go and dig a pond at the edge of the village."
20. When he said this on a certain day when she was going to dig the pond, she just left and didn't come home.
21. She left, and entered the pond, and when she got up to her waist she said, "You don't really want to separate from me, do you?"
22. But he said, "Indeed I do!"
23. She went in further and this time when she went in she reached as far as her neck, and said, "You don't really want to separate from me, do you?"
24. But he said, "Indeed I do!"
25. "But pretty soon I'm going to die," she said, and kept on going in further.
26. After this happened he went home, but nothing was there anymore.
27. All he saw was a ragweed hut.
28. So then when he went to ask for the headman's wife's daughter in marriage,
29. she said, "Phooey! I don't want to marry someone like you! A miserable wretch like you! You don't have anything!"
30. Day after day he went there where she had gone into the pond, where his wife had entered the pond, and wept there.
31. So then on a certain day a frog appeared.
32. When the frog appeared, it said, "Well, why are you crying, orphan?"
33. "Because my wife went in here, I am weeping," he said.
34. [The frog said,] "You go and crush some chili peppers in a mortar.
35. If you crush them, I will suck it empty for you," so he immediately crushed them.



36. Having crushed them [the frog] ate<sup>2</sup> them all up, it sucked and sucked [the mortar] empty, so that its anus became all red, and that guy [the orphan] laughed.
37. [The frog] nearly split apart.
38. “Now you only have two chances left.
39. Do not laugh!”; when it said this it sucked it again, but [the orphan] laughed again.
40. When he had laughed again, all of a sudden water came spurting out [of the frog’s mouth] and went splash!
41. “Now you only have one chance left.
42. If you laugh again, you will not succeed.
43. You will not see your wife again.”
44. When it [the frog] said this [the orphan] managed to restrain himself properly, so when [the mortar] was sucked empty he got to see his wife again.
45. That’s the end.

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<sup>2</sup>The verb *l&eacute;*, lit. “lick”, is also used for snacking for pleasure (e.g., fruit, sweets, spicy things).

## 8.10 The orphan's riddles and the traders

- (1) [ *Parlaying a Chick to an Elephant Goad* ]  
P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
hortatory hortatory hortatory hortatory hortatory hortatory
- (2) *Ahem* ; *ηà-hi šālā ló ηà-hi Pa-šú qhâ? ð-qhɔ ca g̃t*  
Pron N B<sub>n</sub> Pron N<sub>place</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub> vV + V<sub>h</sub> V  
our teacher sthg big our village name village to come and V visit  
*la lɛ , ηà-hi Lâhū , chw-mô à-pòñ qhay khô na*  
P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N N N V N V  
come to V suspensive our Lahu ancestors story tell a story language listen  
*gâ ve cê*  
P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
desiderative nominalizer quotative
- (3) *ηà tê khô nî khô qāw pî šā* :  
Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
I one for words two for words tell benefactive (3p) intentional (1p)
- (4) *à-šwè thâ yâ-cù-šî ð-mɛ , ô-ve ɔ cã-šî-thî mɛ ve*  
AE N N Det P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
once upon a time orphan name that topic male name have a name nominalizer  
*cê*  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
quotative
- (5) *yô hā jâ ve pa-tɔ tê ni é tê ni cã-tù*  
Pron V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Prt Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub>  
he poor very nominalizer because of one for days adverbializer one for days food  
*mâ cò*  
Adv V  
negative be there
- (6) *qhe-te-lɛ pā-té-nê? ca khâ?-khâ? e lɛ ɔ-qhe* ,  
Conj N vV V<sub>redup</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
so frog go and do keep scooping up motion away suspensive topicalizer  
*cã-pí-nê? ð-phî ð-qhɔ ð-gwê te kə ve cê*  
N N N<sub>loc</sub> N vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
starling nest inside sthg dried out do and put into nominalizer quotative
- (7) *qhe-te-lɛ Hê?-pā tâ-kà-pā ló à? t̃shá e dà? ve*  
Conj N N B<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> OV P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
then Chinese trader sthg great accusative speak in riddles mutual action nominalizer
- (8) “ *cô kà? ð-qhɔ à-thò?-ma cò le* ” *qhe qô? dà?*  
N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
over there locative inside what be there substantive qst thus say mutual action  
*ve , qô? ve yâ-cù-šî chi*  
P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N Det  
nominalizer say nominalizer orphan this

- (9) *Hê?-pā tâ-kà-pā ô-ve ̄ “ à-thò?-ma cò tū è .*  
 N N Det P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 Chinese trader that topic what be there irrealis substantive qst
- (10) *ŋâ?-u cò ve tí yò ,” qô? ve , qhe qô?*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V  
 bird’s egg be there nominalizer only declarative say nominalizer thus say  
*pî a , qô? ve Hê?-pā tâ-kà-pā chi ̄ .*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N N Det P<sub>unf</sub>  
 benefactive (3p) vigorous action say nominalizer Chinese trader this topic
- (11) *” mâ hê? ” qô? ve cê , yô qô? ve .*  
 Adv + V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 not be the case say nominalizer quotative he say nominalizer
- (12) *” cò kâ? ò-qhò lè pā-té-nê? ò-kwi cò ve yò*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 over there locative inside topic frog dried up thing be there nominalizer declarative  
*” qô? ve cê .*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 say nominalizer quotative
- (13) *” qhe-qo nò ca tâ? yù a ni , òà ni a ” qô?*  
 Conj Pron<sub>v</sub> V V V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> Pron V P<sub>uf</sub> V  
 so you go and do climb take hold of try to I look at emphatic say  
*ve .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer
- (14) *ca tâ? yù a lè yô ca ni ve tê yân thâ*  
 vV V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron<sub>v</sub> V V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub>  
 go and do go up take hold of try to suspensive he seek to look at relativizer when  
*̄ , ” pā-té-nê? ò-kwi mò ā lâ .”*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 topic frog dried up thing see durative yes
- (15) *qhe-te-lè qò? qay qò? qay lè , ôo tê kà*  
 Conj vV V vV V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 so keep on V’ing go keep on V’ing go suspensive way over there one for places  
*gà lè ̄-qhe , yâ-cù-šî chi yô qò? ni a ve*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Det Pron<sub>v</sub> V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 reach suspensive topicalizer orphan this he V again look around try to relativizer  
*tê yân thâ , cò kâ? cò-pí-nê? phi tê phi mò cê .*  
 NP<sub>time</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 when over there also starling nest another for nests see quotative
- (16) *” cò-pí-nê? phi ô-ve ̄-qhe , ò-qhò lo ̄ à-thò?-ma cò le*  
 N M<sub>px</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 starling nest that topicalizer inside locative topic what be there substantive qst  
*” tō phá e dà? ve .*  
 OV P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 speak in riddles mutual action nominalizer

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- (17) " *cô* *kà?* *ð-qhɔ* *lo* *cà-pí-nê?* *ð-u* *cò* *ve* *yò* " *qô?*  
*N<sub>sd</sub>* *P<sub>n</sub>* *N<sub>loc</sub>* *P<sub>n</sub>* *N* *N* *V* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>* *V*  
over there locative inside locative starling egg be there nominalizer declarative say  
*cê*  
*P<sub>uf</sub>*  
quotative
- (18) " *mâ* *hê?* " *qô?* *cê* " *cô* *kà?* *ð-qhɔ* , *ŋâ?-phi*  
*Adv* *V* *V* *P<sub>uf</sub>* *N<sub>sd</sub>* *P<sub>n</sub>* *N<sub>loc</sub>* *N*  
negative be the case say quotative over there locative inside bird's nest  
*cô* *ve* *ð-qhɔ* , *pa-yè* *ð-kwi* *cò* " *qô?* *ve* .  
*N<sub>sd</sub>* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *N<sub>loc</sub>* *N* *N* *V* *V* *P<sub>univ</sub>*  
over there genitivizer inside eel dried up thing be there say nominalizer
- (19) *qhe* *te* *ve* , *yâ-cù-ši* *chi* *ɔ̄* *Hê?-pā* *tâ-kà-pā* *chi* ,  
*Adv* *V* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *N* *Det* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *N* *N* *Det*  
like this be a certain way nominalizer orphan this topic Chinese trader this  
*cà-šít-thí* *chi* , *khô* *mâ* *yô* *gâ* .  
*N<sub>pers</sub>* *Det* *N* *Adv* *V* *P<sub>v</sub>*  
male name this words negative believe desiderative
- (20) *mâ* *yô* *le* *qhe-te-le* *cà-šít-thí* *chi* *ve* *tâ?* *ni* *a* *ve*  
*Adv* *V* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *Conj* *N<sub>pers</sub>* *Det* *V* *V<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>univ</sub>*  
negative believe because so male name this guy go up try and V try to relativizer  
*tê yân thâ* *ɔ̄* , *pa-yè* *ð-kwi* *mò* *cê* .  
*NP<sub>time</sub>* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *N* *N* *V* *P<sub>uf</sub>*  
when topic eel dried up thing see quotative
- (21) *qhe-te-le* *Hê?-pā* *tâ-kà-pā* *chi* *ɔ̄* *tô phá e* *dà?* *ve* ,  
*Conj* *N* *N* *Det* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *OV* *P<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>univ</sub>*  
so Chinese trader this topic speak in riddles mutual action nominalizer  
*qhà-ní* *kà* *kà?* , *cà-šít-thí* *à?* *mâ* *gâ* .  
*Num* *Cl<sub>f</sub>* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *N<sub>pers</sub>* *P<sub>n</sub>* *Adv* *V*  
however many for places even male name accusative negative overcome
- (22) *qhe-te-le* *qò?* *qay* *qò?* *qay* *le* , *ôo* *tê* *kà* *gà*  
*Conj* *vV* *V* *vV* *V* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *N<sub>sd</sub>* *Num* *Cl<sub>f</sub>* *V*  
so V again go V again go suspensive way over there one for places reach  
*le-ɔ̄* , " *chò* *kà?* *ɔ̄* *šít-qô* *cô* *ve* *ð-qhɔ* *à-thò?-ma*  
*P<sub>unf</sub>* *N<sub>sd</sub> + P<sub>n</sub>* *P<sub>n</sub>* *N* *N<sub>sd</sub>* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *N<sub>loc</sub>* *N<sub>intg</sub>*  
suspensive here locative hollow tree over there genitivizer inside what  
*cò* *è* , " *qô?* *ve* .  
*V* *P<sub>uf</sub>* *V* *P<sub>univ</sub>*  
be there substantive qst say nominalizer
- (23) " *šít-qô* *cô* *ve* *ð-qhɔ* *lê* *ŋâ?-u* *cò* *ve* *yò* " ,  
*N* *N<sub>sd</sub>* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *N<sub>loc</sub>* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *N* *V* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>*  
hollow tree there genitivizer inside topic bird's egg be there nominalizer declarative  
*qhe* *qô?* *ɔ̄* *qô?-ve* , *tâ-kà-pā* *chi* *ɔ̄* .  
*Adv* *V* *P<sub>uf</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>* *N* *Det* *P<sub>unf</sub>*  
thus say affirmative it is said trader this topic

- (24) *cà-šř-thř* *qô?* *ve* " *mâ hê?* " *qô?* *ve* " *šř-qô* *cô*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv + V V P<sub>univ</sub> N N<sub>sd</sub>  
 male name say nominalizer not be the case say nominalizer hollow tree over there  
*ve* *đ-qh* *š-qhe* , *ôo* , *pa-dâ-qô* *đ-gwê* *šwř?* *cđ*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Interj N N N<sub>lim</sub> V  
 genitivizer inside topicalizer oh! snakehead murrel sthg dried out the most be there  
 " *qhe* *qô?* *ve* *cê* .  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 like this say nominalizer quotative
- (25) *pa-dâ-qô* *đ-gwê* *šwř?* *cđ* *qô?-ve* *Hê?-pâ* *tâ-kâ-pâ* *chi*  
 N N N<sub>lim</sub> V P<sub>n</sub> N N Det  
 snakehead murrel sthg dried out the most be there topicalizer Chinese trader this  
*mâ* *yô* .  
 Adv V  
 negative believe
- (26) " *qhe-qo* , *nđ* *mâ* *yô* *qo* *š* , *nđ* *ca* *tâ?*  
 Conj Pron Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron <sub>v</sub>V V  
 if that's the way it is you negative believe if topic you seek to go up  
*yù* *a ni* *a* *lê* " *qhe* *qô?* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V  
 V to get sthg try to hortatory request for assent like this say
- (27) " *èe* , *èe* , *qhe-qo* *ca* *tâ?* *yù* *a ni* " *qô?*  
 Interj Interj Conj <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> V  
 okay okay if that's the way it is go and do go up V to get sthg try to say  
*ve* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer
- (28) *ca* *tâ?* *yù* *a ni* *tê yân thâ* , " *pa-dâ-qô* *đ-gwê* *šwř?*  
<sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N N N<sub>lim</sub>  
 seek to go up V to get sthg try to when snakehead murrel sthg dried out the most  
*cđ* *lâ* " *cê* , " *cô* *kâ?* *š* ."  
 V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 be there yes quotative over there locative locative
- (29) *qhe* *cà-šř-thř* *chi* *yô* *yâ-cò-šř phê?* *ve* *pa-tô* , *lê-â*  
 Adv N<sub>pers</sub> Det Pron N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Conj  
 like this male name this he orphan be a certain way nominalizer because of and so  
*tô phá e* *câ* *ve* .  
 OV V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 speak in riddles earn a living nominalizer
- (30) *qđ?* *qay* *qđ?* *qay* *lê* , *ôo* , *tê* *kâ* *gâ* *lê* *š-qhe* , "  
<sub>v</sub>V V <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> Interj Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 V again go V again go go oh! one for places reach reach topicalizer  
*qhe-qo* *cô* *šř-cê* *cô* *ve* *đ-qh* *š* *â-thò?-ma* *cđ* *le* " *qô?*  
 Conj N<sub>sd</sub> N N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> V  
 so there tree there genitivizer on top of locative what have have say  
*ve* *cê* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer quotative

- (31) *cô ni ve tê yân " têt-chí mâ mò và nē , " qô?*  
*N<sub>sd</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Q Adv Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V*  
 there look at relativizer the time that nothing negative see see emphatic say  
*ve*  
*P<sub>univ</sub>*  
 nominalizer
- (32) *" mâ hê? qô? ve " šř-cè cô ve ð-qhò ð-qhe ,*  
*Adv + V V P<sub>univ</sub> N N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>*  
 not be the case say nominalizer tree over there genitivizer on top of topicalizer  
*á-pi-qā é tê khe chē ɔ " qô? ve cê .*  
*N M<sub>px</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 dove little one for animals be there affirmative say nominalizer quotative
- (33) *qhe-te-le cà-šř-thí chi tâ? ni gâ? ve .*  
*Conj N<sub>pers</sub> Det V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>*  
 so male name this go up try and V enlivener nominalizer
- (34) *Hê?-pā tâ-kà-pā chi mâ yō ve pa-tō , ca tâ?*  
*N N Det Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> vV V*  
 Chinese trader this negative believe nominalizer because of go and do climb up  
*ni ve tê yân ɔ , á-pi-qā é tê khe gā .*  
*V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V*  
 try and V relativizer the time that topic dove little one for animals get
- (35) *á-pi-qā é tê khe gā le , Hê?-pā tâ-kà-pā chi " ñà à?*  
*N M<sub>px</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N N Det Pron P<sub>n</sub>*  
 dove little one for animals get suspensive Chinese trader this me accusative  
*hō a nē , ñò á-pi-qā é chi ɔ " qô? ve .*  
*V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron N M<sub>px</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>*  
 sell hortatory emphatic your dove little this topic say nominalizer
- (36) *" mâ te " qô? ve cê " ñà .*  
*Adv V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron*  
 negative do say nominalizer quotative I
- (37) *ñà hà?-šá a tù ve ."*  
*Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>*  
 I take care of try to purposive nominalizer
- (38) *qhe-te-le ɔ , " âa , hō a qô?-ma , ñò ve chi ɔ .*  
*Conj P<sub>unf</sub> Interj V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + ve Det P<sub>unf</sub>*  
 so topic oh! sell hortatory emphatic your this one topic
- (39) *qhe-qa ð-phû qhà-ma le , qô? ve cê .*  
*Conj N N<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 if so cost how much? substantive qst say nominalizer quotative
- (40) *qhe-te-le Hê?-pā tâ-kà-pā chi thà? " ñò qhà-ma pè? lá*  
*Conj N N Det P<sub>n</sub> Pron N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>*  
 so Chinese trader this accusative you how much? give benefactive (non-3p)  
*tù è .*  
*P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 future substantive qst

- (41) *qhà-ma pî* .  
 N<sub>intg</sub> V  
 how much? give
- (42) *qhà-ma qo ni-qhâ šš le* ” *qô? lɛ-ɔ* , *cà-šš-thî chi ɔ qô?*  
 N<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>spec</sub> + V P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 how much? if satisfied substantive qst say suspensive male name this topic say  
*ve* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer
- (43) “ *âa* , *qhe-qo nà á-pi-qā é chi ɔ nâ thê?* *pè? a*  
 Interj Conj Pron N M<sub>pl</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well! then I dove little this topic five for Burmese rupees give emphatic  
 ,” *qhe qô? pî* *ve cê* , *yô ɔ* .  
 Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub>  
 like this say benefactive (3p) nominalizer quotative he topic
- (44) *qhe-te-lɛ Hê?-pā tâ-kà-pā chi ɔ nâ thê?* *gò* *pî*  
 Conj N N Det P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V  
 so Chinese trader this topic five for Burmese rupees V vigorously give  
*ha* .  
 P<sub>v</sub>  
 vigorous action
- (45) *qò? e lɛ á-qhɔ gà lɛ gâ? tê khe vî*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V  
 go home motion away suspensive home reach suspensive fowl one for animals buy  
*lɛ-ɔ* , *gâ? chi qò? vî və* *lɛ* , *ôo*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N Det <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub>  
 suspensive fowl this go on to V buy transportatory motion suspensive way over there  
 , *šū và? ɔ cā kî ca phê ve* , *gâ?-yê-é chi ɔ* .  
 Pron N N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> N Det P<sub>unf</sub>  
 somebody pig food feed locative go and do release nominalizer chick this topic
- (46) “ *tâ* *te* .  
 Adv V  
 negative imperative do
- (47) *nâ và? nâ?-pē* *lo* ” *qô? ve* .  
 Pron N V P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 my pig trample to death emphatic declarative say nominalizer
- (48) *mâ na cê* .  
 Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative listen quotative
- (49) *gò phê ha* .  
<sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub>  
 V vigorously set free vigorous action
- (50) *và? gò chê?-pē ve cê* , *ô kà?* .  
 N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 pig V vigorously bite to death nominalizer quotative over there locative

- (51) *và?* *chê?-pē* *te-le* , *gò* *qò?* *gâ?-hò* *le-ṣ* , “ *và?*  
 N V Conj <sub>v</sub>V <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 pig bite to death after that V vigorously keep on V'ing sob bitterly suspensive pig  
*tê* *khe* *và?-yê-é* *tê* *khe* *pè?* *a* ” *tí* *gò* *qò?*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V  
 one for animals piglet one for animals give hortatory only V vigorously say  
 ɔ  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 exclamatory
- (52) *gò* *gâ?-hò* *gò* *gâ?-hò* *le* , *na* *mâ tà-ò*  
<sub>v</sub>V V <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 V vigorously sob bitterly V vigorously sob bitterly sob bitterly listen tired of V'ing  
*le* *ô-ve* *phâ* *kà?* *và?-yê-é* *tê* *khe* *pî* *ha* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> Det N P<sub>unf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 tired of V'ing that guy also piglet one for animals give vigorous action
- (53) *qhe-go* *ô* *ṣu* *í-mû* *ṣ* *cā* *kì* *ca* *qò?* *phê*  
 Conj N<sub>sd</sub> Pron N P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v-nom</sub> <sub>v</sub>V <sub>v</sub>V V  
 then over there somebody else's horse topic feed locative go and do V again let loose  
*cê* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative
- (54) “ *ḡà ve* *kà?* *cā* *pî-ô?* .”  
 N<sub>poss</sub> + **ve** P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 mine also eat optative
- (55) “ *nò* *chi qhe* *tā* *te* .  
 Pron AE<sub>ext</sub> Adv V  
 you like this negative imperative do
- (56) *à-mù* *ḡà* *í-mû* *thê?-pē* *lɔ* ” *qò?* *ve* .  
 Conj Pron N V P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 otherwise my horse kick to death emphatic declarative say nominalizer
- (57) *mā* *na* *cê* , *yô* .  
 Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> Pron  
 negative heed quotative he
- (58) *ô* *kà?* *ca* *phê* *kə* .  
 N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub>  
 over there locative go and do let loose V into
- (59) *qhe-go* *í-mû* *gò* *chê?-pē* *ṣē* .  
 Conj N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub>  
 so horse V vigorously bite to death regrettably
- (60) *í-mû* *gò* *chê?-pē* *le* *tê pò?* *gò* *qò?* *gâ?-hò*  
 N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> Q <sub>v</sub>V <sub>v</sub>V V  
 horse V vigorously bite to death suspensive again V vigorously V again sob bitterly  
*ve* *ā* , *ô* *kà?* *í-mû* *ṣ* *cā* *kì* *pā* *ṣ*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>v</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 nominalizer perfective over there locative horse food eat locative nearby place locative



- (61) *qhe-te-le* *ô-ve* *phâ* *na* *mâ tâ-ò* *le* *í-mû-yê-é* *tê* *khε* *qò?*  
 Conj Det N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> <sub>v</sub>V  
 so that fellow listen tired of V'ing because foal one for animals V in turn  
*pî* *ha* *cê* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 give vigorous action quotative
- (62) *í-mû-yê-é* *pî* *ha* *le-õ* , *ôo* , *şu* *ho* *õ*  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> Pron N N  
 foal give vigorous action suspensive way over there somebody elephant food  
*câ* *kî* *ca* *qò?* *phê* *ve* .  
 V P<sub>v-nom</sub> <sub>v</sub>V <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 feed locative go and do V again let loose nominalizer
- (63) *ho* *ğö* *chê?-pē* *şē* .  
 N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub>  
 elephant V vigorously bite to death regrettably
- (64) *ğö* *hò* *ğö* *hò* *le* , *na* *mâ tâ-ò* *le* , *qhe-te-le*  
<sub>v</sub>V V <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Conj  
 V vigorously weep V vigorously weep suspensive listen tired of V'ing because so  
*ho* *thô?* *ve* *quí-lu-qwê?* *tê* *mâ* *pî*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V  
 elephant prod with curved object relativizer barbed goad one for things give  
*ha* *cê* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 vigorous action quotative
- (65) *qhe-te-le* “ *hà ve* *quí-lu-qwê?* *chi* *şî* *ā* *ve* *kà?* *thô?* *a* *qo*  
 Conj N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N Det V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 thereupon my barbed goad this die perfective nominalizer also prod try to if  
*tè?* *la* *pí* *à* *ve* ” *qô?* *le* , *ôo*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> <sub>v</sub>V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub>  
 be alive come to V able to V asseverative nominalizer say suspensive way over there  
 , *cho* *şî* *ā* *kî* *õ* *qay le* *yô* *chi* *thô?* *a*  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Det V P<sub>v</sub>  
 person die perfective locative locative go suspensive him this prod vigorous action  
*qo* , *tè?* *la* *pí* *à* *qô?* *le* , *ğö* *thô?*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> <sub>v</sub>V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V  
 if be alive come to V able to V asseverative say suspensive V vigorously prod  
*ğö* *thô?* *şē* *le* *mâ* *tè?* *la* .  
<sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 V vigorously prod still suspensive negative be alive come to V
- (66) *qhe-te-le* *ô* *kà?* *yù bà* *şē* *cê* .  
 Conj N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 so over there locative remove regrettably quotative

(67) pə̀-ò .  
V + P<sub>v</sub>  
it's all done

### Translation

or

Parlaying a Chick to an Elephant-Goad

Note: The Orphan hero of this story, as in others in this collection [give Refs] is a sort of Trickster figure [give Refs]

(Recorded in Pashú Village)<sup>1</sup>

1. [*clears throat*]

Our great teacher<sup>2</sup> has come to visit our Pashu village, and he says he'd like to hear a traditional Lahu story.<sup>3</sup>

2. So I'll just say one or two words.

\*\*\*

3. Once upon a time there was an orphan child called Cà-śí-thî.<sup>4</sup>

4. Since he was very poor he had nothing to eat from day to day.

5. So when he was off scooping up frogs, he put dried things into starlings' nests.

6. Then he had a riddling contest<sup>5</sup> with a great Chinese trader.<sup>6</sup>

7. "What's that inside [the nest] over there?", the orphan asked him.

8. The Chinese trader said, "What should there be? There are only bird's eggs!," he said.

9. "Wrong!" he [the orphan] said. "Inside there is a dried-up frog."

10. So why don't you just climb up and get it, I'll watch you," he [the orphan] said.

11. When he [the trader] went climbing up to fetch it and took a look at it, [the orphan said] "Do you see the dried-up frog?"<sup>7</sup>

12. So they kept going on and on, and when they reached a certain place over there<sup>8</sup>, the orphan looked around and saw another starling's nest.

13. "That starling's nest over there, what's inside it?" speaking in riddles with him.

14. "There are starling's eggs in it over there," he said.

15. "Wrong!" he said. "In it over there, in that bird's nest over there, there's a dried-up eel," he said.

16. But the Chinese trader didn't want to believe what this orphan, Cà-śí-thî, was saying.

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<sup>1</sup>Lahu village in the Chiengdao *nikhom*, above Hwè-tà? (dissolved ca. 1969). See DL:803, GL p. xliv.

<sup>2</sup>śālā-ló: polite term of reference for the author.

<sup>3</sup>à-pòn qhāy khô: lit. "ancestors' story-telling language".

<sup>4</sup>Cà-śí-thî: name given to a boy born at the dawn of the new moon (śí 'new', thî 'dawn').

<sup>5</sup>tô fá-e dà? ve: lit. "use hidden words with each other." The meaning of this expression is somewhat different from that of English *riddle*. A better translation might be *deceptive question*.

<sup>6</sup>As will be mentioned explicitly later, the impoverished orphan had to live by his wits. The orphan and the trader apparently hit it off, since they continued on their travels together.

<sup>7</sup>Evidently the trader did see it.

<sup>8</sup>ô ̄ or ô kà? 'over there' is used throughout this story as a vague locative like 'in a certain place'.

17. Since he didn't believe it, Cà-šĩ-thĩ climbed up to look and found a dried-up eel.
18. So in this way the Chinese trader riddled with him, but nowhere<sup>9</sup> could he beat Cà-šĩ-thĩ.
19. So they kept going on and on, and when they got to a certain place, he [the orphan] said, "Here, inside that tree-hollow, what is there?"
20. "Inside that tree-hollow there are bird's eggs," said the Chinese trader.
21. Cà-šĩ-thĩ said, "You're wrong! Inside that tree-hollow there is a super-dried-up<sup>10</sup> pa-dâ-qō<sup>11</sup> fish," he said.
22. But the Chinese trader didn't believe there was a super-dried-up pa-dâ-qō there.
23. "Well then, if you don't believe it, why don't you just climb up and have a look," he said.
24. "Okay, okay, in that case I'll go try to climb up and get it,"<sup>12</sup> he said.
25. When he went climbing up to try and get it, [the orphan said], "Is there a super-dried-up pa-dâ-qō up there?"
26. In this way, since Cà-šĩ-thĩ was an orphan, he had to make a living by his riddles.
27. So they kept going on and on, and in a certain place over there, [the orphan] said, "Well, what is there on top of that tree?"
28. When [the trader] looked over there he said, "I don't see anything at all!"
29. "You're wrong!" he said. "On top of that tree there's a little baby dove."
30. So Cà-šĩ-thĩ scrambled<sup>13</sup> up to look.
31. Since the Chinese trader didn't believe him, when he climbed up to look, he got a little baby dove.
32. When he got the baby dove, the Chinese trader said, "Oh, sell it to me! This baby dove of yours."
33. "I can't do it," he said. "Not me. It's mine to take care of."
34. Then he said, "Oh, please sell it, this thing of yours! So how much would it cost?"
35. So the orphan said to the Chinese trader, "How much will you give me? How much will you give? How much would you be willing to pay?"<sup>14</sup> Cà-šĩ-thĩ said.
36. "Well, then, for this baby dove I'll give you five rupees<sup>15</sup>," he said.
37. So the Chinese trader gave him five rupees.
38. He [the orphan] went back, and when he got home he bought a chicken<sup>16</sup>, and he went off with that chicken he bought, and he released the baby chick over there in a place where somebody was feeding a pig.
39. "Don't do that! My pig will trample it to death!" he [the pig's owner] said.
40. But he didn't listen. He set it loose.
41. So the pig chomped it to death over there.

<sup>9</sup>qhà-nĩ kà kà?: lit. "even how many places."

<sup>10</sup>š-gwê šwĩ?: š-gwê (~ š-kwi) 'something dried out; šwĩ? (Nlim) 'the utmost; highest degree'. GL 3.632, 6.114; DL: 1249-50.

<sup>11</sup>Snakehead murrel: a kind of edible black fish about two inches long [*Channa striatus*], called *paa-kâa* in N. Thai. DL:802.

<sup>12</sup>A four-verb concatenation: *ca* (vV) 'go and', *tâ?* (V<sub>h</sub>) 'climb', *yü* (Vv) 'V and take', *ni* (Vv) 'try'.

<sup>13</sup>gâ? (lit. "scratch") is used as a Vv connoting lively action, here translated by 'scrambled'.

<sup>14</sup>ni-qhâ šĩ ve: (lit. "heart-path is stable/ dead") 'be satisfied, be willing'.

<sup>15</sup>nâ thê?: a thê? is a Burmese rupee or *kyat*.

<sup>16</sup>Actually a baby chick, as we find out later in the sentence.

42. When the pig bit it to death, he [the orphan] sobbed and sobbed, "Give me a pig, a piglet!" he kept screaming.
43. He blubbered and blubbered so much that he [the pig's owner] couldn't stand to hear it, so he gave him a piglet.
44. Then he went to let it [the piglet] loose where somebody's horse was being fed.
45. "Let mine eat something too!"
46. "Don't do that! Otherwise my horse will kick it to death," he said.
47. But he didn't listen. He went and let it loose in there.
48. So the horse chomped it to death.
49. When the horse had chomped it to death, again he sobbed violently, there next to where the horse was standing.
50. So that guy couldn't stand to hear it, and gave him a little foal.
51. When he [the horse's owner] had given him [the orphan] the foal, he went to release it in a place over there where somebody's elephant was being fed.
52. Unfortunately the elephant chomped it to death.
53. So he sobbed and sobbed, and it was unbearable, so he was given a goad for prodding elephants.
54. Then [the elephant owner] said, "This goad of mine, if you poke a dead person with it he'll come back to life," so he went over there to where there was a dead person, and having been told that if he prodded him he'd come back to life, (the orphan) poked him with all his might, but he didn't come back to life.
55. So then they took him and threw him out [from where the funeral was].

## 8.11 The blind man and the cripple

- (1) à-šwè thâ chɔ nî ġâ ð-chô te dà? ve  
 AE N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 once upon a time people two for people friend make mutual action nominalizer  
 yò cê .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative quotative
- (2) tê ġâ lè mē?-cú-pā , tê ġâ lè khi-qð?-pā yò cê .  
 Q P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 one person topic blind man the other one topic cripple declarative quotative
- (3) yô-hi nî ġâ ð-chô te dà? ve ð-qhɔ lo , tê  
 Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Num  
 they two for people friend make mutual action relativizer during locative one  
 ni thâ dš tš? la ve tê yân , yô-hí-mà nî ġâ  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V+V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q Pron Q  
 for days when have an idea come to V relativizer the time that they (dual) two people  
 tê ġe qay lè mós-pā ġe qhà-qhe te lè mē? mð la tù  
 Q V P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 together go suspensive fortune teller to how eye see come to V future  
 qhà-qhe te lè khi thê la tù ca na-ni ve yò  
 Cl<sub>nf</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 how leg straight come to V future go and do ask nominalizer declarative  
 cê .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative
- (4) yô-hí-mà nî ġâ mós-pā ġe qay ve tê yân thâ , mós-pā  
 Pron Q N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N  
 they (dual) two people spirit doctor to go relativizer when fortune teller  
 yô-hí-mà thà? qô? pî ve : " nò-hí-mà qay ve  
 Pron P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 them (dual) accusative say benefactive (3p) nominalizer you (dual) go relativizer  
 yà?-qɔ ð-qhɔ lo cò ve nò-hí ve yà?-qɔ ð-qhò? lo šš?-cè  
 N N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N N P<sub>n</sub> N  
 road during locative be there nominalizer your (pl) road above locative tree  
 ð-qá-pe lo ġâ?-phî thà? mð ve tê yân thâ , mē?-cú-pā  
 N P<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub>  
 crotch of a tree locative bird's nest accusative see relativizer when blind man  
 tê ġâ thà? tâ? e lè yù cí " tê?  
 Q P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> QUOT  
 one person accusative go up motion away suspensive take causative embedded quote  
 qô? pî ve yò cê .  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 say benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative quotative
- (5) ô-ve qha šū-šū mós-pā qô? ve qhe yô-hí-mà nî ġâ tê ġe  
 Det AE N V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv Pron Q Q  
 that just like fortune teller say nominalizer just like that they (dual) two people together

The blind man and the cripple

- qay chê*            *thâ* , *khi-qò?-pā* *mû-phe* *chî-ni*            *ve*            *tê yân thâ* ,  
 V    V<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>univ</sub>    N<sub>dvb</sub>    N            V            P<sub>univ</sub>    NP<sub>time</sub>  
 go progressive when cripple upwards look upwards relativizer when
- ηâ?-phi*    *thâ?*            *gã mð*    *ve*            *yò*            *cê*            .  
 N            P<sub>n</sub>            vV+V<sub>h</sub>    P<sub>univ</sub>            P<sub>uf</sub>            P<sub>uf</sub>  
 bird's nest accusative find nominalizer declarative quotative
- (6) *ηâ?-phi*    *thâ?*            *gã mð*    *ve*            *pa-tɔ*            , *mê?-cú-pā* *thâ?*            *tâ?*  
 N            P<sub>n</sub>            vV+V<sub>h</sub>    P<sub>univ</sub>            P<sub>n</sub>            N<sub>dvb</sub>    P<sub>n</sub>            V  
 bird's nest accusative find nominalizer because of blind man accusative climb up  
*e*            *ci*            *a-tê*            *te*    *le*            *mê?-cú-pā* *chi qhe* *qô?* *ve*            , ”  
 P<sub>v</sub>            V<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>quot</sub>    V    P<sub>unf</sub>            N<sub>dvb</sub>    AE<sub>ext</sub>    V    P<sub>univ</sub>  
 motion away causative try to do suspensive blind man like this say nominalizer  
*ηà*    *lê*    *mê?*    *mâ*            *mð*    *ve*            *pa-tɔ*            , *ò-cà*    *chi*    *tê phā*    *thâ?*  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub>    N    Adv    V    P<sub>univ</sub>            P<sub>n</sub>            Elab<sub>n</sub>    Det    Q            P<sub>n</sub>  
 I    topic eye negative see nominalizer because of things these pluralizer accusative  
*mð*    *mâ*            *phê?*            .  
 V    Adv            V<sub>v</sub>  
 see negative able to
- (7) *ηà*    *tâ?*            *e*            *mâ*            *gã*            ” *tê?*            *qô?*    *pî*  
 Pron V            P<sub>v</sub>            Adv            V<sub>v</sub>            QUOT            V    V<sub>v</sub>  
 I    climb up motion away negative be able embedded quote say benefactive (3p)  
*ve*            *yò*            .  
 P<sub>univ</sub>            P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (8) *yà?-qhâ*    *khi-lù-pā*    *qô?*    *ve*            :  
 Conj    N<sub>dvb</sub>    V    P<sub>univ</sub>  
 however cripple say nominalizer
- (9) ” *nð*    *tâ?*            *e*            *phê?*            *ve*            *yò*            .  
 Pron V            P<sub>v</sub>            V<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>univ</sub>            P<sub>uf</sub>  
 you climb up motion away able to nominalizer declarative
- (10) *nð*    *thâ?*            *ηà*    *mā*    *lā*            *tù*            *ve*            *yò*            , ”  
 Pron P<sub>n</sub>            Pron V    P<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>univ</sub>            P<sub>uf</sub>  
 you accusative I teach benefactive (non-3p) future nominalizer declarative  
*tê?*            *qô?*    *pî*            *ve*            *yò*            *cê*            .  
 QUOT            V    V<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>univ</sub>            P<sub>uf</sub>            P<sub>uf</sub>  
 embedded quote say benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative quotative
- (11) *mê?-cú-pā*    *tâ?*            *e*            *chê*            *ve*            *tê yân thâ* , *tê khi*            *gà*  
 N<sub>dvb</sub>            V            P<sub>v</sub>            V<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>univ</sub>            NP<sub>time</sub>    Q            V  
 blind man climb up motion away progressive relativizer when a certain time reach  
*le*            , *chi qhe*    *qô?*    *ve*            : ” *gà*    *ò*            *lā*    ” *tê?*  
 P<sub>unf</sub>            AE<sub>ext</sub>    V    P<sub>univ</sub>            V    P<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>uf</sub>    QUOT  
 suspensive like this say nominalizer reach completed action yes embedded quote  
*na-ni* *ve*            *yò*            .  
 V    P<sub>univ</sub>            P<sub>uf</sub>  
 ask nominalizer declarative

- (12) *yà?-qhâ ò-chô tê gâ qò? qô? ve : " mâ gà šē .*  
 Conj N Q <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 however friend one person V again say nominalizer negative reach yet
- (13) *a-cí tâ? e šē ."*  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 a little climb up motion away still
- (14) *qò? tâ? e lē , tê pò? qò? na-ni ve tê yân thâ ,*  
<sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Q <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub>  
 V further climb up motion away suspensive again V again ask relativizer when  
*" gà ò " tê? qò? ve yò .*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> QUOT V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 reach completed action embedded quote say nominalizer declarative
- (15) *" gà ò " tê? qò? ve tê yân thâ , yô mð*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> QUOT V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Pron V  
 reach completed action embedded quote say relativizer when he see  
*gâ ve thà? pa-tò mē? gâ-thè? nâ-ni lē tê-cò-há yô*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> AE Pron  
 desiderative nominalizer because eye energetically open wide suspensive suddenly he  
*mē? qò? mð la ve yò .*  
 N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 eye V again see come to V nominalizer declarative
- (16) *chi-ve qha šū-šū yô là?-šē nâ?-u thà? yù ve tê yân thâ , nâ?-u*  
 Det AE Pron N N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N  
 this just like his hand bird's egg accusative take relativizer when bird's egg  
*chi lē vî phê? ve thà? pa-tò , yô kô? jâ ve*  
 Det P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 this topic snake become nominalizer because he be afraid very nominalizer  
*thà? pa-tò , ò-chô tê gâ mi tã kî lo , ce-pà pî*  
 P<sub>n</sub> N Q V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 because friend one person sit perfective locative locative drop sthg down causative  
*ve tê yân thâ , ò-chô tê gâ thô kô? jâ ve thà? pa-tò ,*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N Q P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 relativizer when friend one person also be afraid very nominalizer because  
*tê-cò-há pò?-tu lē yô ve khî-šē qò? thê la*  
 AE V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N <sub>v</sub>V V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 suddenly jump to one's feet suspensive his foot V again straight come to V  
*ve yò cê .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative quotative
- (17) *chi thà? pa-tò nâ-hi Lâhū-yâ chi tê cwe thô , cho chi ve*  
 NP Pron N Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Det  
 therefore we (pl) Lahu people this one for generations also people these  
*nî gâ thà? hên-yù qo dâ? ve yò .*  
 Q P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 two people accusative learn and take to heart if good nominalizer declarative
- (18) *mó-pā ve khô thà? na yù ve pa-tò , mē?*  
 N P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N  
 fortune teller genitivizer advice accusative heed V lastingly nominalizer because of eye

The blind man and the cripple

- |  |           |                   |                   |                  |                 |            |           |                |  |                |  |                   |  |                |
|--|-----------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|-----------------|------------|-----------|----------------|--|----------------|--|-------------------|--|----------------|
|  | <i>cú</i> | <i>ve</i>         |                   | <i>thô</i>       | <i>mê?</i>      | <i>qô?</i> | <i>mò</i> | <i>la</i>      |  | <i>pà</i>      |  | <i>ve</i>         |  | <i>thà?</i>    |
|  | V         | P <sub>univ</sub> |                   | P <sub>unf</sub> | N               | vV         | V         | P <sub>v</sub> |  | V <sub>v</sub> |  | P <sub>univ</sub> |  | P <sub>n</sub> |
|  | blind     | nominalizer       |                   | even             | eye             | V again    | see       | come to V      |  | finish V'ing   |  | nominalizer       |  | accusative     |
|  | <i>gá</i> | <i>šĩ</i>         | <i>ve</i>         |                  | <i>yò</i>       |            |           |                |  |                |  |                   |  |                |
|  | vV        | V                 | P <sub>univ</sub> |                  | P <sub>uf</sub> |            |           |                |  |                |  |                   |  |                |
|  | get to    | know              | nominalizer       |                  | declarative     |            |           |                |  |                |  |                   |  |                |
- (19) *khi qô?* *ve* *thô* *khi* *thê* *la* *ve* *thà?* *gá* *šĩ*  
N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> vV V  
leg crooked nominalizer even leg straight come to V nominalizer accusative get to know  
*ve* *yò* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer declarative
- (20) *na yù* *pí* *ve* *chò* *tê gâ le-le* *à-yâ-à-dù* *le* *à-ví-à-ni*  
V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N NP<sub>q</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub>  
heed V lastingly able to V relativizer people everybody descendants suspensive relatives  
*tê gâ le-le* *thô* , *à-cà* *chi* *tê phā* *thà?* *hên-yù* *qo* , *dà?*  
NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> Det Q P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub>  
everybody also things these pluralizer accusative learn and take to heart if good  
*ve* *yò* *tê?* *hà-hi* *Lāhū* *chò-mô* *à-šwè thā* *chi qhe* *qô?*  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> QUOT Pron N N NP<sub>time</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V  
nominalizer declarative embedded quote our Lahu ancestors long time ago like this say  
*tā* *ve* *yò* .  
P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
perfective nominalizer declarative

**Translation**

or: The Advantages of Faith in Fortune-tellers

or: The Power of Positive Thinking

Huey Tat 3/9/65

1. Once upon a time there were two people who were friends.
2. One of them was blind, and the other was a cripple.<sup>1</sup>
3. While the two of them were friends, one day they had an idea, and they both went together to a fortune-teller<sup>2</sup> to ask how his eyes could come to see and how his leg could become straight.
4. When the two of them went to the fortune-teller, the fortune-teller said to them, “On your way going back, above you on the road when you see a bird’s nest in the crotch of a tree, make the blind man climb up and take it,” he said.
5. Just exactly as the fortune-teller had said, as the two of them were going on their way, when the cripple looked upwards, he saw a bird’s nest.
6. Since he caught side of the bird’s nest, he told the blind man to climb up.
7. The blind man said, “Since my eyes don’t see, I can’t see all these things.
8. “I can’t climb up,” he said.

<sup>1</sup> *khi-qô?-pā*: lit. “one with a crooked leg”. Later in the text the speaker uses the roughly synonymous word *khi-lù-pā*, lit. “one with a ruined leg”.

<sup>2</sup> *mó-pā*: ‘medicine man; fortune-teller; seer; magician; spirit-doctor; shaman’ (DL:1029)



9. But the cripple said, “You *can* climb up.
10. “I’ll show you how,” he said.
11. As the blind man was climbing, at a certain moment he asked, “Have I reached it yet?”
12. But his friend said, “You’re not there yet. Keep on climbing a little.”
13. After he had climbed some more, when he [the blind man] asked again, he [the cripple] said “You’ve gotten there!” .
14. When he said “You got there!” since he [the blind man] really wanted to see, he opened his eyes wide with all his might, and all of a sudden his eyes could see again!
15. In just the same [magical] way, when he took the bird’s eggs in his hand, these eggs turned into a snake, so because he was so terrified he dropped it right towards the place where his friend was sitting, at which point his friend also became terrified, so he suddenly jumped up and his leg straightened out.
16. So then, we Lahu of this generation also ought to learn from these two people and take it to heart.<sup>3</sup>
17. Since they heeded the words of the fortune-teller, we’ve learned that even the blind man got to see again.
18. We’ve learned also that the cripple’s leg straightened out.
19. Everybody who takes good advice, their descendants and all of their relatives as well, if they take all this to heart it will be good.
20. Thus our Lahu ancestors told us long ago.

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<sup>3</sup>Lit., “If we absorb the lesson of these two people it is good.” **hên-yù**: ‘learn from, get something out of’.

## 8.12 The blind man, the cripple, and the turtles

- (1) *tê pō? thâ mē?-cú-pā lē khi-qō?-pā šī dà? və lē*  
 NP<sub>time</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 once blind man and cripple go along together transportatory motion suspensive  
*hē?-pí-qhə qay lē , yō-hí-nē ô kâ? há kî ð-qhə*  
 N V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v-nom</sub> N<sub>time</sub>  
 woods go suspensive they (dual) over there locative spend the night locative in  
*yà?-qə-qá qay thâ ɔ̄ , mâ ġa há šē thâ tàw-quí nī*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Num  
 one's route go when topic negative get to spend the night yet when turtle two  
*khe ġa cê .*  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 for animals catch quotative
- (2) *tàw-quí nī khe ġa lē ɔ̄-qhe , mē?-cú-pā à? ġō?*  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V  
 turtle two for animals catch suspensive topicalizer blind man accusative pick up  
*pū a cê , khi-qō?-pā chi .*  
 V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> Det  
 cause to carry emphatic quotative cripple this
- (3) *qhe-te-lē lâ tê khe lâ lē , ca jâ?-ni la*  
 Conj N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub>  
 thereupon tiger one for animals come suspensive go and do steal a look at come to V  
*ve tê yân thâ ɔ̄-qhe , ” âa , ô kâ? chə nī*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Interj N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N Num  
 relativizer when topicalizer oh! over there locative people two  
*mâ chē ā , cā tù ve .*  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 for people (impolite) be there perfective eat future nominalizer
- (4) *ŋà yō-hí-mâ chē? cā tù ve ” qô? lē-ɔ̄ , šī dà?*  
 Pron Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub>  
 I them (dual) bite V to eat future nominalizer say suspensive go along together  
*lē , tàw-quí chi šī və lē ca ni ve*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N Det V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 suspensive turtle these take smn along suspensive go and do look at nominalizer  
*ɔ̄-qhe , lâ chi yō-hí à? ca ni lē ɔ̄-qhe , ”*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N Det Pron P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 topicalizer tiger this they accusative go and do look at suspensive topicalizer  
*âa , chi ve ð-qō nī phô cò ve b .*  
 Interj Det N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 oh! this thing hole two for sides be there nominalizer emphatic declarative
- (5) *câ mâ phē? ” qô? lē ɔ̄-qhe , te-lē lâ chi thà? ɔ̄*  
 V Adv V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Conj N Det P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 eat negative able to say suspensive topicalizer then tiger this accusative topic  
*tàw-quí chi ɔ̄ yō kâ? a-cí chí-phē a šī?-mú-də qhō*  
 N Det P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub>  
 turtle these topic he topicalizer please lift clear hortatory stump of tree on top of

- $\bar{5}$       *yâ-hî* *kà?*    *a-cí* *ni*      *a*      *qô?* *ve*      *cê*      .  
 P<sub>n</sub>      Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V      P<sub>v</sub>      V P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 locative they also just look at intentive say nominalizer quotative
- (6) *gà?-phê*                      *gà?-phê*                      *qo*    *ce*                      *la*      ,  
 V                                      V                                      P<sub>unf</sub> V                      P<sub>v</sub>  
 grab with the mouth grab with the mouth when fall (from a height) come to V  
*gà?-phê*                      *gà?-phê*                      *qo*    *ce*                      *la*      .  
 V                                      V                                      P<sub>unf</sub> V                      P<sub>v</sub>  
 grab with the mouth grab with the mouth when fall (from a height) come to V
- (7) *qhe-te-ê*    *gò*                      *gò?* *bà*                      *á*                      *cê*      .  
 Conj      vV                      V + V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 after that V vigorously pick up and throw away perfective quotative
- (8) *gò*                      *gà?*                      *bà*                      *á*                      *pî*                      *ve*                      *cê*  
 vV                      V                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 V vigorously bite down hard throw away perfective benefactive (3p) nominalizer quotative
- (9) *tâw-quí* *chi*     $\bar{5}$       , *mê?-cú-pā* *ê*    *khi-qò?-pā* *qhá-jū-lu*      *lò?*    *e*  
 N      Det P<sub>unf</sub>      N<sub>dvb</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub>      N                      V      P<sub>v</sub>  
 turtle these topic blind man and cripple carrying basket enter motion away  
*cê*      , *gà?*                      *bà*                      *á*                      *ê*      .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>                      V                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>  
 quotative bite down hard throw away perfective suspensive
- (10) *qhe-te-ê*    *qò?*      *qay*      , *yà?-qo-qá*    *qò?*      *qay*    *chê*      *thâ*     $\bar{5}$       *qò?*      *qay*  
 Conj      vV      V      N                      vV      V      V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>      vV      V  
 after that V again go one's route V again go continuous when topic V again go  
*qò?*      *qay*    *ê*      , *ô-o*      , *yî?*    *kî*      *gà*    *ê*       $\bar{5}$ -*qhe*      ,  
 vV      V      P<sub>unf</sub>                      N<sub>sd</sub>                      V      P<sub>v-nom</sub>      V      P<sub>unf</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>  
 V again go suspensive over there sleep locative reach suspensive topicalizer  
*yâ-hî-nè*       $\bar{5}$ -*qhe*      *ô*                      *kà?*      *gà*    *ê*                      *yî?*    *ā*                      *ê*  
 Pron                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      N<sub>sd</sub>                      P<sub>n</sub>                      V      P<sub>unf</sub>                      V      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>  
 they (dual) topicalizer over there locative reach suspensive sleep perfective suspensive  
 $\bar{5}$ -*qhe*      , *mû-phà?*    *há*      *tâ-khî*                      *thâ*    *yî?*    *thâ*     $\bar{5}$ -*qhe*      , *gò*  
 P<sub>unf</sub>                      SV                      M<sub>prfx</sub>      N<sub>time</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>      V      P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>                      vV  
 topicalizer get dark night all night long when sleep time topicalizer V vigorously  
*yî?*    *gò*                      *yî?-lò?*                      *šê*    *ve*                      *ê*                       $\bar{5}$ -*qhe*      , *mû-šó-nà?*  
 V      vV                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      N<sub>time</sub>  
 sleep V vigorously sleep deeply still nominalizer suspensive topicalizer early morning  
*nô*      *la*                      *ê*                      , *qò?*      *mû-ni*    *mu*                      *jâ*    *ê-qò?*  
 V      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      vV      N      V<sub>adj</sub>                      V<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>  
 wake up come to V suspensive V finally sun high (objects) very suspensive  
*tu*                      *qay*      *ê*                       $\bar{5}$ -*qhe*      , *gò*                      *qay*    *gò*                      *qay*  
 V                      V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      vV                      V      vV                      V  
 get up from sleep V away suspensive topicalizer V vigorously go V vigorously go  
*ê*                      *phî-tan-ŋwe*                      *chê*    *kî*                       $\bar{5}$                       *lò?*    *e*  
 P<sub>unf</sub>                      N                      V      P<sub>v-nom</sub>      P<sub>n</sub>                      V      P<sub>v</sub>  
 suspensive monster with one eye (in jungle) live locative locative enter motion away

- le* , *ô* *kâ?* *gâ* *le-5* , " *nò-hí-nè* *à?* *chè?* *câ*  
*P<sub>unf</sub>* *N<sub>sd</sub>* *P<sub>n</sub>* *V* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *Pron* *P<sub>n</sub>* *V* *V<sub>v</sub>*  
suspensive over there locative reach suspensive you (dual) object bite V to eat
- a* , " *qhe* *qô?* *le* *5-qhe* , " *nò-hí-nè* *ve* *še* *ni*  
*P<sub>v</sub>* *Adv* *V* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *Pron* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *N* *V*  
intentive like this say suspensive topicalizer you (dual) genitivizer lice look at
- a* , " *qô?* *ve* *cê* *qhe-go* .  
*P<sub>v</sub>* *V* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>* *Conj*  
hortatory say nominalizer quotative then
- (11) *yô-hí-ne* *ve* *še* *qô?* *le* , *tàw-qú* *yù* *le* *qô?* *mā*  
*Pron* *N* *V* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *N* *V* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *vV* *V*  
their (dual) lice say suspensive turtle take suspensive V instead point out
- pî* *a* *cê* .  
*V<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>*  
benefactive (3p) vigorous action quotative
- (12) *ôo* , *nò-hí-nè* *ve* *še* *5* , *ηà-hi* *a-ké* *ī* *lò* ,  
*Interj* *Pron* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *N* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *Pron* *N<sub>ext</sub>* *V<sub>adj</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>*  
oh! you (dual) genitivizer lice topic us more than big emphatic declarative
- mā* *câ* *phè?* , " *qô?* *cê* .  
*Adv* *V* *V<sub>v</sub>* *V* *P<sub>uf</sub>*  
negative eat able to say quotative
- (13) *qhe-te-le* " *pī-kâ?* *ni* *a* " *qô?* *ɔ* , *gâ?-šū* *yù* *mā*  
*Conj* *N* *V* *P<sub>v</sub>* *V* *P<sub>uf</sub>* *N* *vV* *V*  
after that comb look at hortatory say exclamatory rake take and V sthg show
- pî* *a* .  
*V<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>v</sub>*  
benefactive (3p) vigorous action
- (14) " *mā* *chè?* *câ* *phè?* *á* " *cê* , *ô* *kâ?* .  
*Adv* *V* *V<sub>v</sub>* *V<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>* *N<sub>sd</sub>* *P<sub>n</sub>*  
negative bite V to eat able to neg. prob. quotative over there locative
- (15) *qhe-te-le* *5* *tê pô?* *qhe-te-le* , *yô-hí-nè* *ô* *kâ?* *gâ* *á*  
*Conj* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *Q* *Conj* *Pron* *N<sub>sd</sub>* *P<sub>n</sub>* *V* *P<sub>v</sub>*  
so topic again after that they (dual) over there locative reach perfective
- le* *qô?* *qô?* *la* *ve* , *yâ?-qo-qá* *gâ* *la*  
*P<sub>unf</sub>* *vV* *V* *P<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *N* *V* *P<sub>v</sub>*  
suspensive V again return come to V nominalizer one's route reach come to V
- le-5* , *cô* *šī?-cê* *ó-qô* *ηâ?-phi* *tê* *phi* *phi* *ā* ,  
*P<sub>unf</sub>* *N<sub>sd</sub>* *N* *N* *N* *Num* *Cl<sub>f</sub>* *V* *P<sub>v</sub>*  
suspensive over there tree top part bird's nest one for nests make a nest perfective
- qô?* *ve* *cê* .  
*V* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>*  
say nominalizer quotative
- (16) *qhe-te-le* *mê?-cú-pā* *chi* *5* *cò?-qò?-pā* *mê?-cú-pā* *à?* *tâ?* *e*  
*Conj* *N<sub>dvb</sub>* *Det* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *N* *N<sub>dvb</sub>* *P<sub>n</sub>* *V* *P<sub>v</sub>*  
so blind man this topic hunchback blind man accusative go up motion away
- ci* *cê* , *khi-qò?-pā* *mò* *le* .  
*V<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>* *N<sub>dvb</sub>* *V* *P<sub>unf</sub>*  
causative quotative cripple watch suspensive

- (17) *gò* *tâ?* *e* *cô* *gà* *lɛ-̄* , " *gà* *ò*  
<sub>vV</sub> <sub>V</sub> <sub>P<sub>v</sub></sub> <sub>N<sub>sd</sub></sub> <sub>V</sub> <sub>P<sub>unf</sub></sub> <sub>V</sub> <sub>P<sub>v</sub></sub>  
V vigorously go up motion away over there reach suspensive reach completed action  
*lâ* " *qô?* *qo* , " *mâ* *gà* *šē* "; " *gà* *ò* *lâ* " *qô?* *qo*  
<sub>P<sub>uf</sub></sub> <sub>V</sub> <sub>P<sub>unf</sub></sub> <sub>Adv</sub> <sub>V</sub> <sub>P<sub>v</sub></sub> <sub>V</sub> <sub>P<sub>v</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>uf</sub></sub> <sub>V</sub> <sub>P<sub>unf</sub></sub>  
yes say when negative reach yet reach completed action yes say when  
, " *mâ* *gà* *šē* ".  
<sub>Adv</sub> <sub>V</sub> <sub>P<sub>v</sub></sub>  
negative reach yet
- (18) *qhe-te-lɛ* *̄* *gà* *e* *lɛ-̄* ,  
<sub>Conj</sub> <sub>P<sub>unf</sub></sub> <sub>V</sub> <sub>P<sub>v</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>unf</sub></sub>  
so topic reach motion away suspensive
- (19) " *yù* *a ni* *lò* " *qô?* *lɛ* , *yù* *a ni* *ve* *̄-qhe* ,  
<sub>V</sub> <sub>P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>v</sub></sub> <sub>V</sub> <sub>P<sub>unf</sub></sub> <sub>V</sub> <sub>P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>univ</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>unf</sub></sub>  
take try to urging say suspensive take try to nominalizer topicalizer  
*ñâ?-phi* *̄-qhɔ* *̄-qhe* *vì* *tê* *khe* *chê* *ā* *lɔ*  
<sub>N</sub> <sub>N<sub>loc</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>unf</sub></sub> <sub>N</sub> <sub>Num</sub> <sub>Cl<sub>f</sub></sub> <sub>V</sub> <sub>P<sub>v</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>uf</sub></sub>  
bird's nest inside topicalizer snake one for animals stay perfective emphatic declarative  
*cê*  
<sub>P<sub>uf</sub></sub>  
quotative
- (20) *ni* *a* *ve* , *mê?-cú-pā* *chi* *gò* *ni* *ha* *ve*  
<sub>V</sub> <sub>P<sub>v</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>univ</sub></sub> <sub>N<sub>dvb</sub></sub> <sub>Det</sub> <sub>vV</sub> <sub>V</sub> <sub>P<sub>v</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>univ</sub></sub>  
look at try to nominalizer blind man this V vigorously look at try to nominalizer  
*̄-qhe* ,  
<sub>P<sub>unf</sub></sub>  
topicalizer
- (21) " *vì* *lɔ* " *gà* *mò* *lɛ* *gò* *fə* *bà* ,  
<sub>N</sub> <sub>P<sub>uf</sub></sub> <sub>vV</sub> <sub>V</sub> <sub>P<sub>unf</sub></sub> <sub>vV</sub> <sub>V</sub> <sub>V<sub>v</sub></sub>  
snake emphatic declarative get to see suspensive V vigorously fling away away  
*mô* *pə* *pî* *a* *lɛ-̄* , *khi-qò?-pā* *chi*  
<sub>N<sub>sd</sub></sub> <sub>V</sub> <sub>V<sub>v</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>v</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>unf</sub></sub> <sub>N<sub>dvb</sub></sub> <sub>Det</sub>  
down there fling away benefactive (3p) vigorous action suspensive cripple this  
*gò* *pò?-phɔ* *a* *lɛ* *khi kà?* *thê* *ve*  
<sub>vV</sub> <sub>V</sub> <sub>P<sub>v</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>unf</sub></sub> <sub>N</sub> <sub>P<sub>unf</sub></sub> <sub>V<sub>adj</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>univ</sub></sub>  
V vigorously jump to safety vigorous action suspensive leg also straight nominalizer  
*cê* , *ò* *kà?* *hɔ* .  
<sub>P<sub>uf</sub></sub> <sub>N<sub>sd</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>n</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>n</sub></sub>  
quotative over there locative emphatic locative
- (22) *khi* *thê* *šē* *lɛ* , *mê?* *qha-dê?* *mò* *šē* *lɛ* , *tê pò?*  
<sub>N</sub> <sub>V<sub>adj</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>v</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>unf</sub></sub> <sub>N</sub> <sub>AE</sub> <sub>V</sub> <sub>P<sub>v</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>unf</sub></sub> <sub>Q</sub>  
leg straight right away suspensive eye properly see right away suspensive now  
*yâ-hí-nè* *nî gâ* *̄* *dà?-dà?* *qò?* *phê?* *lɛ* ,  
<sub>Pron</sub> <sub>Q</sub> <sub>P<sub>unf</sub></sub> <sub>V<sub>adj</sub></sub> <sub>vV</sub> <sub>V<sub>v</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>unf</sub></sub>  
they (dual) two people topic topic V finally be a certain way suspensive  
*šî dâ?* *lɛ* *qò?* *e* *ve* *cê* .  
<sub>V+P<sub>v</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>unf</sub></sub> <sub>V</sub> <sub>P<sub>v</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>univ</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>uf</sub></sub>  
go along together suspensive return motion away nominalizer quotative

## Translation

1. Once upon a time, a blind man and a cripple, leading each other along, went into the woods, and when the two of them had gotten to a place to spend the night on their journey, before they settled down for the night they caught two turtles.
2. When they had caught the two turtles, the cripple made the blind man pick him up and carry him.
3. At this point a tiger came by, and when he came sneaking up to have a look, he said, “Ah, there are two people over there, I’ll eat them.
4. I’ll bite into both of them and eat them all up!”
5. And meanwhile [the two of them] went along together, taking the turtles with them, and [the tiger] went to have a look and said, “Oh, this one has heads on both sides!<sup>1</sup> I can’t eat it!”
6. So then the turtles asked the tiger to kindly pick them up and set them down on top of a tree-stump, so they could also just have a look [at the two-headed animal].
7. But when [the tiger] picked [the turtles] up in his mouth and set them down, they fell off, he kept picking them up and setting them down, but they kept falling off.
8. Finally [the tiger] violently picked them up in his mouth and threw them away.
9. He roughly grabbed them with his mouth and threw him away.
10. Once the turtles had been grabbed and thrown away they went inside the carrying-basket of the blind man and the cripple.
11. And so as they went on, continuing on their way, going on and on, and ah! they reached a place to sleep. The two of them got there and lay down, and they slept the whole night through, they slept and slept, slept deeply, and they woke up in the morning when the sun was already high, and they got up and went on and on, entering the dwelling place of the Phi-tan-ngweh.<sup>2</sup>
12. And when they got there [the monster] said, “I’m going to eat you two all up, so let me take a look at your lice then!”
13. Saying that they [the turtles] were their lice, they took the turtles and showed them to him.
14. “Oh, these lice are bigger than I am — I can’t eat them!”, he said.
15. Then (he said), “Let me see your comb!”, and they took a rake and showed it to him.
16. “I probably can’t eat them!” he said there.
17. So then, this time coming back again<sup>3</sup> from the [monster’s] place where the two of them had gotten to, when they reached a certain point on the road, there was in the distance a bird’s nest nestling in a tree-top.<sup>4</sup>
18. So then the hunchback<sup>5</sup> made the blind man climb up [to get it] while he watched.
19. When he climbed up there, [the cripple] said “Did you reach it yet?”, and he said “Not yet”; “Did you reach it yet?”, “Not yet.”
20. Then when he had reached it, [the cripple] said “Grab it!”, and when he grabbed it, inside the bird’s nest there was a snake!

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<sup>1</sup>The tiger had noticed the cripple’s head in close proximity to that of the blind man.

<sup>2</sup>**phí-tan-ŋwe**: a one-eyed monster who lives in the jungle. See DL:889.

<sup>3</sup>Note the concatenation **qəʔ qəʔ** ‘coming back again’, where the 1st element is a pre-head versatile verb, while the 2nd element is the main verb. One could also say **qəʔ qəʔ**, with no difference in meaning.

<sup>4</sup>**ŋâʔ-phí tê phí phí ā**: This is a cognate object construction, where the 1st occurrence of **phí** is part of a compound noun, while the 2nd is a classifier, and the 3rd is a verb. See GL:68.

<sup>5</sup>Here for the first time called **cəʔ-qəʔ-pā** “crooked back one” instead of **khi-qəʔ-pā** “twisted leg one”, translated ‘cripple’.

21. When he looked, when this blind man tried to look at it, he saw that “It’s a snake!”<sup>6</sup>, and roughly flung it away, sending it down [from the tree], so that the cripple jumped up and ran away, and that [crooked] place in his leg had straightened out.

22. [The cripple’s] leg now straightened, and [the blind man’s] eyes now seeing, the two of them went along together again, and things were now very fine, and they returned home.

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<sup>6</sup>His vision had miraculously been restored because of his fright.

### 8.13 The blind man, the cripple, and the treasure trove

- (1) *à-šwè thâ cê , khi-qò?-pā mē?-cú-pā ní ġā cò lε ,*  
 AE P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> Q V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 once upon a time quotative cripple blind man two people be there suspensive  
*šu qhò? cá lε yò-hí-nè mâ ġa cá .*  
 Pron OV P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Adv <sub>v</sub>V V  
 others celebrate New Year's suspensive they (dual) negative get to celebrate
- (2) *câ ġâ kà? phu mâ cò .*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv V  
 celebrate desiderative although money negative be there
- (3) *chi qhe te lε yò-hí-nè jè dà? ve qò?-ve .*  
 AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 like this be a certain way suspensive they (dual) discuss nominalizer it is said
- (4) *yò-hí-nè jè dà? ve lε , mô šu lâ-phî*  
 Pron V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> Pron N  
 they (dual) discuss nominalizer suspensive down there other people plow  
*te ā ve ca qhò e-? ” qò?*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> V  
 leave sthg where it is perfective nominalizer go and do steal motion away (imp.) say  
*dà? lε , šu lâ-phî te ā ve*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 mutual action suspensive others plow leave sthg where it is perfective relativizer  
*ca qhò e la lε , khi-qò?-pā chi mē?-cú-pā à?*  
<sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> Det N<sub>dvb</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 go and do steal motion away come to V suspensive cripple this blind man causee  
*pū pî lε jû-fî tê mâ yù lε ġû-šî*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>loc</sub>  
 cause to carry causative suspensive walking stick one for things take suspensive ahead  
*jû qay pî ve qò?-ve .*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 walk V along benefactive (3p) nominalizer it is said
- (5) *chi qhe te lε ̄ qay-qay lε , šu*  
 AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>redup</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron  
 like this be a certain way suspensive topic going and going suspensive somebody else's  
*qhà? ̄ ġà e lε , nê-cò-pā á-qhò*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> N  
 village locative reach motion away suspensive person possessed by a spirit home  
*há e lɔ qò?-ve .*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 spend the night motion away emphatic declarative it is said
- (6) *nê-cò-pā á-qhò há e lε-̄ , nê*  
 N<sub>dvb</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 person possessed by a spirit home spend the night motion away suspensive spirit (animist)  
*ò-ve qò? yò-hí-nè à? ” chè? cá ġâ à ” qò?*  
 Det Conj Pron P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V  
 that then them (dual) accusative bite V to eat desiderative asseverative say



- ve  
P<sub>univ</sub>  
nominalizer
- (7) *chi qhe te lɛ yô-hí-nè kâ? bo-lo-qô cò , nê qô?*  
AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N V N Conj  
like this happen suspensive they (dual) also gong be there spirit (animist) also  
*bo-lo-qô , cò lɛ ,*  
N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
gong be there because
- (8) ” *dô? dà? a ni a* .  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
strike mutual action try to hortatory
- (9) *nò-hí-nè ve chi ò-khô lè gò qo ñà mâ gâ cá , nò-hí-nè*  
N<sub>poss</sub> + ve Det N P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Adv <sub>v</sub>V V Pron  
your (dual) this sound topic be dragged out if I negative get to eat you (dual)  
*ve ò-khô chi mâ gò qo ñà gâ cá ve yò*  
P<sub>univ</sub> N Det Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
genitivizer sound this negative be prolonged if I get to eat nominalizer declarative  
,” *chi qhe qô? lɛ , gò dô? dà? a ni tê yân thâ ɔ ,*  
AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
like this say suspensive V vigorously hit mutual action try to when topic  
*mê?-cú-pā khi-qô?-pā ve chi bo-lo-qô khô gò lɛ ,*  
N<sub>dvb</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Det N N V P<sub>unf</sub>  
blind man cripple genitivizer this gong sound be prolonged suspensive  
*nê-cò-pā bo-lo-qô khô mâ gò lɛ ,*  
N<sub>dvb</sub> N N Adv V P<sub>unf</sub>  
person possessed by a spirit gong sound negative be prolonged suspensive  
*nê-cò-pā qha-pà-è pho e cê .*  
N<sub>dvb</sub> AE V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
person possessed by a spirit completely run away motion away quotative
- (10) *chi qhe te lɛ pho e pà qhò?-nó , ô*  
AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> M<sub>px</sub> N<sub>sd</sub>  
like this happen suspensive run away motion away finish V'ing after that  
*nê-cò-pā chê tã ve bwê qhò ca ni*  
N<sub>dvb</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V  
person possessed by a spirit stay perfective relativizer room inside go and do look at  
*lɛ phu-ši kə á l qô? lɛ ,*  
P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
suspensive silver and gold have inside durative emphatic declarative say suspensive  
*ô nî mà gò pè dà? e*  
N<sub>sd</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
those two for people (informal) V vigorously divide up mutual action go on V'ing  
*lɛ cò?-qô?-pā chi qô? nî pu te cê .*  
P<sub>unf</sub> N Det Conj Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
suspensive hunchback this then two for shares make quotative
- (11) *qha-pà-è šê? pu te lɛ , mê?-cú-pā tê pu pî qô?-ve ,*  
AE Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
in all three for portions make suspensive blind man one for shares give it is said

The blind man, the cripple, and the treasure trove

- yô nî pu hâ? lɛ , gö pè dà? lɛ-5 ,*  
 Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 he two for shares take suspensive V vigorously divide up mutual action suspensive
- ni a lɛ-5 , ” ôo , nò phu pè ve*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Interj Pron N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 check on vigorous action suspensive oh! you money divide up nominalizer
- šɛ? pu ” chi qhe qô? lɛ ,*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 three for shares like this say suspensive
- (12) ” *mâ hê? nò ni a ni ” qô? lɛ ,*  
 Adv + V Pron V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 not be the case you look at try to say suspensive
- (13) *qô? šô? ni lɛ qô? ” šɛ? pu te tɛ*  
 vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Conj Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 go on to V feel around try and V suspensive then three for shares make V and put down
- ā lo ” qô? ve .*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 perfective emphatic declarative say nominalizer
- (14) *chi qhe te lɛ gö dš? dà? lɛ-5 ,*  
 AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 like this be a certain way suspensive V vigorously fight mutual action suspensive
- mê?-cú-pā à? khi-qô?-pā phê a ve , chò*  
 N<sub>dvb</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>sd</sub>  
 blind man accusative cripple set upon violently vigorous action nominalizer here
- mê?-ši à? hâ? ve mê?*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 eye accusative strike nominalizer eye
- (15) *ñán-kà? qay qô?-ve .*  
 AE V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 wide open go a certain way it is said
- (16) *mê?-cú-pā khi-qô?-pā qô? dš? phê lɛ ,*  
 N<sub>dvb</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 blind man cripple V back hit launch violent action suspensive
- khi-cô?-qô?-pā ð-to thên-kà? qay qô?-ve .*  
 N<sub>dvb</sub> N AE V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 person with a crooked leg and back body straight go a certain way it is said
- (17) *chi qhe te lɛ yô-hí-nè qô? mê? qô? mð ,*  
 AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron vV N vV V  
 like this be a certain way suspensive they (dual) V for a change eye V again see
- cô? kà? thê a lɛ , qha šwí pè dà?*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE V P<sub>v</sub>  
 back (of body) also straight vigorous action suspensive equally divide up mutual action
- lɛ , á-qhɔ qô? e*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub>  
 suspensive home go home motion away

(18) *qôʔ-ve* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 it is said

(19) *pə*                      *ð* .  
 V                              P<sub>v</sub>  
 be completed    completed action

### Translation

1. Once upon a time there were two people, a cripple<sup>1</sup> and a blind man, and when other people were celebrating New Year's<sup>2</sup>, the two of them did not get to celebrate.
2. They wanted to celebrate, but they had no money.
3. So the two of them talked it over.<sup>3</sup>
4. As the two of them were talking it over, they said "Let's go steal that plow that they left down there!", and so they went and stole the plow that had been left, and the cripple made the blind man carry it<sup>4</sup>, then he [the cripple] took a walking-stick and walked on ahead. 5 So they went on and on this way, and got to a strange village, where a person possessed by an evil spirit<sup>5</sup> was spending the night in a house!
6. So the spirit-possessed person was spending the night in the house, and that spirit then said to the two of them, "I want to bite you and eat you all up."
7. At this point, since the two of them had a gong and the spirit also had a gong, <sup>6</sup> he [the evil spirit] said, "Let's try a [gong] striking match!<sup>7</sup>"
8. "If the sound of you guys lasts longer,<sup>8</sup> I won't get to eat you, but if that sound of yours doesn't last longer, I will get to eat you," he said, and when they tried beating [the gongs] against each other,<sup>9</sup> the sound of the blind man and the cripple's gong lasted longer, but the sound of the possessed guy's gong did not last, so the possessed man totally<sup>10</sup> ran away.
9. So after he had run away, they went and looked into the room where the possessed man had been staying, and they said "There's gold and silver in here!", so the two of them raced to divide it up, and the cripple said he would make two portions.
10. [But] he made three portions in all, and told the blind man to take one portion while he took two, and having divided it up, [the blind man] checked it over<sup>11</sup> and said, "Hey, you divided up the money into three portions!", so he said "No, I didn't! You try checking it out!", so he felt around to check and said, "You did make three portions!"

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<sup>1</sup>*khi-qəʔ-pā*. Later in the text he is referred to as *cəʔ-qəʔ-pā* 'hunchback' or *khi-cəʔ-qəʔ-pā* 'person with a crooked leg and back'.  
<sup>2</sup>*qhəʔ cā ve*, lit. "eat the year".  
<sup>3</sup>At the end of many sentences in this text, *qôʔ-ve* 'it is said' is equivalent to the quotative P.uf (final unrestricted particle *cê*), and is usually best left untranslated.  
<sup>4</sup>Nothing more is said about this plow.  
<sup>5</sup>*nê-cəʔ-pā*. For more information on the animist concept of *nê* 'spirit/demon', see DL: 775-778 and the numerous works of Anthony R. Walker.  
<sup>6</sup>It is not clear why either side happened to have a gong with them. The story would work better if the two of them had stolen a gong instead of a plow!  
<sup>7</sup>*dəʔ dəʔ ve*: "strike mutually".  
<sup>8</sup>*gə* (V) 'drag, draw, pull out' here refers to drawing out a sound.  
<sup>9</sup>*gə dəʔ dəʔ a-ni*: *gə*, which means 'drag/pull' as a main verb, is here grammaticalized as a *v*V with an intensifying meaning. See DL: 1139.  
<sup>10</sup>*qha-pə-è* (AE): 'completely'.  
<sup>11</sup>*ni a le-5*: the literal meaning of *ni* 'look at' is obviously inappropriate for the blind man, so the verb must be understood in its metaphorical sense of 'try something; do something and see'.

## The blind man, the cripple, and the treasure trove

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11. So then they started beating up on each other, and the cripple struck the blind man right there on the eyes, and his eyes flew open [so he could see].
12. Then when the blind man hit the cripple back, the cripple's body straightened up.
13. So then the two of them, who could now see and now had a straight back, divided up [the riches] equally, and returned home.
14. That's the end.

## 8.14 The widow and the head child

- (1) à-šwè thâ mē-chô-ma tē gā cò ve cê .  
 AE N Q V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 once upon a time widow one person be there nominalizer quotative
- (2) mē-chô-ma ô-ve tē ni qhe yf ca gǝ?  
 N Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V  
 widow that one for days topicalizer thatch-grass go and do cut with sweeping motion  
 e lē í-kâ? ší qha-lâ lē í-kâ? ca ni  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V  
 motion away suspensive water thirsty lively action because water go and do look around  
 lē , í-kâ? mâ mǝ .  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv V  
 suspensive water negative see
- (3) qhe-te-lē hē-šā ð-qhɔ hɔ-khi-ha thâ? í-kâ? cò tā  
 Conj N N<sub>loc</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub>  
 so abandoned field inside elephant's footprint accusative water be there durative  
 ve thâ? ní dǝ tá lē qǝ? e  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 nominalizer accusative scoop up drink perfective suspensive go home motion away  
 ve yǝ .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (4) qhe-te-lē mâ mɔ-mɔ gâ lē yâ hu la lē yâ pɔ  
 Conj AE V P<sub>unf</sub> OV P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V  
 well then before long reach suspensive be pregnant come to V suspensive child give birth  
 la ve yǝ .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 come to V nominalizer declarative
- (5) yâ ô-ve lē ð-to mâ cǝ lē ó-qǝ cɛ tí , ó-qǝ-ší cɛ tí  
 N Det P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub>+P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub>+P<sub>univ</sub>  
 child that topic body negative have because head only head only  
 cǝ ve yǝ .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 have nominalizer declarative
- (6) yâ?-qhâ ð-e thô yô thâ? qha-dê? hâ?-šá tá pî  
 Conj N Conj Pron P<sub>n</sub> AE V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 however mother anyway it accusative properly take care of durative benefactive (3p)  
 lē qha cǝ-cǝ mɔ la pǝ tē ni qhe ð-e  
 P<sub>unf</sub> AE V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> N  
 suspensive fairly long (of time) come to V finish V'ing one for days topicalizer mother  
 chí lē hē te ve ð-yân gâ la lē , hē  
 Det P<sub>unf</sub> OV P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 this topic cultivate a swidden relativizer time reach come to V because swidden  
 ca phô e ve yǝ cê .  
<sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 go and do clear land motion away nominalizer declarative quotative

The widow and the head child

- (7) *yâ ó-qô ô-ve qô? ve : " ñà e ò , nò tâ*  
 N N Det V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N P<sub>n</sub> Pron Adv  
 child head that say nominalizer my mother vocative you negative imperative  
*phô*  
 V  
 clear land
- (8) *ñà thà? phô ci a , " têt ð-e*  
 Pron P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> QUOT N  
 me causee clear land let (permissive causative) hortatory embedded quote mother  
*thà? qô? pî lɛ*  
 P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 accusative say benefactive (3p) suspensive
- (9) *ð-e qô? ve : " nò te mâ phê? nê-õ , " têt*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> QUOT  
 mother say nominalizer you do negative able to suppositional embedded quote  
*qô? pî qha lɛ , yâ ó-qô qô? qô? ve : "*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 say benefactive (3p) vivid action suspensive child head V back say nominalizer  
*ñà te pî ve yò*  
 Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 I do able to V nominalizer declarative
- (10) *ñà thà? tɛ tá lɛ qô? e-?*  
 Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub>  
 me accusative put down perfective suspensive go home motion away (imp.)
- (11) *à-mù mù phà? la thâ õ qô? pû qhà?*  
 Conj SV P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV V V<sub>v</sub>  
 in a while get dark come to V when topic V again carry on the back V back  
*la-? , " têt qô? pî lɛ , ð-e*  
 P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> QUOT V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 motion toward (imperative) embedded quote say benefactive (3p) suspensive mother  
*thô yô qô? pî ve qhe na lɛ tɛ tá*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 also he say benefactive (3p) nominalizer like listen suspensive put down perfective  
*ve yò*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (12) *mù phà? la lɛ ð-e ca qô? ni la thâ*  
 SV P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N vV vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 get dark come to V suspensive mother go and do V again look around come to V when  
*phô pà tã la ve thà? ãa mò*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> vV + V<sub>h</sub>  
 hack away undergrowth finish V'ing perfective come to V nominalizer accusative find  
*ve yò*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (13) *hɛ thu ve ð-yân thô yô ð-e thà? qô?*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N P<sub>n</sub> V  
 swidden chop down (as large trees) relativizer time also he mother accusative say

- pî* *ve* :” *ηà* *thu* *pí* *ve*  
*V<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *Pron* *V* *V<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>univ</sub>*  
 benefactive (3p) nominalizer I chop down (as large trees) able to V nominalizer
- yò* ” *tè?* *ḡ-e* *thà?* *qô?* *pî* *ε* *ḡ-e*  
*P<sub>uf</sub>* *QUOT* *N* *P<sub>n</sub>* *V* *V<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *N*  
 declarative embedded quote mother accusative say benefactive (3p) suspensive mother
- yô* *thà?* *hε* *qhɔ* *lo* *ca* *pû* *tε* *tá*  
*Pron* *P<sub>n</sub>* *N* *M<sub>px</sub>* *P<sub>n</sub>* *vV* *V* *V* *P<sub>v</sub>*  
 him accusative swidden inside locative go and do carry on the back put down perfective
- pî* *ε* , *yô* *thu* *pà* *tā*  
*V<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *Pron* *V* *V<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>v</sub>*  
 benefactive (3p) suspensive he chop down (as large trees) finish V'ing perfective
- lā* *ve* *thà?* *ḡa mḡ* *ve* *yò* .  
*P<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *P<sub>n</sub>* *vV + V<sub>h</sub>* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer accusative find nominalizer declarative
- (14) *ε* *tê* *ni* *qhe* *mû-mì* *ô-ve* *thà?* *ḡu* *ca* *bô?* *yù*  
*Conj* *Num* *Cl<sub>f</sub>* *N<sub>ext</sub>* *N* *Det* *P<sub>n</sub>* *Pron* *vV* *V + P<sub>v</sub>*  
 and so one for days topicalizer country that accusative others go and do invade
- la* *ε* , *ḡu* *yô-hi* *thà?* *ḡā* *ve* *ḡ-lɔn* *thà?*  
*P<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *Pron* *Pron* *P<sub>n</sub>* *V* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *N* *P<sub>n</sub>*  
 come to V suspensive others them accusative defeat relativizer situation accusative
- ḡḡ* *dà?* *ve* *yò* .  
*V* *P<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 calculate mutual action nominalizer declarative
- (15) *qhe-te-ε* *yô* *qô?* *ve* , ” *ηà* *thà?* *tí* *bô?* *ci*  
*Conj* *Pron* *V* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *Pron* *P<sub>n</sub>* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *V* *V<sub>v</sub>*  
 so he say nominalizer me causee just fight let (permissive causative)
- lā* *kà?* *ḡā* *ve* *yò* ,” *tè?* *qô?*  
*P<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *V* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>* *QUOT* *V*  
 benefactive (non-3p) even if win nominalizer declarative embedded quote say
- pî* *ε* , *khún-hó-khân* *qô?* *ve* ,” *nò* *bô?* *ḡā*  
*V<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *N* *V* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *Pron* *V* *V<sub>v</sub>*  
 benefactive (3p) suspensive king say nominalizer you fight succeed
- ve* *qo* , *ηà* *yâ-mí* *khò?* *ḡā* *cò* *ve* *yò* .  
*P<sub>univ</sub>* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *Pron* *N* *Num* *Cl<sub>f</sub>* *V* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 nominalizer if I daughter six for people have nominalizer declarative
- (16) *a-ḡu* *tê ḡā* *thà?* *hâ?* *ḡā* *ve* *qo* *hâ?* *phê?*  
*Pron* *Q* *P<sub>n</sub>* *V* *P<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *V* *V<sub>v</sub>*  
 whoever one person accusative marry desiderative nominalizer if marry able to
- ve* *yò* .  
*P<sub>univ</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 nominalizer declarative
- (17) *ε* *mû-mì* *kà?* *tê khò* *qhe* *pî* *phê?* *ve* *yò* ,” *tè?*  
*P<sub>unf</sub>* *N* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *Q* *N<sub>ext</sub>* *V* *V<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>* *QUOT*  
 and country also half about give able to nominalizer declarative embedded quote
- khún-hó-khân* *qô?* *pî* *ve* *yò* .  
*N* *V* *V<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 king say benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative

The widow and the head child

- (18) *qhe-te-le yâ ó-qō ô-ve ca bô? thâ qha-pà-è thà? gâ le* ,  
 Conj N N Det <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> AE P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 so child head that go and do fight when everybody accusative defeat suspensive  
*yô ve yâ-mî le mû-mî pî ve yò* .  
 N<sub>poss + ve</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 his daughter and land give nominalizer declarative
- (19) *qhe-te-le tê ni qhe yâ ó-qō ô-ve ci-qhɔ qay qhò?-nó , yô ve*  
 Conj Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> N N Det N V M<sub>px</sub> N<sub>poss + ve</sub>  
 then one for days topicalizer child head that market go after his  
*ò-pi-ma yè šɔ-šɔ? le , ó-qō kə kî à-mî tú bà*  
 N N V P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub>  
 old lady house tidy up suspensive head put into locative fire burn sthg away  
*šē pî le , yâ ó-qō chi ci-qhɔ qò? la thâ*  
 P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N Det N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 regrettably benefactive (3p) suspensive child head this market return come to V when  
 , *và? tã kî mâ cò le dà? jâ ve*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 hide (oneself) durative locative negative be there because handsome very relativizer  
*hó-qhâ?-pā tê gâ phè? la ve yò* .  
 N Q V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 man one person become nominalizer declarative

**Translation**

1. Once upon a time there was a widow.
2. One day when that widow had gone to cut thatch-grass, she got terribly thirsty and looked around for water, but couldn't find any.
3. Then she scooped up and drunk the water that had been left in an elephant's footprint in an old abandoned field, and returned home.
4. Then not long afterwards she became pregnant, and gave birth to a child.
5. That child had no body, but only a head—just a head.<sup>1</sup>
6. But the mother took care of it properly, and after a fair amount of time had passed, one day since it was time to cultivate her field, she was going off to clear the undergrowth.<sup>2</sup>
- 7a. The head-child said, “Mother, don't you do the clearing. Let me do it,” he said to his mother, and
- 7b. The mother burst out,<sup>3</sup> “I doubt that you could do it!” she said, and
- 7c. The head-child replied, “I can do it. Just leave me here and go back.”
- 7d. “Pretty soon when it's getting dark come and carry me back,” he said, and
- 7e. The mother for her part did as he said, and left him there.
8. When it got dark and the mother came back to look around, she saw that all the clearing of

<sup>1</sup> *ó-qō* is the “short form” (*khô-ŋe*) of ‘head’, while *ó-qō-ši* (with the addition of the morpheme for round objects) is the “long form” (*khô-yi*). See GL 74-76.

<sup>2</sup> *he phô ve* (OV) ‘clear away undergrowth from a swidden with a heavy buush-knife’.

<sup>3</sup> “Burst out” translates the emphatic particle *qha* after *qô? pî* ‘say to’.



the undergrowth had already been done for her.

9a. In the same way,<sup>4</sup> when the time came for felling the large trees<sup>5</sup> in the swidden, he said to his mother “I know how to clear-cut the field,” so when he said that, his mother went and carried him to the field and left him there, and she [later] found that the field had been completely clear-cut for her.

10. And then one day that country was about to be invaded<sup>6</sup> by others, and everybody predicted<sup>7</sup> that those others would win.

11a. Then he [the Head] said, “Even if you just let me fight all by myself, I’ll win.”

11b. And when he said that, the King said, “If you fight and win, I have six daughters.”

11c. “Whichever one you want to marry, you may marry, and also I can give you about one half of my kingdom,” said the King.

12. Thereupon the Head-child went to fight, and conquered everything, and he [the King] gave him his daughter and the land.

13. Then one day, after the Head-child had gone<sup>8</sup> to market, the old lady<sup>9</sup> was tidying up the house, and accidentally set fire to the place where the Head used to be put, and when the Head-child got back from the market he no longer had anywhere to hide, so he turned into a very handsome man.

<sup>4</sup>“In the same way” translates **thō** (Punf) ‘also’.

<sup>5</sup>**hē thu ve** (OV): “slash a swidden”, i.e. clear a field by felling the big trees in an area before burning it off. Here translated “clear-cut”.

<sup>6</sup>**bō? yū ve**: lit. “shoot-take”, i.e. ‘be taken over by fighting’.

<sup>7</sup>**šō dā? ve**: “calculated mutually”

<sup>8</sup>His means of locomotion is not specified.

<sup>9</sup>**ō-pi-ma**: ‘grandma, mother-in-law, old lady’. This refers to the Head-child’s mother, who was evidently living with him and his princess.

## 8.15 The snake and the widow's daughters (Version I)

- (1) *à-šwè thâ mē-chô-ma ð-e ð-yâ ní gâ cò ve cê* .  
 AE N N N Q V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 once upon a time widow mother time two people be there nominalizer quotative
- (2) *tê ni thâ í-šĩ šá lè? ve cê , thô-dĩ-šĩ* .  
 Num V P<sub>univ</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N  
 one look at when fruit pick (as fruit) do for eating nominalizer quotative pine-nut
- (3) *le í-šĩ chi le-ē-ε , šá lâ pā cò qo ñà*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N Det P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron  
 fruit this this pluck benefactive (non-3p) agentive nominalizer be there if I  
*yâ-mĩ šĩ gâ cò ve qhò ve tê gâ hâ? gâ*  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + ve Q V P<sub>v</sub>  
 daughter seven for people be there nominalizer nominalizer one person get desiderative  
*thô pè? pĩ ve yò qô? le , vì lón tê*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V B<sub>n</sub> Num  
 also give benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative say suspensive buy sthg big one  
*khe là le í-šĩ ô ve thà? hĩ?*  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V  
 for animals come suspensive fruit over there nominalizer accusative shake  
*ce pĩ ve cê* .  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 fall (from a height) benefactive (3p) nominalizer quotative
- (4) *qhe-te-le vì lón ô-ve mē-chô-ma á-qhò qò? e le yô qhâ-šĩ*  
 Conj V B<sub>n</sub> Det N N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron M<sub>prfx</sub>  
 so buy sthg big that widow home go home motion away suspensive he along  
*là ve cê* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 come nominalizer quotative
- (5) *má-tè-má-na qo yè qhò qha-gâ è là ò qô?*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> N M<sub>prfx</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V  
 son-in-law who's true if house inside until only come completed action say  
*le , vì lón tê khe là le ð-yâ-mĩ šĩ gâ*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> V B<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 suspensive buy sthg big one for animals come suspensive daughter seven for people  
*cò ve tê pa lî?-hâ? ci le mâ hâ? cê* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> Q V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be there nominalizer group group causative suspensive negative get quotative
- (6) *ð-le-ma tê mà hâ? le " ñà e , qhâ-qhe hâ?*  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>v</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> V  
 the youngest daughter one for things get suspensive I motion away how? get  
*ci lâ qo , chi qhe hâ? tí yò " qô? le* ,  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 causative benefactive (non-3p) topic like this get only declarative say suspensive  
*hâ? le , mú thĩ la le , kô?-fây ba ê? phâ-kâ*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N AE<sub>stat</sub> N  
 get suspensive heavens be dawn come to V suspensive lamp brightly mosquito net

- ba è?* *te ā* *lɔ* *cê* .  
 AE<sub>stat</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 brightly do perfective emphatic declarative quotative
- (7) *qhe-te-ɛ* *tê ni thâ ð-ví-ma khwé ɛ , thô-dí-ši qð?*  
 Conj Num V P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V  
 so one look at when elder sister jealous suspensive pine-nut V again  
*šá lè?* *e ve cê* .  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 pick (as fruit) do for eating motion away nominalizer quotative
- (8) *ši və ɛ í-ši šá lè?* *e ɛ ši?-cè*  
 V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 take smn along suspensive fruit pick (as fruit) do for eating motion away suspensive tree  
*ô-ve thà?* *tš?* *qá ɛ ð-ni-ma thà? tá?*  
 Det P<sub>n</sub> V Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V  
 that accusative cut (with knife for branches suspensive younger sister accusative go up  
*e pə ɛ yš ð-ni-ma ve yâ-pā yš yù*  
 P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N P<sub>univ</sub> N Pron V  
 motion away send smn to V suspensive he younger sister genitivizer boy he take  
*tá ɛ yš qð? ve : " ŋà ni ò , nð*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub> Pron  
 perfective suspensive he say nominalizer I look at completed action you  
*ve ũ-ní nð ve yâ-pā ... nð ve ũ-ní hâ? gâ*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub>  
 genitivizer towel you genitivizer boy you genitivizer turban turban desiderative  
*ɛ hɛ " qð? ɛ , qê? ce*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V V  
 suspensive probably say suspensive take off (clothing) fall (from a height)  
*pî ve cê* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (3p) nominalizer quotative
- (9) *qhe-te-ɛ qê?* *ce pə pî ɛ*  
 Conj V V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 so take off (clothing) fall (from a height) send smn to V benefactive (3p) suspensive  
*ši?-cè ô-ve thà? cà? pā-e pî ve cê* .  
 N Det P<sub>n</sub> V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 tree that accusative push fall over benefactive (3p) nominalizer quotative
- (10) *qhe-te-ɛ ð-ni-ma chi ši qay pð qhð?-nó ð-ví-ma chi ð-ni-ma*  
 Conj N NP<sub>ext</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> M<sub>px</sub> N Det N  
 so younger sister this long go finish V'ing after elder sister this younger sister  
*ve vð?-qâ tê phā gš? vð? və ɛ ô*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N Q V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub>  
 genitivizer clothes pluralizer hold onto wear transportatory motion suspensive over there  
*ð-ni-ma ve ð-phô qhâ-ši ... ð-phô ge yš qð? ché ve*  
 N P<sub>univ</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> Pron <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 younger sister genitivizer husband tracks husband with he V again live nominalizer  
*cê* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative

The snake and the widow's daughters (Version I)

- (11) *ð-ni-ma ve cú-šĩ gô-là?-ma thâ? qá tá*  
 N P<sub>univ</sub> N N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 younger sister genitivizer breast (of woman) rattan sp. accusative blocked durative  
*ve cê*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer quotative
- (12) *qhe-te-le tê ni thâ á-pi-qā šē? khe ca kù la*  
 Conj Num V P<sub>univ</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub>  
 so one look at when dove three for animals go and do call come to V  
*ve cê*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer quotative
- (13) ” *Šē-khà ò , Šē-khà ò , nò cá kè nò mâ*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>v</sub> , N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>n</sub> , Pron N<sub>dvb</sub> Pron Adv  
 male name completed action male name vocative you eating place you negative  
*nô o lâ ” qhe qô? kù ve cê*  
 V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>v</sub> ” N<sub>ext</sub> V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be aware of emphatic benefactive (non-3p) like say call nominalizer quotative
- (14) ” *Šē-khà ð-pa ò nò tê gâ gû le-hé*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N P<sub>v</sub> Pron Q V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name father completed action you one person crazy probably
- (15) *ŋà nò mî-a yò và*  
 Pron Pron N P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 I your wife declarative emphatic
- (16) *á-pò? à? kà? the-du à? kà? ni a ni è? ,”*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 shirt accusative also woman's sarong accusative also look at try to emphatic  
*chi qhe qô? ve cê*  
 AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 like this say nominalizer quotative

**Translation**

- Once upon a time there was a widowed mother and her child.
- One day they went to pick fruit to eat — pine-nuts.
- Well, when she said, “These fruits now, if there were someone to pick them for me, whichever of my seven daughters he wanted I would give her to him,” a great snake came and shook those fruits down for her.
- Then when the widow went back home, that big snake came following after her.
- “If you are indeed and in truth my son-in-law come right into the house,” she said, and the snake came and she had him choose [a wife] from among some of the seven daughters she had — but they wouldn't have him.
- The last-born one accepted him, saying “mother, however you have me marry, that is how I shall marry!”, and when she had wed him, as dawn broke, there was a shining lantern and a shining screen! [Ed: behind the shining screen was a handsome young man — the snake had been metamorphosed]
- Then one day, the elder sister was jealous, and again went off to pick pine-nuts to eat.

8. Taking [her younger sister] along, they went off to pick them, and having cut the tree part-way through [on a previous occasion], she sent her younger sister climbing up it, then took up her younger sister's son and said:
9. "Sister, your turban — er, your son wants to have your turban, I think"; so she took it off and dropped it down to them.
10. Then, when she had dropped it down to them, she [the older sister] pushed the tree over.
11. Then, after her younger sister had died, the elder sister picked up all her clothes and put them on [herself] and lived thereafter with her younger sister's husband.
12. The younger sister's breast remained hanging from a {rattan bush/clump of rattan}.
13. Then one day three doves came and called out, saying,
14. "Sheh-khao!<sup>1</sup> O Sheh-khao! Don't you remember the place where you would eat?" [the husband is impressed by the dove's accusation of the elder sister]
15. "Sheh-khao's father<sup>2</sup>, you must be crazy! I'm the one who's your who is your wife!
16. Just look at my tunic and my skirt!", she said...

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<sup>1</sup>This was the name of the younger sister's son.

<sup>2</sup>The Lahu are teknonymous. It is the eldest sister who is talking to her husband, the former snake.

## 8.16 The snake and the widow's daughters (Version II)

- (1) à-pō chi tē mà lè tē hí qô ha khò? chi nâ  
 N Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num  
 story this one for things topic one for thousands nine for hundreds sixty-five  
 qhò? thâ , Nòvèbà-ha-pa ð-qhò lo Lâhū Thây-mû-mì ̄ cò  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V  
 for years when November in locative Lahu Thailand locative be there  
 ve Pa-yé-šú qhâ? qhò ̄ chē ve yâ-mî tē gâ tho  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>place</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N Q V  
 nominalizer village name village in locative live relativizer girl one person tell  
 tã ve à-pō thà? ñà qò? gu tho ve  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> Pron<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 perfective relativizer story accusative I V again improve by V'ing tell nominalizer  
 yò  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (2) à-pō chi ve ð-lb mē-chô-ma ve yâ-mî ló le ð-lē-mâ ve  
 N Det N N P<sub>univ</sub> N B<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub>  
 story this subject widow genitivizer daughter eldest and the last one genitivizer  
 yâ-mî tē gâ ð-lb .  
 N Q N  
 daughter one person about
- (3) à-swè thâ mē-chô-ma tē gâ lè dà? jâ ve  
 AE N Q P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 once upon a time widow one person topic beautiful very relativizer  
 yâ-mî-há šĩ gâ cò ve yò .  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 unmarried young woman seven for people have nominalizer declarative
- (4) mē-chô-ma chi tē gâ tē ni thâ thô-dî-šĩ mào? jâ le ,  
 N Det Q Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 widow this one person one for days when pine-nut hungry very because  
 hê?-pí-qhò qay le thô-dî-cè tē cè gâ mào ve yò .  
 N V P<sub>unf</sub> N Q V<sub>v</sub>+V<sub>h</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 woods go suspensive pine tree sp. one tree find nominalizer declarative
- (5) qhe-te-le thô-dî-cè thà? yô tâ? e mâ gâ .  
 Conj N P<sub>n</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub> Adv V<sub>v</sub>  
 well then pine tree sp. accusative she climb up motion away negative manage to
- (6) qhe-te-le yô šá câ mâ phê? .  
 Conj Pron V V<sub>v</sub> Adv V<sub>v</sub>  
 so she pick (as fruit) V to eat negative able to
- (7) qhe-te-le yô qô? ve cê : “ âa , thô-dî-šĩ thà? ñà  
 Conj Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Interj N P<sub>n</sub> Pron  
 thereupon she say nominalizer quotative ah! pine-nut accusative for me  
 šá lâ pã lē ñà cò ve  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 pick (as fruit) benefactive (non-3p) agentive nominalizer topic I have relativizer

- yâ-mî*    *ṣĩ*    *gã*    *ve*    *tê gã-gã*    *thà?*    *hã?*    *ci*  
 N        Num    Cl<sub>f</sub>    P<sub>univ</sub>    NP<sub>q</sub>        P<sub>n</sub>        V        V<sub>v</sub>  
 daughter seven for people genitivizer someone or other accusative marry causative
- pĩ*                    *ve*                    *yò*                    *,*    *qhe*    *qô?*    *ve*                    *cê*                    *.*  
 V<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>univ</sub>                    P<sub>uf</sub>                    Adv        V        P<sub>univ</sub>                    P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative    like this say nominalizer quotative
- (8) *ô qhe*    *qô?*    *ve*                    *tê yân thâ*    *,*    *vì-ló*    *tê*    *khε*                    *tʔ*                    *la*  
 NP<sub>ext</sub>    V        P<sub>univ</sub>                    NP<sub>time</sub>        N            Num    Cl<sub>f</sub>                    V                    P<sub>v</sub>  
 like that say relativizer when            big snake one for animals come out come to V
- ε*                    *ṣá*                    *pĩ*                    *ve*                    *yò*                    *.*  
 P<sub>unf</sub>                    V                    V<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>univ</sub>                    P<sub>uf</sub>  
 suspensive pick (as fruit) benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative
- (9) *qhe-te-ε*    *mê-chô-ma*    *á-qhɔ*    *qò?*    *e*                    *pà*                    *qhò?-nó*    *vì-ló*                    *kà?*    *yô*  
 Conj        N                    N        V        P<sub>v</sub>                    V<sub>v</sub>                    M<sub>px</sub>                    N                    P<sub>unf</sub>    Pron  
 so            widow            home return motion away finish V'ing after    big snake also her
- à-qhâ-ṣĩ*    *kà?*    *là*                    *ve*                    *cê*                    *.*  
 N                    P<sub>unf</sub>    V                    P<sub>univ</sub>                    P<sub>uf</sub>  
 one's trail also come nominalizer quotative
- (10) *yè*                    *à-pâ-nê*    *ɔ*                    *gà*                    *ε*                    *vì-ló*    *chi*    *yô*                    *á-qhɔ*    *mâ*                    *lò?*  
 N                    N<sub>loc</sub>    P<sub>n</sub>                    V                    P<sub>unf</sub>                    N            Det    Pron    N            Adv                    V  
 house nearby locative reach suspensive big snake this her home negative enter
- la*                    *.*  
 P<sub>v</sub>  
 come to V
- (11) *qhe-te-ε*    *yô*                    *qô?*    *pĩ*                    *ve*                    *:*    *“*    *nò*    *ηà ve*                    *má*                    *à-tê-à-na*  
 Conj        Pron    V        V<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>univ</sub>                    Pron    N<sub>poss</sub> + **ve**    N                    Elab<sub>adv</sub>  
 so            she say benefactive (3p) nominalizer    you mine son-in-law truly
- qo*    *,*    *á-qhɔ*    *lò?*    *la*                    *è?*                    *,*    *qhe*    *qô?*    *ve*                    *cê*                    *.*  
 P<sub>unf</sub>        N        V        P<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>uf</sub>                    Adv        V        P<sub>univ</sub>                    P<sub>uf</sub>  
 if            home enter come to V emphatic    like this say nominalizer quotative
- (12) *qhe-te-ε*    *vì-ló*                    *á-qhɔ*    *gà*                    *la*                    *ve*                    *yò*                    *.*  
 Conj        N                    N        V                    P<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>univ</sub>                    P<sub>uf</sub>  
 so            big snake home reach come to V nominalizer declarative
- (13) *vì-ló*                    *á-qhɔ*    *gà*                    *la*                    *thâ*    *yâ-mî-ma*    *ṣĩ*                    *gã*                    *yô*                    *vì-ló*                    *thà?*  
 N                    N                    V                    P<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>univ</sub>    N                    Num    Cl<sub>f</sub>                    Pron    N                    P<sub>n</sub>  
 big snake home reach come to V when daughter seven for people him big snake causee
- mê-chô-ma*    *lâ?-yù*    *ci*                    *ve*                    *yò*                    *.*  
 N                    V                    V<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>univ</sub>                    P<sub>uf</sub>  
 widow            choose causative nominalizer declarative
- (14) *vì-ló*                    *hã?*                    *gã*                    *ve*                    *yâ-mî*    *tê gã*                    *lè*                    *yâ-mî*                    *à-ví-ma*  
 N                    V                    P<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>univ</sub>                    N                    Q                    P<sub>unf</sub>                    N                    N  
 big snake marry desiderative relativizer daughter one person topic daughter elder sister
- à-ló*                    *tê gã*                    *yò*                    *.*  
 N                    Q                    P<sub>uf</sub>  
 senior one person declarative

The snake and the widow's daughters (Version II)

- (15) *qhe-kà?* *ð-ví-ma* *ð-ló* *chi* *tê gâ* *vì* *thà?* *mâ* *hâ?* *gâ*  
 Conj N N Det Q N P<sub>n</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 but elder sister senior this one person snake accusative negative marry desiderative
- (16) *qhe-te-ɛ* *yô-hi* *yâ-mî* *š̄* *gâ* *ð-qhɔ* *lo* *vì-ló* *thà?* *hâ?*  
 Conj Pron N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V  
 so them daughter seven for people amongst locative big snake accusative marry  
*gâ* *ve* *š̄* *ð-ɛ-mâ* *ve* *yâ-mî* *ɛɛ tí*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> + P<sub>univ</sub>  
 desiderative nominalizer topic the youngest one genitivizer daughter only  
*yò* *,* *ð-e* *khô* *na* *ɛ*  
 P<sub>uf</sub> N N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 declarative mother advice heed because
- (17) *qhe-te-ɛ* *yô-hi* *hâ?* *dà?* *pà* *qhð?-nó* *,* *mû-š̄* *ð-š̄* *tê nâ?* *qhe* *gâ*  
 Conj Pron V + P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> M<sub>px</sub> N<sub>time</sub> N NP<sub>time</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> V  
 so they marry finish V'ing after morning next one early about reach  
*e* *ɛ* *,* *vì-ló* *chi* *lê* *yô* *ð-mî-ma* *ð-ɛ-mâ* *ve*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Det P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N N P<sub>univ</sub>  
 motion away suspensive big snake this topic his wife the youngest one genitivizer  
*yî?-kî* *bwê* *ð-qhɔ* *lo* *kó-fây* *ba ê?* *tò?* *tā* *ve*  
 N<sub>divb</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N AE<sub>stat</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 bedroom room inside locative lantern brightly light a fire perfective nominalizer  
*yò*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (18) *qhe-te-ɛ* *yâ-mî* *khò?* *gâ* *ɛ* *yô-hi ve* *ð-e* *ca* *jâ?* *ni*  
 Conj N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + **ve** N <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub>  
 then daughter six for people and their mother go and do spy on V and see  
*a* *ɛ* *,* *phâ-kā* *ð-qhɔ* *lo* *dà?* *jâ* *ve* *hó-qhâ?-pā*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 intentive suspensive cloth partition inside locative handsome very relativizer man  
*tê gâ* *gâ* *mò* *ve* *yò*  
 Q <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 one person get to see nominalizer declarative
- (19) *vì-ló* *mâ* *mò* *ò*  
 N Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 big snake negative see change of state
- (20) *qhe* *te* *pà* *qhð?-nó* *à-mî-há* *thâ* *vì-ló* *mâ* *hâ?*  
 Adv V V<sub>v</sub> M<sub>px</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Adv V  
 this way happen finish V'ing after last night when big snake negative marry  
*gâ* *qô?* *ve* *yâ-mî* *ð-ló* *chi* *tê gâ* *lê* *,* *yô* *ni-ma lù* *jâ*  
 P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N N Det Q P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N<sub>spec</sub> + V V<sub>v</sub>  
 desiderative say relativizer daughter senior this one person topic she be upset very  
*ve* *yò*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (21) *qhe-te-ɛ* *yô* *yô* *ð-ni-ma* *ð-ɛ-mâ* *chi qhe* *phê?* *la*  
 Conj Pron Pron N N AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 so she her younger sister the youngest one like this come to pass come to V



- ve* , *dà?* *ve* *chɔ-há-pā* *tê ġā* *ġa ve*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Q V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer handsome relativizer unmarried young man one person get nominalizer
- thà?* *yô* *khwé* *jâ* *ve* *yò* .  
 P<sub>n</sub> Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 accusative she jealous very nominalizer declarative
- (22) *qhe-te-le* *yô* *à-ni-ma* *šĩ pĩ* *le* , *yô* *à-ni-ma* *ve*  
 Conj Pron N V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N P<sub>univ</sub>  
 so she younger sister cause smn's death suspensive her younger sister genitivizer  
*à-phô* *yô* *hâ?* *a-tê* , *yô* *chi qhe* *dô* *ve* *yò* .  
 N Pron V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>quot</sub> Pron AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 husband she marry purposive she like this think nominalizer declarative
- (23) *qhe-te-le* *vì-ló* *thà?* *à-ni-ma* *hâ?* *pà* *qhò?-nó* , *tê* *ni*  
 Conj N P<sub>n</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> M<sub>px</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 so big snake accusative younger sister marry finish V'ing after one for days  
*ġā* *thā* *à-ni-ma* *chi* *lè* *yā-é* *tê ġā* *pɔ* *la* *ve*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> N Det P<sub>unf</sub> N Q V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 reach when younger sister this topic baby one person give birth come to V nominalizer  
*yò* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (24) *qhe-te-le* *tê* *ni* *thā* *à-ví-ma* *à-ló* *chi* *yô* *tê* *cà* *dô-nô*  
 Conj Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N N Det Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V  
 so one for days when elder sister senior this she one for things think up  
*ġā* *le* *qhe* *te* *ve* *yò* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 manage to suspensive this way do nominalizer declarative
- (25) *hê?-pĩ-qhɔ* *cò* *ve* *thô-dĩ-cê* *tê cê* *à?* *a-cí mâ* *pā-e*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> N Q P<sub>n</sub> AE V  
 woods be there relativizer pine tree sp. one tree accusative almost fall over  
*lwè?* *à-cê* *thà?* *tô?-qá* *tá* *le* *tɛ*  
 V<sub>v</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 enough to V tree accusative cut partially through perfective suspensive V so it stays put  
*ā* *ve* *yò* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 perfective nominalizer declarative
- (26) *qhe-te-le* *tê* *ni* *yô* *à-ni-ma* *chi* *à?* *šĩ və* *le* ,  
 Conj Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Pron N Det P<sub>n</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 so one for days her younger sister this accusative take smn along suspensive  
*thô-dĩ-šĩ* *ca* *šá* *lè?* *e* *ve* *yò* .  
 N vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 pine-nut go and do pick (as fruit) do for eating motion away nominalizer declarative
- (27) *thô-dĩ-cê* *ô-ve* *tê cê* *ō* *ġā* *thā* , *tô?-qá* *ā*  
 N Det Q P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 pine tree sp. that one tree locative reach when cut partially through perfective  
*ve* *thô-dĩ-cê* *ō* *ġā* *thā* , *à-ni-ma* *thà?* *tá?*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V  
 relativizer pine tree sp. locative reach when younger sister accusative climb up

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- |  |                |                  |                 |                |                   |                 |  |  |  |
|--|----------------|------------------|-----------------|----------------|-------------------|-----------------|--|--|--|
|  | <i>e</i>       | <i>ɛ</i>         | <i>šá</i>       | <i>ci</i>      | <i>ve</i>         | <i>yò</i>       |  |  |  |
|  | P <sub>v</sub> | P <sub>unf</sub> | V               | V <sub>v</sub> | P <sub>univ</sub> | P <sub>uf</sub> |  |  |  |
|  | motion away    | suspensive       | pick (as fruit) | causative      | nominalizer       | declarative     |  |  |  |
- (28) *qhe-te-ɛ* *ɔ̄* *à-ni-ma* *šĩʔ-cè* *mû-phe* *lo* *tâʔ* *e* *gà*
- |      |                  |                |      |          |                |          |                |                |
|------|------------------|----------------|------|----------|----------------|----------|----------------|----------------|
| Conj | P <sub>unf</sub> | N              | N    | N        | P <sub>n</sub> | V        | P <sub>v</sub> | V <sub>v</sub> |
| so   | topic            | younger sister | tree | top part | locative       | climb up | motion away    | manage to      |
- pà* *tê yân thâ* , *yô* *šĩʔ-cè* *thâʔ* *câʔ* *bà* *ve* *yò*
- |                |                    |      |      |                |      |                |                   |                 |
|----------------|--------------------|------|------|----------------|------|----------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| V <sub>v</sub> | NP <sub>time</sub> | Pron | N    | P <sub>n</sub> | V    | V <sub>v</sub> | P <sub>univ</sub> | P <sub>uf</sub> |
| finish V'ing   | when               | she  | tree | accusative     | push | over           | nominalizer       | declarative     |
- (29) *câʔ* *bà* *ve* *tê yân thâ* *ɔ̄* *à-ni-ma* *šĩ* *e* *ve*
- |           |                |                   |                    |                  |     |             |                |                   |
|-----------|----------------|-------------------|--------------------|------------------|-----|-------------|----------------|-------------------|
| V         | V <sub>v</sub> | P <sub>univ</sub> | NP <sub>time</sub> | P <sub>unf</sub> | N   | V           | P <sub>v</sub> | P <sub>univ</sub> |
| push over | relativizer    | when              | topic              | younger sister   | die | motion away | nominalizer    |                   |
- yò*
- P<sub>uf</sub>  
declarative
- (30) *à-ni-ma* *šĩ* *e* *thâ* *yô* *à-ni-ma* *ve* *á-pòʔ* , *the-du* ,
- |                |     |                |                   |      |                |                   |       |       |
|----------------|-----|----------------|-------------------|------|----------------|-------------------|-------|-------|
| N              | V   | P <sub>v</sub> | P <sub>univ</sub> | Pron | N              | P <sub>univ</sub> | N     | N     |
| younger sister | die | motion away    | when              | her  | younger sister | genitivizer       | tunic | skirt |
- ú-ní* , *vàʔ-qâ* *tê phā* *à-ví-ma* *qêʔ* *ğôʔ* *ɛ* , *yô à-to*
- |        |         |            |              |                     |      |                  |             |
|--------|---------|------------|--------------|---------------------|------|------------------|-------------|
| N      | N       | Q          | N            | V                   | V    | P <sub>unf</sub> | NP          |
| turban | clothes | pluralizer | elder sister | take off (clothing) | keep | suspensive       | she herself |
- vàʔ-de* *ɛ* , *á-qhɔ* *qôʔ* *e* *ve* *yò*
- |                  |                  |      |        |                |                   |                 |
|------------------|------------------|------|--------|----------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| V                | P <sub>unf</sub> | N    | V      | P <sub>v</sub> | P <sub>univ</sub> | P <sub>uf</sub> |
| put on (clothes) | suspensive       | home | return | motion away    | nominalizer       | declarative     |
- (31) *qhe-te-ɛ* *à-ni-ma* *ve* *yâ* *šĩ* *ɛ* *á-qhɔ* *qôʔ* *e*
- |      |                |                   |       |            |                  |      |        |                |
|------|----------------|-------------------|-------|------------|------------------|------|--------|----------------|
| Conj | N              | P <sub>univ</sub> | N     | V          | P <sub>unf</sub> | N    | V      | P <sub>v</sub> |
| so   | younger sister | genitivizer       | child | lead along | suspensive       | home | return | motion away    |
- ve* *yò*
- P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer declarative
- (32) *á-qhɔ* *qôʔ* *e* *ve* *thâ* *yô* *à-ni-ma* *ve* *à-phô*
- |      |        |                |                   |                   |      |                |                   |         |
|------|--------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|------|----------------|-------------------|---------|
| N    | V      | P <sub>v</sub> | P <sub>univ</sub> | P <sub>univ</sub> | Pron | N              | P <sub>univ</sub> | N       |
| home | return | motion away    | nominalizer       | when              | her  | younger sister | genitivizer       | husband |
- ge* *ca* *chê* *e* *ve* *yò*
- |                |           |      |                |                   |                 |
|----------------|-----------|------|----------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| P <sub>n</sub> | vV        | V    | P <sub>v</sub> | P <sub>univ</sub> | P <sub>uf</sub> |
| with           | go and do | live | motion away    | nominalizer       | declarative     |
- (33) *à-ni-ma* *chi* *šĩ* *e* *pà* *qhòʔ-nó* *há-pi-qā* *phêʔ* *qay*
- |                |      |     |                |                |                 |      |        |                |
|----------------|------|-----|----------------|----------------|-----------------|------|--------|----------------|
| N              | Det  | V   | P <sub>v</sub> | V <sub>v</sub> | M <sub>px</sub> | N    | V      | V <sub>v</sub> |
| younger sister | this | die | motion away    | finish V'ing   | after           | dove | become | end up V'ing   |
- ve* *yò* *cê*
- P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer declarative quotative
- (34) *qhe-te-ɛ* *tê* *ni* *thâ* *gà* *ɛ* *há-pi-qā* *chi* *yô* *à-phô* *ve*
- |         |     |                 |                   |       |                  |      |      |      |         |                   |
|---------|-----|-----------------|-------------------|-------|------------------|------|------|------|---------|-------------------|
| Conj    | Num | Cl <sub>f</sub> | P <sub>univ</sub> | V     | P <sub>unf</sub> | N    | Det  | Pron | N       | P <sub>univ</sub> |
| so then | one | for days        | when              | reach | suspensive       | dove | this | her  | husband | genitivizer       |

- yè ð-pâ-nê ̄ , šř?-cê mû-phe ̄ ca chê la lε ,*  
 N N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N N P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 house nearby locative tree top part locative go and do stay come to V suspensive
- kù ve yò cê , yô ve ð-yâ-pâ à?*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N P<sub>n</sub>  
 call nominalizer declarative quotative her son accusative
- (35) *yô ve yâ-pâ-é ve ð-mε lè Šê-khâw qô? ve yò .*  
 N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 her little son genitivizer name topic male name call nominalizer declarative
- (36) *chi yô kù ve ð-khô lè , “ Šê-khâw ò , Šê-khâw ò ,*  
 Det Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 these she call relativizer words topic male name vocative male name vocative  
*nò e à? mâ nô ò lâ ?*  
 Pron N P<sub>n</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 your mother accusative negative remember change of state yes
- (37) *ηà nò e yò và !”*  
 Pron Pron N P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 I your mother declarative emphatic
- (38) *qhe qô? ve cê .*  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 thus say nominalizer quotative
- (39) “ *nò câ kî nò mâ nô ò lâ ?”*  
 Pron N<sub>dvb</sub> Pron Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 your eating place you negative remember change of state yes
- (40) *qhe qô? ve cê .*  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 like this say nominalizer quotative
- (41) *qhe-te-lε yô ð-phô à? kâ? qô? pî ve , “ Cà-vî*  
 Conj Pron N P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>pers</sub>  
 then she husband accusative also say benefactive (3p) nominalizer Serpo  
*ò , Cà-vî ò , nò ð-mî-ma lè ηà yò và , ηà*  
 P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron N P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron  
 vocative Serpo vocative your wife topic I declarative emphatic I  
*yò và !”*  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative emphatic
- (42) *qhe qô? ve cê .*  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 like this say nominalizer quotative
- (43) *qhe-te-lε Cà-vî chi tš? la lε , “ êe , à-thò?-ma te*  
 Conj N<sub>pers</sub> Det V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Interj N<sub>intg</sub> V  
 then Serpo this come out come to V suspensive hey! what happen  
*nā mâ šī , há-pî-qā chi tê khe !”*  
 P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V N Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 indirect question marker negative know dove this one for animals

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- (44) *qô?* *ve* *cê* .  
V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
say nominalizer quotative
- (45) “ *chə-khə* *kà?* *yə* *pí* *ve* !  
N P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
human speech also speak able to V nominalizer
- (46) *ŋà* *mî-ma* *ò* , *ŋà* *mî-ma* *ò* , *hâ?* *ca* *ni*  
Pron M<sub>prfx</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron M<sub>prfx</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Adv vV V  
my wife vocative my wife vocative quickly go and do look at  
*la-?* !”  
P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub>  
motion toward (imperative)
- (47) *qô?* *ve* .  
V P<sub>univ</sub>  
say nominalizer
- (48) “ *há-pi-qā* *chi* *tê* *khe* *qô?-kù* *ve* , ‘ *ŋà* *lê* *nò* *ð-mî-ma*  
N Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N  
dove this one for animals call out loudly nominalizer I topic your wife  
*yò* ‘ *qhe* *qô?* *ve* *cê* ,” *qô?* *ve* .  
P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
declarative like this say nominalizer quotative say nominalizer
- (49) “ *ân* *jâ* !”  
V V<sub>v</sub>  
be astonished very
- (50) *qhe* *qô?* *ve* *cê* .  
Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
like this say nominalizer quotative
- (51) *qhe-te-le* *yô* *ð-mî-ma* *à?* *kù* *le* , *ni* *ve* *yò* –  
Conj Pron N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
so he wife accusative call suspensive look at nominalizer declarative  
*yô* *ð-mî-ma* *ð-tê-tê* *mâ hê?* *lê* , *ô-ve* *ð-ví-ma* *tê gâ* .  
Pron N AE Adv + V P<sub>uf</sub> Det N Q  
his wife true not be the case request for assent that elder sister one person
- (52) *qhe-te-le* *há-pi-qā* *chi* *tê* *khe* *yô* *ð-phô* *thâ?* *nà?-ú* *te*  
Conj N Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Pron N P<sub>n</sub> N V  
so dove this one for animals her husband accusative conversation make  
*pí* *yò* : “ *ŋà* *nò* *ð-mî-ma* *yò* .  
V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron Pron N P<sub>uf</sub>  
benefactive (3p) declarative I your wife declarative
- (53) *ŋà* *nò* *ð-mî-ma* *ð-tê-tê* *yò* .”  
Pron Pron N AE P<sub>uf</sub>  
I your wife true declarative
- (54) *ô* *tê* *ni* *thâ* *yô* *qhà-qhe te* *š* *ve* *le* , *ð-lə* *qha-pà-è*  
N<sub>sd</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron Cl<sub>nf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N AE  
that one for days when she how die nominalizer substantive qst story all

- qô?* *pî* *ve* *yò* .  
V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
say benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative
- (55) *láy-cà* *qô?* *pî* *ve* *yò* .  
Q V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
everything say benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative
- (56) “ *chi-bà?* *nò* *à-mî-ma* *qô?* *ve* *chi* *tê gâ* *lè* , *nò* *à-mî-ma* *à-tè-tè*  
N<sub>time</sub> Pron N V P<sub>univ</sub> Det Q P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N AE  
now you wife call relativizer this one person topic your wife true  
*mâ hê?*  
Adv + V  
not be the case
- (57) *à-ví-ma-ló* *tê gâ* *yò* ,” *qô?* *ve* *cê* .  
N Q P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
eldest sister one person declarative say nominalizer quotative
- (58) *Cà-vì* *tí qo* *qhà-qhe* *gâ* *dô* *yà?* *lè* , *à-ví-ma-ló* *chi*  
N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Det  
Serpo topicalizer how? happen to think V the wrong way suspensive eldest sister this  
*yô ve* *à-mî-ma* *à-tè-tè* *gâ* *dô* *pí* *ve* *lè* , *à-thò?-ma te lé*  
N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N AE <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub>  
his wife true get to think able to V nominalizer topic why  
*nā* *qô?* *qo* , *mê-chô-ma* *chi* *tê gâ* *ve* *yâ-mî*  
P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Det Q P<sub>univ</sub> N  
indirect question marker topicalizer widow this one person nominalizer daughter  
*šĩ* *gâ* *lè* *mê?-phû* *qha šwĩ* *ve* *yò* *cê* .  
Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N AE P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
seven for people topic face the same nominalizer declarative quotative
- (59) *à-to-à-khĩ* *ō* *qha šwĩ* *ve* *yò* *cê* .  
Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
one’s physical appearance topic in the same way nominalizer declarative quotative
- (60) *qhe-te-lé* *qhò* *tê gâ* *qhò* *tê gâ* *qhe* *ca* *lê?* *mâ*  
Conj N<sub>intg</sub> Q N<sub>intg</sub> Q N<sub>ext</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V Adv  
so which? one person which? one person topicalizer go and do choose negative  
*gâ*  
V<sub>v</sub>  
be able
- (61) *há-pi-qā* *chi* *thà?* *Cà-vì* *na-ni* *lè* , “ *qhe* , *ô* *tê* *ni* *thā* ,  
N Det P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Conj N<sub>sd</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
dove this accusative Serpo ask suspensive so that one for days when  
*yô* *nò* *à?* *qhà-qhe te* *hē* *lè* *nò* *thà?* *yô* *tê gē*  
Pron Pron P<sub>n</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> Pron Q  
she you accusative how deceive suspensive you accusative her together with  
*hê?-pí-qhò* *qay* *ci* *á* *ve* *le* ,” *tê?* *na-ni*  
N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> QUOT V  
woods go causative perfective nominalizer substantive qst embedded quote ask

- pî* *ve* *yò* .  
V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative
- (62) “ *ôo* , *ɲà-hi* *ô* *tê* *qhâ?* *qhɔ* *ve* *ð-ví-ð-ni* *gɛ* *ɲâ* *khð?*  
Interj Pron N<sub>sd</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Num Num  
oh! we (pl) over there one for villages in genitivizer relatives with five six  
*ni* *ca* *gɛ* *a* *šā* , *qô?* *ve* , *ɲà* *ð-ví-ma*  
Cl<sub>f</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N  
for days go and do visit hortatory intentional (1p) say nominalizer my elder sister  
*chi qhe* *qô?* *lâ* *ve* .  
AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
like this say benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer
- (63) “ *yà?-qhâ* *chi ve* *tê cə* *kà?* *mâ hê?* .  
Conj Det Q P<sub>unf</sub> Adv + V  
however this one thing even not be the case
- (64) “ *yà?-qɔ-phî* *šî* *ɔ* *thð-dî-cə* *à?* *mð* *lɛ* , *thð-dî-šî* *tâ?*  
N N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N V  
roadside place locative pine tree sp. accusative see suspensive pine-nut climb up  
*šá* *e* *ci* *lɛ* , *yð* *ɲà* *à?* *câ?* *bà*  
V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Pron P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
pick (as fruit) motion away causative suspensive she me accusative push over  
*pî* *ve* .  
V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
benefactive (3p) nominalizer
- (65) “ *thð-dî-cə* *ce* *ve* .  
N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
pine tree sp. fall (from a height) nominalizer
- (66) *thɔ* *bà* *pî* *ve* .  
V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
pierce V so it topples over benefactive (3p) nominalizer
- (67) *qhe-te-lɛ* *ɲà* *šî* *e* *ve* *yò* .  
Conj Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
so I die motion away nominalizer declarative
- (68) “ *chi-bə?* *ɲà* *chi qhe* *te* *šî* *e* *lɛ* *ɲà* *há-pi-qā* *phê?* *la*  
N<sub>time</sub> Pron AE<sub>ext</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N N V + P<sub>v</sub>  
now I like this cause to V die motion away suspensive I dove become  
*ve* ,” *qhe* *qô?* *pî* *ve* *cə* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer like this say benefactive (3p) nominalizer quotative
- (69) “ *qhe-te-lɛ* *ɲà* *lè* *nò* *ð-mî-ma* *tè-tè* *yò* .  
Conj Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
so I topic your wife a real one declarative
- (70) “ *chi-bə?* *lè* *ɲà* *chɔ-yâ* *mâ hê?* *ò* .  
N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N Adv + V P<sub>v</sub>  
now topic I human not be the case change of state

- (71) *há-pi-qā phê? ò* .  
 N V P<sub>v</sub>  
 dove become change of state
- (72) *ηà lè šā phê? qay ò* .  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 I topic animal become end up V'ing change of state
- (73) *ηà ηâ? phê? qay ò* .  
 Pron N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 I bird become end up V'ing change of state
- (74) *chə-yâ mâ hê? ò* ,”  
 N Adv + V P<sub>v</sub>  
 human not be the case change of state
- (75) *qhe qô? ve cê* .  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 like this say nominalizer quotative
- (76) “ *qhe-te-le ηà ni-ma hā jâ , ni ê? , nò à? !*”  
 Conj Pron N<sub>spec</sub> + V V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub>  
 so I sad very look at emphatic you accusative
- (77) *qô? ve cê* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 say nominalizer quotative
- (78) “ *chi-bà? tê khi ηà nò à? ca gǝ la gâ*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> Pron Pron P<sub>n</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 at the present time I you accusative go and do visit come to V desiderative  
*ve yò* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (79) *qhe ηà yâ-pā Šê-khàw kà? ηà mò gâ lɛ ca gǝ*  
 Conj Pron N N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV V  
 then my son male name also I see desiderative suspensive go and do visit  
*la ve yò ,” qhe qô? pǝ ve cê*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 come to V nominalizer declarative like this say benefactive (3p) nominalizer quotative
- (80) *chi qhe qô? pà thâ ò-ví-ma chi tê gâ qhe qô? ve*  
 AE<sub>ext</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Det Q Adv V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 like this say finish V'ing when elder sister this one person thus say nominalizer  
*cê : “ mâ phê? tà , ni ê? , nò – ηâ?*  
 P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> Pron N  
 quotative negative be possible negative probability look at emphatic you bird  
*chi ηâ?-lù-ηâ?-kê !*  
 Det Elab<sub>n</sub>  
 this wretched rotten bird

The snake and the widow's daughters (Version II)

- (81) “ *yô khô tâ na !*”  
 Pron N Adv V  
 its words negative imperative listen
- (82) *qô? ve* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 say nominalizer
- (83) “ *ηâ? qhe-̄ , chi qhe ca qô? pí ve ̄ cho-khô*  
 N Conj AE<sub>ext</sub> vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 bird topicalizer like this go and do say able to V nominalizer topic human speech  
*mâ hê? !*”  
 Adv + V  
 not be the case
- (84) *qô? ve cê* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 say nominalizer quotative
- (85) “ *ηâ?-hê ló yò !*”  
 N B<sub>n</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 bird that tells lies sthg big declarative
- (86) *qhe qô? ve cê* .  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 like this say nominalizer quotative
- (87) “ *ηà nò ò-mî-ma tê-tê yò* .  
 Pron Pron N M<sub>pfx</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 I your wife a real one declarative
- (88) “ *mê?-phû à? kà? ni ê? !*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 face accusative also look at emphatic
- (89) “ *ηà ve á-pò? the-du à? kà? ni ê? !*”  
 N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N N P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 mine shirt skirt accusative also look at emphatic
- (90) *qhe qô? ve cê* .  
 N<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 like say nominalizer quotative
- (91) “ *nò ò-mî-ma mâ hê? lâ ?*”  
 Pron N VP  
 your wife is it not so?
- (92) *qô? ve cê* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 say nominalizer quotative
- (93) “ *chi ηà yâ yò* .  
 Det Pron N P<sub>uf</sub>  
 this my child declarative



- (94) “ *chi qhe ve ηâ? , ηâ? lù-kê qhe t̄ ca yɔ la*  
 AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N N V N<sub>ext</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub>  
 like this genitivizer bird bird wretched such a(n) words go and do speak come to V  
*ve t̄ d̄ yà? !”*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub>  
 nominalizer negative imperative think V the wrong way
- (95) *qhe qô? ve cê .*  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 like this say nominalizer quotative
- (96) *qhe-kà? Cà-vì chi ̄ ni-ma qhɔ ̄ t̄ c̄ phê? qay*  
 Conj N<sub>pers</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Q V V<sub>v</sub>  
 even so Serpo this topic heart inside locative one thing happen end up V'ing  
*ve yò .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (97) *ȳ ve ni-ma qhɔ ̄ ȳ ve ð-m̄-ma qô? ve chi ð-v̄-ma*  
 N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N V P<sub>univ</sub> Det N  
 his heart inside locative his wife call relativizer this elder sister  
*t̄ ḡ thà? qha-dê? mâ yò ḡ .*  
 Q P<sub>n</sub> AE Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 one person accusative really negative believe desiderative
- (98) *t̄ ni le-le d̄ ch̄ ve yò .*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 every day think continuous nominalizer declarative
- (99) *láy-cà d̄ ch̄ ve yò .*  
 Q V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 various things think continuous nominalizer declarative
- (100) *qhe-te-le ð-le-m̄ th̄ ȳ t̄ c̄ d̄ ḡ ve yò .*  
 Conj NP<sub>time</sub> Pron Q V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 then finally he one thing get an idea nominalizer declarative
- (101) *ȳ c̄? j̄ ve á-thɔ š̄ mà qha-dê? yù*  
 Pron V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> AE V  
 he sharp very relativizer heavy knife seven for things properly take  
*və l̄ , chi ve á-thɔ š̄ mà thà?*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Det N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 transportatory motion suspensive these heavy knife seven for things accusative  
*š̄? -bá ð-thà? lo t̄ ā l̄ , t̄ mà t̄*  
 N N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num  
 wooden board surface locative put down perfective suspensive each for things each  
*mà , a-cí qhe k̄ ā l̄ t̄*  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> Adv Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 for things a little this way space out at intervals perfective suspensive put down  
*t̄ ve yò .*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 perfective nominalizer declarative

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- (102) *qhe k̄ā ā l̄ε t̄ε p̄à qh̄àʔ-nó ȳô*  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> M<sub>px</sub> Pron  
 this way space out at intervals perfective suspensive put down finish V'ing after he  
*à-m̄-ma th̄àʔ kù ve yò*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 wife accusative call nominalizer declarative
- (103) “ *η̄à à-m̄-ma ò , chò kàʔ t̄ε khi là-ʔ !*”  
 Pron N P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Q V<sub>imp</sub>  
 my wife vocative here locative for a while come!
- (104) *qôʔ ve*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 say nominalizer
- (105) “ *n̄ò l̄ε η̄à à-m̄-ma t̄ε-t̄ε qo l̄ε chi á-tho š̄ī mà*  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Det N Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 you topic my wife a real one if topic this heavy knife seven for things  
*th̄àʔ n̄ò t̄áʔ e l̄ε yàʔ-qo t̄ô a ni*  
 P<sub>n</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> OV P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub>  
 accusative you go up motion away suspensive walk along try to
- (106) “ *qha-p̄à-è t̄ε mà p̄à t̄ε mà t̄áʔ e l̄ε yàʔ-qo t̄ô a ni ,*” *qôʔ*  
 AE NP<sub>q</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> OV P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub> V  
 all one after the other go up motion away suspensive walk along try to say  
*ve yò*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (107) “ *chi yàʔ-qo t̄ô th̄a á-tho chi n̄ò ve khi-š̄ε àʔ mà*  
 Det OV P<sub>univ</sub> N Det N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N P<sub>n</sub> Adv  
 this walk along when heavy knife these your feet accusative negative  
*c̄ī qo n̄ò l̄ε η̄à à-m̄-ma t̄ε-t̄ε yò ” qhe qôʔ*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V  
 pierce through if you topic my wife a real one declarative like this say  
*ve c̄ē*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer quotative
- (108) “ *à-thòʔ-ma te chi qhe qôʔ ve qo , η̄à Ğì-ša m̄éʔ-ğ̄û-š̄ī àʔ*  
 Adv<sub>interrog</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N N P<sub>n</sub>  
 why like this tell nominalizer if I God presence of accusative  
*š̄á-kh̄iʔ kh̄ān t̄ā ve yò*  
 OV P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 take an oath perfective nominalizer declarative
- (109) “ *η̄à à-m̄-ma t̄ε-t̄ε ph̄èʔ ve yò-qo , á-tho chi*  
 Pron N M<sub>px</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Det  
 my wife a real one be sthg nominalizer emphatic conditional knives these  
*š̄ī mà ȳô àʔ t̄ā c̄ī c̄ī*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub>  
 seven for things her accusative negative imperative pierce through causative

- (110) “ *nò* *lè* *ŋà* *ò-mî-ma* *mâ hê?* *ve* *qo* *á-tho* *chi* *šť*  
Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N Adv + V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Det Num  
you topic my wife not be the case nominalizer if knives these seven  
*mà* *lè* *nò* *khi-šɛ* *à?* *cī* *tù* *ve* *yò* ,  
Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
for things topic your feet accusative pierce through future nominalizer declarative  
*qhe* *šá-khî?* *khān* *tā* *ve* *yò* .”  
Adv OV P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
like this take an oath perfective nominalizer declarative
- (111) *qhe-te-le* *yô* *ò-mî-ma* *ca* *te* *la* *ve* *ò-ví-ma* *chi* *kà?*  
Conj Pron N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Det P<sub>unf</sub>  
so his wife go and do act as come to V relativizer elder sister this topicalizer  
*khî-nô?* *dâ?-dâ?* *ve* , *khî-nô?* *qhe* *à-thò?-ma* *mâ* *cī* *pí*  
N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N N<sub>ext</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub>  
shoes very good relativizer shoes such anything negative pierce through able to V  
*ve* *khî-nô?* *ló* *qhe* *qha-dê?* *chî* *ā* *ɛ* *tâ?*  
P<sub>univ</sub> N B<sub>n</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> AE V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V  
relativizer shoes sthg big such carefully lift up perfective suspensive climb up  
*e* *ve* *yò* *cê* .  
P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
motion away nominalizer declarative quotative
- (112) *qhe-te-le* *á-tho* *a-ló-pí* *ve* *tê* *mà* *à?* *tâ?* *e* *thâ*  
Conj N Adv P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
then knife first genitivizer one for things accusative climb up motion away when  
, *á-tho* *chi* *yô* *ve* *khi-šɛ* *à?* *cī* *lò?* *e* *ɛ* ,  
N Det N<sub>poss</sub> + **ve** N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
knife this her foot accusative pierce through V into motion away suspensive  
*yô* *tê pô?* *tí* *ò-ǵû-šť* *tɔ* *ɔ* *pā-e* *qay* *ve* *yò*  
Pron NP<sub>q</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
she immediately forward section locative fall over end up V'ing nominalizer declarative  
*cê* .  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
quotative
- (113) *ò-ǵû-šť* *tɔ* *ɔ* *pā-e* *qhe* *ɛ* , *á-tho* *khò?* *mà*  
N<sub>loc</sub> M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V Adv P<sub>univ</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
forward section locative fall over like this because heavy knife six for things  
*pā-e* *pā-e* *yî?-pā* *e* *ɛ* – *á-tho* *šť* *mà*  
V V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
fall over fall over fall flat motion away suspensive heavy knife seven for things  
*thà?* *pā-e* *yî?* *qha* *ɛ* , *á-tho* *šť* *mà*  
P<sub>n</sub> V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
accusative fall over be prone violent action suspensive heavy knife seven for things  
*tê mà pè* *tê mà* *yô* *ve* *ò-to* *thà?* *šť* *pê?* *tô?* *bà* *pà*  
NP<sub>q</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + **ve** N P<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
one after the other her body accusative seven for slices cut up away V completely  
*ve* *yò* *cê* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer declarative quotative

The snake and the widow's daughters (Version II)

- (114) *qhe-te-le ô kâ? šĩ e ve yò cê* .  
 Conj N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 so over there locative die motion away nominalizer declarative quotative
- (115) *qhe-te-le Cà-vì chi qô? ve , “ ôo , yô lê ñà ð-mî-ma tè-tê*  
 Conj N<sub>pers</sub> Det V P<sub>univ</sub> Interj Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N M<sub>px</sub>  
 so Serpo this say nominalizer oh! she topic my wife a real one  
*mâ hê? l*  
 Adv + V P<sub>uf</sub> , *qhe šĩ la ve yò* .  
 not be the case emphatic declarative thus know come to V nominalizer declarative
- (116) “ *há-pi-qā chi tê khe lê ñà ð-mî-ma tè-tê yò*  
 N Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 dove this one for animals topic my wife a real one declarative  
*l*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic declarative
- (117) *qhe qô? ve cê* .  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 like this say nominalizer quotative
- (118) “ *qhe-te-le mē-chô-ma ve yâ-mî-ló chi tê gâ lê mâ dà?* .  
 Conj N P<sub>univ</sub> N Det Q P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V<sub>adj</sub>  
 so widow genitivizer eldest daughter this one person topic negative good
- (119) “ *dâ? ve yâ-mî mâ hê?* .  
 V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Adv + V  
 good relativizer daughter not be the case
- (120) “ *šũ thâ? khwé tè te ve l* ,  
 Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 others accusative jealous really V be a certain way nominalizer emphatic declarative  
*qhe láy-câ šĩ la ve yò ” cê* .  
 Adv Q V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 like this everything know come to V nominalizer declarative quotative
- (121) *chi lê à-pō ve ð-le-mâ yò* .  
 Det P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>uf</sub>  
 this topic story genitivizer end declarative
- (122) *ñà-hi à-pū chi tê mà thâ? à-thô?-ma hê yù cô*  
 Pron N Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 we (pl) story this one for things accusative what learn V lastingly ought to  
*le qô? qo chi qhe yò* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 substantive qst topicalizer like this declarative
- (123) *ñà-hi šũ à? khwé qo šũ à? lù-tù-šê?-tù te qo , ñà-hi*  
 Pron Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron  
 we (pl) others accusative jealous if others accusative cause ruin do if we (pl)  
*kâ? ð-bo mâ cò , šũ kâ? ð-bo mâ cò qô?*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv V Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv V V  
 also advantage negative be there others also advantage negative be there tell

- ve* *cê* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer quotative
- (124) *qhe-te-ε* *ηà-hi* *ò-bo* *cò* *tù* *dô* *ε* , *šu* *kà?* *te-lù-te-šê?*  
Conj Pron N V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub>  
so we (pl) advantage be there future think because others also cause ruin  
*qô?* *qo* , *šu* *kà?* *ğà-lù-ğà-šê?* *ve* *yò* .  
P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
topicalizer others also become ruined nominalizer declarative
- (125) *qhe-kà?* *ηà-hi* *kà?* *ğà-lù-ğà-šê?* *ve* *yò* .  
Conj Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
but we (pl) also become ruined nominalizer declarative
- (126) *chi qhe* *lê* .  
AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
like this request for assent
- (127) *qhe-te-ε* *ηà-hi* *chɔ-yâ* *tê ġâ le-le* *šu* *à?* *tâ* *khwé* ,  
Conj Pron N NP<sub>q</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> Adv V  
so we (pl) human beings everybody others accusative negative imperative jealous  
*šu* *à?* *tâ-lù-tâ-šê?* *ci* .  
Pron P<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
others accusative do not cause ruin! causative
- (128) *à-pū* *chi* *tê* *mà* *lê* *mù?*-*qhu te pā* *chɔ* *tê ġâ* *ε* *ô* *mô-chê-pā*  
N Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> N Q P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub>  
story this one for things topic potter person one person and that laundryman  
*chɔ* *tê ġâ* *ve* *à-pū* *qhe* *a-cí* *šū* *dà?* *ve*  
N Q P<sub>univ</sub> N N<sub>ext</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
people one person genitivizer story like rather be the same as mutual action nominalizer  
*yò* .  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
declarative
- (129) *šu* *à?* *tâ* *khwé* *qô?* *ve* .  
Pron P<sub>n</sub> Adv V V P<sub>univ</sub>  
others accusative negative imperative jealous mean nominalizer
- (130) *šu* *à?* *khwé* *qo* *ηà-hi* *kà?* *ò-bo* *mâ* *cò* *qô?*  
Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv V V  
others accusative jealous if we (pl) also advantage negative be there mean  
*ve* .  
P<sub>univ</sub>  
nominalizer
- (131) *pà* *ve* *yò* .  
V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
finish nominalizer declarative

## Translation

< Retelling by Paul Tcalo >

## The snake and the widow's daughters (Version II)

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1. I am retelling in November, 1965, this story which was told by a girl who lives in the Lahu village of Pa-yeh-shu in Thailand.
2. The story is about a widow and her eldest and youngest daughters.
3. Once upon a time there was a certain widow who had seven very beautiful daughters.
4. One day this widow got a great craving for pine-nuts, so she went into the forest and found a pine-tree.
5. Well, she couldn't manage to climb up the pine-tree.
6. So she couldn't pick them to eat.
7. After a while she said, "Ah, if there were only someone to pick those pine-nuts for me, I would give him one of these seven daughters of mine to marry!"
8. Just as she said this, a big snake came out and picked them for her.
9. Then, when she turned back for home, the big snake also came following after.
10. They got near the widow's house, but the big snake would not enter.
11. So she said, "If indeed and in truth you are my son-in-law, enter my home!"
12. And the big snake came into the house.
13. When the snake had come into the house, she had him choose from among her seven daughters.
14. The girl that the big snake wanted to have was the first-born, the eldest sister.
15. The eldest sister, however, did not want the snake.
16. But finally the very youngest of all the seven daughters did accept the snake, in obedience to her mother.
17. Well, after they were married, towards the morning of the next day, the big snake had a lantern brightly lit in the room where his wife, the youngest daughter slept.
18. Then, when the other six girls and their mother came sneaking up to have a look, they found there behind the partition a very handsome man.
19. The big snake was no more to be seen.
20. After this had happened, that eldest daughter who hadn't accepted him the night before –who had said she wouldn't have him–she was most distressed at heart.
21. For she was very jealous that her youngest sister had fared thus, and had won such a fine young man.
22. So she decided she would try to cause her younger sister's death and then marry her husband.
23. Well, after the younger sister had married the snake, there came a day when she gave birth to a child.
24. So one day the eldest sister got an idea and put it into action like this:
25. She chopped through a certain pine-tree in the forest just far enough so that it wouldn't fall over by itself but would remain attached by a thread–and left it there.
26. Then one day she took her youngest sister along and went off to pick some pine-nuts to eat.
27. When they reached that pine-tree, when they got to the pine-tree she had cut half-way through, she had her younger sister climb up to pick the nuts.
28. And then, when her sister had climbed up and reached the top of the tree, she pushed the tree over.
29. The younger sister died when the tree was pushed over.

30. After her death the elder sister removed the tunic, the headdress, and all the other clothes from her younger sister and put them on herself.
31. Then she took her sister's child and led him back home.
32. When they had returned home, she went in to live with her younger sister's husband.
33. When the younger sister died, she turned into a dove.
34. Then, on a certain day, this dove came to sit on a tree-top near their house—near her husband's house—and called out to her son.
35. Her little son's name was Sheh-khao.
36. The words she called were these: "Sheh-khao! O Sheh-khao!"
37. "Don't you remember your mother anymore?"
38. "Look, I am your mother!"
39. "Don't you remember the place where you would eat?"<sup>1</sup>
40. Then she called out to her husband as well: "Serpo, Serpo!"<sup>2</sup>
41. "It is I who am your wife, it is I!"
42. At this Serpo came out and said, "Hey, what is going on here with this dove!"
43. "It can talk like a human being!"
44. "Wife, oh Wife, hurry and come look!"
45. "This dove is calling out and saying 'I am your wife!'"
46. "It's amazing!"
47. Thus he called to his "wife" (it wasn't his real wife, you know, it was the elder sister), and she came to look on.
48. Then the dove conversed with her husband, saying, "I am your wife."
49. "I am your true wife."
50. She told him the whole story of how she had died on that day.
51. She told him many things:
52. "This person who is now called your wife is not your true wife."
53. "She is my eldest sister."
54. If we are to explain how this could have happened to Serpo, it is because all of the widow's seven daughters had the same face.
55. Their bodies and their figures were identical.
56. So you couldn't tell one from the other.
57. Then Serpo asked the dove, "How did she lie to you that day to make you go into the woods with her?"

<sup>1</sup>The dove is referring to the breasts she had when she was human.

<sup>2</sup>There is a bit of delicious humor in this name. Many traditional Lahu male names consist of the prefix *cà-* plus the day of the 12-day animal cycle (jɔ) on which the child was born. Although there is no "*vì-ni*" or "Day of the Snake" as such, there is another day in the cycle "*šì-ni*" with that interpretation, where the first syllable is a borrowing from Chinese. (See DL, pp. 576-7, 1239.) It is thus entirely appropriate to call the erstwhile snake "*Cà-vì*" in his human guise. In that spirit, we henceforth translate his name as "Serpo".

58. "Well, my sister said to me, 'Let's go pay a visit to our relatives in yonder village for a few days!
59. "But that's not what happened at all.
60. "On the way, at the side of the road we saw a pine-tree and she made me climb it to pick the nut-bearing cones, and she pushed me over.
61. "The tree fell. She had chopped into it. So I died.
62. "Now, having been killed that way, I have become a dove," she said.
63. "I am your true wife,
64. "But I am no longer a human being. I have become a dove. I have become an animal.
65. "I have become a bird. I am no more a human being," she said.
66. "So I am very sad, you see, because of you," she said.
67. "Today I wanted to come and visit you.
68. "And I wanted to see my son Sheh-khao too, so I came to visit," she added.
69. When she had finished saying this, the elder sister said, "Look you, this is impossible—that filthy, miserable bird!
70. "Don't listen to what it says!
71. "Anything a bird like this comes and says is just stuff and nonsense! <sup>3</sup>
72. "It's a great bird of lies!
73. "I am your real wife.
74. "Just look at my face!
75. "And look at my tunic and skirt!
76. "Am I not your wife?
77. "This is my child.
78. "Don't let your thoughts be led astray by a wretched bird talking to you like this!" she said.
79. But in Serpo's heart something had changed.
80. In his heart he did not really want to believe the elder sister who called herself his wife.
81. Day after day he thought about it. He pondered all sorts of things.
82. Then at last he got an idea.
83. He carefully brought seven very sharp knives, and placed them on top of a board, arranging them so that they were spaced out each at a little distance from one another.
84. When he had finished arranging them this way, he summoned his wife.
85. "Wife, come here a moment," he said.
86. "If you are indeed my wife, you just climb up onto these seven knives and try to walk.
87. "Try walking up there over them all, one after the other.
88. "When you're walking there, if the knives don't cut into your feet, I shall believe that it is you who are really my wife," he said.

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<sup>3</sup> *chə-khō mā hē?*: lit. "is not human speech", i.e. 'is utter nonsense'.



89. “The reason for this is that I have sworn an oath before God.
90. “If she is really my wife, do not let these seven knives cut her!’
91. “But if you are not my wife, they will cut you. This is the oath I have sworn.”
92. Thereupon his wife—that is, the elder sister who had been playing the part of his wife—carefully lifted up [her feet in a pair of] excellent shoes, great shoes that nothing could pierce, and climbed up [onto the board].
93. But, when she stepped up onto the first of the knives, it cut into her foot, and she suddenly fell over forward.
94. Falling forward, she sprawled flat onto the seven knives, and the seven of them, one after the other, cut her body up into seven pieces.
95. And there she died.
96. Then Serpo said, “Aha! Now I know that she was not really my wife.
97. “That dove was really my wife.
98. “The widow’s eldest daughter was no good.
99. “She was not a good daughter.
100. “ She acted out of envy. Now I know all.”
101. That’s the end of the story.
102. If we ask what we ought to learn from this story, it is this:
103. If we are envious of others, if we try to bring about someone’s ruin and downfall, it does not profit us, and it does not profit him.
104. Thus, thinking it will profit us, if we try to ruin someone else, that person may indeed be brought to destruction.
105. But we also must thereby be destroyed, you see.
106. It does us no good, and it does him no good. That’s the way it is.
107. So, let no man envy anyone else, and let no one bring his fellow-man to ruin.
108. This story is a bit like the story of the potter and the laundryman.<sup>4</sup>
109. Do not be envious of others, it means.
110. If we envy other people there is no advantage for us. This is what we have said.
111. The story is finished.

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<sup>4</sup>See “The Potter and the Laundryman”, section 7.11.

## **9 Human frailty: silliness, stupidity, cowardice**

## 9.1 Farting and playing tag

- (1) *chi-bà? tê khi Lâhū cho-mô kâ-law a-cí qāw mā lâ*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> N N N Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 at the present time Lahu ancestors story just tell show by V'ing benefactive (non-3p)  
*šā*  
 P<sub>v</sub>  
 intentional (1p)
- (2) *na tā šē*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 listen durative still
- (3) *à-šwè cho-mô ð-pū ð-má qhê tê? le gâ?-yù dà?*  
 N<sub>time</sub> N N N N<sub>spec</sub> + V P<sub>unf</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub>  
 once upon a time old man father-in-law son-in-law fart suspensive play tag  
*ve qāw šā*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 nominalizer tell intentional (1p)
- (4) *na tā šē*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 listen durative still
- (5) *à-pū qô? le , " má ò , má cà qo ,*  
 N V P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 father-in-law say suspensive son-in-law vocative son-in-law clever if  
*à-pū qhê tê? ve gâ?-yù a ni ."*  
 N N<sub>spec</sub> + V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub>  
 father-in-law fart nominalizer nominalizer try to
- (6) *" êe , " ð-má qô? ve , " gâ?-yù šā*  
 Interj N V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 okay son-in-law say nominalizer chase to capture intentional (1p)
- (7) *tâ?-í chê ā l šē ."*  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 settled down stay durative wait still
- (8) *qhe-te-le ð-pū chi tê pô? tí qhê tê qhê tê? qha-pî*  
 Conj N Det NP<sub>q</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 so father-in-law this all of a sudden feces one for farts fart vivid or violent action  
*le , ð-má yô thâ? gâ?-yù ve yò*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 suspensive son-in-law he accusative chase to capture nominalizer declarative
- (9) *tê khi gâ le*  
 Q V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 very soon reach suspensive
- (10) *à-pū thâ? gâ?-mi ve yò*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 father-in-law accusative catch nominalizer declarative

Farting and playing tag

- (11) à-pū qô? ve : " má tè yò lɔ !  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 father-in-law say nominalizer son-in-law sthg real declarative emphatic declarative
- (12) gâ?-yù ve gâ?-mi la ve .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 chase to capture nominalizer catch come to V nominalizer
- (13) má tè yò lɔ !"  
 N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 son-in-law sthg real declarative emphatic declarative
- (14) ha-lè jâ lê .  
 V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 funny very request for assent
- (15) gâ-yò jâ , Lâhū kâ-law chi-ve .  
 V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> N N Det  
 amusing very Lahu story this one
- (16) pà ve yò .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 come to an end nominalizer declarative

**Translation**

1. Now I'd just like to tell you an old Lahu story. Listen up now.
2. Once upon a time a father-in-law and a son-in-law were farting and playing tag. <sup>1</sup> I'll tell you about it now, so listen.
3. The father-in-law said, "Hey, son-in-law, if you're so smart, try catching me when I fart."<sup>2</sup>
4. "OK," the son-in-law said, "I'll chase you. I'll wait until you're ready!" <sup>3</sup>
5. So the father-in-law immediately let a loud fart,<sup>4</sup> and the son-in-law took off after him.
6. And after a while the son-in-law caught him.
7. The father-in-law said, "You're a real son-in-law!<sup>5</sup> You've chased me and caught me. You're a real son-in-law!"
8. That's pretty funny, isn't it! Very amusing, this Lahu anecdote!
9. That's the end.

<sup>1</sup>gâ?-yù dâ? ve: lit. "mutually chase to catch".  
<sup>2</sup>His fart would be the signal to start the game.  
<sup>3</sup>tâ?-i chê: this usually means 'silently; quietly', but in this context it means 'be ready; be settled down'.  
<sup>4</sup>tê qhê têt? ve: here the expression qhê têt? ve 'let a fart' is broken up by a numeral-plus-classifier. The noun qhê takes itself as a classifier for anal events (bowel movements or wind-breaking).  
<sup>5</sup>má tèt yò lɔ: an elliptical way of saying má cà jâ tèt yò lɔ, 'Son-in-law is really smart!'

## 9.2 The six stupid men and the gophers

- (1) *tê pô? thâ* , *chə-qā-pā khò? ġā fâ?-phî ca dû ve*  
 NP<sub>time</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 once upon a time stupid man six for people gopher go and do dig nominalizer  
*cê*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative
- (2) *yô-hi fâ?-phî dû le fâ?-phî šī khe ġa ve cê*  
 Pron N V P<sub>unf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 they gopher dig suspensive gopher seven for animals catch nominalizer quotative
- (3) *qhe-te-le yô-hi fâ?-phî šī khe ġa ve tê yân thâ , yô-hi pè*  
 Conj Pron N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Pron V  
 so they gopher seven for animals catch relativizer when they divide up  
*dà?* *ve cê*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 mutual action nominalizer quotative
- (4) *pè dà? le ð-qə-ji lo chə tê ġā mi tã*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> N Q V P<sub>v</sub>  
 divide up mutual action suspensive middle locative person one person sit perfective  
*le qò? pî ve : " hēε , nò tê khe*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Interj Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 suspensive say benefactive (3p) nominalizer take it! you one for animals  
*hēε , nò tê khe , hēε , ô-ve phâ tê khe , hēε*  
 Interj Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Interj Det N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Interj  
 take it! you one for animals take it! that guy one for animals take it!  
*ô-ve phâ tê khe " chi qhe te pè pî le*  
 Det N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 that fellow one for animals like this do and divide up benefactive (3p) suspensive  
*khò? ġā ve khò? khe ġa le , tê khe*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 six for people genitivizer six for animals get suspensive one for animals  
*lá šē cê*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be left over still quotative
- (5) *qhe-te-le tê pô? yô-hi chi qhe tí te le qò? pè dà?*  
 Conj Q Pron AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub>  
 so again they like this just do suspensive V again divide up mutual action  
*le , tê khe tí lá ve cê*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 suspensive one for animals only be left over nominalizer quotative
- (6) *lá ve thà? tê ġā phâ hâ? qo , ô tê ġā*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Q N V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> Q  
 be left over nominalizer accusative one person buddy get when over there one person  
*phâ nî khe ġa cê*  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 buddy two for animals get quotative

The six stupid men and the gophers

- (7) *tê pɔʔ qɔʔ pɛ ve cê* .  
 Q vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 again V again divide up nominalizer quotative
- (8) *tê pɔʔ qɔʔ pɛ kàʔ , ô tê gâ phá nî khe qɔʔ*  
 Q vV V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> Q N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> vV  
 again V again divide up although that one person buddy two for animals V again  
*lá ve cê* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 have extra nominalizer quotative
- (9) *chi pa-tɔ , yô-hi tê-ni-tân-vân ô qhe tí te fâʔ-phî pɛ lɛ*  
 Det P<sub>n</sub> Pron Quasi-Elab NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V N V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 this because of they all the livelong day like that just do gopher divide up suspensive  
*, qhe cɛ tí te dê dàʔ chê ve cê* .  
 N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> + P<sub>univ</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 like only do and quarrel mutual action continuous nominalizer quotative
- (10) *qhe te ve pa-tɔ , yô-hi ð-yân mɔ chwɛ ô qhe te*  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron N V<sub>adj</sub> B<sub>v</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub> V  
 like this do nominalizer because of they time long (of time) very like that do  
*lɛ , šā-bôʔ-pā tê gâ tɔʔ la cê* .  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> Q V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 suspensive hunter one person appear come to V quotative
- (11) *šā-bôʔ-pā tê gâ tɔʔ la lɛ , ” cho-qā-pā , nò-hi tê phā*  
 N<sub>dvb</sub> Q V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Pron Q  
 hunter one person appear come to V suspensive stupid man you (pl) pluralizer  
*à-thòʔ-ma te le , ” chi qhe qôʔ lɛ na-ni ve tê yân thā , ”*  
 N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub>  
 what do substantive qst like this say suspensive ask relativizer when  
*ηà-hi fâʔ-phî pɛ dàʔ lɛ , má hɔ dàʔ*  
 Pron N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 we (pl) gopher divide up mutual action suspensive negative agree mutual action  
*lɛ , ηà-hi chi qhe te yàʔ dàʔ chê ve ”*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> Pron AE<sub>ext</sub> V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 because we (pl) like this be in the wrong mutual action continuous nominalizer  
*ô qhe qôʔ pî ve cê* .  
 NP<sub>ext</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 like that say benefactive (3p) nominalizer quotative
- (12) *šā-bôʔ-pā ô-ve qôʔ pî ve , ” ηà ge yù la òʔ* ,  
 N<sub>dvb</sub> Det V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 hunter that say benefactive (3p) nominalizer me to bring urging imperative  
*fâʔ-phî qha-pà-è ” ô qhe qôʔ pî lɛ , yô-hi qha-pà-è ve*  
 N AE NP<sub>ext</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron AE P<sub>univ</sub>  
 gopher all like that say benefactive (3p) suspensive they all genitivizer  
*tê kà tí yù la lɛ* .  
 NP<sub>q</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 in the same place bring suspensive
- (13) *tê pɔʔ lɛ šā-bôʔ-pā pɛ pî ve : ” hɛɛ , nò tê*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Interj Pron Num  
 thereupon hunter divide up benefactive (3p) nominalizer take it! you one

- |                   |   |                  |                  |           |                 |                 |                   |                  |                  |                 |                |                   |            |
|-------------------|---|------------------|------------------|-----------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------|----------------|-------------------|------------|
| <i>khε</i>        | , | <i>ô-ve</i>      | <i>phâ</i>       | <i>tê</i> | <i>khε</i>      | ,               | <i>ô-ve</i>       | <i>phâ</i>       | <i>tê</i>        | <i>khε</i>      | ,              | <i>chi qhe</i>    | <i>qô?</i> |
| Cl <sub>f</sub>   |   | Det              | N                | Num       | Cl <sub>f</sub> |                 | Det               | N                | Num              | Cl <sub>f</sub> |                | AE <sub>ext</sub> | V          |
| for animals       |   | that             | guy              | one       | for animals     |                 | that              | guy              | one              | for animals     |                | like this         | say        |
| <i>pî</i>         |   | <i>ε</i>         |                  |           | <i>khô?</i>     | <i>gâ</i>       | <i>ve</i>         | <i>qo</i>        | <i>khô?</i>      | <i>khε</i>      |                | <i>pê</i>         |            |
| V <sub>v</sub>    |   | P <sub>unf</sub> |                  |           | Num             | Cl <sub>f</sub> | P <sub>univ</sub> | P <sub>unf</sub> | Num              | Cl <sub>f</sub> |                | V                 |            |
| benefactive (3p)  |   | suspensive       |                  |           | six             | for people      | genitivizer       | topic            | six              | for animals     |                | divide up         |            |
| <i>pî</i>         |   | <i>šē</i>        | <i>ε</i>         |           | <i>ò-lá</i>     | <i>tê</i>       | <i>khε</i>        |                  | <i>šā-bô?-pā</i> | <i>hâ?</i>      | <i>šē</i>      |                   |            |
| V <sub>v</sub>    |   | P <sub>v</sub>   | P <sub>unf</sub> |           | N               | Num             | Cl <sub>f</sub>   |                  | N <sub>dvb</sub> | V               | P <sub>v</sub> |                   |            |
| benefactive (3p)  |   | first            | suspensive       |           | extra one       | one             | for animals       |                  | hunter           | get             | right away     |                   |            |
| <i>ve</i>         |   | <i>cê</i>        |                  |           |                 |                 |                   |                  |                  |                 |                |                   |            |
| P <sub>univ</sub> |   | P <sub>uf</sub>  |                  |           |                 |                 |                   |                  |                  |                 |                |                   |            |
| nominalizer       |   | quotative        |                  |           |                 |                 |                   |                  |                  |                 |                |                   |            |
- (14) *qhe-te-ε yô-hi chō-qā-pā qô? dâ?* *ve* : ” *pê* *pí*  
 Conj Pron N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 so then they stupid man say mutual action nominalizer divide up good at V'ing  
*ve chō tê gâ qo chi qhe tí qay a ,” qô?*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N Q P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> V  
 relativizer people one person topic like this only go a certain way emphatic say  
*ε , yô-hi ha-lê ve cê*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 suspensive they happy nominalizer quotative
- (15) < *gî ve* >  
 V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 laugh nominalizer

## Translation

1. Once upon a time six stupid men went to dig up gophers.<sup>1</sup>
2. Having dug for gophers, they caught seven of them.
3. So after they caught the seven animals, they proceeded to divide them up.
4. As they were dividing them up, one person sat in the middle and said, “Here, one for you; here, one for you; here, one for that guy; here, one for that other guy”—dividing them up like this, the six people got six of the animals, but one was left over.
5. So then when they repeated it again like this, dividing them up again, still exactly one animal was left over.
6. When one of the guys<sup>2</sup> took the one that was left over, he had two of them.
7. So they divided it up still again.
8. But even after they divided it again, [the last] guy got the two animals that were left.
9. So all the livelong day<sup>3</sup> they kept on dividing up the gophers this way, until they were all quarreling with each other.
10. Since they were acting this way, they took a very long time doing it, when all of a sudden a hunter appeared.

<sup>1</sup>*fâ?-phî*: ‘gopher; bamboo rat’ [*Rhizomys sumatrensis*]

<sup>2</sup>*tê gâ phâ* ‘one of the guys’ is a slangy way of saying *chō tê gâ* ‘one person’.

<sup>3</sup>*tê-ni-tâ-vâ*: *tê ni* ‘all day’ + *tâ-vâ* ‘id.’ < Tai (Si. *thāj wan*). The two equivalent expressions are juxtaposed for emphasis.

## The six stupid men and the gophers

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11. When this hunter appeared, he said, “Hey stupid, what are you all doing?” When he asked them this, they said, “We’re dividing up these gophers, but we can’t agree about it, so we’re offending each other like this.”

12. So the hunter said, “Bring them to me, all the gophers!” When he said this they brought them together in one place.

13. The hunter quickly divided them up, saying, “Here, one for you; one for that guy; one for that other guy,” and after he had divided up six of the animals among the six people, the hunter took the remaining one for himself.

14. So then those six fools said, “Now this is they way that a person who knows how to divide does it!”, and they were very happy.

15. Ha, ha, ha!



### 9.3 The stupid son-in-law and the bonze

- (1) *tê pô? thâ chɔ-qā*      *tê gâ cð ve yò* .  
 NP<sub>time</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 once stupid person one for people be there nominalizer declarative
- (2) *yô šā-va ca thɔ qay ve yò* .  
 Pron N <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 he animal trap go and do set (a trap) go off to V nominalizer declarative
- (3) *šā-va thɔ lɛ , tê ni gâ e lɛ ,*  
 N V P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 animal trap set (a trap) suspensive one for days reach motion away suspensive  
*phâ?-tô-mô tê gâ qhɔ-mê?-šĩ ca gô? lè?*  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub>  
 old Buddhist monk one for people sticky white berry go and do pick (as fruit) do for eating  
*qay lɛ , phâ?-tô-mô ló tê mà chi-kɛ-nɛ*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N B<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N  
 go and V suspensive old Buddhist monk senior one for people (informal) barking deer  
*yɔ ā pî ve thâ? gâ mð ve*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V + V<sub>h</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 catch in a trap durative benefactive (3p) nominalizer accusative find nominalizer  
*yò*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (4) *chi-kɛ-nɛ yɔ ā ve yô gâ mð ve tê yân thâ*  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron <sub>v</sub>V + V<sub>h</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>univ</sub>  
 barking deer catch in a trap durative relativizer he find relativizer when when  
*phê pə á ve yò* .  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 set free send V'ing perfective nominalizer declarative
- (5) *qhe-te-lɛ chɔ-qā chi qð? e ve yò* .  
 Conj N Det V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 after that stupid person this one return home motion away nominalizer declarative
- (6) *qð? e lɛ ð-pū à? qð? pî*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 return home motion away suspensive father-in-law accusative say benefactive (3p)  
*ve : " a-pū ð , šu nû-é tí yɔ*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> Pron N P<sub>univ</sub> V  
 nominalizer father-in-law vocative others calf (bovine) only catch in a trap  
*ā lɔ , " qð? pî ve yò* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 perfective emphatic declarative say benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative
- (7) *qhe-te-lɛ tê pô? qð? qay ve yò* .  
 Conj Q <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 after that again V back go nominalizer declarative
- (8) *tê pô? kâ? chi-qwè? yɔ ā pî ve yò*  
 Q P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 again also barking deer catch in a trap perfective benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative

- (9) *qhe-te-ε* *phà?-tō-mô* *chi* *qô?* *phê* *pə* *á* *ve*  
 Conj N Det <sub>v</sub>V V <sub>V<sub>v</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>v</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>univ</sub></sub>  
 then old Buddhist monk this V again set free send V'ing perfective nominalizer  
*yò*  
<sub>P<sub>uf</sub></sub>  
 declarative
- (10) " *a-pū* *ò* , *tê pô? tê pô?* *šu* *nū-é* *tí* *yo*  
 N <sub>P<sub>n</sub></sub> , <sub>NP<sub>q</sub></sub> Pron N <sub>P<sub>univ</sub></sub> V  
 father-in-law vocative again and again somebody's calf (bovine) only catch in a trap  
*ā* *l* , " *qô? l* , " *phê* *pə* *á*  
<sub>P<sub>v</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>uf</sub></sub> , " <sub>V</sub> <sub>P<sub>unf</sub></sub> , " <sub>V</sub> <sub>V<sub>v</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>v</sub></sub>  
 perfective emphatic declarative say suspensive set free send V'ing perfective  
*ve* *yò* ".  
<sub>P<sub>univ</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>uf</sub></sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (11) *tê pô?* *gà* *e* *l* *ə-pū* *qô? pî* *ve* :  
 Q V <sub>P<sub>v</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>unf</sub></sub> N V <sub>V<sub>v</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>univ</sub></sub>  
 next time reach motion away suspensive father-in-law say benefactive (3p) nominalizer  
 " *a-pū* *qô? l* *à-ma* *ve* *thô* *a-pū*  
 Pron V <sub>P<sub>unf</sub></sub> <sub>N<sub>intg</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>univ</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>unf</sub></sub> N  
 I (father-in-law speaking) say suspensive whatever genitivizer even father-in-law  
*ve* *mé-mé* *dê-dê* *yò* .  
<sub>P<sub>univ</sub></sub> N <sub>N<sub>ext</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>uf</sub></sub>  
 genitivizer pussycat (baby-talk) all declarative
- (12) *hâ?* *yù* *və* *a-?* *!* ,  
 Adv V <sub>P<sub>v</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub></sub>  
 quickly take transportatory motion imperative
- (13) *qô? pî* *ve* *yò* .  
 V <sub>V<sub>v</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>univ</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>uf</sub></sub>  
 say benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative
- (14) *qhe-te-ε* *tê pô?* *qô?* *qay* *ve* *tê yân* *thâ* *phà?-tū-mô* *ló* *chi*  
 Conj Q <sub>v</sub>V V <sub>P<sub>univ</sub></sub> Q <sub>P<sub>univ</sub></sub> N <sub>B<sub>n</sub></sub> Det  
 after that again V again go relativizer when when monk (old, Buddhist) senior this  
*tê* *mà* *qhɔ-mé?-šī* *gô?* *lè?* *qay*  
 Num <sub>Cl<sub>f</sub></sub> N V <sub>V<sub>v</sub></sub> <sub>V<sub>v</sub></sub>  
 one for people (informal) sticky white berry pick (as fruit) do for eating V along  
*ve* , *yô* *à?* *l* *ve* *cê* .  
<sub>P<sub>univ</sub></sub> <sub>Pron</sub> <sub>P<sub>n</sub></sub> V <sub>P<sub>univ</sub></sub> <sub>P<sub>uf</sub></sub>  
 nominalizer him accusative wait for nominalizer quotative
- (15) *qhe-te-ε* *ô-ve* *à?* *mò* *ve* *tê yân* *thâ* *yô* *šī?-cí-qu* *tô?*  
 Conj Det <sub>P<sub>n</sub></sub> V <sub>P<sub>univ</sub></sub> Q <sub>P<sub>univ</sub></sub> Pron N V  
 thereupon that accusative see relativizer when when he piece of wood cut (with knife)

	<i>lɛ</i>	<i>dɔ̃ʔ</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>yò</i>	.							
	P <sub>unf</sub>	V	P <sub>univ</sub>	P <sub>uf</sub>								
	suspensive	beat	nominalizer	declarative								
(16)	<i>yô</i>	<i>dɔ̃ʔ</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>tê yân</i>	<i>thâ</i>	”	<i>khó</i>	<i>tā</i>	<i>khó</i>		
	Pron	V	P <sub>v</sub>	P <sub>univ</sub>	Q	P <sub>univ</sub>	V	P <sub>v</sub>		V		
	he	beat	vigorous action	relativizer	when	when	beg	urgent request (N. Thai)	beg			
	<i>tā</i>		,”	<i>qôʔ</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>yò</i>	.					
	P <sub>v</sub>			V	P <sub>univ</sub>	P <sub>uf</sub>						
	urgent request (N. Thai)		say	nominalizer	declarative							
(17)	”	<i>khó</i>	<i>tā</i>		’	<i>mâ</i>	’	<i>khó</i>	<i>tā</i>	’	<i>thô</i>	,
		V	P <sub>v</sub>			Adv		V	P <sub>v</sub>		P <sub>unf</sub>	
		beg	urgent request (N. Thai)			negative		beg	urgent request (N. Thai)		even	
	<i>a-pū</i>		<i>mé-mé</i>		<i>yò</i>	,”	<i>qôʔ</i>	<i>pî</i>		<i>ve</i>		
	N		N		P <sub>uf</sub>		V	V <sub>v</sub>		P <sub>univ</sub>		
	father-in-law		pussycat (baby-talk)		declarative		say	benefactive (3p)		nominalizer		
	<i>yò</i>				.							
	P <sub>uf</sub>											
	declarative											

## Translation

1. Once upon a time there was a certain stupid person.
2. He used to go and set traps for animals.
3. One day when he was setting traps, an old Buddhist monk<sup>1</sup> who had gone there to pick sticky berries<sup>2</sup> to eat caught sight of a barking deer<sup>3</sup> that had been trapped.
4. When he saw the trapped barking deer, he set it free.
5. After this, he [the trap-setter] went home.
6. When he got home he said to his father-in-law, “Granddad<sup>4</sup>, we must have trapped somebody else’s calf!”<sup>5</sup>
7. So then he went back again [to set traps].
8. Once again he trapped a barking deer.
9. And again it was set free.
10. “Granddad, I just keep trapping somebody else’s calf, and it’s been set free!”, he said.
- 11a. This time the father-in-law said, “Granddad<sup>6</sup> tells you [to say], ‘Whatever it is,

<sup>1</sup> *phàʔ-tō-mô*: 1st syllable < Tai (cf. Si. *phráʔ* ‘lord; sacred thing’). DL:888.

<sup>2</sup> *qhɔ̃-mêʔ-ši*: lit. “mountain eye”, a kind of sticky tart whitish berry. See DL:302.

<sup>3</sup> *chi-ke-ne*, lit. “dwarf deer.” This name for the barking deer is especially characteristic of Yellow Lahu. The usual BL form is *chi-pí-qwèʔ*. Later in the text the variant *chi-qwèʔ* occurs.

<sup>4</sup> *ə-pū* (voc. *à-pū*) means either ‘grandfather’ or ‘father-in-law’, according to context. Vocatively it often seems best to translate it as ‘grand-dad’, even when ‘father-in-law’ is understood.

<sup>5</sup> The stupid guy is making two mistakes: (a) he takes the barking deer for a calf; (b) he was not angry that the monk freed it, because he thought it must have belonged to somebody.

<sup>6</sup> Here the father-in-law uses the kin term as a 1st person pronoun.

it's my grand-dad's pussy-cat!"<sup>7</sup>

11b. "Hurry and bring it [home]!", he said.

12. So the stupid guy went back again, and when that senior monk was picking sticky berries to eat, this time he was waiting for him.

13. So when he saw him, he cut down a cudgel [from a tree] and beat him with it.

14. While he was beating him, [the monk] said "**khó tǎ, khó tǎ!**"<sup>8</sup>

15. "**Khó tǎ** or no **Khó tǎ**, it's my old man's kitty-cat!" he said.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>The father-in-law, realizing that his son-in-law is not the sharpest knife in the drawer, uses the baby-talk word **mé-mé** 'kitty-cat; pussycat' as a general term for 'animal'. The usual BL word for 'cat' is **mé-ni**.

<sup>8</sup>Shan or N. Thai **khó** 'beg, supplicate'; **tǎ** is apparently a verb particle expressing an urgent request.

<sup>9</sup>The son-in-law treats the foreign phrase **khó tǎ** as a verb compound, negating it in the frame V1 + **mâ** + V1 + **thō** 'whether V1 or not'. This sentence conveys a highly ridiculous impression with its juxtaposition of a foreign phrase and a baby-talk word.

## 9.4 The son-in-law, the red ants, and the rice packet

- (1) *tê pô? thâ cho nî gâ cê* .  
 NP<sub>time</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 once people two for people quotative
- (2) *šā ca gâ? e ve yò* .  
 N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 animals go and do hunt motion away nominalizer declarative
- (3) *cho chi nî gâ lè ð-pū ð-má fâ?-pu gâ? e*  
 N Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N N N V P<sub>v</sub>  
 people these two for people topic father-in-law son-in-law porcupine hunt motion away  
*ve cê* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer quotative
- (4) *ôo ̄ hε-šā lo gâ lε , ð-pū chi*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N Det  
 way over there locative abandoned field locative reach suspensive father-in-law this  
*hε-šā ó-qō ̄ cho-nâ? e ci lε*  
 N N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 abandoned field top part locative follow a trail (hunting) motion away causative suspensive  
 , *yô hε-šā ð-qō-ji lo lð? e lε , ð-má-pā chi*  
 Pron N N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Det  
 he abandoned field center locative enter motion away suspensive son-in-law this  
*šî?-mú-dô tê mà thâ? pí-gô?-ní tâ? e*  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 stump of tree one for things accusative red ant (small, with mild sting) go up motion away  
*yâ? e ve gâ mð lε , ” à-pū ò ,*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> <sub>v</sub>V + V<sub>h</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 descend motion away nominalizer find suspensive father-in-law vocative  
*tâ? e ò ” qô? pî ve lê ,*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 come up motion away completed action say benefactive (3p) nominalizer emphatic prt.  
*yô* .  
 Pron  
 he
- (5) *pí-gô?-ní chi tâ? e qo , ” à-pū ò , tâ? e*  
 N Det V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 red ants these go up motion away when father-in-law vocative go up motion away  
*ò* .  
 P<sub>v</sub>  
 completed action
- (6) *qhe qô? qo à-pū chi ̄ tâ? e ve*  
 Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> N Det P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 like this say when father-in-law this topic go up motion away nominalizer  
*gâ-thè? ġĩ tâ? e ve , qhō ̄* .  
 Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 with all his might run V upwards motion away nominalizer hill locative

The son-in-law, the red ants, and the rice packet

- (7) *pí-gǝʔ-ní chi qǝʔ yàʔ la ve tē yān thā , ” à-pū ò*  
 N Det <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 red ants these V back go down come to V relativizer when father-in-law vocative  
*, yàʔ e ò ” qhe qǝʔ lɛ-ʃ , gā-thèʔ kù*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
 descend motion away completed action like this say suspensive energetically shout  
*lɛ-ʃ , à-pū chi gǝ tǎʔ gǝ yàʔ te-te lɛ*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N Det V V<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>redup</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 suspensive father-in-law this run V upwards run V downwards keep on doing suspensive  
 ,
- (8) *” āa , má chi chà tù â hêʔ ” qhe*  
 Interj N Det V P<sub>v-nom</sub> Adv V Adv  
 ah! son-in-law this be worth sthg cause for V'ing negative be the case like this  
*qǝʔ lɛ lê , yǝ .*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron  
 say suspensive emphatic prt. he
- (9) *chi qhe gǝ tǎʔ gǝ yàʔ lɛ ,*  
 AE<sub>ext</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 like this run V upwards run V downwards suspensive
- (10) *” má ò , chi ve lèʔ òʔ ” qhe qǝʔ á lɛ*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> Det V P<sub>v</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 son-in-law vocative this thing lick imperative like this say perfective suspensive  
*ʃ , qǝʔ e lɛ , mô ʃ gā lɛ ,*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 topic go home motion away suspensive down there locative reach suspensive  
*à-má-pā thàʔ qǝʔ mǝ dàʔ ve cê .*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 son-in-law accusative V again meet each other nominalizer quotative
- (11) *qhe-te-lɛ , ” má ò , à-šɛ thā thīʔ á ve*  
 Conj N P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 so son-in-law vocative previously when wrap and tie up perfective relativizer  
*ʃ phǝʔ lɛ ôʔ .”*  
 N V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 cooked rice unwrap suspensive urging imperative
- (12) *” nǝ qo ’ lèʔ òʔ ’ qǝʔ lɛ lèʔ*  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> V  
 you topic topic snack on urging imperative urging imperative say because snack on  
*šɛ pǝʔ ” qhe qǝʔ ve cê .*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 right away emphatic like this say nominalizer quotative
- (13) *qhe qǝʔ á lɛ , ” āa , má chi chà*  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Interj N Det V  
 like this say perfective suspensive ah! son-in-law this be worth sthg  
*tù â hêʔ ” qǝʔ á lɛ qǝʔ e*  
 P<sub>v-nom</sub> Adv V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 cause for V'ing negative be the case say perfective suspensive go home motion away

šē	ve	yò	.
P <sub>v</sub>	P <sub>univ</sub>	P <sub>uf</sub>	
regrettably	nominalizer	declarative	

## Translation

1. Once there were two people.
2. They went hunting.
3. These two people, father-in-law<sup>1</sup> and son-in-law, were hunting porcupines.
4. They arrived at an old-field<sup>2</sup> in a certain place, and the old man made his son-in-law follow a trail in the upper part of the field, while he went into the middle of the field.
5. Then, when the son-in-law saw some red ants going up and down on a tree stump, he said, “Father-in-law, they’ve gone up already!”<sup>3</sup>
6. When these red ants went up, he said, “Father-in-law, they’ve gone up!”
7. When he said this, the father-in-law climbed up, exerting himself he ran up that hill.
8. When those red ants came back down again, he shouted loudly, “Father-in-law, they’ve gone down already!” so the father-in-law kept on running up and running down all the time, so he [finally] said, “Aw, this son-in-law is no damn good!”
9. Having run up and down like that he said “Son-in-law, lick this!”<sup>4</sup>, and he went back [to his son-in-law’s house], and when he got there he met up with his son-in-law again.
10. So he said, “Son-in-law, open up the rice that I wrapped up before.”<sup>5</sup>
11. “But you said ‘Eat it!’, so I ate it up,” he said.
12. When he said this, the Father-in-law said, “Aw, this son-in-law is no damn good!”, and he went home [to his own house].

<sup>1</sup>š-pū: etymologically ‘grandfather’ (< PTB \*baw), used also to mean ‘father-in-law’.

<sup>2</sup>he-šā: a field previously cleared for a swidden, now reverting to jungle as it lies fallow. These old-fields were good hunting-grounds, since the regrowing plants provided good cover for animals.

<sup>3</sup>The humor here resides in the father-in-law’s misunderstanding of what was “going up”: the son-in-law meant the ants, while the father-in-law thought he meant a porcupine. Yet another demonstration of possible ambiguity in a “pro-drop” language like Lahu!

<sup>4</sup>chi ve lē? ô?, lit. “lick this,” a shorter version of ŋà ve mō lē? ô?, lit. “lick my thing”, is a frequent Lahu put-down more or less equivalent to English “kiss my ass.” The second misunderstanding here resides in the polysemy of lē?, etymologically ‘lick’ (< PTB \*m-lyak), but often used to mean ‘eat’, especially with respect to snack food. See DL: 1393.

<sup>5</sup>Father-in-law had wrapped some rice up in a banana-leaf for them to snack on during their hunt.

## 9.5 The buffalo bugger and the rabbit hunters

- (1) à-šwè thâ l̥-pū tē ġā cò cê .  
 AE N Q V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 once upon a time old fellow one person be there quotative
- (2) ti-mi qhɔ ti-mi ca tháy há  
 N M<sub>px</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V V  
 paddy field (irrigated) in paddy field (irrigated) go and do plow spend the night  
 e lɛ , yô ð-yâ-pā kà? yô ġe qay ve yò ,  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 motion away suspensive his son also him with go nominalizer declarative  
 ð-mî-ma mâ qay .  
 N Adv V  
 wife negative go
- (3) tē ni ġā lɛ-ṣ , ð-yâ-pā chi tē ġā cà-qha ca  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N Det Q N <sub>v</sub>V  
 one for days reach suspensive son this one person hulled rice go and do  
 pū qò lɛ , ti-mi jâ ġā lɛ ,  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 carry on the back V back suspensive paddy field (irrigated) edge reach suspensive  
 ð-pa à? ni lɛ , ð-pa chi ṣ-qā-ma-pā à? pà?  
 N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N Det N P<sub>n</sub> V  
 father accusative look at suspensive father this female buffalo accusative copulate  
 chê lɔ cê qô?-ma .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 progressive emphatic declarative quotative emphatic
- (4) qhe-te-lɛ tē pô? ð-yâ chi ġi-qò? e lɛ , ð-e  
 Conj Q N Det V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 so immediately son this run back home motion away suspensive mother  
 à? qò? tho pî ve qô?-ve .  
 P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 accusative go on to V tell benefactive (3p) nominalizer it is said
- (5) qhe-te-lɛ ð-e chi šī lɛ , cà-qha qò? dô?-pū  
 Conj N Det V P<sub>unf</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V  
 so mother this realize suspensive hulled rice V again pack up and carry  
 və lɛ , l̥-pū ô-ve ġe qay lɛ , á-qà? ṣ  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Det P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 transportatory motion suspensive husband that to go suspensive outside locative  
 ṣ mi-câ chê lɔ cê .  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 food sit and eat progressive emphatic declarative quotative
- (6) qhe-te-lɛ ô tē ni ṣ-qhe lɛ šu pantây ġà?-pā ô tē qhâ?  
 Conj N<sub>sd</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N N N<sub>sd</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 well then that one for days topicalizer others rabbit hunter that one for villages  
 ṣ là lɔ cê qô?-ma .  
 P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 locative come emphatic declarative quotative emphatic



- (7) *qhe-te-le lă-pū chi 5 , ô 5 šá-è-dě?-è pantây qhe te*  
 Conj N Det P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>adv</sub> N N<sub>ext</sub> vV  
 so old fellow this topic over there locative noisily rabbit topicalizer do and  
*ğà? là le-5 , ” ô-ve à-thò?-ma te le ” qô?-na*  
 V V P<sub>unf</sub> Det N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> V  
 hunt come suspensive that thing what happen substantive qst ask  
*ve cê , ð-mî-ma à?*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 nominalizer quotative wife accusative
- (8) *ð-mî-ma 5 , ” 5-qā à? pà? pā à? ca*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>n</sub> vV  
 wife topic buffalo accusative copulate agentive nominalizer accusative go and do  
*dô?-pē la ve ” qô? le , tē pô? tí 5 kâ? mâ*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> Adv  
 beat to death come to V nominalizer say suspensive right away meal even negative  
*câ á ve cê ,*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 eat durative nominalizer quotative
- (9) *qhe-te ġġ-pho e ve*  
 Conj V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 right then run away motion away nominalizer
- (10) *qhe-te ġġ-pho e le pantây chi yô qhâ-šġ ġġ-pho*  
 Conj V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Det Pron M<sub>prfx</sub> V  
 right then run away motion away suspensive rabbit this him following run away  
*cô e le , šu mð le , ” ġġ-thè?*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv  
 happen to be motion away suspensive others see suspensive energetically  
*ğà?-yù mē , ” qô? le , yô ġġ-thè? pho e*  
 V P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 chase to capture urging say suspensive he with all his might run away motion away  
*ve cê*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer quotative
- (11) *qhe-te-le pho e le tî? thâ gâ*  
 Conj V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> V  
 so run away motion away suspensive be at bay (of hunted animal) when reach  
*e le , ” 5-qā phġ è kâ? nð 5-qā mâ hê?*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N AE<sub>stat</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N Adv V  
 motion away suspensive buffalo gray also your buffalo negative be the case
- (12) *nâ?-tô è kâ? nð 5-qā mâ hê? , ” qô? ve cê*  
 AE<sub>stat</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N Adv + V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 black also your buffalo not be the case say nominalizer quotative

## Translation

1. Once upon a time there was this old fellow.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>**lă-pū**: this word (< Chinese 老夫 (Mand. *laofū*), and perhaps influenced by Lahu **pū** ‘grandfather’), has several shades of meaning: (a) ‘an old man’; (b) ‘old boy; old fellow’ (jocular term of address to any man); (c) ‘husband’; (d) ‘my old man’ (wife referring to her

## The buffalo bugger and the rabbit hunters

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2. He would go off to his wet-rice field to plow, spending the night in the paddy-field, along with his son, but his wife wouldn't go along.
3. One day his son, who had gone home to fetch some polished rice [for his father's meal], came back [to the field], and as he reached the edge of the paddy-field, he looked at his father – and there was his old man, screwing a female water-buffalo!
4. So the kid ran back home right away, and told his mother.
5. Then when the mother found out about this, she packed up some more rice to carry out and went off to her husband, and there they were sitting and eating together outdoors.
6. Now that day some rabbit-hunters happened to come to the village!
7. Well, as they came chasing the rabbit, making a great racket, the old fellow asks his wife “What's going on there?”
8. So the wife says, “They've come to beat that buffalo-bugger to death!”
9. So all of a sudden, without even finishing his rice, he runs off fleeing for his life.
10. Well, as he was running away, the rabbit happened to flee after him in the same direction, and when they [the hunters] saw this they said, “Come on, let's chase him with all our might and catch him!” – so he ran away for dear life.
11. Finally when he had run [all he could] and he was at bay, he said, “But the gray buffalo wasn't yours! And the black one wasn't yours either!”<sup>2</sup>

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husband). See DL:1400.

<sup>2</sup>The humor of this punch line consists in the fact that the old fellow now reveals that he hadn't confined his bestial propensities to a single partner, but had 'played the field', as it were.

## 9.6 Resurrection of a barking deer and fulfilment of a prophecy

- (1) *tê p̄ʔ thâ cho tê ca c̄ð ve yò* .  
 NP<sub>time</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 once upon a time people one for married couples be there nominalizer declarative
- (2) *ȳ-hi ̄-qhe b̄ð j̄â* .  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 they topicalizer be lazy very
- (3) *kán mâ te gâ* .  
 N Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 work negative do desiderative
- (4) *qhe-qo tê ni tê ni ȳ-hi á-qh̄o tí ch̄ê t̄â ve yò* .  
 Conj AE Pron N P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 so every day they home only stay durative nominalizer declarative
- (5) *qhe-te-ɛ tê ni gâ ɛ ȳ-hi ̄ m̄àʔ la ve*  
 Conj Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 well then one for days reach suspensive they food hungry come to V nominalizer  
*yò*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (6) *̄ m̄àʔ ve pa-t̄o , ô h̄êʔ-pí-qh̄o ̄ m̄ ca d̄ú*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>v</sub> V V  
 food hungry nominalizer because of over there woods locative yam go and do dig  
*c̄â ve yò*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 V to eat nominalizer declarative
- (7) *m̄ d̄ú c̄â qay ve tê yân thâ chi-pí-qw̄êʔ qh̄âʔ-cá-š̄i*  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N N  
 yam dig V to eat go off to V relativizer when barking deer wild gooseberry  
*qá-š̄i ā ve tê kh̄e c̄ð ā*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 choke to death perfective relativizer one for animals be there durative  
*l̄o ve yò*  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic declarative nominalizer declarative
- (8) *qhe-te-ɛ ȳ-hí-m̄à ð-ph̄ô-ð-m̄i chi ní gâ chi p̄ú*  
 Conj Pron Elab<sub>n</sub> Det Q N V  
 so they (dual) husband and wife this two people barking-deer carry on the back  
*qh̄òʔ e ɛ qòʔ e ve yò* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 V back motion away suspensive go home motion away nominalizer declarative
- (9) *qòʔ e ɛ á-qh̄o ̄ gâ e ɛ*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 go home motion away suspensive home locative reach motion away suspensive

- phɛ-qō* N basket for storing paddy (huge)  
*qhɔ* M<sub>px</sub> inside  
*kə* V put into  
*ā* P<sub>v</sub> perfective  
*ɛ* P<sub>unf</sub> suspensive  
*yô-hí-mà* Pron they (dual)  
*ɔ-qhe* P<sub>unf</sub> topicalizer
- g̃i-hɔ* N hot water  
*tɛ* V put on the fire  
*chɛ* V<sub>v</sub> progressive  
*ve* P<sub>univ</sub> nominalizer  
*yò* P<sub>uf</sub> declarative
- (10) *qhe-te-ɛ* Conj meanwhile  
*chi-qwè?* N barking deer  
*chi* Det this  
*ɔ-qhe* P<sub>unf</sub> topicalizer  
*yâ-ɛ* N little children  
*tê-phā* Q pluralizer  
*šô? g̃i* V + V<sub>v</sub> stroke lovingly  
*chɛ* V<sub>v</sub> keep on  
*ve* P<sub>univ</sub> nominalizer  
*yò* P<sub>uf</sub> declarative
- (11) *yâ-ɛ* N small child  
*qô? ve* V P<sub>univ</sub> say nominalizer  
*: ” pé* Adv<sub>onomat</sub> cry of barking deer  
*qo nò* P<sub>unf</sub> Pron you  
*yò* P<sub>uf</sub> declarative  
*lâ* P<sub>uf</sub> yes
- (12) *pí* Adv<sub>onomat</sub> cry of barking deer  
*qo nò* P<sub>unf</sub> Pron you  
*yò* P<sub>uf</sub> declarative  
*lâ ,” tɛ?* P<sub>uf</sub> QUOT embedded quote  
*qhe* Adv like this  
*qô? g̃i* V + V<sub>v</sub> tease  
*e* P<sub>v</sub> motion away  
*ɛ* P<sub>unf</sub> suspensive  
*šô? g̃i* V + V<sub>v</sub> stroke lovingly  
*chɛ* V<sub>v</sub> keep on  
*ve* P<sub>univ</sub> nominalizer  
*yò* P<sub>uf</sub> declarative
- (13) *qhe-te-ɛ* Conj then  
*tê khi* Q a certain time  
*gà* V reach  
*e* P<sub>v</sub> motion away  
*ɛ* P<sub>unf</sub> suspensive  
*, qá* V be stuck  
*ā* P<sub>v</sub> durative  
*ve* P<sub>univ</sub> relativizer  
*qhâ? cá-šī* N wild gooseberry  
*ô-ve* Det that  
*g̃ô-pè* N belly  
*qhɔ* M<sub>px</sub> inside  
*šô?* V stroke  
*yà?* V<sub>v</sub> V downwards  
*e* P<sub>v</sub> motion away  
*šē* P<sub>v</sub> still  
*ɛ* P<sub>unf</sub> suspensive  
*tê khi tí* NP<sub>q</sub> all of a sudden  
*pš? pho* V flee by jumping  
*e* P<sub>v</sub> motion away  
*šē* P<sub>v</sub> right away  
*ve* P<sub>univ</sub> nominalizer  
*yò* P<sub>uf</sub> declarative
- (14) *qhe-te-ɛ* Conj so  
*chɔ* N people  
*chi* Det this  
*tê ca* Q one couple  
*mó* N fortune-teller  
*gɛ qay* P<sub>n</sub> V to go  
*ɛ* P<sub>unf</sub> suspensive  
*ca* vV go and do  
*na-ni* V ask  
*ve* P<sub>univ</sub> nominalizer  
*yò* P<sub>uf</sub> declarative
- (15) *yô* Pron he  
*mó* N fortune-teller  
*à?* P<sub>n</sub> object  
*qô? pī* V V<sub>v</sub> say benefactive (3p)  
*ve* P<sub>univ</sub> nominalizer  
*: ” âa* Interj well!  
*, mó ò* N P<sub>n</sub> sir vocative  
*g̃i* P<sub>v</sub> motion away  
*šā* N my  
*chi* Det animal  
*ve* P<sub>univ</sub> genitivizer  
*qhò?* V get back  
*g̃a* V<sub>v</sub> manage to  
*tù* P<sub>v</sub> future  
*lâ* P<sub>uf</sub> yes  
*, mâ* Adv negative  
*qhò?* V get back  
*g̃a* V<sub>v</sub> get to  
*tù* P<sub>v</sub> future  
*lâ* P<sub>uf</sub> yes  
*” tɛ?* QUOT embedded quote  
*qô? ɛ* V P<sub>unf</sub> say suspensive  
*na-ni* V ask  
*ve* P<sub>univ</sub> nominalizer  
*yò* P<sub>uf</sub> declarative

- (16) *mó qô? ve : " âa , nò šā chi mâ qhò?*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> Interj Pron N Det Adv V  
 fortune-teller say nominalizer ah! your animal this negative get back  
*ğa*  
 V<sub>v</sub>  
 manage to
- (17) *te a-tè? qo nò ð-mî-ma mô ġa lè? ve tí yò ,” qhe*  
 V P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>quot</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N N V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Adv  
 do intentive if your wife thing must lick nominalizer only declarative like this  
*qô? pî ve yò*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 say benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative
- (18) *qhe-te-le , yô qò? qô? ve : " âa , mó chi ,*  
 Conj Pron V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Interj N Det  
 so then he V back say nominalizer oh! fortune-teller this  
*mô-khî-mô-tâ-lâ? qô? á le ġâ?-yù qay ve*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 miserable fortune-teller say perfective suspensive chase away V away from nominalizer  
*yò*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (19) *qhe-te-le tê ton ġa le mú-yè ġò tē*  
 Conj Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N V<sub>v</sub> V  
 after that one for stages (in a journey) reach suspensive rain V vigorously pound down  
*le , nē? jâ le kâ? jâ ve yò*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 suspensive wet very suspensive cold very nominalizer declarative
- (20) *qò? la le ð-phô-ð-mî ní ġâ qha-cî-pè ha-khî ð-na mî*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> Q N N N<sub>loc</sub> V  
 return become suspensive husband and wife two people fireplace tripod in front of sit  
*le à-mî lē chē ve yò*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 suspensive fire warm oneself progressive nominalizer declarative
- (21) *qhe-te-le yô ve ð-mî-ma mô à? mò le là?-no ġò jû?*  
 Conj N<sub>poss</sub>+ve N N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N V<sub>v</sub> V  
 so his wife thing object see suspensive finger lively action stick into  
*phē a le mē šē l*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 launch vigorous action vigorous action suspensive disappear right away emphatic declarative
- (22) *yù tš? la thâ là?-no nē? jâ šē le , ha-khî à? šŕ?*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V  
 take V out come to V when finger wet very still suspensive tripod object wipe clean  
*šē ve yò*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 anticipated action nominalizer declarative

(23)	<i>ha-khi</i>	<i>à?</i>	<i>šĩ?</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>chĩ?</i>	<i>a lâ</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>tê yân</i>	<i>thâ</i>
	N	P <sub>n</sub>	V	P <sub>unf</sub>	V <sub>adj</sub>	P <sub>v</sub> + P <sub>v</sub>	P <sub>univ</sub>	Q	P <sub>univ</sub>
	tripod	object	wipe	suspensive	be hot	vivid action	relativizer	the time that	when
	<i>šɔ-lê?</i>		<i>šē</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>yò</i>				
	V		P <sub>v</sub>	P <sub>univ</sub>	P <sub>uf</sub>				
	lick vigorously		right away	nominalizer	declarative				
(24)	<i>qhe-te-le</i>	<i>yɔ</i>	<i>tê pɔ?</i>	<i>qɔ?</i>	<i>dô-nô</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>yò</i>	
	Conj	Pron	Q	vV	V	P <sub>v</sub>	P <sub>univ</sub>	P <sub>uf</sub>	
	then	he	suddenly	V again	remember	come to V	nominalizer	declarative	
(25)	<i>” à-šɛ-thâ</i>	<i>mɔ</i>		<i>qɔ?</i>	<i>lâ</i>		<i>ve</i>	<i>yò</i>	
	Temp Nom	N		V	P <sub>v</sub>		P <sub>univ</sub>	V	
	a while ago	fortune-teller	say	benefactive (non-3p)	nominalizer	be true			
	<i>lɔ</i>		<i>” tɛ?</i>		<i>yɔ</i>	<i>šĩ la</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>yò</i>	
	P <sub>uf</sub>		QUOT		Pron	V + P <sub>v</sub>	P <sub>univ</sub>	P <sub>uf</sub>	
	emphatic declarative		embedded quote		he	realize	nominalizer	declarative	

## Translation

1. Once upon a time there was a married couple.
2. They were very lazy.
3. They didn't want to work.
4. So day after day they just stayed home.
5. Well, one day came when they were getting hungry.
6. Since they were so hungry, they went off into the woods to dig for yams to eat.
7. While they were off to dig for yams to eat, they found a barking deer<sup>1</sup> that had choked to death on a wild gooseberry!<sup>2</sup>
8. So then the two of them, husband and wife, carried the barking deer back home.
9. So they headed back and arrived home, and put it into a big basket for storing rice, and set some water on the fire to boil.
10. Meanwhile their children were playing around stroking the barking deer.
11. The kids were saying, “Are you the one that says **pé?** Are you the one that says **pí?**”, joking and playfully stroking it.
12. Then all of a sudden what was caught in its throat was stroked back into its stomach, and it jumped up and ran away.
13. So then this couple went to a fortune-teller<sup>3</sup> to ask a question.
14. He said to the fortune-teller, “Oh, master, will I be able to get my animal back, or won't I be able to get

<sup>1</sup>**chi-pí-qwè?**: A small deer (*Cervulus muntjac*; *Muntiacus muntjac*) about 3 feet tall, known as the best eating in the jungle, but now hunted virtually to extinction in Thailand. Its cry, conventionally imitated as **pé-pí** in Lahu, somewhat resembles the barking of a dog. See DL:835.

<sup>2</sup>**qhâ?câ-šĩ**: *Sesbana sesbans* or *Phyllanthus emblica*. See DL:286.

<sup>3</sup>**mɔ** ‘teacher; master; expert; possessor of occult knowledge’ < Tai (cf. Si. *mɔ*). See DL:1029.

it back?,” he asked.

15. The fortune-teller said, “Ah, that animal of yours you cannot get back.

16. “If you try to do so, you will just have to lick your wife’s ‘thing’.”<sup>4</sup>

17. At this he retorted, “Oh, you miserable fortune-telling sonofabitch!”<sup>5</sup> and chased him away.

18. After this, when they reached a certain point [on their way home], rain came pouring down, and they got drenched and were freezing.

19. When they got back home, the husband and wife both sat down in front of the tripod in the fireplace and warmed themselves by the fire.

20. Then he caught sight of his wife’s thing, and stuck a finger right inside,<sup>6</sup> and it disappeared in there. When he took it out it was all wet, so he tried wiping it off on the tripod.

20. When he wiped it off on the tripod, he [his finger] got burned, so he licked it vigorously.

21. Then all of a sudden he remembered.

22. “What the fortune-teller told me just now was true!”, he realized.

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<sup>4</sup>**m̄** ‘thing’ is here used as a euphemism. Cf. also the expression **ŋà m̄ lè? ô?** ‘lick my thing!’, where it is not specified which thing is meant. See DL:1031.

<sup>5</sup>**m̄-khì-m̄-təl̄?**: N1 + **khì** + N1 + **təl̄?** is a template for forming abusive insults to N1. See DL:371. **khì** ‘shit’ < Tai (cf. Si. *khī*); the origin of **təl̄?** (evidently a Tai loanword) is obscure.

<sup>6</sup>**ḡ jû? phê**: **jû?** ‘stick in’; the pre-head versatile verb **ḡ** and the post-head one **phê** both convey a lively flavor to the verbal event.

## 9.7 Trapping a deer in a tree

- (1) *qhe-qo tē pō? thā ð-u-phâ lē ð-nù-ma nī gā cō*  
 Conj NP<sub>time</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N Q V  
 so once upon a time older brother suspensive younger sister two people be there  
*ve yò*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (2) *yô-hí-mà tē ni tē ni šā-va thō qay ve yò*  
 Pron AE N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 they (dual) every day animal trap set (a trap) go off to V nominalizer declarative
- (3) *šā-va thō qay ve ð-qhō lo ð-u-phâ tē gā*  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>loc</sub> N Q  
 animal trap set (a trap) continue V'ing relativizer while older brother one person  
*ḡ-qhe šē?-cē ó-qō ḡ tâ? thō ve yò*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 topicalizer treetop locative climb up set (a trap) nominalizer declarative
- (4) *qhe-qo ð-nù-ma tē gā ḡ mī-châ thō ve yò*  
 Conj N Q P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 so then younger sister one person topic ground set (a trap) nominalizer declarative
- (5) *qhe-te-lē tē pō? thā šā-va ca ni ve yò*  
 Conj NP<sub>time</sub> N V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well then this time animal trap go and do look at nominalizer declarative
- (6) *šā-va ca ni lē ð-nù-ma ve chi ḡ-qhe*  
 N V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub>  
 animal trap go and do check on suspensive younger sister genitivizer this topicalizer  
*mī-châ qhō? à? thō ā ve pa-tō , chī-qwē? tē*  
 N N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N Num  
 ground on accusative set (a trap) perfective nominalizer because of barking deer one  
*khe yō a-lâ ve yò*  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 for animals catch in a trap lively action nominalizer declarative
- (7) *qhe-te-lē šā-va ni ve ḡ ð-u-phâ qay ve yò*  
 Conj N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 so animal trap check on nominalizer topic older brother go nominalizer declarative
- (8) *ð-u-phâ qay a lâ ve tē yān thā , ð-nù-ma tē gā kâ?*  
 N V P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N Q P<sub>unf</sub>  
 older brother go vivid action relativizer when younger sister one person also  
*ð-qhō?-nō a-yé-yé gā? jâ? ni qay ve yò*  
 N<sub>loc</sub> Adv V V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 behind quietly follow sneak watch go off to V nominalizer declarative



- (9) *qhe-te-le ð-nù-ma ve šā yɔ ā ve à?*  
 Conj N P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 well then younger sister genitivizer animal catch in a trap perfective relativizer accusative
- ð-u-phâ pû le šĩ?-cê mû-phe ̄ tâ? e*  
 N V P<sub>unf</sub> N N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 older brother carry on the back suspensive tree top part locative climb motion away
- chê a-lâ ve yò cê .*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 continuous lively action nominalizer declarative quotative
- (10) *qhe-qo ̄ ð-nù-ma qô? pî ve : " nò à-ma te qhe-̄*  
 Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron Cl<sub>nf</sub> Conj  
 so topic younger sister say benefactive (3p) nominalizer you why topicalizer
- pû tâ? e ve le " qô?*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V  
 carry on the back V upwards motion away nominalizer substantive qst say
- pî ve tê yân thâ , " âa , pû yâ?*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Interj V V<sub>v</sub>  
 benefactive (3p) relativizer when oh! carry on the back V downwards
- la ve , pû yâ? la ve "*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 come to V nominalizer carry on the back V downwards come to V nominalizer
- tê? ð-nù-ma à? qô? pî ve yò .*  
 QUOT N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 embedded quote younger sister accusative say benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative

## Translation

- Once upon a time there were an older brother and a younger sister.<sup>1</sup>
- The two of them would go to set animal traps day after day.
- When he was setting his traps, the older brother climbed up to the top of a tree and set one there.
- As for the younger sister, she set hers on the ground.
- Well this time they went to check out their traps.
- Since the sister's was set on the ground, when she checked her traps there was a barking deer<sup>2</sup> caught in it!
- So then the brother was the one to go check on his trap.
- When the brother went off, the sister also went quietly sneaking after him to watch.<sup>3</sup>
- And there was her brother climbing up to the top of a tree carrying the animal she had caught!
- So when the sister said, "Why are you carrying it up?" he said to her, "Oh, I'm carrying it down, I'm carrying it down!"

<sup>1</sup> *ð-u-phâ* 'elder brother; maternal uncle; guardian of a young girl' and *ð-nù-ma* 'younger sister; niece; ward of an elder brother or maternal uncle' are correlative terms. Here the sibling relationship is chosen in the translation. For the same correlative kin-terms see 13.1 *Song of Reconciliation of the Brother and Sister*, where a hunting dispute is also at issue.

<sup>2</sup> *chi-(pî)-qwe?*: *Cervulus muntjac*. A small deer prized as the best eating in the jungle, now hunted to virtual extinction in Thailand.

<sup>3</sup> This VP has a 4-verb sequence: *gà?* 'follow' + *jâ?* 'sneak' + *ni* 'look at' + *qay* 'go'

## 9.8 A liar “kills” a bear and a mountain goat

- (1) *à-šwè thâ ð-phô-ð-mî nî gâ cò ve yò*  
 NP<sub>time</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> Q V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 long time ago husband and wife two people be there nominalizer declarative
- (2) *tê ni thâ yô-hi hê?-pí-qhò lo ca kâw qay*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub>  
 one for days when they woods locative go and do enjoy oneself go off to V  
*ve yò*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (3) *kâw qay kâw qay lɛ hê?-pí-qhò lo gâ*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V  
 have fun continue V'ing have fun continue V'ing suspensive woods locative reach  
*ve tê yân thâ , yè tê khe thà? gâ phû ve*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 relativizer when bear (animal) one for animals accusative get to meet nominalizer  
*yò*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (4) *yè ô-ve ð-qhe càn jâ ve yò*  
 N Det P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 bear (animal) that topicalizer ferocious very nominalizer declarative
- (5) *yô nî gâ thà? mò ve tê yân thâ , tê pô? tí gî là*  
 Pron Q P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 it two people accusative see relativizer when right away run come V'ing  
*ve yò*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (6) *qhe-qo ð-phô tê gâ ð-qhe kô? jâ lɛ há-qô lo gî*  
 Conj N Q P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V  
 so then husband one person topicalizer be afraid very suspensive cave locative run  
*lò? e ve yò*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 V into motion away nominalizer declarative
- (7) *qhe-qo ð-mî-ma tê gâ ð-qhe ð-qhò-mâ lo chê tã*  
 Conj N Q P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 well then wife one person topicalizer mouth (of an opening) locative stay durative  
*ve yò*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (8) *qhe-te-lɛ ð-mî-ma tê gâ ð gô-tà tê mà šĩ ā*  
 Conj N Q P<sub>unf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 well then wife one person topic rattan stick one for things carry in the hand durative  
*ve yò*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative

- (9) *yè-mí-t̄* *qay ve t̄ê yân thâ , ð-m̄-ma chi m̄ð?-q̄ ð-qh̄ lo ḡ-t̄*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N Det N N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N  
 bear (animal) go at relativizer when wife this mouth inside locative rattan stick  
*yù l̄ j̄u? k̄ l̄ , j̄u? k̄ p̄ š̄*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> B<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 take suspensive stick into V into suspensive stick into V into to death right away  
*ve yò .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (10) *qhe-te-l̄ š̄ p̄ ve t̄ê yân thâ , ȳ ve ð-ph̄ th̄? q̄?*  
 Conj V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N P<sub>n</sub> V  
 so die finish V'ing relativizer when her husband accusative say  
*p̄ ve : " t̄? la o .*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (3p) nominalizer come out come to V emphatic
- (11) *š̄ ò " t̄? q̄? p̄ ve yò .*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> QUOT V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 die completed action embedded quote say benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative
- (12) *ð-ph̄ q̄? ve " âa , yâ-m̄-q̄? à? ch̄? .*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> Interj N P<sub>n</sub> V  
 husband say nominalizer oh! woman accusative bite
- (13) *yâ-m̄-q̄? à? ch̄? .*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> V  
 woman accusative bite
- (14) *yâ-m̄-q̄? à? ch̄? ."*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> V  
 woman accusative bite
- (15) *t̄ q̄? ch̄ ve yò .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 only say continuous nominalizer declarative
- (16) *" t̄? la o .*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 come out come to V emphatic
- (17) *š̄ ò " q̄? p̄ l̄ q̄? , " yâ-m̄-q̄? à?*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV N P<sub>n</sub>  
 die completed action say benefactive (3p) suspensive V again woman accusative  
*ch̄? " t̄ q̄? ch̄ ve yò .*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 bite only say continuous nominalizer declarative
- (18) *qhe-te-l̄ t̄ khi ḡ e l̄ , ȳ t̄? la l̄ ,*  
 Conj Q V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 after that a while reach motion away suspensive he come out come to V suspensive  
*ð-m̄-ma à? q̄? p̄ ve : " âa , yâ-m̄-q̄? ò ,*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Interj N P<sub>n</sub>  
 wife accusative say benefactive (3p) nominalizer well! woman vocative

A liar “kills” a bear and a mountain goat

- ŋà bɔ̃? ġa ve te a ,” qô? pî ve*  
 Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 I shoot be able nominalizer act as hortatory say benefactive (3p) nominalizer  
*yò*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (19) *qhe-qo , ð-mî-ma qô? ve : ” nò khâ? tho lɛ*  
 Conj N V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 so then wife say nominalizer you crossbow cock (a weapon) cock (a weapon)  
*hâ bɔ̃? ɛ? ” qô? pî ve yò*  
 N V P<sub>uf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 mountain goat shoot emphatic say benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative
- (20) *qhe-te-lɛ yô khâ? tho lɛ , hâ ġò bɔ̃?*  
 Conj Pron N V P<sub>unf</sub> N V<sub>v</sub> V  
 so he crossbow cock (a weapon) suspensive mountain goat lively action shoot  
*ve yò*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (21) *bɔ̃? ve tê yân ɔ̃-qhe , ð-hɔ̃ lo lò? e*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 shoot relativizer the time that topicalizer downward locative enter motion away  
*ve lɔ*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer emphatic declarative
- (22) *ð-to à? mâ hâ?*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> Adv V  
 body accusative negative hit the mark
- (23) *yà?-qhâ hâ chi tê khe lɛ mô jâ lɛ*  
 Conj N Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 however mountain goat this one for animals topic old (of living things) very suspensive  
*, khâ? tû ve ð-khô na lɛ kɔ̃? jâ*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 crossbow discharge (a projectile) relativizer sound hear suspensive be afraid very  
*lɛ , tê pɔ̃? tí šĩ e šẽ ve yò*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 suspensive all of a sudden die motion away right away nominalizer declarative
- (24) *khâ? pê a lâ ve tê yân thâ ð-phô chi tê ġâ*  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N Det Q  
 crossbow discharge (gun, arrow) vivid action relativizer when husband this one person  
*” hɔ̃ , šĩ ò ” tê? qô? ve yò*  
 Interj V P<sub>v</sub> QUOT V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 aha! die completed action embedded quote say nominalizer declarative
- (25) *ni a ve ɔ̃ ð-to à? mâ hâ? lɔ*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 look at try to nominalizer topic body accusative negative strike emphatic declarative

- (26) *ḷ-hś phḷ cī ā ve lō*  
 N<sub>loc</sub> M<sub>prfx</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 below side be stuck to perfective nominalizer emphatic declarative .
- (27) ” *nḷ ni , yā-mī-qē? ḷ !*  
 Pron V N P<sub>n</sub>  
 you look at woman vocative
- (28) *ḷā šā bḷ? ve qhā-ma chḷ le !*  
 Pron N V P<sub>univ</sub> AE V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 I animals shoot nominalizer how very much! skillful substantive qst
- (29) *ḷ-to ḷ? bḷ? ā hḷ? ve thḷ šā šī*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> V Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V  
 body accusative shoot negative hit the mark nominalizer even though animal die  
*ve nḷ ā mḷ lā ” qō? pī ve yō*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> Pron Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer you negative see yes say benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative .

## Translation

1. Once upon a time there was a husband and wife.
2. One day they went to wander around for fun in the forest.
3. Having roamed around a good while they got to the forest, where they met up with a bear.
4. This bear was very ferocious.
5. When it saw the two of them, it suddenly came running.
6. At this point the husband was scared stiff and went running into a cave.
7. Meanwhile the wife stayed at the mouth of the cave.
8. Now the wife was holding onto a rattan stick.
9. When the bear went at her, the wife took the rattan stick and thrust it into its mouth, piercing it to death.
10. Then, after it was dead, she called out to her husband, “Come on out—it’s done<sup>1</sup>!” she said.
11. The husband said, “Oh, it has bitten the woman, it’s bitten the woman, it’s bitten the woman!” he kept saying.
12. “Come on out—it’s dead,” she said, while he just kept saying<sup>2</sup> “It’s bitten the woman!”
13. Well, after a certain time he came out, and said to his wife, “Now then, woman, tell people that I was the one who killed it!”<sup>3</sup> he said.
14. Then the wife said, “Cock your crossbow and shoot the mountain goat!”, she said.
15. So he cocked his crossbow and got off a shot at the mountain goat.
16. When he fired the shot, it went too low, and didn’t strike the body.

<sup>1</sup>The Lahu here is *šī ḷ* ‘has already died’, with no subject expressed. The husband mistakenly supplies a first person subject, thinking his wife is screaming “I’m dying! I’ve been done to death!”

<sup>2</sup>The pre-head versatile verb *qō?* ‘V again’ is modifying the verb *qō?* ‘say’, which follows the quoted material.

<sup>3</sup>Lit. “do [as if] I got him with a shot.”

A liar “kills” a bear and a mountain goat

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17. But this mountain goat was already very old, and when it heard the sound of the shot it was terrified, and suddenly died.<sup>4</sup>

18. When he had fired off his crossbow, the husband said, “Aha, it’s dead!”

19. But when they took a look, [they saw that the bolt] did not strike its body, but was stuck someplace below it.

20. “Look, woman!”<sup>5</sup>

21. You see what a great marksman I am!<sup>6</sup>

22. Even though I didn’t hit him with my shot, the animal died anyway, didn’t you see!”, he said.

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<sup>4</sup>This sentence was added by JAM (4/29/12) for clarity: yà?-qhâ hâ chi tē khe lè mō jā ò le, khâ? tū ve ò-khō nà le, tē pō? tí šī e šē ve yò.

<sup>5</sup>The rest of this text has also been added for clarity.

<sup>6</sup>Lit. “how skillful I am at shooting animals!”

## 9.9 Father-in-law's cold rice

- (1) *qhe-qo tē pō? thā cho tē ġā cđ* .  
 Conj NP<sub>time</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V  
 well then once person one for humans be there
- (2) *šā-mó ló yò* .  
 N B<sub>n</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 expert hunter sthg great declarative
- (3) *yô ̄-qhe šā tí bō? chē ve yò* .  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 he topicalizer animals only hunt keep on nominalizer declarative
- (4) *šā ð-phû tí cā chē ve yò* .  
 N N P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 animals money only earn a living continuous nominalizer declarative
- (5) *tē ni pð tē ni yô šā tí bō? chē ve*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> B<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Pron N P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 one for days after one for days he animals only shoot keep on nominalizer  
*yò*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (6) *tē ni thā gā e lē yô qay-qay lē*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V<sub>redup</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 one for days when reach motion away suspensive he going and going suspensive  
*ô vî-kî ̄ yè-mí-twē tē khē ġā ve*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 over there distant place locative bear (animal) one for animals catch nominalizer  
*yò*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (7) *yè-mí-twē tē khē ġā lē , yô pû mâ*  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V Adv  
 bear (animal) one for animals catch suspensive he carry on the back negative  
*ġā ve pa-tō , ð-gî-qú qhê? lē ô á-chû-pu*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> N  
 succeed in nominalizer because of skin strip off suspensive over there thornbush  
*mú-dō à? phe-hú á ve cê* .  
 M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 stump accusative hang up to dry perfective nominalizer quotative
- (8) *qhe-te-lē yô qhē qò á lē qò? e ve*  
 Conj Pron OV P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 then he defecate perfective suspensive return home motion away nominalizer  
*yò*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative

- (9) *qò?* *e* *le* *yô ve* *ð-má-pā* *à?* *qô?* *pî*  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
return home motion away suspensive his son-in-law accusative say benefactive (3p)  
*ve* , " *má* *ò* , *ô* *̄* *yè-mí-twē* *ð-gì-qú* *ca*  
P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N N N<sub>v</sub>  
nominalizer son-in-law vocative over there locative bear (animal) skin go and do  
*pû* *e* *la-?* , " *tè* *qô?*  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> QUOT V  
carry on the back motion away motion toward (imperative) embedded quote say  
*pî* *ve* *yò* .  
V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative
- (10) *qhe-te-le* *ð-má-pā* *qay ve* *yò* .  
Conj N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
so son-in-law go nominalizer declarative
- (11) *yà?-qhā* *qhā-thā?-kà?* *mā* *qò?* *la* *mò* .  
Conj AE Adv V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
however for a very long time negative come back come to V see or hear of
- (12) *ð-má-pā* *chi ca* *ni* *le* *á-chû-pu* *mú-do* *à?* *cí*  
N Det<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V  
son-in-law this go and do look at suspensive thornbush stump accusative be stuck to  
*tā* *ve* *yè-gì-qú* *à?* *gā-thè?* *pû* *chê*  
P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub>  
durative nominalizer bearskin accusative energetically carry on the back progressive  
*ve* *lò* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer emphatic declarative
- (13) *qhe-qo* *á-chû* *cī* *a* *qo* , " *nò* *chè?* *qo* *ηà* *kà?* *chè?* !" *!*  
Conj N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> V  
so then thorns prick vigorous action when you bite if I also bite
- (14) *qô?* *le* , *yô* *ô* *kà?* *tí* *qò?* *chè?* *phê*  
V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> vV V V<sub>v</sub>  
say suspensive he over there also only V in reprisal bite launch violent action  
*chê* *ve* *yò* .  
V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
keep on nominalizer declarative
- (15) *qhe-te-le* *ð-pū* *à-še* *thā* *qhê qò* *á* *kì* *̄* *gā*  
Conj N N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> OV P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V  
so father-in-law previously when defecate perfective locative locative reach  
*le* , *ð-má-pā* *ô-ve* *tí* *gò?* *cā* *chê* *ve* *thà?* *gā mò*  
P<sub>unf</sub> N Det P<sub>univ</sub> V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> vV + V<sub>h</sub>  
suspensive son-in-law that only pick up eat progressive nominalizer accusative find  
*ve* *lò* *qô?-ma* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer emphatic declarative emphatic



(16)	"	<i>má</i>	<i>ò</i>	,	<i>nò</i>	<i>à-thò?ma</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>chê</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>?"</i>	
		N	P <sub>n</sub>		Pron	N <sub>intg</sub>	V	V <sub>v</sub>	P <sub>univ</sub>	P <sub>uf</sub>		
		son-in-law	vocative		you	whatever	do	progressive	nominalizer	substantive	qst	
(17)	<i>qô?</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ɛ</i>	,	"	<i>alôo</i>	,	<i>à-pū</i>	<i>ò</i>	,	<i>yà?-ni</i>	<i>lè</i>
	V	P <sub>v</sub>	P <sub>unf</sub>			Interj		N	P <sub>n</sub>		N <sub>time</sub>	P <sub>unf</sub>
	say	vigorous action	suspensive			wow!		father-in-law (voc.)	vocative		today	topic
	<i>nò</i>	<i>ḡ-kâ?</i>	<i>â</i>	<i>tɛ</i>	<i>á</i>	<i>lâ</i>		<i>qo</i>	<i>ḡà</i>	<i>mà?-ḡi</i>		
	Pron	N	Adv	V	P <sub>v</sub>	P <sub>v</sub>		P <sub>unf</sub>	Pron	V		
	you	cold rice	negative	leave for	perfective	benefactive (non-3p)		if	I	starve to death		
	<i>e</i>	<i>yò</i>	<i>,"</i>	<i>qhe</i>	<i>qô?</i>	<i>pî</i>		<i>ve</i>	<i>yò</i>	<i>.</i>		
	P <sub>v</sub>	P <sub>uf</sub>		Adv	V	V <sub>v</sub>		P <sub>univ</sub>	P <sub>uf</sub>			
	motion away	declarative		thus	say	benefactive (3p)		nominalizer	declarative			

### Translation

1. Well, once there was a certain person.
2. He was an expert hunter.
3. All he ever did was hunt animals.
4. He earned his living only by the money he got from hunting.
5. Day after day all he did was hunt.
6. One day he walked and walked and caught a bear in a distant place.
7. Having caught this bear, since he couldn't carry it, he stripped off its skin and tied it up to dry on the stump of a thornbush.
8. Then he took a crap and went home.
9. After he got home he said to his son-in-law, "Son-in-law, go and carry back the bearskin over there!"
10. So the son-in-law went off.
11. But nobody saw him come back.
12. The son-in-law had gone to look, and was struggling to carry the bearskin that had thorns stuck to it.
13. So when the thorns pricked him he said, "If you bite me, I'll bite you too!",  
and he kept on biting them back violently.
14. Then when the father-in-law got to the place where he had taken a crap, he saw his son-in-law eagerly eating it!
15. "Son-in-law, what are you doing?" he said, so the son-in-law said, "My goodness, father-in-law, if you hadn't left this cold rice for me I would have died of hunger!"

## 10 Lovable rascals

## 10.1 The trader and the widow's balls

- (1) *âa* , *à-pòn* *é* *tê* *mâ* *qò?* *qhay* *šā* .  
 Interj N M<sub>px</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub>  
 well! story little one one for things go on to V tell a story intentional (1p)
- (2) *à-šwè thā* *cê* , *chɔ* *tê gā* *tân-kà* *ca* *te* *ve*  
 AE P<sub>uf</sub> N Q N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 once upon a time quotative people one person trade go and do do nominalizer  
*cê* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative
- (3) *tân-kà* *ca* *te* *ɛ* *šu* *qhā?* *à-qhɔ* *lo* *mô* *ca* *hô*  
 N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V  
 trade go and do do suspensive others' village in locative supplies go and do sell  
*e* *ve* *tê yān thā* , *mê-chô-ma* *á-qhɔ* *lò?* *e* *cô*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N N V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 motion away relativizer when widow home enter motion away happen to  
*ve* *cê* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer quotative
- (4) *mê-chô-ma* *á-qhɔ* *lò?* *e* *cô* *ɛ* , *yā-mî-é* *tê gā*  
 N N V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Q  
 widow home enter motion away happen to suspensive little daughter one person  
*chê* *ā* *lɔ* *cê* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be there durative emphatic declarative quotative
- (5) *yā-mî-é* *ô-ve* *thā?* *na-ni* *ve* , " *âa* , *yā-mî* *à* ,  
 N Det P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Interj N P<sub>n</sub>  
 little girl that accusative ask nominalizer well! daughter interrogative vocative  
*nò* *e* *qhò* *qay* *le* , " *qhe* *qô?* *ve* *cê* .  
 Pron N N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 your mother where? go substantive qst like this say nominalizer quotative
- (6) " *âa* , *hà* *e* *hɛ* *qhɔ* *qay* *ò* , *hà* *e* *mâ*  
 Interj Pron N N M<sub>px</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> Pron N Adv  
 oh! my mother swidden into go completed action my mother negative  
*chê* " *qhe* *qô?* *ve* *cê* .  
 V Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be here like this say nominalizer quotative
- (7) *tân-kà-pā* *chi* *tê gā* *qô?* *ve* : " *nò* *e* *chê* *ā*  
 N Det Q V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N V P<sub>v</sub>  
 trader this one person say nominalizer your mother be here durative  
*lā* *qhe-qo* *dà?* *ò* *qô?-ma* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p) if only good if only (counterfactual) emphatic
- (8) *hà* *lā?* *qhɔ* *lè* *à-mî-jì?* *ní* *ší* *pə* *pî* *a* *o*  
 Pron N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N B<sub>n</sub> B<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 my hand in topic spark red yellow launch at benefactive (3p) intentive emphatic

- ,” *qhe qô? ve cê* .  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 like this say nominalizer quotative
- (9) *chi qhe qô? á lɛ , tân-kà qô? te qay ve* ,  
 AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 like this say perfective suspensive trade V again do continue V'ing nominalizer  
*qay-qay lɛ , m̂ ĥ p̂ á lɛ qô? qô?*  
 V<sub>redup</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V  
 going and going suspensive wares sell finish V'ing perfective suspensive V again return  
*la ve t̂ yân tĥ , yâ-m̂-é ô-ve m̂-cĥ-ma á-qĥ qô? lô?*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N Det N N <sub>v</sub>V V  
 come to V relativizer when little girl that widow home V again enter  
*e ĉ ve cê* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 motion away happen to nominalizer quotative
- (10) *tân-kà-pā qô? qay lɛ yâ-m̂-é à? na-ni ve : ” n̂*  
 N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron  
 trader V again go suspensive little girl accusative ask nominalizer your  
*e qĥ qay le , yâ-m̂ à ” qhe qô?*  
 N N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> Adv V  
 mother where? go substantive qst daughter interrogative vocative like this say  
*ve cê* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer quotative
- (11) ” *ηà e m̂ cĥ ò* .  
 Pron N Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 my mother negative be here completed action
- (12) *hɛ qĥ qay ò ,” qô? ve cê , yâ-m̂-é chi* .  
 N M<sub>prfx</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N Det  
 swidden into go completed action say nominalizer quotative little girl this
- (13) ” *kê-ê-ê , n̂ e chi qo cĥ ā lâ*  
 Interj Pron N Det P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 cry of frustration your mother this topic be here perfective benefactive (non-3p)  
*qhe-qo d̂à? ò* .  
 P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 if only good if only (counterfactual) affirmative
- (14) *à-m̂-ĵ? ní ší p̂ p̂ a o qô?-ma ,”*  
 N B<sub>n</sub> B<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 spark spark yellow launch at benefactive (3p) intentive emphatic emphatic
- (15) *qhe qô? á lɛ qô? qô? e ve cê* .  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 like this say perfective suspensive V again go home motion away nominalizer quotative
- (16) ” *âa , á-š̂?-ni tĥ , ηà e ò , n̂ à? šu*  
 Interj N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N P<sub>n</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> Pron  
 oh! a while ago when my mother vocative you accusative somebody

- à-mī-jî?* ní ší *te phê* a " *qô?* ve *ma* , *nò* *chê*  
 N B<sub>n</sub> B<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V+V<sub>h</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron V  
 spark red yellow launch intentive say nominalizer exclamatory you be here  
*ā* *lâ* *qhe-qo* " *qhe* *qô?* ve *cê* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 durative benefactive (non-3p) if only like this say nominalizer quotative
- (17) *qhe-te-le* *tân-kà* *te* *qay* *qô?* *qô?* *la* *ve* *cê* .  
 Conj N V V<sub>v</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 so trade do continue V'ing V again return come to V nominalizer quotative
- (18) *mê-chô-ma* *chi* *qô?* *qô?* *la* *le* *tân-kà-pā* *chi* *ô* *kà?* *qô?*  
 N Det <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Det N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V  
 widow this V again return come to V suspensive trader this there locative V again  
*qay* *cô* *ve* *pa-tɔ* , *chê* *ā* *ò*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 go happen to nominalizer because be there durative completed action  
*lɔ* *cê* , *tê pɔ?* *lè* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub>  
 emphatic declarative quotative this time
- (19) " *nò* *qô?* ve *yâ?*-*šî?*-*ni* *thâ* *qo* *ŋà* *yâ* *qô?* ve , ' *nò*  
 Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron  
 you say nominalizer a while ago when when my child say nominalizer you  
*e* *chê* *a lâ* *qo* *lè* *à-mī-jî?* ní ší *pə* *pî*  
 N V P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N B<sub>n</sub> B<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 mother be here vivid action if topic spark red yellow launch at benefactive (3p)  
*a* *yò* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 intentive declarative
- (20) ' "
- (21) " *êe* , *ŋà* *lè* *à-mī-jî?* ní ší *te* *â* *gā* *qo* , *phu*  
 Interj Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N B<sub>n</sub> B<sub>n</sub> V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 yes I topic spark red yellow provide negative be able if money  
*hò?* *khán* *pî* *a* *yò* " , *qô?* ve *ɔ* , " *te* *a ni*  
 Q V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub>  
 sixty baht (Tai) give intentive declarative say nominalizer topic do try to  
*lò* , " *qô?* ve *cê* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 urging say nominalizer quotative
- (22) *qhe-te-le* *yâ-mî-ma* *chi* *chi qhe* *qô?* ve *pa-tɔ* , *yô* *dô-ni* ve  
 Conj N Det AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 so woman this like this say nominalizer because of he consider nominalizer  
*ɔ* , *yô* *mê?*-*gô*-*lwê* *ca* *e* *ve* *cê* .  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 topic he fireflies look for motion away nominalizer quotative

The trader and the widow's balls

- (23) *mê?-gǎ-lwê ca lɛ-ê-ê , hā-qǎ chi à? qha bî ê? ca*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> N Det P<sub>n</sub> AE<sub>stat</sub> vV  
 fireflies look for look for waistband of trousers this accusative chock-full go and do  
*kə ve cê .*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 put into nominalizer quotative
- (24) *qhe-te-lɛ bwê qhɔ nâ?-hò? kî ɔ šĩ qay e*  
 Conj N M<sub>px</sub> V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 so then room inside pitch dark locative locative lead along V along motion away  
*tê pǎ? tí chi phà? phê pî qha ,*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> Det V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 all of a sudden this unwrap launch violent action benefactive (3p) vivid action  
*nĩ-šĩ-šĩ te lɛ vâ phê*  
 AE V P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 sparkling red and yellow be a certain way suspensive go at it launch violent action  
*pî ve yò cê .*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative quotative
- (25) *qhe-te gǎ te lɛ yâ-mî-ma chi-ve gǐ-hɔ tɛ*  
 Conj vV V P<sub>unf</sub> N Det N V  
 thereupon lively action happen suspensive woman this one hot water put on the fire  
*tā ve chi-ve ɔ , hā-thɔ qhɔ gǎ ηǎ-pū*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> vV V  
 perfective nominalizer this thing topic pants inside V vigorously pour into  
*pî a ve tê yân thâ , hǎ-qhâ?-pā chi ɔ nĩ*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N Det P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 benefactive (3p) vigorous action relativizer when man this topic penis  
*à? qǎ? chí? ve cê .*  
 P<sub>n</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 accusative go on to V get burned nominalizer quotative
- (26) *tê pǎ? nĩ à? qǎ? chí? lɛ-qǎ? phɔ e ,*  
 Q N P<sub>n</sub> vV V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 immediately penis accusative go on to V get burned suspensive run away motion away  
*nô hê?-pí-qhɔ ɔ há-pi-šĩ ð-qhò? tɛ ā lɛ mǎ?*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 up there woods locative rock on top of put onto perfective suspensive suspensive  
*chê ve cê .*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 continuous nominalizer quotative
- (27) *mû-hɔ gǎ-lê? kî ɔ gǎ la tù ð-pon te chê*  
 N AE P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub>  
 breeze cool locative locative cool off come to V purposive for N's sake do continuous  
*ve tê yân thâ , yâ-mî-é chi ð-qhâ-šĩ qǎ? qay lɛ ” āa , ηà*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N Det N vV V P<sub>unf</sub> Interj Pron  
 relativizer when little girl this trail go on to V go suspensive oh! my  
*e ò , ηà e ò ,” qǎ? ve cê .*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> Pron N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 mother vocative my mother vocative say nominalizer quotative

- (28) " *ni-ʔ* , *ni-ʔ* " *qôʔ* *ve* *cê* .  
 V<sub>imp</sub> V<sub>imp</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 look! look! say nominalizer quotative
- (29) " *à-šo thâ* *nè-há* *àʔ* *à-mi-jîʔ* *ní* *ší* *te* *ɛ* *mâ*  
 NP<sub>time</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> N B<sub>n</sub> B<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv  
 in the recent past the two of us accusative spark red yellow make suspensive negative  
*cîʔ* *á* *ɛ* , *nô* *ɔ̄* *qôʔ* *ší* *chê*  
 V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub>  
 sharp perfective because up there locative V again sharpen progressive  
*lɔ* " *qôʔ* *ve* *cê* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic declarative say nominalizer quotative
- (30) " *há-pi-ši* *àʔ* " *chi qhe* *qôʔ* *ve* *cê* .  
 N P<sub>n</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 rock accusative like this say nominalizer quotative

## Translation

1. Well, I'll just tell you a little story now.
2. Once upon a time, a man was going around trading.
3. As he was doing his trading, when he was selling things in a certain village <sup>1</sup>, he happened to go into a widow's home.
4. When he happened to enter the widow's house, there was a little girl there.
5. "Say, daughter, where has your mother gone?" he asked the girl.
6. "Oh, my mother has gone to the fields, she's not home," she said.
7. The trader said, "It would have been better if your mother were here."<sup>2</sup>
8. "In my hand I have *sparkling red and yellow balls*<sup>3</sup> to launch at <sup>4</sup> her!"
9. Having said this, he went off to do his trading, he went on and on, then after he had sold all his wares, when he came back, that little girl happened to be in the widow's house again.
10. When he came back again he asked the girl, "Daughter, where has your mother gone?"
11. "My mother's not home. She went to the fields," the girl said.
12. "Oh no-o-o! If that mother of yours had only been here it would've been mu-u-ch better! I would have launched sparkling red and yellow balls at her!" he said, and went off again.

<sup>1</sup>šũ qhâʔ, lit. "others' village"; šũ 'remote 3p pronoun'.

<sup>2</sup>The **contrary-to-fact** sense is conveyed by the combination of the conditional Punf **qo** and the change-of-state Pv ò.

<sup>3</sup>à-mi-jîʔ ní ší. A complex pun is involved here: à-mi-jîʔ 'spark'; ní ~ ní 'red'; ší ~ ší 'yellow'; ši 'round object, ball'; ní 'penis'; ní-ši 'testicle'; ní ši 'two round objects'; ní-ši ní ši 'two testicles'.

<sup>4</sup>pə pî ve: 'send at a 3p'. A more vivid verb is used in sentence (14): phê 'release, let fly at; fire off; discharge'.

13. “Oh, mother,<sup>5</sup> a while ago, somebody said that he had ‘sparkling red and yellow balls’ to launch at you, if only you had been at home!”
14. After this, when the time came for him to return from his trading, he arrived [at the widow’s house] once more.
15. Since the widow had happened to return home just as he arrived, there she was this time.
16. “You said a while ago, my child told me, ‘If your mother had been at home, I’d have launched *sparkling red and yellow balls* at her!”
17. “Yes, if I can’t produce those sparkling red and yellow balls, I’ll give you 60. rupees,”<sup>6</sup> he said, so she said, “O.K., do try doing it!”
18. So since she had said this, he got an idea, and he went off looking for fireflies.
19. After he had searched and searched for fireflies, he stuffed his pants full of them.
20. Then he led her into a dark room, and suddenly he opened up and released them, all sparkling red and yellow, he let them go at her.
21. But what happened was, this woman had some hot water on, and when she poured it down his pants<sup>7</sup> she burned the guy’s dick.
22. When his dick got burnt, he suddenly ran away, up there in the jungle, and he set it down on top of a rock and blew on it.
23. While he was trying to cool it off in a breezy place, the little girl followed him, and said, “Mommy, mommy!”
24. “Look, look!” she said. “When he made the sparkling red and yellow balls for us just now, it wasn’t sharp enough, so he’s sharpening it up there!”
25. “On a rock!” she said.

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<sup>5</sup>Here the narrator puts the words into the daughter’s mouth, quoting what she said to her mother.

<sup>6</sup>**hō? khá:** Shan ‘60’. Cf. Si. *hòk* ‘6’, Shan *khan* ‘group of 10’. With this Shan numeral, Lahu **phu** ‘money’ is translatable by the Shan currency in use during the British raj in Burma, i.e., *rupees*.

<sup>7</sup>Undoubtedly mistaking the flashing fireflies for flames.



## 10.2 The merchant and the widow's daughter

- (1) à-šwè thâ ð-ví-ð-ni ní ġâ cð ve cê .  
 AE Elab<sub>n</sub> Q V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 once upon a time older and younger brothers two people be there nominalizer quotative
- (2) ð-ġû-šī thâ ð-ni-pā tê ġâ nā-mân-hó pû e lē  
 N<sub>time</sub> N Q N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 first younger brother one person perfume carry on the back motion away suspensive  
 ca hô qay ve cê .  
 vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 go and do sell go off to V nominalizer quotative
- (3) ca hô qay lē , hô qay hô qay lē  
 vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 go and do sell go off to V suspensive sell go off to V sell go off to V suspensive  
 ô 5 gâ e ve tê yân thâ , šu qhâ? lo gâ  
 NP<sub>loc</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Pron N P<sub>n</sub> V  
 someplace reach motion away relativizer when others' village locative reach  
 e ve tê yân thâ , yô tâ? e ve tê yè lē  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Num N P<sub>unf</sub>  
 motion away relativizer when he go up motion away relativizer one house topic  
 mē-chô-ma tê yè thâ? cð e ve cê .  
 N Num N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 widow one house accusative happen to be motion away nominalizer quotative
- (4) yâ-mī-é tê mà chē tã lō cê .  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 little girl one for people (informal) be there durative emphatic declarative quotative
- (5) " yâ-mī ò , nò e qhò qay le " qô? lē ,  
 N P<sub>n</sub> Pron N N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 daughter vocative your mother where? go substantive qst say suspensive
- (6) " ñà e mâ chē o .  
 Pron N Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 my mother negative be here emphatic
- (7) hē-qhò? qay ò , " qhe qô? ve cê .  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 rice swidden go completed action like this say nominalizer quotative
- (8) qhe-te-lē " nò e chē ā lâ qhe-qo lē , à-mī-jî-è?  
 Conj Pron N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 so then your mother be here durative benefactive (non-3p) if only topic spark  
 ní-šī qha pī a yò " qhe qô? ve  
 B<sub>n</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 red and yellow completely give vigorous action declarative like this say nominalizer  
 cê  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative

- (9) *qhe te á lɛ , yô qô? qay e*  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron<sub>v</sub> V V P<sub>v</sub>  
 like this be a certain way perfective suspensive he V again go motion away  
*lɛ ô ɔ̄ gâ tá lɛ , qô? la ve tê yân thâ*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>loc</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub>  
 suspensive over there reach perfective suspensive return come to V relativizer when  
*, ô kâ? hɔ yô tâ? e tá ve ,*  
 N<sub>sđ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 over there locative emphatic locative he go up motion away perfective relativizer  
*yê ô-ve thâ? qô? tâ? e tê yân thâ , qô? qay lɛ ,*  
 N Det P<sub>n</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> vV V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 house that accusative V again go up motion away when V again go suspensive  
*" yâ-mî , nê e qhê qay le " qô? pî lɛ*  
 N Pron N N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 daughter your mother where? go substantive qst say benefactive (3p) suspensive  
*, ô tê pô? kâ? ð-e ô-ve mâ qô? chê cê .*  
 NP<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Det Adv vV V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 that time also mother that negative V again be there quotative
- (10) *" nê e chê ā lɔ qhe-qo lè , à-mî-jê-è?*  
 Pron N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 your mother be here durative emphatic declarative if only topic spark  
*ní-ší qha pî a yò .*  
 B<sub>n</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 red and yellow completely give intentive declarative
- (11) *à-mî-jê-è? ní-ší !*  
 N B<sub>n</sub>  
 spark red and yellow
- (12) *tê kâ mâ qay qo lè phu kâ? tê khán pî*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> Q V<sub>v</sub>  
 another for places negative go if topic silver also ten rupees benefactive (3p)  
*á yò " qhe qô? ve cê .*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 counterfactual declarative like this say nominalizer quotative
- (13) *qhe te á lɛ qô? e lɛ , nâ-mâ*  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 like this be a certain way perfective suspensive return motion away suspensive perfume  
*ô-ve hê mâ chê? lɛ qô? e lɛ , "*  
 Det V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 that sell negative completely finish suspensive return motion away suspensive  
*yù vâ a-? , yù vâ a-? , a-ví qô? qay*  
 V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> N vV V  
 hand over to hortatory hand over to hortatory (your) elder brother V in turn go  
*a " qhe qô? ve cê .*  
 P<sub>v</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 intentive like this say nominalizer quotative
- (14) *qhe-te-lɛ , ð-ví-pā tê gâ qô? pû e lɛ ,*  
 Conj N Q vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 so elder brother one person V in turn carry on the back motion away suspensive

- tê pɔʔ qɔʔ qay ve cê , nā-mān-hó chi hó tù .*  
 Q <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N Det V P<sub>v-nom</sub>  
 again V again go nominalizer quotative perfume this sell purposive
- (15) *qay lɛ , ” yā-mī ò ” qôʔ ve cê .*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 go suspensive daughter vocative say nominalizer quotative
- (16) *ô-ve tê yè àʔ qɔʔ tâʔ e cɔ e*  
 Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub>  
 that one for houses accusative V again go up motion away turn out a certain way  
*lɛ , ” nò e qhò qay le ” qôʔ lɛ , ” nà*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron  
 suspensive your mother where? go substantive qst say suspensive my  
*e mâ ché o , ” qôʔ qôʔ ve cê , ò-ví-pā*  
 N Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N  
 mother negative be here emphatic V again say nominalizer quotative elder brother  
*qay ve tê yān thā kàʔ .*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 go relativizer when also
- (17) *qhe-te-lɛ , ” nà e mâ ché o ” qôʔ á ve*  
 Conj Pron N Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 so my mother negative be here emphatic say perfective relativizer  
*tê yān thā , ” yā-mī ò , nò e ché ā lâ*  
 NP<sub>time</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> Pron N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 when daughter vocative your mother be here perfective benefactive (non-3p)  
*qhe-qo nà à-mí-jì-èʔ ní-šǐ qha pī a yò ” qhe*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N B<sub>n</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Adv  
 if only I spark red and yellow completely give intentive declarative like this  
*qôʔ ve cê , ò-ví-pā kàʔ .*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub>  
 say nominalizer quotative elder brother also
- (18) *qhe qɔʔ qôʔ á lɛ , qay lɛ qɔʔ la ve*  
 Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 like this V again say perfective suspensive go suspensive return come to V relativizer  
*tê yān thā , ò-e ô-ve qɔʔ ché tā lâ*  
 NP<sub>time</sub> N Det <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 when mother that V for a change be there perfective benefactive (non-3p)  
*ve yò cê .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative quotative
- (19) *qôʔ la lɛ , ” nò yàʔ-šǐʔ-ni thā nà thàʔ à-mí-jì-èʔ*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Adv P<sub>univ</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> N  
 return come to V suspensive you a while ago when I accusative spark  
*ní-šǐ qha pī a yò qôʔ ve , te a ní èʔ ”*  
 B<sub>n</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 red and yellow completely give intentive declarative say nominalizer do try to just  
*qôʔ ve cê .*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 say nominalizer quotative

The merchant and the widow's daughter

- (20) *qhe-te-le* *yô* *cô* *qhâ?-jâ* *õ* *lo* *mê?-gô-lwê* *chi* *ní-ní ê?*  
 Conj Pron N<sub>sd</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N Det AE<sub>stat</sub>  
 well then he over there village outskirts locative locative firefly these bright red  
*ve* *yù* *le* *á-pò?* *qhô* *thí?* *ve* *cê* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 relativizer take suspensive shirt inside make a bundle of nominalizer quotative
- (21) *thí?* *və* *le* *qay* *le* " *khà-?* *khà-?* *ô*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>imp</sub> V<sub>imp</sub> N<sub>sd</sub>  
 wrap and tie up transportatory motion suspensive go suspensive let's go! let's go! that  
*bwê* *qhô* *õ* " *qô?* *cê* .  
 N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 room inside locative say quotative
- (22) *ô* *bwê* *qhô* *phâ?* *phê* *pî* *qha*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 over there room inside unwrap launch violent action benefactive (3p) vivid action  
*le* , *yê-qô?-yê-le* *ní-ní* *te* *qha* *le* , "  
 P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> AE V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 vivid action all over the house bright red be a certain way vivid action vivid action  
*ôo* , *yâ-mî* , *yâ-mî* , *í-kâ?* *yù* *le* *hâ?-hâ?* *pû* *a* " *qô?*  
 Interj N N N V P<sub>unf</sub> AE V P<sub>v</sub> V  
 oh! daughter daughter water take suspensive quickly pour onto hortatory say  
*ve* *tê yân thâ* , *à-yâ-mî* *chi* *í-kâ?* *yù* *le* , *cõ-pû* *a*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N Det N V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 relativizer when daughter this water take suspensive pour onto try to  
*ve* *te* *ve* *tê yân thâ* , *gî-hô* *thà?* *cô e*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub>  
 nominalizer do relativizer when hot water accusative turn out a certain way  
*le* *ô-ve* *phâ* *ve* *nî* *thà?* *chí?* *ve* *cê* .  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Det N P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 suspensive that fellow genitivizer penis accusative get burned nominalizer quotative
- (23) *qhe-te-le* *tê khi tí* *tê-cô-há* *pô?* *tô?* *e* *le* *gî-phô*  
 Conj NP<sub>q</sub> AE V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 so then all of a sudden suddenly jump V out motion away suspensive run away  
*e* *le* *ô* *há-pi* *qhô?* *õ* *mî* *tâ* *le* ,  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 motion away suspensive over there rock on top of locative sit perfective suspensive  
*qhe-te* *šô?* *chê* *ve* *thà?* *mê-chô-ma* *ô-ve* *à-e-à-yâ* *qô?*  
 Conj V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N Det Elab<sub>n</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 then stroke continuous nominalizer accusative widow that mother and child V also  
*qay* *le* *ô* *tê* *qhâ* *phô* *cô e* *le* , "  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 leave a place suspensive that one for directions flee turn out a certain way suspensive  
*hà* *e* *ò* , *hà* *e* *ò* , *yà?-šê* *nè-má* *thà?* *gê*  
 Pron N P<sub>n</sub> Pron N P<sub>n</sub> Adv Pron P<sub>n</sub> V  
 my mother vocative my mother vocative just now both of us accusative stick into  
*mâ* *cî?* *ve* *ô* *šî* *chê* *lô* "  
 Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative sharp nominalizer over there sharpen progressive emphatic declarative

*cê*  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
quotative

(24) *qhe qô? ɛ* , *qhe qô? cê* .  
Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
like this say suspensive like this say quotative

(25) *pà e ve yò* .  
V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
finish V'ing motion away nominalizer declarative

### Translation

1. Once upon a time there lived an older brother and a younger brother.
2. First the younger brother, carrying some perfume, went off to sell it.
3. He went off to sell it, he kept on going to sell it, until he came to a certain place, until he reached a strange village, when he happened to climb up to a house, a widow's house.<sup>1</sup>
4. A little girl was there.
5. "Little girl, where has your mother gone?", he said, and she answered "My mother isn't home. She's gone to the fields."
6. So then he said, "If your mother had been at home, I'd have given her some sparkling red and yellow balls!"<sup>2</sup>
7. Then he went away, and after he had gone to some other place he came back, and when he went back up to that house, when he went up to it again, when he got there, he said, "Little girl, where has your mother gone?", but this time also the mother was not there.
8. "If your mother were at home, I'd give her some sparkling red and yellow balls! Some sparkling red balls! If she hadn't gone away, I'd also have given her ten pieces of silver," he said.<sup>3</sup>
9. After that he went back home, not having sold all his perfume he returned home, and his older brother said, "Hand it over, hand it over! Your big brother will have a turn going there!"
10. So then the elder brother carried it in his turn, and set off again to sell the perfume.
11. He went there and said, "Little girl!"
12. He happened to come up to that same house, and said "Where has your mother gone?", and she said "My mother isn't home" — this time also when it was the older brother's turn.
13. So when she said "My mother isn't home", the older brother also said "If your mother were only at home I'd give her some sparkling red and yellow balls!"
14. So having said this again, after he had gone away and come back, this time the mother was at home for him.
15. When he had come back she said, "A while ago you said that you'd give me some sparkling red and yellow balls. So just try and do it!"
16. Now he had taken some bright red fireflies at the outskirts of the village and stuffed them into his shirt.

<sup>1</sup> *mê-chô-ma tê yè*: the numeral-plus-classifier *tê yè* is not directly classifying the widow (*mê-chô-ma*), but is rather to be taken as the possessed nominal in a genitive construction like *mê-chô-ma ve tê yè*.

<sup>2</sup> A complex **pun** is involved here between *nī-šī* 'red and yellow' and *nī-šī* 'testicle' (*nī* 'sthg red', *nī* 'penis', *šī* 'sthg yellow', *šī* 'round object').

<sup>3</sup> *khá(n)* is a classifier for groups of ten (< Shan *khan*).

## The merchant and the widow's daughter

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17. Having stuffed them in there, he said "Run, run, into that other room!"

18. In the other room he unwrapped and released them and the whole house glowed bright red, so [the mother] said, "Oh, daughter, daughter, go get some water to pour on it!",<sup>4</sup> and the daughter got some water and when she poured it, it happened to be hot water, and it burned that fellow's prick.

19. So then in a flash he suddenly jumped up and went out, he ran away and sat down on a rock, and then while he was rubbing [his sore penis] the widow and her daughter had also left, happening to run off in the same direction where he had fled, and the daughter said, "Mother, mother, he's sharpening that thing that wasn't sharp enough to stick into us just now!"

20. That's what she said. That's what they say that she said.

21. That's the end.

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<sup>4</sup>To put out the "fire".

### 10.3 The trickster and the traders

- (1) à-šwè thâ è-qhè tē gā cò ve cê , Lāhū ò .  
 AE N Q V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 once upon a time trickster one person be there nominalizer quotative Lahu vocative
- (2) è-qhè ô-ve ̄-qhe le , a-thé-phi-ši ò-khi-qò? te cí šē le ,  
 N Det P<sub>unf</sub> N N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 trickster that topicalizer ashy pumpkin legs make do so it sticks first suspensive  
 yà?-qò pā lo mi ā le-̄ , mi chē tā  
 N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 road nearby place locative sit durative suspensive sit continuous durative  
 ve  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer
- (3) mâ m̄-m̄ qo tân-kà-pā tē mō lón l̄ tē ha khe gā?  
 Cl<sub>nf</sub> N Q B<sub>n</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Cl<sub>f</sub> V  
 soon traders one group sthg big mule one hundred for animals drive  
 v̄ la le , tân-kà te là ve cê  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 transportatory motion come to V suspensive trade do come to V nominalizer quotative
- (4) qhe-te-le , è-qhè ô-ve qò? ve : ” âa , tân-kà-pā ò , n̄-hi ve  
 Conj N Det V P<sub>univ</sub> Interj N P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + ve  
 so trickster that say nominalizer oh! traders vocative your (pl)  
 l̄ le ñà ve pa dā? a  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + ve V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 mule and mine trade mutual action hortatory
- (5) ñà ve chi-ve ̄ ò-yē-é phê mâ jâ .  
 N<sub>poss</sub> + ve Det P<sub>unf</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 mine this topic young of an animal bring forth be many very
- (6) gè kà? gè jâ ,” qò? ve cê .  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 fast also fast very say nominalizer quotative
- (7) qhe-te-le ̄ , tân-kà-pā ô-ve tē mō qhe-le ” yà-ò hé ” d̄ le ,  
 Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N Det Q P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 so topic traders that one group topic be true probably think suspensive  
 pa ve cê  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 trade nominalizer quotative
- (8) qhe-te-le , è-qhè ô-ve ̄-qhe le , l̄ tē mō lón gā v̄ p̄  
 Conj N Det P<sub>unf</sub> N Q B<sub>n</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 so trickster that topicalizer mule one group sthg big get away with finish V'ing  
 qhò?-nó , tân-kà-pā ô tē mō a-thé-phi-ši à? cí ā  
 M<sub>px</sub> N N<sub>sd</sub> Q N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 after traders that one group ashy pumpkin accusative straddle (a horse) perfective

- ɛ*            *gã-thè?*                            *jò?*    *ve*                            *cê*                            .  
 P<sub>unf</sub>        Adv    V    P<sub>univ</sub>                            P<sub>uf</sub>  
 suspensive   with all one's might   whip   nominalizer   quotative
- (9) *qhe-te-ɛ*   *mâ*        *qay*    *pí*                            *ɛ*                            ,   *chí*    *ɛ*                            *má-kwí-pu*                            *qho*  
 Conj    Adv        V        V<sub>v</sub>                            P<sub>univ</sub>                            V    P<sub>unf</sub>                            N    M<sub>prfx</sub>  
 so        negative   move   able to V   because   lift up   suspensive   bushy gray creeper   inside  
*bà*            *kə*        *ā*                            *ɛ-ɔ̄*                            ,   *patây*    *ní*    *khe*                            *chê*        *ā*  
 V            V<sub>v</sub>        P<sub>v</sub>                            P<sub>unf</sub>                            N        Num    Cl<sub>f</sub>                            V        P<sub>v</sub>  
 throw away   V into   perfective   suspensive   rabbit   two   for animals   be there   durative  
*ve*            *pô?*    *tô?*    *gè*                            *e*                            *ɛ*                            ,   *qhe-te-qo*    *ɔ̄*        *patây*  
 P<sub>univ</sub>        V        V<sub>v</sub>        V<sub>v</sub>                            P<sub>v</sub>                            P<sub>unf</sub>                            Conj    P<sub>unf</sub>    N  
 relativizer   jump   V out   V suddenly   motion away   suspensive   so        topic   rabbit  
*pô?-pho*            *e*                            *ɛ-ɔ̄*                            ,   "   *yà-ò*    *l*    "   *dô*  
 V                            P<sub>v</sub>                            P<sub>unf</sub>                            V        P<sub>uf</sub>    V  
 flee by jumping   motion away   suspensive   be true   emphatic declarative   think  
*ɛ-ɔ̄*                            ,   "   *pòthôo* !  
 P<sub>unf</sub>                            Interj  
 suspensive        wow!
- (10) *yà-ò*    *l*    ,   *yà-ò*    *l*    !  
 V        P<sub>uf</sub>    V        P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be true   emphatic declarative   be true   emphatic declarative
- (11) *ú-chò*                            ,   *ú-chò*                            ,   *ú-chò*                            ,   *ú-chò*                            ,   *qô?*    *ve*                            *cê*                            .  
 Interj                            Interj                            Interj                            Interj                            V    P<sub>univ</sub>                            P<sub>uf</sub>  
 go get 'em!   go get 'em!   go get 'em!   go get 'em!   say   nominalizer   quotative
- (12) *qhe-te-ɛ*    *ɔ̄*                            ,   *šē*    *ní*                            *gã?-yù*                            *ɛ*                            *mâ*        *gã*        *tá*  
 Conj    P<sub>unf</sub>                            Num    Cl<sub>f</sub>                            V                            P<sub>unf</sub>                            Adv        V        P<sub>v</sub>  
 so        topic        three   for days   chase to capture   suspensive   negative   catch   perfective  
*ɛ-ɔ̄*                            ,   *hò*        *tá*                            *ɛ-ɔ̄*                            ,   *qò?*        *e*                            *ve*                            *cê*                            .  
 P<sub>unf</sub>                            V        P<sub>v</sub>                            P<sub>unf</sub>                            V        P<sub>v</sub>                            P<sub>univ</sub>                            P<sub>uf</sub>  
 suspensive   weep   perfective   suspensive   go home   motion away   nominalizer   quotative

## Translation

1. Once upon a time there was a guy called è-qhè the Trickster,<sup>1</sup>  
O Lahu!
2. This è-qhè first fashioned legs and stuck them onto an ashy pumpkin<sup>2</sup>, then he sat down by the side of a road, and stayed sitting there.
3. Soon a large group of traders arrived there to do some trading, driving a hundred mules [loaded with goods].
4. So then the Trickster said, "O traders, let's trade your mules for mine!<sup>3</sup>
5. "This one of mine brings forth many babies, and it's also very fast!"

<sup>1</sup>See DL:129.

<sup>2</sup>a-the-phi ~ ha-the-phi ~ a-thé-phi [Benincasa hispida].

<sup>3</sup>I.e., for the ashy pumpkin made to look like a donkey.



he said.

6. So then that group of traders thought “It’s probably true,” and they made the trade.

7. Then, after the Trickster had gotten away with that big herd of mules, the traders mounted his ashy pumpkin one after the other, and whipped it with all their might.

8. But since they couldn’t get it to move, they lifted it up and flung it into a má-kwī bush<sup>4</sup>, whereupon two rabbits that had been in there jumped out fast, and when the rabbits jumped out and ran away, they thought “It’s true! By the Buddha, it’s true, it’s true!”

9. “Catch ‘em, catch ‘em, catch ‘em, catch ‘em, go get ‘em,” they said.<sup>5</sup>

10. So after chasing for three days without catching them, they wept and went back home.

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<sup>4</sup>A kind of bushy gray creeper with sour shoots and edible black fruits that grow in bunches like grapes.

<sup>5</sup>**ú-chò**: an interjection is used when chasing animals. It was inadvertently omitted from DL.

## 10.4 The trickster's spear and the merchants

- (1) *qhe-te-le*  $\bar{s}$  , *è-qhè* *tê gâ* *cò*  $\check{s}\bar{s}$  .  
 Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N Q V P<sub>v</sub>  
 well then topic trickster one person be there still
- (2) *ḡ-thî?* *tε* *ve* *cê* , *yà?-qo* *hó*  $\bar{s}$  .  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 rice packet put down nominalizer quotative road lower part locative
- (3) *yà?-qo* *na*  $\bar{s}$  , *ḡ-chî* *thî?* *tε* *cê* .  
 N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 road upper part locative curry wrap and tie up V so it stays put quotative
- (4) *gê-cú-pê?* *ši* *à?* *le* , *ca* *te tó* *ve*  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 spear carry in the hand durative suspensive go and do walk around relativizer  
*tê yân thâ* , *tân-kà-pā* *tê mō* *là* *le* , ” *âa* , *nò* *tê mō* *ò* ,  
 NP<sub>time</sub> N Q V P<sub>unf</sub> Interj Pron Q P<sub>n</sub>  
 when traders one group come suspensive hey! you one group vocative  
*nò-hi* *tân-kà* *te* *mâ-yo* .  
 Pron N V P<sub>v</sub>  
 you (pl) trade do don't
- (5) *nò-hi* *ve* *mô* *pa* *lâ* *a* .  
 Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 you (pl) genitivizer supplies trade benefactive (non-3p) hortatory
- (6) *ḡa ve* *gê* *chi* *nò-hi ve* *mô* *ge* *pa* *dâ?* *a* .  
 N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N Det N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 my spear this your (pl) belongings for trade mutual action hortatory
- (7) *ḡa ve* *gê* *chi*  $\bar{s}$  *nò-hi* *à?* *pa* *lâ* *a* .  
 N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N Det P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 my spear this topic you (pl) accusative trade benefactive (non-3p) hortatory
- (8) *ḡa ve* *gê* *chi*  $\bar{s}$  *câ-tî?-dò-tî?* *cò* *ve*  
 N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N Det P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 my spear this topic eternal abundance of food and drink have nominalizer  
 $\bar{c}$  .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 affirmative
- (9) *yà?-qo-hó* *gê* *kə* *qo* ,  $\bar{s}$  *ḡa* *câ* .  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V  
 lower part of road stick into V into if cooked rice get to eat
- (10) *yà?-qo-na*  $\bar{s}$  *gê* *kə* *qo* , *šā* *ḡa* *câ*  $\bar{c}$  , ”  
 N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 upper part of a road locative stick into V into if meat get to eat affirmative  
*qhe* *qô?* *le* ,  
 Adv V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 like this say suspensive

- (11) *qhe-te-ɛ t̄n-kà-pā ô-ve ̄ ” te a ni ” qô? ɛ-̄ , ḡ kə te*  
 Conj N Det P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> V  
 so traders those topic do try to say suspensive stick into V into do  
*ve t̄ yân thâ , yà?-qɔ-hó ḡ kə ɛ , ̄ t̄*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Num  
 relativizer when lower part of road stick into V into suspensive cooked rice one  
*thi? ġa cê*  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 for packages get quotative
- (12) *yà?-qɔ-na ḡ kə ɛ , ġâ?-šā t̄ thi? ġa*  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V  
 upper part of a road stick into V into suspensive chicken meat one for packages get  
*cê*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative
- (13) *qhe-te-ɛ ̄-qhe ɛ , ha-lê jâ ɛ-̄ , ” yà-ò lo ” d̄*  
 Conj P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> V  
 so topicalizer happy very suspensive be true emphatic declarative think  
*ɛ , yâ-cù-ši ô-ve í-mû ġa p̄ ɛ phɔ e*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N Det N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 suspensive orphan that horses get finish V'ing suspensive run away motion away  
*qh̄?-nó , t̄n-kà-pā ô t̄ mō ša-ġû thâ ̄ m̄? la ġa*  
 M<sub>px</sub> N N<sub>sd</sub> Q N P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> V  
 after traders that one group midday when food hungry come to V come to pass  
*ɛ , ḡ-cú-p̄? ô-ve yà?-qɔ ð-hó-pá ḡ kə a qo*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N Det N N<sub>loc</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 suspensive spear that road lower side stick into V into vigorous action when  
*mâ ġa cê*  
 Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative get quotative
- (14) *yà?-qɔ ð-na-pá ḡ kə a mâ ġa*  
 N N<sub>loc</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> Adv V  
 road upper side stick into V into vigorous action negative get
- (15) *qhe te tá ɛ h̄ ɛ qò? e ve*  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 like this happen perfective suspensive weep suspensive go home motion away nominalizer  
*cê*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative

## Translation

- Well, then, there was still another Trickster.<sup>1</sup>
- He put down a packet of rice on the lower part of a road.

<sup>1</sup>I.e., “here’s another Trickster story.” The Trickster is here referred to either by his name (è-**qhè** ~ è-**qhay**) or as “the orphan” (sentence #13, below). The wily orphan is one of Trickster’s manifestations. The hapless group of (Chinese) traders is another stock motif of these stories.

3. On the upper part of the road he put a packet of curry.<sup>2</sup>
4. When he was ambling along carrying a spear, a band of traders came along, and [he said to them]:
5. “Hey you guys, don’t do any [other] trading now!”<sup>3</sup>
6. “Just trade me your things!
7. “Let’s trade this spear of mine for your belongings. I’ll trade my spear with you.
8. “This spear of mine has magic powers!”<sup>4</sup>
9. “If you stick it down into the lower part of the road, you get rice to eat.
10. “If you stick it down into the upper part of the road, you get meat to eat,” he said.
11. So then those traders said “Let’s check it out!”, and when they did it, when they stuck it into [the earth on] the lower part of the road, they got a packet of rice.
12. When they stuck it into the upper part of the road, they got a packet of chicken.
13. So then they were ecstatic, and they thought, “It’s true!”, and after the Orphan had obtained their horses and had fled, when that band of traders got hungry at noontime, they thrust that spear down into the lower part of the road, but they didn’t get anything.
14. When they thrust it into the upper part of the road they got nothing either.
15. So when this happened they wept and went back home.

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<sup>2</sup>**ᵃ-chî** (lit. “rice-enhancer, rice-elevator”): that which is eaten with rice, conventionally translated ‘curry’. Cf. Thai *kàpkhâaw*.

<sup>3</sup>Instead of the usual negative imperative adverb **tâ**, Trickster here uses the clause-final verb-particle **mâ-yə**, which conveys a brusque or ironic impression. See DL:974.

<sup>4</sup>**câ-ti?-dò-ti?**: lit. “eat-magic-drink-magic”, i.e. ‘an eternal abundance of food and drink’.

## 10.5 The trickster and the old bonze

- (1) *tê pô? thâ*      *phà?-tū-mô*      *tê*      *mâ*      *ê-qhê*      *thâ?*  
 NP<sub>time</sub>      N      Num      Cl<sub>f</sub>      N      P<sub>n</sub>  
 once upon a time    old Buddhist monk    one    for people (informal)    Trickster    accusative  
*šī və*      *lɛ*      *á-lê?*      *ca*      *pû*      *e*      *ve*  
 V + P<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>      N      <sub>v</sub>V      V      P<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>  
 take smn along    suspensive    salt    go and do    carry on the back    motion away    nominalizer  
*yò*      .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (2) *phà?-tū-mô*      *chi-ve*      *š-qhe*      *í-mû*      *cî*      *tā*      *ve*      *yò*      .  
 N      Det      P<sub>unf</sub>      N      V      P<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 old Buddhist monk    this    topicalizer    horse    ride    durative    nominalizer    declarative
- (3) *ê-qhê*      *š-qhe*      *khi-šɛ*      *jû*      *ci*      *qay*      *ve*      *yò*      .  
 N      P<sub>unf</sub>      N      V      V<sub>v</sub>      V<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 Trickster    topicalizer    foot    walk    causative    end up V'ing    nominalizer    declarative
- (4) *qhà?-nó*      *tê pô?*      *ê-qhê*      *thâ?*      *á-lê?*      *pû*      *ci*      *ve*  
 M<sub>px</sub>      NP<sub>q</sub>      N      P<sub>n</sub>      N      V      V<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>  
 later on    this time    Trickster    causee    salt    carry on the back    causative    nominalizer  
*yò*      .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (5) *yô*      *š-qhe*      *í-mû*      *cî*      *ā*      *lɛ*      *tê*      *kà*      *gà*      *e*  
 Pron      P<sub>unf</sub>      N      V      P<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>      Num      Cl<sub>f</sub>      V      P<sub>v</sub>  
 he    topicalizer    horse    ride    perfective    suspensive    one    for places    reach    motion away  
*lɛ*      *jê*      *tā*      *ve*      *yò*      .  
 P<sub>unf</sub>      V      P<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 suspensive    stop to rest    durative    nominalizer    declarative
- (6) *qhe-qo*      *í-mû*      *kô?*      *thâ?*      *ê-qhê*      *phê-há-le*      *dô?-pū*      *tā*  
 Conj      N      N      P<sub>n</sub>      N      N      V      P<sub>v</sub>  
 so then    horse    saddle    accusative    Trickster    cow-sage    sprinkle by striking    perfective  
*ve*      *yò*      .  
 P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer    declarative
- (7) *qhe-qo*      *yô-hí-mà*      *qô?*      *qay*      *ve*      *tê yân*      *thâ*      ,      *tê*  
 Conj      Pron      <sub>v</sub>V      V      P<sub>univ</sub>      Q      P<sub>univ</sub>      Num  
 so then    they (dual)    keep on V'ing    go    relativizer    the time that    when    one  
*ton*      *gà*      *lɛ*      ,      "      *âa*      ,      *ê-qhê*      *ò*      ,      *nò*  
 Cl<sub>f</sub>      V      P<sub>unf</sub>      Interj      N      P<sub>n</sub>      Pron  
 for stages (in an activity)    reach    suspensive    hey!    Trickster    vocative    you  
*pû*      *ve*      *á-lê?*      *chi*      *pû*      *ša*      *jâ*      *lâ*      ?",  
 V      P<sub>univ</sub>      N      Det      V      V<sub>v</sub>      V<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 carry on the back    relativizer    salt    this matter    carry on the back    easy to V    very    yes
- (8) *qô?*      *pî*      *ve*      *yò*      .  
 V      V<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 say    benefactive (3p)    nominalizer    declarative

- (9) *è-qhè* *ḡ-qhe* , “ *âa* , *pû* *ša* *jâ* .  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> Interj V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 Trickster topicalizer oh! carry on the back easy to V very
- (10) *tè?-chí* *â* *khà?* .  
 Adv Adv V  
 in the slightest negative burdensome
- (11) *nò* *qhà-qhe* *qay* *le* ?”  
 Pron N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 you how? go substantive qst
- (12) *tè?* *na-ni* *ve* *yò* .  
 QUOT V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 embedded quote ask nominalizer declarative
- (13) “ *âa* , *ḡà* *í-mû* *chi* *khì?* *mâ* *phè?* .  
 Interj Pron N Det V Adv V<sub>v</sub>  
 oh! I horse this ride negative able to
- (14) *qhê-qhò* *jĩ?* *jâ* *ve* *yò* .  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 rear end itch very nominalizer declarative
- (15) *ḡ-mò?* *mâ* *cò* ,” *chi* *qhe* *qô?* *pî* *ve*  
 N Adv V AE<sub>ext</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 sthg suitable negative be in accordance with like this say benefactive (3p) nominalizer  
*yò* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (16) *qhe-go* , “ *è-qhè* *ò* , *nò* *á-lè?* *ḡà* *pû* *a* .  
 Conj N P<sub>n</sub> Pron N Pron V P<sub>v</sub>  
 so then Trickster vocative your salt I carry on the back intentive
- (17) *í-mû* *chi* *nò* *khì?* *la* ,” *tè?* *qô?* *pî*  
 N Det Pron V P<sub>v</sub> QUOT V V<sub>v</sub>  
 horse this you ride (horse, vehicle) come to V embedded quote say benefactive (3p)  
*ve* *yò* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (18) *qhe-te-le* *ḡ-ḡû-ḡĩ* *qò?* *qay* *ve* *yò* .  
 Conj N<sub>loc</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 so onward keep on V'ing go nominalizer declarative
- (19) *ḡ-ḡû-ḡĩ* *ḡà* *thâ* *è-qhè* *lè* *í-mû* *thà?* *dḡ?-pû* *tâ*  
 N<sub>loc</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 further on reach when Trickster topic horse accusative sprinkle by striking perfective  
*ve* *yḡ* *dḡ?* *bâ* *ḡē* *le* *khì?* *qay* *ve*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer he knock away first suspensive ride (horse, vehicle) V along nominalizer  
*yò* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative

- (20) *khì?* *qay* *lɛ* *ô* *ʃu* *qhâ?-jâ* *gà* *lɛ*  
 V *V<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *N<sub>sd</sub>* *Pron* *N* *V* *P<sub>unf</sub>*  
 ride (horse, vehicle) V along suspensive over there others' village outskirts reach suspensive  
*chê* *tâ* *pî* *ve* *yò*  
 V *P<sub>v</sub>* *V<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 stay perfective benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative
- (21) *phâ?-tû-ló* *chi* *á-lê?* *pû* *lɛ* *qô?* *gà* *la* *thâ*  
 N *Det* *N* *V* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *vV* *V* *P<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>univ</sub>*  
 senior monk this salt carry on the back suspensive V finally reach come to V when  
*mû phâ?* *ve* *yò*  
 SV *P<sub>univ</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 get dark nominalizer declarative
- (22) *mû phâ?* *ve* *tê yân thâ* , *è-qhê* *â?* *qô?* *pî* *ve* , “  
 SV *P<sub>univ</sub>* *NP<sub>time</sub>* *N* *P<sub>n</sub>* *V* *V<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>univ</sub>* , “  
 get dark relativizer when Trickster accusative say benefactive (3p) nominalizer  
*hâ-hí-mâ* *á-lê?* *chi* *qhâ-qhe* *fá tá* *tù* *le* ?”  
 Pron *N* *Det* *N<sub>intg</sub>* *V+P<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 we two salt this how? keep sthg hidden future substantive qst
- (23) *tê?* *qô?* *pî* *ve* *yò*  
 QUOT *V* *V<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 embedded quote say benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative
- (24) *è-qhê* *qô?* *ve* , “ *mô* *í-kâ?* *gǝ-po* *ð-qhɔ* *lo* *ca* *fá tá-?*  
 N *V* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *N<sub>sd</sub>* *N* *N* *N<sub>loc</sub>* *P<sub>n</sub>* *vV* *V+P<sub>v</sub>*  
 Trickster say nominalizer down there water pond inside locative go and do hide it!  
 ” *qô?* *pî* *ve* *yò*  
*V* *V<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 say benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative
- (25) *šɔ-pɔ* *tê nà?* *yɔ-hí-mâ* *á-lê?* *fá tá* *ve* *thà?* *qô?*  
*N<sub>time</sub>* *NP<sub>time</sub>* *Pron* *N* *V+P<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *P<sub>n</sub>* *vV*  
 next day early they (dual) salt hidden away nominalizer accusative go on to V  
*ca* *ni* *ve* *tê yân* *thâ* , *mâ* *mò* *ò*  
*vV* *V* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *Q* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *Adv* *V* *P<sub>v</sub>*  
 go and do look at relativizer the time that when negative see completed action
- (26) *í-kâ?* *dê-dê* *phê?* *šɛ* *ve* *yò*  
 N *N<sub>ext</sub>* *V* *P<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 water all be a certain way regrettably nominalizer declarative
- (27) *yɔ* *è-qhê* *â?* *qô?* *pî* *ve* , “ *è-qhê* *ò* , *à-thò?-ma*  
 Pron *N* *P<sub>n</sub>* *V* *V<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>univ</sub>* , “ *N* *P<sub>n</sub>* *N<sub>intg</sub>*  
 he Trickster object say benefactive (3p) nominalizer Trickster vocative what  
*te* *lɛ-hé* *è*  
 V *P<sub>uf</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 happen possibly substantive qst
- (28) *á-lê?* *mâ* *mò* *ò* .”  
 N *Adv* *V* *P<sub>v</sub>*  
 salt negative see change of state

- (29) *tê?* *qô?* *pî* *ve* *yò* .  
 QUOT V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 embedded quote say benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative
- (30) *è-qhè* *qô?* *ve* , “ *ŋâ* *câ* *pà* *šē* *ve* , *ŋâ* *câ*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N V  
 trickster say nominalizer fish eat finish V'ing regrettably nominalizer fish eat  
*pà* *šē* *ve* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 finish V'ing regrettably nominalizer
- (31) *gî-po* *chi* *hâ?* *gâ?* ,” *tê?* *qô?* *pî* *ve*  
 N Det Adv V QUOT V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 pond this quickly drain off embedded quote say benefactive (3p) nominalizer  
*yò* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (32) *gâ?* *ve* *tê yân thâ* *pa-ná-tš* *tš?* *la* *ve* *qo* ,  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 drain off relativizer when edible black fish appear come to V nominalizer when  
*è-qhè* *tha-pē* *ve* *yò* .  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 Trickster slap to death nominalizer declarative
- (33) *pa-lû?* *tš?* *la* *ve* *qo* , *phà?-tū-mô* *à?* *tha-pē*  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V  
 catfish appear come to V nominalizer when old Buddhist monk causee slap to death  
*ci* *ve* *yò* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 causative nominalizer declarative
- (34) *qhe-te-le* *phà?-tū-mô* *chi* *nà* *jâ* *šē* *ve* *yò* .  
 Conj N Det V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 so old Buddhist monk this hurt very regrettably nominalizer declarative
- (35) *nà* *jâ* *le* *è-qhè* *à?* *qô?* *pî* *ve* , “ *nò*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron  
 hurt very much suspensive Trickster object say benefactive (3p) nominalizer you  
*ŋà* *thà?* *gâ* *pû* *lâ* *ve* *yò* .  
 Pron P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 me accusative must carry on the back benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer declarative
- (36) *mâ* *pû* *lâ* *ve* *qo* *mâ* *phê?* *ò*  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 negative carry on the back benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer if negative able to anymore  
 ” *tê?* *qô?* *pî* *ve* *yò* .  
 QUOT V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 embedded quote say benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative
- (37) *qhe-te-le* *è-qhè* *qô?* *ve* , “ *tà?-í* *chê* *a* *šē* , *tà?-í* *chê*  
 Conj N V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> Adv V  
 so Trickster say nominalizer calmly stay hortatory still calmly stay



- a*      *šē*    *!*  
P<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>v</sub>  
hortatory    still
- (38) *pû-šē-phâ*    *ca*      *e*                      *šā*                      ,” *qô?*    *pî*                      *ve*  
N<sub>dvb</sub>    V            P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>v</sub>                      V    V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>  
carrier    look for    motion away    intentional (1p)    say    benefactive (3p)    nominalizer  
*yò*  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
declarative
- (39) *qhe-te-le*    *ḷ-na-phô*    *ṣ*                      *cɔ*                      *ɛ*                      , *há-pi-ši*    *tê*      *mà*                      *phû?-pu*  
Conj      N<sub>loc</sub>      P<sub>n</sub>                      V                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      N      Num      Cl<sub>f</sub>                      V  
thereupon    upward    locative    wind one’s way    suspensive    rock      one    for things    roll over  
*pî*      *a*                      *ve*                      *yò*  
V<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
causative    vigorous action    nominalizer    declarative
- (40) “ *phɔ*      *mē*      *!*  
V            P<sub>uf</sub>  
run away    urging
- (41) *lâ*      *mâ hê?*    *qo*    *yè*                      *yò*                      *mē*                      .  
N      Cl<sub>nf</sub>      N                      P<sub>uf</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
tiger    if not      bear (animal)    declarative    emphatic
- (42) *phɔ*      *ô?*                      *!”*,  
V            P<sub>v</sub>  
run away    hortatory
- (43) *qô?*    *pî*                      *ā*                      *ve*                      *tê yân*                      *thâ*                      , *á-qhɔ*    *lo*                      *ḡḡ-qò?*  
V    V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      Q                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      N      P<sub>n</sub>                      V  
say    benefactive (3p)    perfective    relativizer    the time that    when      home    locative    run back  
*e*                      *šē*                      *ve*                      *yò*                      , *phâ?-tū-mô*                      *chi*                      .  
P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>                      N                      Det  
motion away    right away    nominalizer    declarative    old Buddhist monk    this

## Translation

1. Once upon a time, a certain old bonze<sup>1</sup> took the Trickster [è-qhè] along with him to go carry salt.
2. The old bonze was riding a horse.
3. As for the Trickster, he made him go on foot.
4. Then after a while he made the Trickster carry the salt.
5. He [the bonze] arrived at a certain place on horseback, and stopped to rest.
6. At this point Trickster knocked loose<sup>2</sup> some cow-sage beans<sup>3</sup> onto the horse’s saddle.

<sup>1</sup>I.e., a Mahayana Buddhist monk. The word comes from French *bonze* < Portuguese *bonzo* < Jse. *bonsō* < Chinese, ult. < Sanskrit.

<sup>2</sup>*dṣṭ-pū*: ‘sprinkle by striking’ (“strike-pour”).

<sup>3</sup>*phî-(h)á-le* ‘cowsage; horse-eye bean’ [*Mucuna pruriens*] a creeper with fuzzy brown beans containing an itchy substance. See DL:921.

7. Then when the two of them continued on their way and reached a certain point, [the bonze] said, “Hey, Trickster, are you finding it easy to carry the salt?”
8. The Trickster said, “Oh, it’s very easy! It’s not at all tiring. And how is it going with you?”, he asked.
9. “Oh, I can’t ride this horse. My ass is itching like crazy. It’s most unfitting!” he said.
10. So then he said, “Say, Trickster, let me carry your salt. You come ride the horse.”
11. Then [the bonze] went further ahead.
12. Once he [the bonze] got further ahead, the Trickster knocked away what he had sprinkled onto the horse, and went riding along.
13. Riding along he reached the outskirts of a strange village<sup>4</sup>, and stayed there [waiting for the bonze to catch up].
14. By the time the old bonze carrying the salt also reached the village, night had fallen.
15. When it got dark he said to Trickster, “How shall the two of us hide away this salt?”<sup>5</sup>
16. Trickster said, “Let’s hide it down there inside that pond!”
17. Early the next morning, when the two of them went to look for the salt they had hidden, they couldn’t find it.
18. It had all become [dissolved in the] water.
19. He said to the Trickster, “è-qhè, what could have happened! I can’t find the salt!”
20. Trickster said, “The fish have eaten it, the fish have eaten it! Let’s hurry and drain this pond.”
21. As they were draining it, some pa-ná-t<sup>6</sup> came out, and Trickster slapped them to death.
22. When some catfish<sup>7</sup> emerged, [Trickster] made [the bonze] slap them [too].<sup>8</sup>
23. So this old bonze suffered a world of pain.
24. Since he hurt so much, he said to Trickster, “You’re going to have to carry me. If you don’t carry me I can’t make it.”
25. Thereupon Trickster said, “Take it easy, take it easy! I’ll go look for somebody to carry you.”
26. So he wound his way upwards and dislodged a rock so it would roll downhill.
27. When [Trickster] said, “Run! If it’s not a tiger, it’s a bear! Run!”, the old bonze ran all the way back home.

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<sup>4</sup>šū qhâ?: lit. “other peoples’ village”.

<sup>5</sup>So it wouldn’t be stolen during the night.

<sup>6</sup>An edible black fish with a white belly, about a foot long. Also called pa-ná-qāy. See DL:802.

<sup>7</sup>Spiny bottom feeders [*Clarias batrachus*]. See DL:803.

<sup>8</sup>Thus lacerating his hand on the spines.

## 10.6 The trickster's talented pecker

- (1) *tê pô? thâ*      *ê-qhê*      *mε*      *ve*      *chɔ*      *tê*      *gã*      *cò*  
 NP<sub>time</sub>      N      V      P<sub>univ</sub>      N      Num      Cl<sub>f</sub>      V  
 once upon a time    Trickster    have a name    relativizer    person    one    for people    be there  
*ve*      *yò*      .  
 P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer    declarative
- (2) *yô*      *lê*      *tê ni tê ni*      *nī*      *qé*      *lε*      *pí*      *tε*      *chê*  
 Pron    P<sub>unf</sub>    AE      N      V      P<sub>unf</sub>      N      V      V<sub>v</sub>  
 he    topic    every day    penis    fish out    suspensive    insect    trap (animal)    continuous  
*ve*      *yò*      .  
 P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer    declarative
- (3) *pí-ma*      *lò?*      *la*      *ve*      *tê yân thâ*      *šò?-be*  
 N      V      P<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>      NP<sub>time</sub>      V  
 fly (insect)    enter    come to V    relativizer    when      cover exposed part with clothing  
*ve*      *yò*      .  
 P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer    declarative
- (4) *tê pô?*    *pê-ma*      *à?*      *cô*      *ve*      *yò*      .  
 Q      N      P<sub>n</sub>      V      P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 once    honeybee    accusative    happen to be    nominalizer    declarative
- (5) *pê-ma*      *à?*      *cô*      *ve*      *tê yân thâ*      ,    *yô*  
 N      P<sub>n</sub>      V      P<sub>univ</sub>      NP<sub>time</sub>      Pron  
 honeybee    accusative    happen to be    relativizer    when      he  
*šò?-be*      *a*      *lε*      ,    *chê?*    *pî*      *ve*  
 V      P<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>      V      V<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>  
 cover exposed part with clothing    try to    suspensive    sting    benefactive (3p)    nominalizer  
*yò*      .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (6) *chê?*    *ve*      *tê yân thâ*      ,    *yô*      *šò?-be*      *a*      *ve*      *kà?*  
 V    P<sub>univ</sub>      NP<sub>time</sub>      Pron    V      P<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>  
 sting    relativizer    when      he      cover exposed part with clothing    try to    nominalizer    also  
*chê?*    *ve*      *kà?*    *tê*      *kà*      *tí*      *te*      *ve*      *pa-tɔ*      ,  
 V    P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>    Num      Cl<sub>f</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>    V      P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>n</sub>  
 sting    nominalizer    also    the same    for places    only    be a certain way    nominalizer    because of  
 " *pê*    *chi*    *pê-lù-pê-kî*      *qô?-ma*      , "    *yô*    *dê*    *pî*      *ve*  
 N    Det    Elab<sub>n</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>      Pron    V      V<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>  
 bee    this    wretched foul bee    emphatic    he    curse    benefactive (3p)    nominalizer  
*yò*      .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (7) *qhe-te-lε*    *yô*      *nī*      *qò?*      *qé*      *lε*      *pí*      *tε*      *lε*      *gã*  
 Conj    Pron    N      vV      V      P<sub>unf</sub>      N      V      P<sub>unf</sub>      V  
 so      he      penis    V again    fish out    suspensive    insects    lay a trap    suspensive    catch

- ve* *tê yân thâ* , *šũ* *gã?* *õ* *cã* *kì* *õ* *ca*  
P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Pron N N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>n</sub> vV  
relativizer when other people chickens food feed locative locative go and do
- phê* *ve* *yò* *cê* .  
V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
set free nominalizer declarative quotative
- (8) *tê pô?* *gã?* *thô?* *lê?* *šẽ* *ve* *yò* .  
Q N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
immediately chickens peck at (as a bird) do for eating regrettably nominalizer declarative
- (9) *gã?* *thô?* *lê?* *ve* *tê yân thâ* , *gã-thê?* *hò*  
N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Adv V  
chickens peck at (as a bird) do for eating relativizer when energetically weep
- ve* *yò* , *yô* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron  
nominalizer declarative he
- (10) *qhe-te-le* *šũ* *yô* *thà?* *gã?* *tê* *khe* *pî* *ve* *yò* .  
Conj Pron Pron P<sub>n</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
so they him accusative chicken one for animals give nominalizer declarative
- (11) *gã?* *tê* *khe* *gã* *ve* *tê yân thâ* *tê pô?* *šũ* *và?* *õ* *cã*  
N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> Pron N N V  
chicken one for animals acquire relativizer when this time others pig food feed
- kì* *lo* *ca* *qô?* *phê* *ve* *yò* *cê* .  
P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>n</sub> vV vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
locative locative go and do V again set free nominalizer declarative quotative
- (12) *qhe-te-le* *và?* *chê?* *pē* *šẽ* *ve* *yò* .  
Conj N V B<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
so pig bite to death regrettably nominalizer declarative
- (13) *chê?* *pē* *ve* *tê yân thâ* *yô* *gã-thê?* *hò* *ve* *yò* .  
V B<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Pron Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
bite to death relativizer when he energetically weep nominalizer declarative
- (14) *hò* *ve* *pa-tɔ* *yô* *thà?* *và?* *tê* *khe* *qô?* *pî*  
V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> vV V  
weep nominalizer because of him accusative pig one for animals go on to V give
- ve* *cê* , *šũ* *yô* *thà?* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron Pron P<sub>n</sub>  
nominalizer quotative others him accusative
- (15) *và?* *chi* *tê* *khe* *šẽ* *və* *lɛ* , *šũ* *nû-khô?*  
N Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N  
pig this one for animals lead transportatory motion suspensive others' cattle shed
- ò-qhɔ* *lo* *ca* *phê* *kə* *ve* *cê* .  
N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
inside locative go and do set free V into nominalizer quotative
- (16) *ô* *kà?* *phê* *kə* *ve* *tê yân thâ* , *nû* *gò* *thê?-pē*  
N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N vV V  
over there locative set free V into relativizer when cattle V vigorously kick to death

- (17) *šē* *pî* *ve* *yò* *cê* .  
P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
regrettably benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative quotative
- (17) *qhe-te-le* *yô* *ô* *kà?* *mî* *ā* *le* *ğâ-thè?* *hò* *ve*  
Conj Pron N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub>  
so he over there locative sit durative suspensive energetically weep nominalizer  
*yò* *cê* .  
P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
declarative quotative
- (18) *hò* *ve* *pa-tə* *šu* *yô* *thà?* *nû* *tê* *khe* *pî*  
V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron Pron P<sub>n</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V  
weep nominalizer because of others him accusative cow one for animals give  
*ve* *yò* *cê* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer declarative quotative
- (19) *nû* *ô-ve* *še* *və* *le* , *tê pô?* *šu* *hə-khô?* *ð-qhə*  
N Det V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Q Pron N N<sub>loc</sub>  
cow that lead transportatory motion suspensive next time others' elephant corral inside  
*lo* *ca* *phê* *kə* *ve* *cê* .  
P<sub>n</sub> vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
locative go and do release V into nominalizer quotative
- (20) *qhe-te-le* *yô* *nû* *ô-ve* *thà?* *hə* *tî-pê* *šē* *ve* *yò* .  
Conj Pron N Det P<sub>n</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
so his cattle that accusative elephant kill regrettably nominalizer declarative
- (21) *qhe-te-le* *yô* *ô* *kà?* *mî* *ā* *le* *hò* *chê* *ve*  
Conj Pron N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
so he over there locative sit durative suspensive weep continuous nominalizer  
*yò* .  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
declarative
- (22) *hò* *ve* *pa-tə* *šu* *yô* *thà?* *hə* *tê* *khe* *qò?*  
V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron Pron P<sub>n</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> vV  
weep nominalizer because of others him accusative elephant one for animals V finally  
*pî* *ve* *yò* *cê* .  
V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
give nominalizer declarative quotative
- (23) *qhe-te-le* *hə* *chî* *še* *və* *le* *ô* *šu* *mò?-qhu*  
Conj N Det V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> Pron N  
so elephant this lead transportatory motion suspensive over there somebody pots  
*te* *kî* *ð-qhə* *lo* *ca* *phê* *kə* *ve* *cê* .  
V P<sub>v-nom</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
make locative inside locative go and do set free V into nominalizer quotative
- (24) *mò?-qhu* *ô-ve* *thà?* *yô* *hə* *nâ?-khô* *šē* *ve*  
N Det P<sub>n</sub> Pron N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
pots those accusative his elephant break by stepping on regrettably nominalizer

- yò*  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
declarative
- (25) *nâ?-khô* *ve* *pa-to* , *mò?-qhu te šē-phâ* *hɔ* *chi* *hâ?*  
V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> N Det V  
break by stepping on nominalizer because of potter elephant this get  
*šē* *ve* *yò* .  
P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
regrettably nominalizer declarative
- (26) *qhe-te-le* *yô* *ô* *kà?* *mī* *ā* *le* , *hò* *chê* *ve*  
Conj Pron N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
so he over there locative sit durative suspensive weep continuous nominalizer  
*cê* .  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
quotative
- (27) *hò* *chê* *ve* *tê yân* *thâ* *ŋâ?* *tê* *khe* *là* *le*  
V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>univ</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
weep continuous relativizer the time that when bird one for animals come suspensive  
*kù* *la* *ve* *yò* .  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
call out motion towards nominalizer declarative
- (28) *ŋâ?* *ô-ve* *kù* *ve* *lè* ” *kru-ğâ?* *kru-ğâ?* ”  
N Det V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv<sub>onomat</sub> Adv<sub>onomat</sub>  
bird that call out nominalizer topic cry of the kru-ğâ? bird cry of the kru-ğâ? bird  
*tê?* *qô?* *ve* *yò* .  
QUOT V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
embedded quote say nominalizer declarative
- (29) *qhe-te-le* *yô* *mò?-qhu-bá-le* *tê* *šī* *phê* *a* *ve*  
Conj Pron N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
so he potsherd one for round objects launch vigorous action relativizer  
*tê yân* *thâ* , *ğā* *šē* *ve* *yò* *cê* .  
Q P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
the time that when get yet nominalizer declarative quotative
- (30) *ğā* *šē* *le* *ğò* *cî?* *le* *pì* *ā*  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
get first suspensive lively action pluck feathers suspensive roast on a spit perfective  
*ve* *tê yân* *thâ* , *chu* *jâ* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>univ</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
relativizer the time that when fat very
- (31) *chu* *jâ* *le* *ò-chu* *chi* *šò?* *le* *yô* *nī* *à?* .  
V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Det V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N P<sub>n</sub>  
fat very suspensive fat (n.) this rub onto suspensive his penis accusative
- (32) *šò?* *a* *ve* *tê yân thâ* , *nī* *kù* *ve* *yò*  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
rub onto vigorous action relativizer when penis call out nominalizer declarative

- cê*  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
quotative
- (33) ” *kru-ğâ?* *kru-ğâ?* ” *qô?* *le* , *qhe-te-le* *qhâ-qhe* *te*  
Adv<sub>onomat</sub> Adv<sub>onomat</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Conj N<sub>intg</sub> V  
cry of the kru-ğâ? bird cry of the kru-ğâ? bird say suspensive after that whatever do  
*kâ?* *mâ* *na-e* .  
P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
no matter what negative get better
- (34) *qhe-te-le* *yô* *mô?*-*qhu-bá* *chi* *chî?*-*hê?* *a* *ve* *tê yân thâ* *na-e*  
Conj Pron N Det V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> V  
so he potsherd this scorch vigorous action relativizer when get better  
*šê* *ve* *yò* *cê* .  
P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
right away nominalizer declarative quotative
- (35) *qhe-te-le* *yô* *ñâ?*-*chu* *ô-ve* *thâ?* *yù* *və* *le* , *ô*  
Conj Pron N Det P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub>  
so he bird fat that accusative take transportatory motion suspensive over there  
*nây-ma* *ğâ?*-*chî* *kî* *ò-qhə* *lo* *qay* *ve* *yò* .  
N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
princess weave locative into locative go nominalizer declarative
- (36) *qhe-te-le* *ô* *kâ?* *hə* *ñâ?*-*chu* *chi* *šu* *mî-qhə* *à?*  
Conj N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N Det Pron N P<sub>n</sub>  
so over there locative emphatic locative bird fat this her stool accusative  
*šê* *pî* *ve* *tê yân thâ* , *cha* *kù* *ve* *yò*  
V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
smear onto benefactive (3p) relativizer when vagina call out nominalizer declarative  
*cê*  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
quotative
- (37) *cha* *kù* *ve* *tê yân thâ* ” *kru-ğâ?* *kru-ğâ?*  
N V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Adv<sub>onomat</sub> Adv<sub>onomat</sub>  
vagina call relativizer when cry of the kru-ğâ? bird cry of the kru-ğâ? bird  
*kru-ğâ?* ” *tê?* *qô?* *le* *kù* *ve* *yò* .  
Adv<sub>onomat</sub> QUOT V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
cry of the kru-ğâ? bird embedded quote say suspensive call out nominalizer declarative
- (38) *qhe-te-le* , *vê* *qhə* *lo* *šālâ?*-*ğōn* *tê phā* *ca* *le* *gu* *ci*  
Conj N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N Q V P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
so town in locative doctor pluralizer seek suspensive cure causative  
*ve* *yò* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer declarative
- (39) *qhà* *ve* *tê ğâ* *gu* *kâ?* *mâ* *na* .  
N<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
whichever genitivizer one person treat medically even negative get better

- (40) *qhà ve tē gā gu kà? mâ na* .  
 N<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
 whichever genitivizer one person treat medically even negative get better
- (41) *qhe-te-ε è-qhè thà? qô? pî ve* .  
 Conj N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 so trickster accusative say benefactive (3p) nominalizer
- (42) ” *âa , yâ-mî-ma chi tē gā thà? nò gu qo hâ? phè? ve*  
 Interj N Det Q P<sub>n</sub> Pron V P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 oh! woman this one person accusative you cure if marry able to nominalizer  
*yò* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (43) *nò gu gā ve qo , mâ kà? tē qhān pè?*  
 Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V  
 you cure manage to nominalizer if country also one for halves give  
*lā ve yò* .”  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer declarative
- (44) *tē? qô? pî ve yò* .  
 QUOT V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 embedded quote say benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative
- (45) *qhe-te-ε è-qhè qay lε mò?-qhu-bá chi yù lε chî?-hê? a*  
 Conj N V P<sub>unf</sub> N Det V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 so trickster go suspensive potsherd this take suspensive scorch vigorous action  
*ve tē yān thā , na-e šē ve yò cê* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 relativizer the time that when get better right away nominalizer declarative quotative
- (46) *na šē lε yô kà? nây-ma gā lε mâ kà? tē*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> Num  
 get better right away suspensive he also princess get suspensive country also one  
*qhān gā kà? ve yò cê* .  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 for halves get to responsible for nominalizer declarative quotative

## Translation

1. Once upon a time there was a certain person called Eh-Hk'eh (è-qhè).
2. Day after day he would fish out his pecker<sup>1</sup> and trap insects<sup>2</sup> with it.
3. When a fly would come within reach he would cover it up under his clothes [to trap it].<sup>3</sup>
4. Once it happened to be a honeybee.
5. When the honeybee happened along, he tried to cover it up under his clothes, and it stung him.

<sup>1</sup>Since Lahu has only a single word for the sexual organs (*nī* 'penis', *cha* 'vagina') it is a problem choosing among the myriad English synonyms to find the ones that works best in a given context. I here choose to translate *nī* as 'pecker', both because it fits the jocular mood of the narrative, and because it suggests a connection with the episode of the *bird* later in the story.

<sup>2</sup>It is not clear what aspect of the Trickster's organ was so dangerously attractive to insects.

<sup>3</sup>*šô?-be* (V) lit. "press-cover"; 'cover an exposed part with one's clothing'.



6. When he got stung, because where he tried to cover it up and where it stung him was the same place, he cursed it, saying, “This bee is a wretched foul bee!”<sup>4</sup>
7. So after that he whipped out his pecker again and managed to catch some insects [with it], then he went and set them free in a place where chickens were being fed.
8. Right away the chickens pecked at [the trapped bugs] and nibbled at them.<sup>5</sup>
9. When the chickens pecked and nibbled at him he sobbed bitterly, that guy.
10. So they gave him one chicken [as compensation].
11. After he got the chicken he then went to a place where pigs were fed, and proceeded<sup>6</sup> to let it [the chicken] go free.
12. So then the pigs bit it to death.
13. When they bit it to death, he sobbed bitterly.
14. Since he was sobbing so much, they proceeded to give him a pig—they [just gave it] to him.
15. So leading the pig, he went and set it free in somebody’s cattle-pen.
16. When he set it free in there, the cattle kicked it the hell<sup>7</sup> to death.
17. So then he sat down there and sobbed with all his might.
18. Since he was crying [so much] they gave him a cow.
19. Leading this cow, this time he went and set it free in an elephant corral.
20. So then the elephant(s) killed that cow of his.
21. Whereupon he sat down there and cried his eyes out.
22. Since he was crying [so much] they finally gave him an elephant.
23. Then, leading this elephant he went and let it go free in a potter’s workshop.
24. His elephant stepped on the pots and shattered them.<sup>8</sup>
25. Since it had trampled his pots to pieces, the other guy [the potter] {took/got} his elephant.
26. So then he sat down there and wept bitterly.
27. While he was crying, a bird came and called out to him.
28. What that bird was calling was **kru-ġâ? kru-ġâ?**<sup>9</sup>
29. So then he let fly with a potsherd, and he got it.
30. He caught it, plucked it and roasted it, and it was very fat.
31. Since it was so fat, he smeared the fat onto his pecker.
32. As soon as he had smeared it on, his pecker began to sing.

<sup>4</sup>**lû...kî** is an elaborate couplet (**lû** ‘be ruined’, **kî** ‘be rotten’, occurring in a large number of similar expressions, e.g. **yâ-lû-yâ-kî** ‘little brat’ (**yâ** ‘child’); **chô-lû-chô-kî** ‘miserable person’.

<sup>5</sup>The painfulness of this experience for the Trickster is emphasized by **šē** (Pv) ‘regretful state of affairs’.

<sup>6</sup>‘Proceeded’ is an attempt to translate **qđ?** (vV) ‘go on and do something else’. See sense #5 of **qđ?** in DL:259.

<sup>7</sup>‘The hell’ translates **ġđ** (vV) ‘vivid/violent action’.

<sup>8</sup>**nâ?-khô** ‘shatter by stepping on’

<sup>9</sup>This imitative sequence **kr-** does not occur in any other Lahu word. This binome is also used as a noun, to signify a species of dove-like bird. See DL:362.

33. It sang **kru-ğâ? kru-ğâ?**, and no matter what he did it didn't get better.<sup>10</sup>
34. But then, when he scorched [his penis] with the [hot] potsherd, he was cured.
35. So then he took along some of that bird-fat and went to a place where a princess was doing some weaving.
36. Then after he had smeared some of that bird-fat onto her stool<sup>11</sup>, her pussy began to sing.
37. When her pussy sang, it just sang **kru-ğâ? kru-ğâ?**.
38. So then they sought all the physicians in the city to have them cure her.
39. [But] no matter who treated her, she did not get better.
40. Whoever it was who treated her, she was not cured.
41. Finally they said to è-qhè, "Oh, if you can cure this woman, take her for your wife!
42. "And furthermore, if you can cure her, you will be given half of the kingdom," they said to him.
43. So then è-qhè went and scorched [her] with that hot potsherd, and she was cured.
44. She was cured, so he got the princess, and also got control of half the country.

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<sup>10</sup>I.e., he couldn't stop his penis from chirping.

<sup>11</sup>The raconteur leaves out any mention of the princess sitting down on her weaving-stool, but that is taken for granted.

## 10.7 Trickster and the village women

- (1) à-šwè thâ Hê?-pā thà? Lāhū-yā mà? bō? ve .  
 AE N P<sub>n</sub> N N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 once upon a time Chinese accusative Lahu people war fight nominalizer
- (2) qhe-te-ε ô tē šš ̄ , mà? bō? e ve tē šš ,  
 Conj N<sub>sd</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q  
 so that one morning topic war fight motion away relativizer one morning  
 chō šš və lε qay ve cê .  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 people select transportatory motion suspensive go nominalizer quotative
- (3) šu ̄ thī? qo , è-qhè ô-ve ̄ ,  
 Pron N V P<sub>unf</sub> N Det P<sub>unf</sub>  
 others cooked rice wrap and tie up when trickster that topic  
 ġā? -qú-ni tē khe thī? və  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 chicken without tail or breast feathers one for animals wrap and tie up transportatory motion  
 lε , yā?-q-qa ̄ cā thā , ̄ cā ve tē yān thā ̄ ,  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 suspensive one's route locative eat when meal eat relativizer when topic  
 phà? lε-̄ cā ve te ve , yō ̄ .  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub>  
 unwrap suspensive eat nominalizer be occupied with nominalizer he topic
- (4) phà? ò lε ġā?-é tē khe pō? tō? ġè  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 unwrap completed action suspensive chick one for animals jump V out V suddenly  
 e lε , " āa , ñā mâ qay cō lō .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Interj Pron Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 motion away suspensive well! I negative go ought to emphatic declarative
- (5) nò-hi qay-? " tē? qō? ve cê .  
 Pron V<sub>imp</sub> QUOT V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 you (pl) go! embedded quote say nominalizer quotative
- (6) qhe-te-ε ̄ , šu yō à? qò? e pə tá  
 Conj P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 thereupon topic others him accusative go home motion away send smn to V perfective  
 ve  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer
- (7) " ñā ̄-qhe ð-hê? chi tē mà mð lε , qò? e  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 I topicalizer omen this one for things see suspensive return home motion away  
 ve yò .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (8) mà? bō? mâ phê? .  
 N V Adv V<sub>v</sub>  
 war fight negative able to

- (9) *qò?* *e* *šā* ” *qô?* *ve* *cê* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 return home motion away intentional (1p) say nominalizer quotative
- (10) *qhe-te-ε* *šu* *yô* *qò?* *e* *ci* *tá* *ve* .  
 Conj Pron Pron V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 after that others him return home motion away causative perfective nominalizer
- (11) *qhe-te-ε* , *šu* *yô* *à?* *qò?* *e* *pə* *ε*  
 Conj Pron Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 thereupon others him accusative go home motion away send smn to V suspensive  
*š-qhe* , *pê-gù-li* *thô?* *ε* , *á-ci-ku* *khâ?* *ε-š* ,  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 topicalizer bumblebee’s nest hook onto suspensive crab scoop up suspensive  
*vâ-lé-qô?* *à?* *phε-chî* *ε* , *á-qâ?* *š* *tε*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V  
 bamboo sheath accusative hang up by ropes suspensive outside locative put down  
*ve* *cê* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer quotative
- (12) *mû phò?* *qhe-te-ε* *š* , *vì-vì-vì* *qo* *tê?-tê?* *ô* *vâ-dé-qô*  
 SV Conj P<sub>unf</sub> Adv<sub>onomat</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv<sub>onomat</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> N  
 get dark then topic bzz-bzz (bees) when scratch! scratch! over there bamboo tube  
*à?* - *èe* , *vâ-lé-qô?* *à?* *dô?* *ve* *tê yân thâ* , *qhe-te-ε*  
 P<sub>n</sub> Interj N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Conj  
 accusative er... bamboo sheath accusative strike relativizer when then  
*š* , *yâ-mî-ma* *ô* *tê gâ* *à?* *qô?* *və* *ve* : ” *âa*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N N<sub>sd</sub> Q P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Interj  
 topic woman that one person accusative say figurative motion nominalizer well!  
 , *nò-hi* *ò-pā* *ve* *ò-ha-ku* *qò?* *la* *ò* *mē* .  
 Pron N P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 your (pl) husband genitivizer soul return come to V completed action emphatic
- (13) *tâ* *chê* *ò* *mē* .  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative imperative stay completed action persuasive
- (14) *kô?* *à* *mē* .”  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 scary asseverative emphatic
- (15) *qhe-te-ε* , *è-qhè* *á-qhə* *tí* *phô?* *yì?* *e* *ve* *cê*  
 Conj N N P<sub>univ</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 thereupon trickster home only do in a group sleep motion away nominalizer quotative
- (16) *qhe-te-ε* *è-qhè* *ô-ve* *š* , ” *âa* , *ηà* *á-qhə* *tâ* *yì?* .  
 Conj N Det P<sub>unf</sub> Interj Pron N Adv V  
 then trickster that topic oh! my home negative imperative sleep

- (17) *yâ qhê qò kə la ” qô? ve cê* .  
 N N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 children feces defecate V into come to V say nominalizer quotative
- (18) *qhe-te-ɛ ̄ , ” âa , mâ qò kə ci* .  
 Conj P<sub>unf</sub> Interj Adv V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 so topic oh! negative defecate V into let (permissive causative)
- (19) *lâ?-l ve yò ” tɛ? qô? ve tɛ yân thâ , yô-hi*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> QUOT V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Pron  
 guarantee nominalizer declarative embedded quote say relativizer when they  
*khān ɛ , ɛ-qhê á-qhɔ ġa yi? ve* .  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> N N vV V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 swear suspensive trickster home get to sleep nominalizer
- (20) *qhe-te-ɛ ̄ , ɛ-qhê ô-ve ̄ yâ-mî-ma ô tɛ mō yi? e pə*  
 Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N Det P<sub>unf</sub> N N<sub>sd</sub> Q V + P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 then topic trickster that topic women that one group fall asleep finish V'ing  
*qhò?-nó , nò?-qhê ġâ-thè? tɛ ɛ , chî?*  
 M<sub>px</sub> N Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 after fermented soybeans energetically grind up suspensive make into a ball  
*ɛ ô yâ qha cò pā qhê-qhɔ ̄*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> N Adv V P<sub>v-nom</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 suspensive over there children all be there agentive nominalizer buttocks locative  
*tɛ ve cê* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 put onto nominalizer quotative
- (21) *mû thî la ɛ-̄ , ” nò-hi ve yâ qhê qò kə*  
 SV P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N N V V<sub>v</sub>  
 dawn comes come to V suspensive you (pl) genitivizer children feces defecate V into  
*ve l b ni-?* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V<sub>imp</sub>  
 nominalizer emphatic declarative look!
- (22) *à-thò?-ma šây lâ tû le , ” qhe qô?*  
 N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V  
 what pay compensation benefactive (non-3p) future substantive qst like this say  
*ɛ-̄ , ” âa , à-thò?-ma šây lâ tû thô*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Interj N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 suspensive oh! whatever pay compensation benefactive (non-3p) future even  
*à-thò?-ma hâ? kâ? hâ? ” qô? ɛ , te-ɛ ̄ , phu*  
 N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V V P<sub>unf</sub> Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 whatever want to get even get say suspensive after that topic money  
*šé pî kâ? mâ hâ?* .  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
 pay compensation benefactive (3p) even negative take
- (23) *à-thò?-ma pî kâ? mâ hâ?* .  
 N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
 whatever give even negative take

Trickster and the village women

- (24) *qhe-te-le*  $\bar{s}$  *è-qhè* *ô-ve*  $\bar{s}$ -*qhe le* *yâ-mî-ma* *ô* *tê mō* *thà?* *qô?*  
 Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N Det P<sub>unf</sub> N N<sub>sd</sub> Q P<sub>n</sub> V  
 then topic trickster that topicalizer women that one group accusative say  
*pî* *ve* : " *âa* , *a-yo-qō* *dô?* *na e* , " *qô?*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Interj N V V P<sub>v</sub> V  
 benefactive (3p) nominalizer well! hollow a-yo tree strike ask motion away say  
*ve* *cê* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer quotative
- (25) *a-yo-qō* *ô-ve*  $\bar{s}$  *dô?* *na e* *tù* *te le* *yâ-mî-ma*  
 N Det P<sub>unf</sub> V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 hollow a-yo tree that topic strike ask motion away purposive do suspensive women  
*ô* *tê mō*  $\bar{s}$ -*qhe* , *yà?-qo* *qô?* *kî*  $\bar{s}$  *qay ci* *ve*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 that one group topicalizer road circuitous locative locative go causative nominalizer  
*cê* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative
- (26) *è-qhè* *chi* *yà?-qo* *thê è* *qay le* , *a-yo-qō* *à-qhō* *lò?* *chê*  
 N Det N AE<sub>stat</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 trickster this road straight go suspensive hollow a-yo tree inside enter progressive  
*ā* *qo*  $\bar{s}$  , *à-thà?-phô*  $\bar{s}$  *yâ-mî-ma* *dô?* *a* *qo*  $\bar{s}$  ,  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 perfective when topic upper surface locative women strike try to when topic  
*qô-qô* *te* *a* *qo*  $\bar{s}$  , " *à-thò?-ma* *šāy*  
 Adv<sub>onomat</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> V  
 thump! thump! be a certain way try to when topic what pay compensation  
*pî* *tù* *le* , *è-qhè* *thà?* " *qô?* *ve* *cê*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (3p) future substantive qst trickster accusative say nominalizer quotative  
 .
- (27) *qhe-te-le* *è-qhè* *ô-ve*  $\bar{s}$  , " *âa* *šāy* *pî-?* ,  
 Conj N Det P<sub>unf</sub> Interj V V<sub>v</sub>  
 so trickster that topic well! pay compensation benefactive (imperative)  
*šāy* *pî-?* " *qhe* *qô?* *ve* *cê* .  
 V V<sub>v</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 pay compensation benefactive (imperative) like this say nominalizer quotative
- (28) *qhe-te-le* *tê pô?* *qô?* *qô?* *e* .  
 Conj Q <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub>  
 so again V again go home motion away
- (29) *è-qhè* *chi* *kà?* *yâ-mî-ma* *qhô?-nô* *hâ?-hâ?* *ğî-qô?* *e* *le* , *á-qhō*  
 N Det P<sub>unf</sub> N M<sub>prfx</sub> AE V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 trickster this also women after quickly run back motion away suspensive home  
*qô?* *mî* , " *âa* , *à-thò?-ma* *qô?* *lâ* *le* , *nò-hi*  
<sub>v</sub>V V Interj N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron  
 V again sit well! what say benefactive (non-3p) substantive qst you (pl)

- à? " qô? le-5 , " âa , è-ghè hà? šāy  
 P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Interj N P<sub>n</sub> V  
 accusative say suspensive oh! trickster accusative pay compensation  
 pî-? , šāy pî-? tí qô?  
 V<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V  
 benefactive (imperative) pay compensation benefactive (imperative) only say  
 lâ ɔ , " qhe qô? ve cê .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p) affirmative thus say nominalizer quotative
- (30) qhe-te-le " tê pô? qô? dô? na e mâ hê? qo mâ šī " qô?  
 Conj Q vV V V P<sub>v</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub> Adv V V  
 so once more V again strike ask motion away unless negative know say  
 le-5 , yô-hi tê pô? qô? dô? na e le-5 , è-ghè chi  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Q vV V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Det  
 suspensive they again V again strike ask motion away suspensive trickster this  
 ɔ , hâ? qô? lò? chê ā le-5 , yâ-mî-ma tê mō  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Adv vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Q  
 topic quickly V again enter continuous perfective suspensive women one group  
 te le qô-qô dô? a le , " âa , cha pî-? ,  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv<sub>onomat</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Interj N V<sub>imp</sub>  
 make suspensive thump! thump! beat try to suspensive oh! vagina give  
 cha pî-? " qhe qô? ve cê .  
 N V<sub>imp</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 vagina give like this say nominalizer quotative
- (31) qhe-te-le ɔ , yâ-mî-ma ô tê mō ġî-qô? e le-5 , è-ghè  
 Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N N<sub>sd</sub> Q V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 after that topic women that one group run back motion away suspensive trickster  
 chi kâ? hâ? ġî-qô? e le , á-gho ɔ ġô-ne  
 Det P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> N  
 this also quickly run back motion away suspensive home locative rattan strip  
 qô? te chê le , " âa , à-thò?-ma qô?  
 vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Interj N<sub>intg</sub> V  
 still V a certain way be occupied with progressive suspensive well! what say  
 ve le ?  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer substantive qst
- (32) à-thò?-ma qô? lâ le " qô? le , " âa , cha  
 N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Interj N  
 what say benefactive (non-3p) substantive qst say suspensive well! vagina  
 pî-? , cha pî-? tí qô? lâ ve , è-ghè ò ,  
 V<sub>imp</sub> N V<sub>imp</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 give vagina give only say benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer trickster vocative  
 qô? ve cê .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 say nominalizer quotative
- (33) qhe-te-le ɔ , yâ-mî-ma tê qhâ?-qhâ? ve è-ghè tí  
 Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub>  
 thereupon topic women the whole village genitivizer trickster only

- phô?* *pà?* *ve* *cê* .  
<sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
do one after the other copulate nominalizer quotative
- (34) *qhe-te-ε* *̄* , *̀-phô* *tê mō* *qò?* *la* *ε* *̄-qhe* , ” *âa* ,  
Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N Q V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Interj  
after that topic husband one group return come to V suspensive topicalizer oh!  
*̀-qhê* *chi qhe* *chi qhe* *te lâ* *ɔ* , *ǹ-hi* *mâ* *chê* *qhò?-nó*  
N AE<sub>ext</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron Adv V M<sub>px</sub>  
trickster like this like this treat (non-3p) affirmative you (pl) negative be there after  
*̀-qhê* *pà?* *lâ* *ve* ” *qô?* *ε-̄* , *tê p̄?* *lê*  
N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub>  
trickster copulate benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer say suspensive right away  
*̀-phô* *tê phā* *qò?* *la* *ε* , *̀-qhê* *à?* *gà?-yù*  
N Q V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V  
husband pluralizer return come to V suspensive trickster accusative chase to capture  
*ε* , *t̄-pē* *a* *te* *ε* *pho e* *ve* *cê* .  
P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
suspensive murder try to do suspensive flee motion away nominalizer quotative
- (35) *pho* *ε* *gò* *gà?-yù* *ε* , *gà?* *mâ* *mi* ,  
V P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> V Adv C<sub>r</sub>  
flee suspensive V vigorously chase to capture suspensive chase negative catch  
*qhà-qhe te* *gà?-yù* *kà?* *mâ* *mi* .  
Cl<sub>nf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv C<sub>r</sub>  
however chase to capture even negative catch
- (36) *tê p̄?* *mâ* *gā* *tá* *ε* , *qò?* *la* *ε* *̄-qhe*  
Q Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
again negative catch perfective suspensive return come to V suspensive topicalizer  
*chi* *̄* , *chi ve* *̄* , *pē-ḡ* *gò* *khâ?* *hɔ* *ε* ,  
Det P<sub>unf</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V V P<sub>unf</sub>  
this one topic this one topic honey V vigorously scoop out smear with suspensive  
*qhe* *te* *šē* *ε-̄* , *šá-lá-yè* *̄* *thε-qō*  
Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> N  
like this do first suspensive cotton storage building locative huge basket for storing paddy  
*qho* *̄* *lò?* *yì?* *tá* *ε* , *ô-ve* *ša tú*  
M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Det OV  
inside locative enter lie down perfective suspensive that burn incense in worship  
*kì* *yè* *hà?* *mi* *tā* *ε-̄* , ” *ôo* , *Ĝ̄-ša* *t̄?* *la*  
P<sub>v-nom</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Interj N V P<sub>v</sub>  
locative house accusative sit perfective suspensive oh! God appear come to V  
*ò* *lɔ* , *yà?-ni* *lê* , ” *qhe* *qô?* *ve* *cê*  
P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
completed action emphatic declarative today topic like this say nominalizer quotative
- (37) *qhe-te-ε* *yô* *à?* *tân-tù* *tân* *p̄* *ve* .  
Conj Pron P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
so him accusative offering make a religious offering benefactive (3p) nominalizer



- (38)  $\bar{5}$   $c\bar{a}$   $p\bar{i}$   $a$   $qo$   $c\bar{a}$  .  
 N V  $V_v$   $P_v$   $P_{unf}$  V  
 food feed benefactive (3p) intentive when eat
- (39)  $qhe$   $te$   $\check{s}\bar{e}$   $l\epsilon\text{-}\bar{5}$  , ”  $\acute{e}\text{-}qhe$   $t\bar{i}$   $l\bar{o}$  ”  $d\bar{5}$   
 Adv V V  $P_{unf}$  N  $P_{univ}$   $P_{uf}$  V  
 this way act as unpleasantly suspensive trickster only emphatic declarative think  
 $l\epsilon$   $\check{s}\bar{u}$   $t\bar{e}$   $p\bar{5}?$   $q\bar{5}?$   $\check{s}\bar{i}$   $la$   $l\epsilon$  ,  $y\bar{u}$   $l\epsilon$  ,  
 $P_{unf}$  Pron Q  $vV$  V  $P_v$   $P_{unf}$  V  $P_{unf}$   
 suspensive others again V finally know come to V suspensive take suspensive  
 $d\bar{5}?\text{-}p\bar{e}$   $a$   $te$   $l\epsilon$  ,  $q\bar{5}?$   $ph\bar{o}$   $e$  .  
 V  $P_v + V_v$   $P_{unf}$   $vV$  V  $P_v$   
 beat to death try to suspensive V again run away motion away
- (40)  $q\bar{5}?$   $\check{g}\bar{a}?\text{-}y\bar{u}$   $l\epsilon$  , ”  $\acute{a}a$  ,  $t\bar{e}$   $p\bar{5}?$   $l\bar{e}$   $q\bar{5}?$   $\check{g}\bar{a}?$   $q\bar{5}?$   
 $vV$  V  $P_{unf}$  Interj  $NP_q$   $vV$  V  $vV$   
 V again chase to capture suspensive oh! this time V again chase V again  
 $\check{g}\bar{a}?\text{-}y\bar{u}$   $l\epsilon$  ,  $n\bar{i}$   $q\bar{e}$   $l\epsilon\text{-}\bar{5}$  ,  $te$   $\check{s}\bar{e}$   $l\epsilon\text{-}\bar{5}$   
 V  $P_{unf}$  OV  $P_{unf}$  V  $P_v$   $P_{unf}$   
 chase to capture suspensive retract one’s foreskin suspensive arrange for first suspensive  
 ,  $\acute{a}\text{-}ph\bar{a}?$   $\check{g}\bar{a}?\text{-}be$   $\check{s}\bar{e}$   $l\epsilon\text{-}\bar{5}$  ,  $n\bar{i}$   $\eta\bar{5}?\text{-}\acute{e}\text{-}th\bar{e}\text{-}\acute{e}$   $te$   $\bar{a}$   
 N V  $P_v$   $P_{unf}$  N  $Elab_{adv}$  V  $P_v$   
 leaves scratch together first suspensive penis all stiff and straight make perfective  
 $p\bar{i}$   $l\epsilon\text{-}\bar{5}$  , ”  $\acute{a}a$  ,  $\acute{e}\text{-}qhe$   $qh\bar{a}\text{-}\check{s}\bar{i}$   $\check{g}\bar{a}?\text{-}y\bar{u}$   $qh\bar{a}$   $m\bar{a}$   $h\bar{e}?$   
 $V_v$   $P_{unf}$  Interj N  $M_{pfx}$  V N Adv + V  
 benefactive (3p) suspensive well! trickster trail chase to capture way not be so  
 $\bar{o}$   $l\bar{o}$  .  
 $P_v$   $P_{uf}$   
 completed action emphatic declarative
- (41)  $ch\bar{o}$   $k\bar{a}?$   $m\bar{u}\text{-}n\bar{i}\text{-}\check{g}w\epsilon$   $k\bar{a}?$   $t\bar{5}?$   $\bar{o}$   
 $N_{sd}$   $P_n$  N  $P_{unf}$  V  $P_v$   
 here locative mushroom sp. with red cap also come out completed action  
 $l\bar{o}$  ”  $q\bar{5}?$   $c\bar{e}$  .  
 $P_{uf}$  V  $P_{uf}$   
 emphatic declarative say quotative
- (42)  $qhe$   $te$   $\acute{a}$   $l\epsilon\text{-}\bar{5}$  ,  $q\bar{5}?$   $e$   $c\bar{e}$  .  
 Adv V  $P_v$   $P_{unf}$  V  $P_v$   $P_{uf}$   
 this way do perfective suspensive go home motion away quotative
- (43)  $q\bar{5}?$   $e$   $qh\bar{5}?\text{-}n\bar{5}$   $t\bar{e}$   $p\bar{5}?$   $\acute{e}\text{-}qhe$   $ch\bar{i}$   $t\bar{e}$   $p\bar{5}?$   $q\bar{5}?$   $q\bar{5}?$   $e$  ,  
 V  $P_v$   $M_{pfx}$  Q N  $NP_q$   $vV$  V  $P_v$   
 go home motion away after again trickster this time V also go home motion away  
 $t\bar{e}$   $p\bar{5}?$   $q\bar{5}?$   $\check{g}\bar{a}?\text{-}y\bar{u}$   $ve$   $ch\bar{i}\text{-}ve$   $\bar{5}$  ,  $\acute{e}\text{-}qhe$   $ch\bar{i}$   $ve$   $\bar{5}$  ,  
 Q  $vV$  V  $P_{univ}$  Det  $P_{unf}$  N Det  $P_{unf}$   
 again V again chase to capture nominalizer this guy topic trickster this guy topic  
 $\check{s}\bar{i}?\text{-}c\bar{e}$   $\bar{5}\text{-}pu$   $l\bar{o}n$   $\bar{5}$   $t\bar{a}?$   $g\bar{a}$   $e$   
 N N  $B_n$   $P_n$  V  $V_v$   $P_v$   
 tree clump (e.g., of vegetation) sthg big locative climb manage to motion away  
 $ve$   $c\bar{e}$  .  
 $P_{univ}$   $P_{uf}$   
 nominalizer quotative

- (44) *ṣ̌ḷ-cè lón ̄ tâ? gâ e lɛ-̄ , qhe-te-lɛ ̄ ,*  
 N B<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Conj P<sub>unf</sub>  
 tree sthg big locative climb manage to motion away suspensive then topic  
*thu lɛ mô lo l̄-qá qhɔ ̄ kə a-tè*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>quot</sub>  
 chop away at suspensive down there locative river valley in locative fall into purposive  
*te lɛ , ” âa , ñà lè n̄-hi thu lɛ mô*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> Interj Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub>  
 do suspensive oh! I topic you (pl) chop away at suspensive down there  
*í-kâ? qhɔ kə a lâ qo lè , ñà í-kâ? lwé t̄? gè?-e*  
 N M<sub>px</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 water inside fall into vivid action if topic I water swim V out intensifier  
*mâ ṣ̌i .*  
 Adv V  
 negative die
- (45) *ñà à? thu lɛ nô há-ph̄ ̄ kə a lâ*  
 Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub>  
 me accusative chop down suspensive up there rocky slope locative fall into vivid action  
*qo ̄ , ñà lè n̄? -kâ? qay yò .*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Adv + V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 if topic I topic smashed to pieces declarative
- (46) *ṣ̌i e yò , ” qô? lɛ-̄ , thu lɛ nô*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub>  
 die motion away declarative say suspensive chop down suspensive up there  
*há-ph̄ ñɛ p̄ a lɛ , há-q̄ qhɔ ̄*  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 rocky slope lean against benefactive (3p) vigorous action suspensive cave inside locative  
*phɔ l̄? gè?-e ve cê .*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 escape V into intensifier nominalizer quotative
- (47) *qhe te ṣ̌ē lɛ-̄ , è-qhè chi ve nô há-q̄ l̄? e*  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Det N<sub>sd</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub>  
 this way do regrettably suspensive trickster this guy up there cave enter motion away  
*lɛ , ṣ̌u à-mī ġð mâ? kə ve , qhà-qhe te kà? mâ?*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N V<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub> V  
 suspensive others fire act violently blow V into nominalizer whatever one does blow  
*kə mâ gâ .*  
 V<sub>v</sub> Adv V<sub>v</sub>  
 V into negative manage to
- (48) *ȳ á-pò? qē? ph̄ t̄? ve cê , cō*  
 Pron N V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub>  
 he shirt take off (clothing) fan (as a fire) V out nominalizer quotative over there  
*̄-qhɔ chē à? lɛ .*  
 N<sub>loc</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 within stay durative because
- (49) *ṣ̌ḷ-tà j̄? , ṣ̌ḷ-tà chɔ-chɔ lɛ-̄ , j̄? kə ve*  
 N V N V<sub>redup</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 stick stick into stick keep hacking off suspensive stick into V into nominalizer

- cê*  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
quotative
- (50) *è-qhê chi ̄ qhê qò lɛ , ô šř?-tà à? né*  
N Det P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V  
trickster this topic feces defecate suspensive over there stick accusative plaster sthg on  
*pî a lɛ , nù-ū-u šē lɛ-̄ , ” âa ,*  
V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V P<sub>unf</sub> Interj  
benefactive (3p) vigorous action suspensive stink unpleasantly suspensive oh!  
*è-qhê chi qhê t̄š? ò lɛ*  
N Det N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
trickster this feces come out completed action emphatic declarative
- (51) *šř ò ” qô? lɛ ,*  
V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
die completed action say suspensive
- (52) *qhe te šē lɛ-̄ , va-tê te kə á*  
Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub>  
like this be a certain way still suspensive falling-log trap do and insert perfective  
*lɛ-̄ , qò? e ve cê .*  
P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
suspensive go home motion away nominalizer quotative
- (53) *qhe-te-lɛ ̄ , è-qhê chi á-thâ thà? , á-thâ-á-yê pû ā*  
Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N Det N P<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
after that topic trickster this jew's-harp accusative jew's-harp be carried on perfective  
*lɛ , m̄? pî qha lɛ-ē-ɛ , yâ-mî-há*  
P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N  
suspensive blow benefactive (3p) vivid action vivid action unmarried young woman  
*nî m̄ mû-šš-nà? ca ni gř e*  
Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>time</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
two for people (informal) early morning go and do look at V for fun motion away  
*lɛ-̄ , è-qhê chi á-thâ-á-yê m̄? khô kâ e lɛ , ”*  
P<sub>unf</sub> N Det Elab<sub>n</sub> V N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
suspensive trickster this jew's-harp blow sound hear motion away suspensive  
*è-qhê ò , ŋà-hí-mà à? a-cí lò? ci*  
N P<sub>n</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub>  
trickster vocative the two of us accusative please enter let (permissive causative)  
*a , ” qô? ve cê .*  
P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
hortatory say nominalizer quotative
- (54) *qhe-te-lɛ ̄ , ” ð-chi , m̄ dà? ve tē q̄š-l̄š*  
Conj P<sub>unf</sub> Interj Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub>  
thereupon topic look here! negative good-looking nominalizer really V first  
*à? lò? la-? ” tē? qô? pî*  
P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>v</sub> QUOT V V<sub>v</sub>  
accusative enter motion toward (imperative) embedded quote say benefactive (3p)  
*a lɛ-̄ ,*  
P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
vigorous action suspensive

- (55) *mâ* *dâ?* *ve* *tè* *qó-ló* *à?* *lò?* *la* *le-ó* ,  
 Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 negative good-looking nominalizer really V first accusative enter come to V suspensive  
*tē-pē* *šē* *ve* *cê* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be crushed to death regrettably nominalizer quotative
- (56) *qhe-te-le* , *è-qhè* *chi ve* *ó* *qò?* *pho* *tó?* *e* *gè?-e*  
 Conj N Det P<sub>unf</sub> vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 so trickster this guy topic V again escape V out motion away intensifier  
*ve* *cê* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer quotative
- (57) *qhe-te-le* , *tē pò?* *qò?* *gà?-yù* *le* , *gà?-mi* *šē* *ve*  
 Conj Q vV V P<sub>unf</sub> V V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 then again V again chase to capture suspensive catch unpleasantly nominalizer  
*cê* , *tē pò?* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> Q  
 quotative for once
- (58) *gà?-mi* *šē* *le-ó* , *ó-qā* *qhê-qho* *ó* *phē-tī* *ā* *le* ,  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 catch first suspensive buffalo buttocks locative tether durative suspensive  
*gò* *šē* *pī* *ve* *cê* .  
 vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 act violently drag along benefactive (3p) nominalizer quotative
- (59) *qhe-qo* *ó* , *mê?-phú* *ò-hó* *mù?* *ā* *le* *há-pi-de*  
 Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 then topic face downward turn upside down perfective suspensive rocky place  
*gò* *šē* *pī* *a* *qo* , " *álo* , *álo* " *qò?*  
 vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Interj Interj V  
 act violently drag along benefactive (3p) vigorous action when ouch! ouch! say  
*ve* *cê* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer quotative
- (60) *qhe-te-qo* , *šf-bù-de* *qhò?* *ó* *gò* *šē* *pī*  
 Conj N N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> vV V V<sub>v</sub>  
 then grassy ground on top of locative act violently drag along benefactive (3p)  
*a* *qo* *ó* , " *álo* , *álo* " *qò?* *ve* *cê* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Interj Interj V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 vigorous action when topic ouch! ouch! say nominalizer quotative
- (61) *há-pi-de* *gò* *šē* *pī* *a* *qo* , "  
 N vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 rocky place act violently drag along benefactive (3p) vigorous action when  
*qâ-cà?* , *qâ-cà?* " *qhe* *qò?* *ve* *cê* .  
 Interj Interj Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 serves you right! serves you right! like this say nominalizer quotative

- (62) *qhe-te-le*  $\bar{5}$  *mâ* *šĩ* .  
 Conj P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
 after that topic negative die
- (63) *qđ?* *tđ?* *e* *gà* *e* *šē* *le-5* , *tê pđ?* *lê* *qđ?*  
<sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> <sub>v</sub>V  
 V again come out motion away manage to motion away still suspensive again V again  
*gà?-yù* *le* , *šu* *yù* *gã* *šē* *le-5* , *ôo*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub>  
 chase to capture suspensive others take hold of be able first suspensive way over there  
 , *í-kâ?* *cò* *lón* *đ-hó*  $\bar{5}$  *phe-chĩ* *tá* *ve* *cê* .  
 N N B<sub>n</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 water bridge sthg big under topic hang up by ropes perfective nominalizer quotative
- (64) *phe-chĩ* *tá* *le-5* , *qhe* *te* *šē* *le* , *tân-kà-pā*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub>  
 hang up by ropes perfective suspensive this way do still suspensive traders  
*tê mō* *lón* *là* *cê* .  
 Q B<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 one group sthg big come quotative
- (65) *qhe-te-le* , " *è-qhè* *ò* , *nđ* *à-thò?-ma te* *cò* *đ-hó*  $\bar{5}$  *chê*  
 Conj N P<sub>n</sub> Pron Adv<sub>interrog</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V  
 so trickster vocative you why bridge under locative be there  
*le* , " *qđ?* *le-5* ,  
 P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 substantive qst say suspensive
- (66) " *mê?-šĩ* *nà* *le* *mê?-šĩ* *šá mì* *ve* *yâ-o* *nē* " *qđ?*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> N OV P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V  
 eye hurt because eye "imbibe the essence" nominalizer emphatic emphatic say  
*ve* *cê* , *Hê?-pā* *ô-ve* *tê mō* *à?* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N Det Q P<sub>n</sub>  
 nominalizer quotative Chinese that one group accusative
- (67) " *âa* , *ñà-hĩ* *kà?* *mì* *gâ* *a* , *è-qhè* *ò* ,"  
 Interj Pron P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 oh! we (pl) also "imbibe the essence" desiderative intentive trickster vocative  
*qđ?* *le-5* , " *yù tđ?* *a* " *qđ?* *pĩ* *cê* *ma*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> V+V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 say suspensive release hortatory say benefactive (3p) quotative exclamatory  
*nē* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (68) *yù tđ?* *pĩ* *a* *le* , *tđ?* *gâ* *šē*  
 V+V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 release benefactive (3p) vigorous action suspensive get out manage to right away  
*cê* , *è-qhè* *ô-ve* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> N Det  
 quotative trickster that

- (69) *tân-kà-pā* *ô-ve* *tê mō* *̄* , *l̄* *í-mú* *hɔ* *qhâ?* *gà?* *ā*  
*N<sub>dvb</sub>* *Det* *Q* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *N* *N* *N* *N* *V* *P<sub>v</sub>*  
 merchants that one group topic mule horse elephant elephant drive perfective  
*ve* , *tân-kà* *te* *la* *ā* *ve* , *mê?-šī* *nà*  
*P<sub>univ</sub>* *N* *V* *P<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *N* *V*  
 nominalizer trade do come to V perfective nominalizer eye hurt  
*pā* *dê-dê* *c̄* *šē* *l̄* .  
*P<sub>v-nom</sub>* *N<sub>ext</sub>* *V* *P<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>univ</sub>*  
 agentive nominalizer all happen to be regrettably because
- (70) *phē* *l̄-̄* , *ô* *̄-hó* *̄* , *cò* *̄-hó* *̄* , *í-kâ?*  
*V* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *N<sub>sd</sub>* *N<sub>loc</sub>* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *N* *N<sub>loc</sub>* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *N*  
 tie suspensive over there under topic bridge under topic water  
*šá m̄* *c̄* *ve* *te* *l̄* , *t̄?-chê?* *ce*  
*OV* *V<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *V* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *V* *V*  
 "imbibe the essence" causative nominalizer do suspensive sever fall (from a height)  
*a* *l̄* *̄* , *šī* *p̄* *e* *l̄-̄* ,  
*P<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *V* *V<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>unf</sub>*  
 vigorous action suspensive topic die finish V'ing motion away suspensive
- (71) *tân-kà-pā* *ô* *tê mō* *ve* *m̄* *phu-šī* *è-qhê*  
*N<sub>dvb</sub>* *N<sub>sd</sub>* *Q* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *N* *N* *N*  
 merchants that one group genitivizer personal property silver and gold trickster  
*ḡa v̄* *ve* *c̄* .  
*V + P<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 get away with nominalizer quotative
- (72) *qhe-te-l̄* , *qò?* *e* *l̄-̄* , *á-qhɔ* *q̄?* *qò?* *e*  
*Conj* *V* *P<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *N* *vV* *V* *P<sub>v</sub>*  
 after that go home motion away suspensive home V again go home motion away  
*ve* *tê yân thá* , " *ôo* , *è-qhê* *nò* *qhà-qhe te* *ḡa* *le* .  
*P<sub>univ</sub>* *NP<sub>time</sub>* *Interj* *N* *Pron* *Cl<sub>nf</sub>* *V* *P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 relativizer when oh! trickster you how get substantive qst
- (73) *ηà-hi* *nò* *à?* *šī* *tù* *te* *ve* *kà?* , *nò* *phu-šī*  
*Pron* *Pron* *P<sub>n</sub>* *V* *P<sub>v</sub>* *V* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *Pron* *N*  
 we (pl) you accusative die purposive do nominalizer although you silver and gold  
*chī ma* *ḡa* *ve* *qhà-qhe te* *le* " *qò?* *l̄* ,  
*NP<sub>ext</sub>* *V* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *Cl<sub>nf</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>* *V* *P<sub>unf</sub>*  
 this much get nominalizer how substantive qst say suspensive
- (74) " *âa* , *í-kâ?* *šá m̄* *l̄* *ḡa* *ve* *yò* , *nò-hi*  
*Interj* *N* *OV* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *V* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>* *Pron*  
 well! water "imbibe the essence" suspensive get nominalizer declarative you (pl)  
*te* *á* *lâ* *l̄* " *qò?* *c̄* .  
*V* *P<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *V* *P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 do perfective benefactive (non-3p) because say quotative
- (75) *qhe-te-l̄* *̄* , " *âa* , *ηà-hi* *kà?* *hâ?* *gâ* " *qò?* *l̄-̄* , *te*  
*Conj* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *Interj* *Pron* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *V* *P<sub>v</sub>* *V* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *vV*  
 thereupon topic well! we (pl) also obtain desiderative say suspensive do and  
*šī v̄* *l̄-̄* , *ô* *kà?* *hɔ-lo* , *qhá-jū-lu* *hi è*  
*V + P<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *N<sub>sd</sub>* *N<sub>loc</sub>* *P<sub>n</sub>* *N* *NP<sub>ext</sub>*  
 accompany suspensive over there over there over there basket with headstrap as big as



3. [But] while others had made rice-packets<sup>3</sup> for themselves, this fellow è-*qhè*<sup>4</sup> had wrapped up a sparse-feathered little chicken<sup>5</sup> to take with him, and on the road, when they ate, when it was time to eat, he unwrapped it and made as if to eat his meal.
4. As he unwrapped it and the little chick hopped right out, he said, Oh, dear, I mustn't go [with you]! You all go [on ahead without me]! As for me, since I've seen this omen,<sup>6</sup> I'm going home. I can't possibly fight a war now. See you guys later!"<sup>7</sup>
5. And so the others let him go back.
6. Then, when they had let him go back, he ripped open a bumblebee's nest<sup>8</sup>, scooped out some crabs<sup>9</sup>, and tied them so they dangled from a bamboo-sheath<sup>10</sup>, and placed this [all] outside the house [of a certain woman].
7. Then when night fell<sup>11</sup>, and [the bees went] *bzz-bzz-bzz* and [the crab] went scratching *teh-teh* against the bamboo-tube—er, bamboo-sheath<sup>12</sup>, Trickster said to the woman, "Aha, the spirits of your husbands<sup>13</sup> have come back to you! Don't stay here any more! It's too scary!"
8. So they all went trooping over to the Trickster's house to sleep.
9. Then that Trickster said, "Oh, come now, don't sleep at my house. Your kids will shit all over everything."
10. So then they swore to him, saying, "Oh, no, we won't let them shit. We guarantee<sup>14</sup> it!" and they were allowed to sleep at Trickster's house.
11. Then, after the bunch of women fell asleep, the Trickster thoroughly mashed up some shitbeans<sup>15</sup>, squeezed [the paste] into balls, and smeared it on the rear ends of all the children who were there.
12. When dawn broke he said, "Just look at the way your kids have crapped up my whole house!"<sup>16</sup> What will you give me as compensation?"<sup>17</sup>, and they said, "Oh, any compensation at all! Whatever you want to take, take!" but when they offered him money he wouldn't take it.
13. No matter what they offered, he wouldn't take it.
14. Then the Trickster said to the bunch of women, "Well, go and beat on the Hollow A-yaw Tree<sup>18</sup>, and

<sup>3</sup>The usual wayfarer's food is a cake of steamed rice wrapped in a banana leaf.

<sup>4</sup>This is the Trickster's proper name. It is sometimes pronounced more like è-*qhày* or è-*qhàn*.

<sup>5</sup>*gâ?-qú-ni*: 'a kind of tailless chicken without breast feathers', lit. "naked chicken" (è-*qú-ni* 'something naked').

<sup>6</sup>According to traditional Lahu belief, anything unusual or scary that happens on a journey is taken as an evil omen, and as a persuasive reason to go back home.

<sup>7</sup>The expression *qò? e šā*, lit. "I shall go back", is a common Lahu formula for leave-takings.

<sup>8</sup>*pê-gù-li* 'bumblebees'. They live in holes in rotting trees, one insect per hole. The Trickster must have put the bees into some kind of container, though the narrator doesn't bother to say this.

<sup>9</sup>From a body of water nearby.

<sup>10</sup>*vâ-lé-qò?*: 'a crinkly covering adhering to the surface of young bamboo plants.' Trickster selected this material for the noise it would make when scratched.

<sup>11</sup>*mú phè? ve*: lit., "the sky is revealed", is the Lahu idiom for night falling. The idea seems to be that only at night is the sky revealed for what it really is, a black star-studded expanse. *phè?* is the same verb as 'unwrap' (sentence 3 above).

<sup>12</sup>The narrator momentarily misspoke himself, saying first *vâ-dé-qò* 'tube of bamboo' instead of *vâ-lé-qò?*.

<sup>13</sup>The Trickster is now talking to all the jittery women of the village, who have evidently all come running out of their houses. He uses the expression *nò-hi ð-pā* 'your (p.) husbands'. *ð-pā*, lit. "a male", is a slightly pejorative term for husband, since the ordinary word in Black Lahu is *ð-phō*.

<sup>14</sup>The women use the rather high-flown loanword *lâ?-lo* 'guarantee' (cf. Thai ráprɔŋ), which adds to the comic effect.

<sup>15</sup>*nò?-qhê*, lit. "shit-beans", are fermented soybeans made into paste or cakes and often eaten fried with vegetables and ginger. The name arises from its dark brown color, its consistency, and its pungent odor. This is also called *nò?-kâ*, lit. "rotten beans", which is also the literal meaning of its Burmese name *pê-pou?* (Written Burmese *pai-pup*).

<sup>16</sup>*qhê qò kə*, lit. "shit into". The verb *kə* 'insert' is sometimes used as an auxiliary verb to indicate thorough, penetrating action. The phrase 'my whole house' is an attempt to render this in English.

<sup>17</sup>*šāy* (or *šē*) 'pay compensation' is another legalistic loanword from Tai (cf. Siamese *càaj*) 'pay'.

<sup>18</sup>*a-yò-qò* 'hollow a-yò tree'. The *a-yò* (either *Lagerstroemia cylindrica* or *L. macrocarpa*) is one of the four 'master trees' (*šì?-jò-mō*) of Lahu tradition. It is a very tall, straight tree, believed especially apt to be hit by lightning.



listen [to what it tells you].”<sup>19</sup>

15. In order to go beat on that Hollow A-yaw Tree-oracle, he made the women take the long way around.

16. The Trickster himself<sup>20</sup> went by the straight road, and got inside of the Hollow A-yaw, and the women tried beating on the outside, going *thump-thump*, saying, “What sort of compensation shall we give to Trickster?”

17. And the Trickster said<sup>21</sup>, “Ah, give him compensation, give him compensation!”

18. So they went back home again.

19. The Trickster also ran back after the women as fast as he could, [so he was] sitting in his house [when they got there], and said, “Well, what did it say to you?,” and they said, “Well, all it said was, ‘Give compensation to Trickster!’”

20. “Well, then,” he said, “unless you beat on it once more, you won’t know [what to do],” so again they [went to] beat on it and ask it [a question]—the Trickster had quickly gotten inside of it again—and the women in a body beat on it, *thump-thump*, and it said, “Oh, give him cunt, give him cunt!”<sup>22</sup>

21. At this the bunch of women ran back home, and the Trickster also ran back fast, and sitting in his house working this time with strips of rattan he said, “Well, what did it say? What did it tell you?” and they said, “Well, Trickster—it just said, ‘Give him cunt, give him cunt!’”

22. Whereupon Trickster proceeded to fuck<sup>23</sup> every single woman in the village, one after the other.<sup>24</sup>

23. Well, when all their husbands came back [from the war], they said, “Oh, Trickster did this and that to us! After you all were gone, Trickster fucked us!,” so straightaway, as soon as all the husbands were back, they chased after Trickster trying to kill him, and he ran away.

24. He ran away and they chased him, but they couldn’t catch him.

25. No matter how they chased him they couldn’t catch him.

26. Unsuccessful once again, they came back home, while this Trickster, this guy<sup>25</sup>, he scooped out some honey<sup>26</sup> and smeared himself with it, and then<sup>27</sup> he went and lay down inside a storage basket<sup>28</sup> in a cotton-house<sup>29</sup>, then when they saw him in the joss-stick temple<sup>30</sup> they said, “Oh, the god has appeared to

<sup>19</sup>The whole complex verbal idea, ‘beat on and listen to what it says’, is conveyed by the concise two-verb concatenation **dǝ? na** ‘beat’ + ‘listen’. It could equally well be translated ‘beat on and ask it [a question]’, since the verb **na**, like Japanese *kiku*, can mean either ‘ask’ or ‘listen to’, according to context.

<sup>20</sup>**ǝ-qhǝ chi**, lit. “this Trickster”, here translated ‘the Trickster himself’. The determiner **chi** ‘this’ and the demonstrative **ǝ-ve** ‘that’ are sometimes interchangeable as anaphoric markers, and are usually both translated simply as ‘the’. (The narrator tends to alternate them for variety.)

<sup>21</sup>No doubt in a disguised “oracular” voice, though the story-teller made no effort to reproduce this in his narration.

<sup>22</sup>**cha** ‘female pudenda, vagina, cunt’. Lahu has no euphemisms for human sexual organs or excretory functions. **cha** (or **cha-pǝ?**), like **nǝ** or **nǝ-qhǝ?** ‘male genitalia, penis, cock’, is plain-spoken, neither medical, circumlocutory, nor vulgar.

<sup>23</sup>**pǝ?** ‘copulate, have intercourse with, fuck’. See preceding note.

<sup>24</sup>**yǝ-mǝ-ma tǝ qhǝ?-qhǝ? ve**: the meaning ‘every woman in the village’ is conveyed by the reduplication of **qhǝ?** ‘village’. The idea ‘one after the other’ is provided by the auxiliary verb **phǝ?** ‘perform an action as one of a group; perform several similar actions.’ As a main verb **phǝ?** means ‘to pile up; make a heap’.

<sup>25</sup>The story-teller uses a succession of two topic noun-phrases in apposition, both to establish sufficient contrast with the ineffectual actions of the husbands, and to give himself a bit of breathing space before launching into the rapid series of clauses which are to follow in the same sentence.

<sup>26</sup>Presumably from a nearby tree with a bees’ nest. The economy of detail the story-teller permits himself is possible because his whole audience (except for the poor recording linguist) had already heard the story many times before.

<sup>27</sup>Instead of ‘and then’, the phrase **qhe te šǝ le-ǝ** could be translated ‘having done this’. The presence of the verb-particle **šǝ** ‘prerequisite action’ makes this expression “verbier” than the lexicalized conjunction **qhe-te-le** which occurs so often in this text.

<sup>28</sup>**the-qǝ** or **phe-qǝ**: a huge basket, often taller than a man and several feet in diameter, used for storing paddy or other harvested crops.

<sup>29</sup>**šǝ-lǝ-yǝ**: an outbuilding where cotton was stored. The cotton sticking to the honey gave the Trickster a sort of tarred-and-feathered appearance, so that he looked like something “out of this world”.

<sup>30</sup>**šǝ-tǝ-ki-yǝ**: lit. “incense-burn-place-house”, a building where there was an altar for burning incense sticks. Lahu animists burn

us today!”<sup>31</sup>

27. So they made offerings to him.

28. When they gave him the food he ate it.

29. When he did this<sup>32</sup>, they thought “It’s only the Trickster!,” realizing it all of a sudden, so they grabbed him and tried to beat him to death, but again he ran away.

30. Again they chased him, and oh, this time they were chasing and chasing him, he pulled out his penis and skinned back his foreskin<sup>33</sup>, and scratched together some leaves to cover himself, and made his penis all stiff and straight<sup>34</sup>, and they said, “Well, Trickster’s trail has petered out now!<sup>35</sup> And here’s a red phalloides mushroom<sup>36</sup> that has sprouted.”

31. After this they went home.

32. After they went home, the Trickster went back again too, and this time when they were chasing him, this guy, this Trickster, he managed to climb up into a big clump of trees.<sup>37</sup>

33. When he had gotten to the top of a big tree, at that point, as they chopped away at it, trying to get it to fall into the river down below, he said, “Oh, in my position<sup>38</sup>, if you would only chop so that I fall into the water down there, I’d be able to swim back out and I wouldn’t die.

34. [But] if you chop me<sup>39</sup> so I land on that rocky cliff up there, I’d surely be smashed to smithereens!<sup>40</sup> I would die!”

35. And so they chopped it in such a way that its fall was broken<sup>41</sup> by the cliff up there, and he managed to escape into a cave in the rocks.

36. Then, when the Trickster had gone into the cave up there, the others blew smoke <sup>42</sup> inside with all their might.

37. But try as they would, they couldn’t get it to blow inside.

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incense and candles to honor the supreme supernatural **g̃i-ša**, the last syllable of whose name seems to be related to the morpheme **ša** ‘joss-stick, incense-stick’. The Pidgin English word *joss*, meaning ‘idol, cult-image’, itself derives ultimately from Portuguese *deos* ‘god’.

<sup>31</sup>**g̃i-ša**, here translated ‘the god’, is the Great Spirit of Lahu animist religion, conceived of as an incorporeal and abstract being far above the nature-spirits, who are rather stupid and often malevolent. **g̃i-ša** has his own priests, who enjoy higher status in the community than the “spirit-doctors” who deal with the **nē** or nature-spirits. It was relatively natural for the missionaries to adapt the notion of **g̃i-ša** to apply to the “Christian God”.

<sup>32</sup>A real god is supposed to inhale merely the “breath” or essence (**šá**, **ḍ-šá**) of a food-offering, so Trickster is revealed as a non-divine being. This incident is reversed symbolically at the end of the story, where Trickster claims to have made his fortune by “imbibing the essence” of the water– thus indirectly proclaiming himself to be a god.

<sup>33</sup>**nī qé ve**: ‘retract the foreskin’. **qé** means ‘to extract through a narrow opening.’ It is also used, e.g., for removing mucus from the nose.

<sup>34</sup>So that only his glans protruded through the covering of leaves. (It is to be noted that English *glans* is itself a metaphorical extension of a plant-name, “acorn”.)

<sup>35</sup>The reader will perhaps forgive this **pun**. The literal meaning of this sentence is “There is no long any way to chase after Trickster’s trail”.

<sup>36</sup>**mù-ní-g̃o** or **mù-ní-g̃we**: a kind of tasty ground mushroom with a red cap resembling a glans penis. The 2nd syllable **ní** means ‘red’, but recalls the homophonous (except for tone) **nī** ‘penis’. **mù** means ‘mushroom’ and **g̃o** means ‘round’. “Red phalloides” is a feeble attempt to render this phytonym in English.

<sup>37</sup>**š̃i?-cè ḍ-pu-ló** ‘big clump of trees’. The narrator amends this to **š̃i?-cè-ló** ‘a big tree’, when this clause is “chain-repeated” in the next sentence.

<sup>38</sup>This renders **ḡà lè**, lit. “as for me”, a strongly topicalized 1st person pronoun.

<sup>39</sup>The verb **thu** ‘chop down’ is here construed with a personal direct object, although it is much more usual to have ‘tree’ as its object. This is preserved in the translation, and in fact reinforces the symbolic psychosexual meaning of the chopping, i.e. an attempt at castration of the potent by the impotent.

<sup>40</sup>**nē?-kà? qay ve** ‘go smash; get smashed to smithereens’. **nē?-kà?** is one of a class or morphemes that forms vivid adverbial expressions with the verb **qay** ‘go’, much like English ‘go kaputt’, ‘go blooey’, etc.

<sup>41</sup>**ḡe p̃t̃: ḡe** ‘lean on’, **p̃t̃** ‘give; causative auxiliary’, i.e. ‘cause to lean against; cause to be propped up on’.

<sup>42</sup>The Lahu says ‘blew fire inside’, although **à-mī** ‘fire’ must be translated as ‘smoke’ for clarity in English. Burning brush at the mouth of a cave is a common method for smoking animals out, or of asphyxiating them so they can be removed after they die.

38. He had taken off his shirt and was fanning it out again—from where he was, inside there.
39. They poked in sticks—they kept hacking off sticks and poking them inside.
40. So the Trickster took a shit and smeared it on the sticks, and it sta-a-nk<sup>43</sup> like hell, and they said, “Aha, the Trickster’s shit is coming out of him now! He’s dead!,” and they set a falling-log trap<sup>44</sup> and went back home.
41. After this, the Trickster took up the jewsharp<sup>45</sup> he had carried with him, and blew on it with gusto<sup>46</sup>, and early the next morning two young girls came to have a look, and when they heard the sound of the Trickster playing the jewsharp, they said, “Yoo-hoo<sup>47</sup>, Trickster, please let the two of us come in!”
42. Then he said, “Well, then, let the one who is truly uglier come in first,” and when the one who was truly uglier came in first, she was crushed to death.<sup>48</sup>
43. Thereupon the Trickster managed to escape outside once more.
44. Then, again they chased and chased him, and for once they caught him.
45. When they caught him they tied him to the ass of a water-buffalo, and dragged them along.<sup>49</sup>
46. Then they bent his face over downwards and dragged him over a piece of rocky ground, and he said “A-lo, a-lo, a-lo!”
47. Then they dragged him over some grassy ground, and he said “A-lo, a-lo, a-lo!”
48. And when they dragged him [again] over the rocks they said, “Serves you right, serves you right, serves you right!”<sup>50</sup>
49. [But] he didn’t die.
50. Again he managed to get out, and once more they chased after him.
51. Once they had seized hold of him, they tied him so he hung underneath a big bridge over the water, some distance away.
52. After they had left him strung up there, at that point, a large group of traders<sup>51</sup> came along.

<sup>43</sup>The verb *nù* ‘stink’ is pronounced with exaggerated drawled intonation.

<sup>44</sup>*va-tê* ‘falling-log trap’: a delicately contrived trap which the animal springs by stepping on a board which instantaneously activates a series of rods, the last of which releases a heavy log. The husbands, although they believe Trickster to be dead, leave this trap at the mouth of the cave as a precautionary measure. Since the trap was set up outside the cave, *kə* does not have its literal meaning “insert” here, but its more abstract meaning of ‘in such a way that the verbal action penetrates its goal’.

<sup>45</sup>*á-thâ* ‘jewsharp’: a pair of supple bamboo strips with thin reeds and notes a fourth apart, which the player blows on while flicking the ends up and down. The two notes are alternated and iterated with considerable rhythmic complexity. This instrument is used mostly in courtship. Technically *á-yê* refers to a slightly different kind of instrument with its strips tuned an octave apart. *á-thâ-á-yê* sometimes means ‘jewsharps of both kinds’, but here it is simply a more sonorous synonym of *á-thâ*.

<sup>46</sup>‘With gusto’ translates the emphatic particle *qha*, as well as the drawled intonation on the following concatenative particle *le*.

<sup>47</sup>‘Yoo-hoo’ was chosen to render the Lahu vocative particle *ò*, since its “Blondie-and-Dagwood” quality suggests the empty-headedness that the girls display.

<sup>48</sup>It is hard to understand the girls’ docile stupidity here. From our point of view it should have been more effective for Trickster to have said, “Let the prettier one of you come in first.” Then presumably they would have vied for the honor of being first. One can only conclude that the girls were so much under Trickster’s spell that they obeyed him literally, making an objective assessment of who was uglier.

<sup>49</sup>*gō-še*, lit. “drag-lead”. Here *gō* is used in its literal sense of “drag”, and not merely as an enlivener of the verbal idea. It is immaterial whether we take the unexpressed object to be the buffalo or the Trickster, since they are tied together.

<sup>50</sup>The interjection *qā-cà?* is used to gloat at somebody’s discomfiture. The story-teller emphasizes Trickster’s plight so that the audience can fully enjoy it, but he won’t be kept down for long. This episode, among its other functions in the story, serves to put Trickster’s ultimate triumph into higher relief.

<sup>51</sup>As we soon find out, these were Chinese traveling traders. This provides an interesting symmetry with the beginning of the story, where the men are going off to fight the Chinese. Evidently the confrontation with the Chinese operated at many levels in ancestral Lahuland.

53. And they said, “Hey, Trickster!<sup>52</sup> What are you doing there under the bridge? <sup>53</sup>,” and he said to that bunch of Chinese, “Since my eyes are sore, my eyes are ‘imbibing the essence!’<sup>54</sup>
54. “Well, we would like to imbibe it also, Trickster!” they said, and he said, “Let me loose then!”
55. So they let him loose, and he got free.
56. Now that group of traders had been driving their mules, horses, and elephants around to the villages, having come to trade them.
57. Since they all happened to have sore eyes<sup>55</sup>, he tied them up, and as they were trying to “imbibe the essence of the water” under there, under the bridge, he cut them down so they fell in and died, and Trickster got away with all their goods, their silver and their gold.
58. After this he went back, and when he had returned to his home again they said, “Oh, Trickster, how did you get [all this]? How did it happen that you got so much silver and gold even though we tried to kill you?,” and he said, “Well, I just got it by ‘imbibing the essence’ of the water!<sup>56</sup> Since it was you all who did this for me.”<sup>57</sup>
59. Then they said, “Oh, we’d like to get it too!,” so he led them away, making each man carry with him to that place a pickling-tub<sup>58</sup> as big as a forehead-basket <sup>59</sup>, and he strung them up there underneath [the bridge], and after the people had gotten inside [their tubs], he slowly released the ropes and made them fall into the water.
60. Immediately he made them sink down into the water, and they thrashed around furiously.
61. Then, since there was one old codger who hadn’t gone in, he said to him, “There, there, there, look! The others are fighting with each other over the gold!,” so he jumped in too, and [Trickster] cut through [the ropes], and after the whole villageful [of men] had died, he got the women of all the people in the village for himself.

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<sup>52</sup>Note that the traders recognize the Trickster without ever having been introduced to him. Trickster is larger than life and known to everybody.

<sup>53</sup>This could equally well be translated ‘Why are you under the bridge?’, since the usual Lahu way of saying ‘why’ (**à-thò?-ma te le**) means literally “doing what?”

<sup>54</sup>**šá mî ve**, here translated ‘imbibing the essence’, is an expression of key symbolic importance in the story. It does not occur in ordinary speech, and is clearly meant to be pregnant with meaning. **šá** means ‘air, breeze, vapor; breath; vital force, spirit, energy’. The verb **mî** means ‘to pass air noisily through the mouth or nose’, as in **è?-mî ve** ‘hiccup’, **è? mî ve** ‘belch’, **qa-mî ve** ‘sing’, **tí-šî? mî ve** ‘whistle’, **há-mî ve** ‘yawn’, **há-thî mî ve** ‘sneeze’.

<sup>55</sup>Due to the long dusty roads they had to travel. Trickster had alertly noticed that their eyes were red.

<sup>56</sup>With this remark the Trickster is indirectly revealing himself to be a god, for only gods can live off the incorporeal essence of things. This is a symbolic inversion of the incident above, where he was found out not to be a god when he ate the substance of the food-offerings in the temple.

<sup>57</sup>**nò-hî te á lâ le**: the particle **lâ** indicates action that benefits a non-3rd person (in this case 2nd person benefitting 1st person). Trickster is pretending to be grateful to the husbands for having strung him up under the bridge.

<sup>58</sup>**i-mû-qô**: a large-mouthed vessel made of earth, sand, and cement, used for pickling.

<sup>59</sup>**qhá-jū-lu**: a deep loosely woven basket used for transporting water-gourds, carried by a tumpline around the forehead so that the hands are left free.

## **11 Bilingual humor**

## 11.1 The ferocious elephant

- (1) à-šwè thâ chɔ tê ġâ cò ve cê .  
 AE N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 once upon a time guy one for people be there nominalizer quotative
- (2) ô hɔ , hɔ hɔ-šɛ-phâ tê ġâ thâ? mð  
 N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N N<sub>dvb</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V  
 over there emphatic locative elephant herdsman one for people accusative see  
 ɛ , " šaháy , šú càn nɛ? cã  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N Pron N P<sub>n</sub> V<sub>adj</sub>  
 suspensive friend your (Shan) elephant (Shan) topicalizer (Shan) ferocious  
 yù hâin , cã yù hâin ?"  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 durative (Shan) yes ferocious durative (Shan) yes
- (3) " cã tɛ ð , cã tɛ ð !"  
 N P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 elephant (Shan) really V polite (Shan) elephant (Shan) really V polite (Shan)
- (4) " šú càn nɛ? cã yù hâ , cã  
 Pron N P<sub>n</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub>  
 your (Shan) elephant (Shan) topicalizer (Shan) ferocious durative (Shan) yes ferocious  
 yù hâ , šaháy ?"  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N  
 durative (Shan) yes buddy (Shan)
- (5) " cã tɛ ð , cã tɛ ð !"  
 N P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 elephant (Shan) really V polite (Shan) elephant (Shan) really V polite (Shan)
- (6) " yâ-nɛ ò , cã à qô? ve .  
 N P<sub>n</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 guys vocative ferocious asseverative say nominalizer
- (7) phɔ-? " qô? ve .  
 V<sub>imp</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 flee! say nominalizer
- (8) " pâj , pâj , pâj !"  
 V V V  
 go (Shan) go (Shan) go (Shan)
- (9) " pâj nãj ?"  
 V Pron<sub>intg</sub>  
 go (Shan) where? (Shan)
- (10) " pâj , pâj , pâj !"  
 V V V  
 go (Shan) go (Shan) go (Shan)
- (11) \* \* \*

- (12) à-šɛ yɔ̄ qô? ve lê , " šaháy " qô? ve  
 N<sub>time</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 just now he say nominalizer request for assent buddy (Shan) say nominalizer  
 chi ɔ̄-qhe " ð-chô " qô? ve yò .  
 Det P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 this topicalizer friend mean nominalizer declarative
- (13) qhe-qo " šú càn nê? cà tɛ hâ " qô?  
 Conj Pron N P<sub>n</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V  
 so your (Shan) elephant (Shan) topicalizer (Shan) ferocious really V yes say  
 ve ɔ̄ , " nò hɔ̄ chi cà lâ " qô? ve yò  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N Det V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer topic your elephant this ferocious yes mean nominalizer declarative
- (14) Pî-chô ɔ̄-qhe " càn " qô? ve ɔ̄ " hɔ̄ " à?  
 Eth P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 Shan topicalizer elephant (Shan) say nominalizer topic elephant accusative  
 qô? ve .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 mean nominalizer
- (15) yɔ̄ Pî-chô à? " hɔ̄ " qô? ā ve yò .  
 Pron Eth P<sub>n</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 he Shan accusative elephant mean perfective nominalizer declarative
- (16) qhe-te-ɛ yɔ̄ kô? jâ ɛ qá-chû-cè ó-qō ɔ̄ gà šē ɛ ,  
 Conj Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 so he be afraid very because coral tree top part locative reach first suspensive  
 tê pô? qô? yâ? e mâ gà .  
 Q V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> Adv V<sub>v</sub>  
 again V back come down motion away negative manage to
- (17) qhe-te-ɛ šu go ġa cí yù ve yò .  
 Conj Pron N V<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 so others ladder have to affix to V to get sthg nominalizer declarative

## Translation

1. Once upon a time there was a certain man.<sup>1</sup>
2. He saw someone<sup>2</sup> taking care of a grazing elephant<sup>3</sup> someplace,<sup>4</sup> [and said] “Friend, is your elephant dangerous—is he dangerous?”<sup>5</sup>
3. “Sure he’s an elephant! Sure he’s an elephant!”<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>I.e., a Lahu.

<sup>2</sup>I.e., a Shan.

<sup>3</sup>hɔ̄ ‘to lead to pasture; look after a grazing animal’, šē-phâ ‘agentive nominalizer’.

<sup>4</sup>ô hɔ̄- ô ɔ̄ ‘there; someplace.’ The narrator uses the variant hɔ̄ of the locative noun-particle ɔ̄, perhaps for the sake of a triple pun with hɔ̄ ‘elephant’ and hɔ̄ ‘care for an animal.’

<sup>5</sup>These sentences are in Shan in the original.

<sup>6</sup>These sentences are in Shan in the original.

## The ferocious elephant

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4. “Is your elephant dangerous? Is he dangerous, friend?”<sup>7</sup>
5. “Sure he’s an elephant! Sure he’s an elephant!”<sup>8</sup>
6. “Boys,<sup>9</sup> he says it’s dangerous. Let’s get out of here!” he said. “Vamoose, vamoose!”<sup>10</sup>
7. “Where are you going?”<sup>11</sup> [said the Shan].
8. “Vamoose, vamoose!”

### Explanation

[Another Lahu explains the story we’ve just heard.]

9. When he said “šaháy” just now, you see, he meant “friend.”
10. Then “sá can nê? cà tè hâ means “Is your elephant dangerous<sup>12</sup>?”
11. But to the Shan, “cà(n) meant “elephant.”<sup>13</sup>
12. So it was as if he’d said “[Is your elephant an] elephant” to the Shan.
13. So then, he was very frightened and ran away and reached a coral tree<sup>14</sup> which he climbed up.
14. Once he got up to the top of the coral tree, he couldn’t manage to get back down.
15. So somebody had to put a ladder against<sup>15</sup> [the tree] to take him down.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>These sentences are in Shan in the original.

<sup>8</sup>These sentences are in Shan in the original.

<sup>9</sup>This is the first time the narrator mentions that the Lahu has some boys with him, though this seems to be an important convention in stories of this kind. See *The empty Coconuts* (#110) and *A Lahu gives a Shan a good cursing* (#119).

<sup>10</sup>The Lahu here uses the Shan word **pâj** ‘go’ to his companions. The jocular but urgent tone this adds is conveyed by the pseudo-Spanish (“Spanglish) ‘vamoose’ (< Spanish *vamós* ‘let’s go!’).

<sup>11</sup>These sentences are in Shan in the original.

<sup>12</sup>**cà** ‘dangerous/ferocious’ is an old loan into Lahu from Shan *kyam*.

<sup>13</sup>**cà(n)** is the Lahu version of Shan *sâaŋ* ‘elephant’ (cf. Siamese *cháaŋ*).

<sup>14</sup>**qá-chû-cè** ‘coral tree’ [*Erythrina variegata*]: a thorny tree with white bark and red flowers, beloved by birds’. See DL:233.

<sup>15</sup>**cí** “affix to/put against.”

<sup>16</sup>The additional details supplied by the explainer in sentences 13-15 are by way of showing that he could have told the story better than the original teller!



## 11.2 The tiger in the tobacco pouch

- (1) *tê pō? thā cho tê ġâ cò ve yò* .  
 NP<sub>time</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 once person one for people be there nominalizer declarative
- (2) *yô ̄-qhe šú-dò-pā phê? ve yò* .  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 he topicalizer smoker be a certain way nominalizer declarative
- (3) *qhe-te-łe šú-yè tê phā cò ve yò* .  
 Conj N Q V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 so tobacco seedling all kinds of have nominalizer declarative
- (4) *qhe-te-łe Pî-chô ge yô šú-yè ca e ve yò* .  
 Conj Eth P<sub>n</sub> Pron N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well then Shan to he tobacco seedling look for motion away nominalizer declarative
- (5) *qhe-te-łe Pî-chô à? qô? pî ve , " pɔ-lè ê* ,  
 Conj Eth P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 so Shan object say benefactive (3p) nominalizer sir (Shan) vocative (Shan)  
*šú ð-é m̄ mî hâ ?"*  
 N Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 "little tobacco" negative (Shan) be there (Shan) yes
- (6) *qô? pî ve yò* .  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 say benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative
- (7) *qhe-te-łe Pî-chô ̄-qhe , " à-ma le , šú ð-é è*  
 Conj Eth P<sub>unf</sub> Pron<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 then Shan topicalizer what? substantive qst "little tobacco" topicalizer (Shan)  
 ?"
- (8) *qô? łe , " šú ð-é " qò? qô? pî ve yò*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 say suspensive "little tobacco" V again say benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative
- (9) *qhe-te-łe " âa , qhe-qo tâ phà? šē , tâ*  
 Conj Interj Conj Adv V P<sub>v</sub> Adv  
 then oh! in that case negative imperative unwrap yet negative imperative  
*phà? šē !*  
 V P<sub>v</sub>  
 unwrap yet
- (10) *ŋà pū ca e šā !"*  
 Pron N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 I policeman (Shan) look for motion away intentional (1p)

The tiger in the tobacco pouch

(11)	<i>tè</i>	<i>qôʔ</i>	<i>pî</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>yò</i>	,	<i>Pî-chô</i>	<i>yô</i>	<i>àʔ</i>	.
	QUOT	V	V <sub>v</sub>	P <sub>univ</sub>	P <sub>uf</sub>		Eth	Pron	P <sub>n</sub>	
	embedded quote	say	benefactive (3p)	nominalizer	declarative		Shan	him	object	
(12)	<i>qhe-te-ɛ</i>	<i>Pî-chô</i>	<i>mâ</i>	<i>šî</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>pa-tô</i>	,	<i>yô</i>	<i>phàʔ</i>	<i>tɛ</i>
	Conj	Eth	Adv	V	P <sub>univ</sub>	P <sub>n</sub>		Pron	V	V <sub>v</sub>
	then	Shan	negative	understand	nominalizer	because		he	unwrap	V and put down
	<i>pî</i>	<i>ɛ</i>		<i>yô</i>	<i>ʃ-qhe</i>	<i>šú-yè</i>		<i>àʔ</i>	<i>qôʔ</i>	<i>ve</i>
	V <sub>v</sub>	P <sub>unf</sub>		Pron	P <sub>unf</sub>	N		P <sub>n</sub>	V	P <sub>univ</sub>
	benefactive (3p)	suspensive		he	topicalizer	tobacco seedling		object	mean	nominalizer
	<i>lɔ</i>									
	P <sub>uf</sub>									
	emphatic declarative									

**Translation**

1. Once there was a certain man.
2. He was a tobacco-smoker.
3. So he had all kinds of tobacco seedlings.<sup>1</sup>
4. Well, he went looking for [a certain kind of] tobacco at a Shan's.
5. Then he said to the Shan, "Mister, don't you have any šú ò-é?"<sup>2</sup>
6. At this the Shan said, "What is this 'šú ò-é'?"<sup>3</sup>, so he repeated "šú ò-é".
7. Then the Shan said to him,<sup>4</sup> "Oh!<sup>5</sup> In that case don't up wrap it yet, don't unwrap it yet!
8. I'll go look for a policeman first!"
9. Then, since the Shan hadn't understood, he unwrapped it and put it down [for him to see] — he'd been talking about tobacco seedlings!

<sup>1</sup>šú-yè: 'tobacco seedling'. This word was inaccurately glossed as 'dried and cut tobacco ready for smoking' in JAM 1969:175.

<sup>2</sup>The Lahu does not know the Shan word for 'cheroot, cigarillo', so he uses the Lahu periphrasis šú ò-é 'little tobacco'. He has some of them wrapped up (with other belongings) in a large package, in case it should prove necessary to show the Shan just what kind he wants, but he has not unwrapped it yet.

<sup>3</sup>In this sentence, and in the rest of the text, the Shan speaks perfectly good Lahu. This is just a narrative convention, and the hearer is supposed to assume that he is really speaking Shan throughout. Cf. the convention in American movies where foreigners who are presumably talking together in their own language are made to speak in English so the audience will understand, but with a foreign accent, so that an exotic distance will be maintained.

<sup>4</sup>The words Pî-chô yô àʔ 'the Shan (said) to him' are tacked onto the end of the sentence as an afterthought. Such inversions are common in colloquial Lahu.

<sup>5</sup>The Shan now thinks he understands, and recoils in horror. The Lahu word šú 'tobacco' sounds something like the Shan [shǒ] 'tiger'. Perhaps the Shan understands the word ò-é 'little thing', which would lend plausibility to his hypothesis that there was a 'little tiger' or tiger-cub in the Lahu's package, since a big one would not fit. This is not essential to the story, however, since the sequence of vowels u-ɔ-ɛ in šú ò-é, when rapidly pronounced, sounds very much like the schwa vocalism of the Shan form.

### 11.3 The empty coconuts

- (1) *à-šwè thâ chɔ tē gâ cò ve yò cê* .  
 AE N Q V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 once upon a time person one person be there nominalizer declarative quotative
- (2) *tē ni thâ yô yâ tē mō šī və lɛ , yô yàʔ-qɔ qay*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N Q V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N V  
 one for days when he children one group accompany suspensive he road go  
*ve yò cê* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative quotative
- (3) *yàʔ-qɔ qay ve tē yân thâ , tē kà lo gâ lɛ , Pî-chô*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Eth  
 road go relativizer when one for places locative reach suspensive Shan  
*pɔ-kà-pā ló tē mō thàʔ mò ve yò cê* .  
 N B<sub>n</sub> Q P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 traders important one group accusative see nominalizer declarative quotative
- (4) *qhe-te-lɛ pɔ-kà-pā ló ô-ve mâ jâ ve yò* .  
 Conj N B<sub>n</sub> Det V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well then traders important those many very nominalizer declarative
- (5) *yô ô-ve àʔ mò ve tē yân thâ , yô qôʔ pî ve* ,  
 Pron Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 he them object see relativizer when he say benefactive (3p) nominalizer  
*Pî-chô thàʔ na-ni ve cê* .  
 Eth P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 Shan accusative ask nominalizer quotative
- (6) *yô qôʔ ve ɔ-qhe , ” pɔ-lè , šaháy , šú hàʔ*  
 Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N Pron V  
 he say nominalizer topicalizer sir (Shan) friend (Shan) you (Shan) carry (Shan)  
*šá è ?”*,  
 NP<sub>intg</sub>  
 what? (Shan)
- (7) *qôʔ pî ve cê* .  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 say benefactive (3p) nominalizer quotative
- (8) *qhe-te-lɛ Pî-chô qôʔ ve ɔ , ” ma hàʔ šán*  
 Conj Eth V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V Pron  
 thereupon Shan say nominalizer topic negative (Shan) carry (Shan) anything (Shan)
- (9) *hàʔ pāu lāj-lāj à ” qôʔ pî ve*  
 V V<sub>adj</sub> AE P<sub>uf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 carry (Shan) empty (Shan) only polite particle (Shan) say benefactive (3p) nominalizer

The empty coconuts

- cê*  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
quotative
- (10) *qhe-te-le yô tê pô? qô? qô? pî ve , " pɔ-lè ,*  
Conj Pron Q <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N  
so then he again V again say benefactive (3p) nominalizer sir (Shan)  
*hà? šá è ?"*  
V NP<sub>intg</sub>  
carry (Shan) what? (Shan)
- (11) *qô? na-ni ve cê*  
<sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
V again ask nominalizer quotative
- (12) " *pɔ-lè , nò à-ma tâ? le ?"*  
N Pron Pron<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
sir (Shan) you what? carry on shoulder substantive qst
- (13) *qô? na-ni ve cê*  
<sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
V again ask nominalizer quotative
- (14) *te-le Pî-chô yô à? qô? qô? pî ve , " ma*  
Conj Eth Pron P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv  
then Shan him object V again say benefactive (3p) nominalizer negative (Shan)  
*hà? šá*  
V Pron  
carry (Shan) anything (Shan)
- (15) *hà? pāu lāj-lāj è " qô? pî ve*  
V V<sub>adj</sub> AE P<sub>uf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
carry (Shan) empty (Shan) only polite particle (Shan) say benefactive (3p) nominalizer  
*cê*  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
quotative
- (16) *te-le Pî-chô ɔ , " tɛ?-chí mâ tâ?*  
Conj Eth P<sub>unf</sub> Adv Adv V  
so Shan topic nothing negative carry on shoulder
- (17) *lā-qō ɔ-qô-lè dē-dē yò " qô? pî ve cê*  
N N N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
saddlebag empty thing all declarative say benefactive (3p) nominalizer quotative
- (18) *qhe-te-le yô ɔ-qhe yâ-nè à? qô? pî ve ,*  
Conj Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
so then he topicalizer unmarried young men object say benefactive (3p) nominalizer  
" *yâ-nè ò , yâ-nè ò , šu pāw tâ? ve*  
N P<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> Pron N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
guys vocative guys vocative they coconut carry on shoulder nominalizer  
*cê*  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
quotative



5. When he saw them, he said—he asked the Shans [a question].
6. What he said was, “**pɔ-lè, šaháy, šú hà? šá è?**”
7. Which means “Sirs, friends, what are you carrying [with you]?”
8. At this a Shan said, “**ma hà? šán. hà? pāu láj-láj è.**”
9. So then he asked again: “**pɔ-lè, hà? šá è?**”
10. That is, “Sir, what are you carrying?”
11. Then the Shan answered him again, “**ma hà? šá. hà? pāu láj-láj è.**”
12. That is, the Shan was saying “We’re not carrying anything.
13. Our saddlebags are all empty.”
14. Then he said to the boys: “Hey, boys, boys! They say they’re carrying coconuts<sup>2</sup>!
15. Wouldn’t you like to eat some?
16. If you’d like to eat some coconuts, why don’t you all chip in some money<sup>3</sup>!”
17. So he collected some money.
18. When they got the money together, they said to the Shans, “Please sell us some coconuts!”
19. At this the Shan said, “We have nothing to sell.”
20. “**pāu láj-láj è!**”
21. That is, “Our saddlebags are empty<sup>4</sup>!”

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<sup>2</sup>The word **pāu** (also < Shan - cf. Thai **məphráaw**) means ‘coconut’ as well as ‘empty.’

<sup>3</sup>**phi šɔ kə:** ‘collect (šɔ) and put in (kə) money (phi)’.

<sup>4</sup>The Lahu gloss he gives is slightly inaccurate. The translation of 20 is simply “They’re empty.”

## 11.4 Thanks for the non-curry

- (1) *tê p̄ʔ? thâ chɔ* *tê gâ c̄* *ve yò* .  
 NP<sub>time</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 once person one for people be there nominalizer declarative
- (2) *ȳʔ yàʔ-qɔ ca q̄ʔ qay ve yò* .  
 Pron N <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 he road go and do prepare land for building go off to V nominalizer declarative
- (3) *ʃu yàʔ-qɔ ca q̄ʔ ci ve pa-tɔ* .  
 Pron N <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 they road go and do prepare land for building causative nominalizer because of
- (4) *yàʔ-qɔ q̄ʔ-q̄ʔ á lɛ , qòʔ e thâ*  
 N V<sub>redup</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> Temp Nom  
 road preparing land perfective suspensive return home motion away the time when  
*gà e lɛ , ȳʔ ɔ màʔ jâ ve yò* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 reach motion away suspensive he food hungry very nominalizer declarative
- (5) *ɔ màʔ jâ ve pa-tɔ , Pî-chô gɛ ca l̄ cá*  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Eth P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V <sub>v</sub>V+V<sub>h</sub>  
 food hungry very nominalizer because Shan from go and do ask for sthg to eat  
*e ve yò* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 motion away nominalizer declarative
- (6) *qhe-te-lɛ Pî-chô àʔ qòʔ p̄ʔ ve , ” mɛ-lè â*  
 Conj Eth P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 so Shan object say benefactive (3p) nominalizer madam (Shan) vocative (Shan)  
*, khàw ʃúk ñ m̄ hâ ?”*  
 N V Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 cooked rice (Shan) cooked negative (Shan) be there (Shan) yes
- (7) *qòʔ p̄ʔ ve yò* .  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 say benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative
- (8) *Pî-chô ɔ , ” m̄ à , m̄ à* .  
 Eth P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 Shan topic be there (Shan) polite (Shan) be there (Shan) polite (Shan)
- (9) *ñ m̄ phâʔ kwê àʔ* ”  
 Adv V N B<sub>n</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative (Shan) be there (Shan) curry (Shan) however (Shan) emphatic final particle (Shan)  
*qhe qòʔ p̄ʔ ve yò* .  
 Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 thus say benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative
- (10) *qhe-te-lɛ ȳʔ qòʔ ve , ” ɔ-chî mâ c̄ thô , cá*  
 Conj Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> N Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 thereupon he say nominalizer food with rice negative be there even though eat

- ve* *yò* ,” *qô?* *pî* *ve* *cê* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative say benefactive (3p) nominalizer quotative
- (11) *te-lɛ* *Pî-chô* *ɔ̄-qhe* *á-phè?* *tē* *lé* *pî*  
 Conj Eth P<sub>unf</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 so then Shan topicalizer chili peppers grind up feed (person or animal) benefactive (3p)
- ve* *yò* *cê* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative quotative
- (12) *tē* *lé* *pî* *ɛ* , *câ* *ɛ* ,  
 V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 grind up feed (person or animal) benefactive (3p) suspensive eat suspensive
- phê* *šē* *ve* *yò* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 take one’s leave anticipated action nominalizer declarative
- (13) *phê* *a* *ve* *tê yân thâ* , *Pî-chô* *qô?* *pî* *ve*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Eth V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 take one’s leave intentive nominalizer when Shan say benefactive (3p) nominalizer
- , ” *ɔ̄-chî* *kà?* *mâ* *ğá* *câ* ” *qô?* *pî* *ve* *yò* .  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 curry even negative get to eat say benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative
- (14) *qhe-te-lɛ* *yô* *ɔ̄-qhe* *Pî-chô* *à?* *nà?-ú* *te* *pî* *ve*  
 Conj Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Eth P<sub>n</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 so then he topicalizer Shan object conversation make benefactive (3p) nominalizer
- yò* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (15) ” *m̄* *laj* *cí* *phâ?* , *kò?* *wá*  
 Adv <sub>v</sub>V V N Conj V<sub>adj</sub>  
 negative (Shan) get to (Shan) eat (Shan) curry (Shan) still (Shan) sweet (Shan)
- yù* .  
 V<sub>v</sub>  
 durative (Shan)
- (16) *mɛ-lè* *laj* *bwé* *à?* ” *qô?*  
 N <sub>v</sub>V N P<sub>uf</sub> V  
 madam (Shan) get to (Shan) feast (Shan) emphatic final particle (Shan) say
- pî* *ve* *yò* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative

### Translation

1. Once there was a certain man.
2. He went off to clear land for a road.<sup>1</sup>
3. Since they were making [people] go clear land for a road.

<sup>1</sup>qô ‘hoe; work land.’ yà?-qô qô ve (OV) ‘clear land for a road.’



4. He worked and worked on the road, and when the time came to go back home, he was very hungry.
5. Since he was very hungry, he went to beg something to eat from a Shan.
6. So he said to the Shan: “Madam,<sup>2</sup> Wouldn’t you have some cooked rice?”<sup>3</sup>
7. The Shan said,
7. “I have, I have.
8. I don’t have any curry<sup>4</sup> to go with it, though.”<sup>5</sup>
9. So he said, “Even if there’s nothing to eat with it, I’ll eat it.”<sup>6</sup>
10. So the Shan [lady] ground up some peppers<sup>7</sup> and gave them to him to eat.
11. When she had ground them up and fed them to him, he ate and was about to leave.<sup>8</sup>
12. As he was about to leave, the Shan said: “[Sorry] you didn’t even get any curry to eat.”
13. At this he [tried to] make [polite] conversation with the Shan.<sup>9</sup>
14. “Though I didn’t get to *eat* any curry, it was still delicious!
15. May madam feast on my gratitude!”, he said.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>2</sup>Polite form of address to a middle-aged woman in Shan. (Shan *mɛ-lɛŋ*, Thai *mɛɛ-lɛŋ*, lit. “nourishing mother”).

<sup>3</sup>In Shan in the original.

<sup>4</sup>Shan *phák* ‘that which is eaten with rice’ (cf. Thai *kàp-khâaw*), here conventionally translated as ‘curry’.

<sup>5</sup>In Shan in the original.

<sup>6</sup>The Lahu is now talking Lahu. though the narrative conventions require us to assume that he is still really talking Shan.

<sup>7</sup>Faute de mieux, the Lahu and other impoverished hill-people will choke down tier rice with hot peppers when they have nothing else to eat.

<sup>8</sup>**phê** ‘to release, let go; leave, depart.’

<sup>9</sup>He is touched by her kindness, and wants to say something nice in return.

<sup>10</sup>The humor here is of a gentle sort. The Lahu is trying to use his most flowery Shan for the occasion, but gets tangled up in awkward phraseology to the point where it is hard to see what he means at all. The word *wá* ‘sweet’ is quite inappropriate in this context. With foods of pleasantly mild flavor it is often used by extension to mean simply ‘good-tasting’; but no Shan would ever use it to describe a fiery mess of rice with hot peppers. The next sentence is still more original. The Lahu is trying to thank and compliment the lady at the same time. As the translation implies, the word **bwé** seems to be a conflation of two words: Lahu *ɔ̀-bo* ‘thanks’ and Shan *póŋ* ~ *pwáj* (< Burmese *pwé*) ‘feast’. It is certainly not the normal Shan way of expressing gratitude. If the Shans explicitly say ‘thank you’ at all, it is usually via the Pali/Burmese word *cêi-zú* (Shan *kjé-šú*).

## 11.5 Meat live in tree

- (1) *qhe-te-le tē pō? thā chɔ nī ġā cò ve yò*  
 Conj NP<sub>time</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well then once upon a time people two for people be there nominalizer declarative
- (2) *chɔ nī ġā ve ̄-qhe , yō-ní-mà hē?-pí-qhɔ ̄ qay*  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N P<sub>n</sub> V  
 people two for people genitivizer topicalizer both of them jungle locative go  
*le , mɔ? tē khe ġa ve yò cē ,*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 suspensive monkey one for animals catch nominalizer declarative quotative  
*mɔ? bɔ? e le*  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 monkeys shoot motion away suspensive
- (3) *mɔ? ġa le ô tē pō? Pí-chô ge mɔ?-šā ca hō e*  
 N V P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Eth P<sub>n</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub>  
 monkey catch suspensive that time Shan to monkey meat go and do sell motion away  
*ve yò*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (4) *Pí-chô qô? ve , ” šaháy , nà i-šá*  
 Eth V P<sub>univ</sub> N N N<sub>intg</sub>  
 Shan say nominalizer friend (Shan) meat (Shan) what kind of (Shan)  
*è ?”*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 interrogative (Shan)
- (5) *qô? pí ve cē*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 say benefactive (3p) nominalizer quotative
- (6) *” š-chô ò , à-thò?-ma šā le ” qô? ve yò*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> N P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 friend vocative what kind of meat substantive qst mean nominalizer declarative
- (7) *yō-ní-mà ̄-qhe Pí-chô-khō mâ šī lo*  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 both of them topicalizer Shan language negative understand emphatic declarative
- (8) *yō-ní-mà à? qô? ve ̄-qhe , tà?-í chē ā ve*  
 Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 the two of them object speak nominalizer topicalizer quietly stay durative nominalizer
- (9) *qô? pí ve mâ šī*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V  
 say benefactive (3p) nominalizer negative know

- (10) " *nə qo nə qô? pî-?* " *qô? le* , *tâ?-í chê*  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V+V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
 you topic you tell (imperative to 3rd person) say suspensive quietly stay  
*ā ve yò*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 durative nominalizer declarative
- (11) *qhe-te Pî-chô ̄ tē-khi tē-khi na ve* , " *šaháy* , *nə*  
 Conj Eth P<sub>unf</sub> AE V P<sub>univ</sub> N N  
 well then Shan topic again and again ask nominalizer friend (Shan) meat (Shan)  
*i-šá è ?*  
 N<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 what kind of (Shan) interrogative (Shan)
- (12) *qô? pî ve* .  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 say benefactive (3p) nominalizer
- (13) *tē khi gā e le* , " *nə yú māj* ,  
 Q V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V N  
 a while reach motion away suspensive meat (Shan) be in a place (Shan) tree (Shan)  
*nə yú māj " qô? pî ve yò*  
 N V N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 meat (Shan) be in a place (Shan) tree (Shan) say benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative
- (14) *qhe-te-le Pî-chô ̄ mâ šī* .  
 Conj Eth P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
 so Shan topic negative understand
- (15) " *nə šá è ?*"  
 N NP<sub>intg</sub>  
 meat (Shan) what kind of? (Shan)
- (16) *tí qô? chê ve yò* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 only say keep on nominalizer declarative
- (17) " *nə yú māj " qô? ve* .  
 N V N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 meat (Shan) be in a place (Shan) tree (Shan) say nominalizer
- (18) *qhe-te-le mâ šī pí le* , *tē khi gā e le* ,  
 Conj Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 so then negative understand able to V because a while reach motion away suspensive  
*tē gā ̄-qhe ô Pî-chô yè ve tó-lá? à?*  
 Q P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> Eth N P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 one person topicalizer there Shan house genitivizer beam (of house roof) accusative  
*tî?-ô-də le , tē gā ̄ khâ? thɔ le*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 swing from suspensive the other one topic crossbow cock (a weapon) suspensive

	<i>hê</i>		<i>šê</i>		<i>ve</i>		<i>yò</i>		<i>cê</i>	.
	V		P <sub>v</sub>		P <sub>univ</sub>		P <sub>uf</sub>		P <sub>uf</sub>	
	prepare to shoot		anticipated action		nominalizer		declarative		quotative	
(19)	<i>qhe-te-ε</i>	<i>Pî-chô</i>	<i>ğā</i>	<i>khó</i>	<i>ve</i>		<i>yò</i>		.	
	Conj	Eth	vV	V	P <sub>univ</sub>		P <sub>uf</sub>			
	so then	Shan	have to	beg	nominalizer		declarative			
(20)	"	<i>ši</i>		<i>ò</i>	,	<i>ši</i>		<i>ò</i>		!"
		V		P <sub>v</sub>		V		P <sub>v</sub>		
		understand		change of state		understand		change of state		
(21)	<i>qô?</i>	<i>pî</i>		<i>ve</i>		<i>yò</i>		.		
	V	V <sub>v</sub>		P <sub>univ</sub>		P <sub>uf</sub>				
	say	benefactive (3p)		nominalizer		declarative				

### Translation

1. Well, now, once there were two men.
2. These two men both went into the jungle, and caught a monkey—they had gone monkey-hunting.
3. After they caught the monkey they went to sell the monkey-meat to a Shan.
4. The Shan said: “šaháy, nê i-šá è?”
5. That means “Friend, what kind of meat is it?”<sup>1</sup>
6. Now the two of them didn’t know the Shan language at all.
7. So when they were spoken to, they kept quiet.<sup>2</sup>
8. They didn’t know what to say.
9. “You, you tell him!” they said (to each other), and they remained silent.
10. Well the Shan kept asking them again and again, “nê i-šá è?”
11. Finally,<sup>3</sup> they said “Meat live in tree, meat live in tree!”<sup>4</sup>
12. But the Shan didn’t understand.
13. He just kept saying “nê i-šá è?”
13. “Meat live in tree” they said.
14. Well, he couldn’t understand, he just couldn’t, so finally one of the men [jumped up and] swung from a beam in the Shan’s house while the other one fixed an arrow to his bow<sup>5</sup> and aimed it at him.
15. Whereupon the Shan had to beg them [for mercy].
16. “Now I understand, now I understand!” he said.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Presumably the Lahu either didn’t have the meat with them, or else had butchered it beyond recognition.  
<sup>2</sup> *tà?-í chê* ‘to be silent.’ *tà?-í* ‘silently’ occurs only with the verb *chê* ‘remain, keep doing something, stay.’  
<sup>3</sup> *tê khi gà e le*: lit: “when a time had arrived.”  
<sup>4</sup> *nê yú mài*: i.e., ‘the meat of a kind of animal that lives in a tree.’ The Lahu word *šā* means both ‘animal’ and ‘meat’, but the Shan words are different (*nê* ‘meat’, *sat* ‘animal’). The Lahu only knew the word for ‘meat.’  
<sup>5</sup> *khâ? tho ve* ‘put an arrow in a bow, cock a bow.’  
<sup>6</sup> The Lahu were trying to make him understand by their playlet. The Shan misinterpreted their actions as showing hostility to him, and hastened to assure them that now he understood, although obviously he still did not. The Shan’s last words are in Lahu, but this is a narrative convention, and is not meant to imply that he could actually speak Lahu .

## 11.6 A Lahu gives a Shan a good cursing

- (1) *qhe-te-qo tê pô? thâ cho tê gâ cò ve yò* .  
 Conj NP<sub>time</sub> N Q V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well then once person one person be there nominalizer declarative
- (2) *yô ca câ e ve ð-qhɔ lo , Pî-chô gɛ*  
 Pron <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Eth P<sub>n</sub>  
 he go and do earn a living motion away relativizer while locative Shan with  
*gâ ve yò* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 meet up nominalizer declarative
- (3) *Pî-chô gɛ gâ ve tê yân thâ , yô cho mâ ve yò* .  
 Eth P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Pron N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 Shan with meet up relativizer when he people many nominalizer declarative
- (4) *qhe-te-lɛ Pî-chô à? qô? pî ve , ” ɔ mà? jâ , ɔ*  
 Conj Eth P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> N  
 well then Shan object say benefactive (3p) nominalizer food hungry very food  
*mà? jâ ” tè qô? pî a ve yò* .  
 V V<sub>v</sub> QUOT V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 hungry very embedded quote say benefactive (3p) intentive nominalizer declarative
- (5) *yô qô? ve ɔ-qhe , ” mɛ-lè â , pú*  
 Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> N  
 he say nominalizer topicalizer madam (Shan) vocative (Shan) stomach (Shan)  
*kâi nâ ” qhe qô? pî ve yò* .  
 V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 satiated very (Shan) thus say benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative
- (6) *qhe-qo Pî-chô qô? ve ɔ-qhe , ” pú kâi qo , chò*  
 Conj Eth V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub>  
 so then Shan say nominalizer topicalizer stomach (Shan) satiated if here  
*yî? á tã ” qô? lɛ , ú-gɛ yù tɛ*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V  
 lie down urging (Shan) durative say suspensive pillow take and V sthg put down  
*pî ve yò* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative
- (7) *qhe-te yô qhà-thâ?-kà? ɔ gâ câ hé dô lɛ , l*  
 Conj Pron AE P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 well then he for a very long time topic get to eat probably think suspensive wait for  
*ā ve yò* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 durative nominalizer declarative
- (8) *l ā l ā lɛ , qhà-thâ?-kà? mâ gâ câ*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE Adv <sub>v</sub>V V  
 wait for durative wait for durative suspensive for a very long time negative get to eat  
*pí* .  
 V<sub>v</sub>  
 able to V

A Lahu gives a Shan a good cursing

- (9) *ô qhe te a lâ ve tê yân thâ , yô bə?*  
 NP<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Pron V<sub>adj</sub>  
 like that treat a certain way try to benefactive (non-3p) relativizer when he angry  
*ve yò .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (10) *bə? lɛ , Pî-chô à? dē a-tè te lɛ , ” yâ-nè ò , yâ-nè*  
 V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Eth P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>+P<sub>quot</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> N  
 angry because Shan object scold purposive do suspensive guys vocative guys  
*ò , hâ? qay ā lɔ .*  
 P<sub>n</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 vocative quickly go durative emphatic
- (11) *Pî-chô chi a-cí dē-lô a šā ” qô? pî*  
 Eth Det Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 Shan this just give a good cursing to intensitive intentional (1p) say benefactive (3p)  
*ve yò .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (12) *qhe-te-lɛ yâ-nè qay pə qhə?-nó , yô qô? ve , ” Mə-šə*  
 Conj N V V<sub>v</sub> M<sub>px</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> Eth  
 then young men go finish V'ing after he say nominalizer Lahu (Shan)  
*yô? !*  
 V<sub>adj</sub>  
 damned (Shan)
- (13) *šú khi nè hâw kí lə? !”*  
 Pron N P<sub>n</sub> Pron V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 your (Shan) shit (Shan) topicalizer (Shan) I (Shan) eat (Shan) polite (Shan)
- (14) *qhe qô? pî ve yò cê .*  
 Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 thus say benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative quotative
- (15) *qhe-te-lɛ yô qay ve yò .*  
 Conj Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 then he leave a place nominalizer declarative
- (16) *ô kà? gà e ve tê yân thâ , yô cho à? mò*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Pron N P<sub>n</sub> V  
 there locative reach motion away relativizer when his people accusative see  
*ve tê yân thâ , ” Pî-chô chi tê mà nà dē-lô*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Eth Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Pron V  
 relativizer when Shan this one for people (impolite) I give a good cursing to  
*ve jâ ve yò !”*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer plenty nominalizer declarative
- (17) *tè yô qô? pî ve yò .*  
 QUOT Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 embedded quote he say benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative

## Translation

1. Well then, once there was a certain person.
  2. As he was on his way to work<sup>1</sup> he met a Shan [woman].
  3. When he met the Shan,<sup>2</sup> he had many people with him.<sup>3</sup>
  4. Well, he wanted to say to the Shan “I’m very hungry, very hungry!”
  5. [But] what he said was, “Madam, my stomach is very full!”<sup>4</sup>
  6. So then the Shan [lady] said, “Since your stomach is full, why don’t you<sup>7</sup> lie down here for a while?”<sup>5</sup>, and she got a pillow and put it down for him.
  7. Well, he kept thinking that he would get something to eat, so he went on waiting.<sup>6</sup>
  8. He waited and waited for a long time, [but] he still wasn’t getting anything to eat.
  9. When [he saw] he was being treated this way, he got angry.
  10. When he got angry, he decided he would curse out the Shan [woman], and said “Hey, boys, boys<sup>7</sup>! You hustle on ahead.”<sup>8</sup>
  11. I’m just going to tell this Shan off<sup>9</sup> first!”
  12. Then, after the boys had left, he said: “You damned Lahu! I eat your shit, sir!”<sup>10</sup>
- [laughter]
13. Then he went off.
  14. When he reached his destination,<sup>11</sup> when he saw his people, he said, “I really told that Shan a thing or two!”<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Lit: “within (the time) he was going off to earn his livelihood.”

<sup>2</sup>Lahu narratives (indeed Tibeto-Burman stories in general) often use the device of linking one sentence to another by echoing the final clause of the preceding sentence in the first clause of the next sentence.

<sup>3</sup>Lit: “his people were numerous.”

<sup>4</sup>He wanted to say something like *yâ khâo nā*, but said instead *pú kâi nā* (appropriate when one politely refuses the offer of more food). The similarity between these expressions is situational rather than phonological. The Lahu man knew a couple of Shan set expressions related to eating, but mixed them up.

<sup>5</sup>The durative nuance conveyed by English ‘for a while’ is provided by the verb-particle *tā*, which indicates that the action of the verb will be prolonged or quasi-permanent.

<sup>6</sup>I.e., he thought that the pillow was intended to make him more comfortable while he waited for his meal.

<sup>7</sup>His companions on the way to the field (See Sentence 3).

<sup>8</sup>I.e., “keep hurrying along”.

<sup>9</sup>*dê-lō: dê* ‘scold’, *lō* ‘attack physically or verbally’.

<sup>10</sup>The Lahu had once probably heard the expression “damned Lahu” from the lips of an angry Shan, so this is what comes out instead of his intended “damned Shan!” Finally he works himself up to his crowning insult. He would like to assert that the Shan lady is so far inferior to him that his very excrement is good enough for her to eat. Unfortunately, however, he gets his Shan pronouns transposed, so that the direction of coprophagy is reversed, and he ends up volunteering to perform the act for her. Further adding to the humor is his use of the Shan polite final particle *lō?* (cf. Thai *kráp*), here translated “sir.” One can imagine the poor kind woman’s amazement as she tries to understand his angry babble.

<sup>11</sup>Lit: ‘when he got there.’

<sup>12</sup>He uses the classifier for inanimate objects (*mā*) instead of the one for people (*gā*). This is sometimes (as here) slightly insulting, though other speakers occasionally use *mā* in this sense with no such intention.

## 11.7 The tiger is getting ripe

- (1) *khe-te-nó*      *ɔ*                      *a-šwē-lò*                      *chɔ*      *nĩ*                      *ǰǰǰ*  
 Conj              P<sub>n</sub>                      NP<sub>time</sub>                      N              Num                      Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 well then (YL)    topicalizer    once upon a time (YL)    people    two (YL)    for people (YL)  
*cô*                      *che*                      *cē*                      ,    *Lāhū-ši*                      *le*    *Lāhū-nā?*  
 V                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>                      Eth                      P<sub>unf</sub>    Eth  
 be there (YL)    nominalizer (YL)    quotative (YL)    Yellow Lahu (YL)    and    Black Lahu (YL)
- (2) *yi-hē*              *zā?-kɔ*              *kay*              *le*                      *ō*                      *lo*                      *Lāhū*              *ha*  
 Pron              N                      V                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      N<sub>sd</sub> + P<sub>n</sub>                      P<sub>n</sub>                      Eth                      N  
 they (YL)    road (YL)    go (YL)    suspensive    over there (YL)    locative    Lahu (YL)    field (YL)  
*lò*                      *ǰǰǰ*                      *ve*                      *che*                      *cē*  
 P<sub>n</sub>                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 locative (YL)    reach (YL)    nominalizer    nominalizer (YL)    quotative (YL)
- (3) *ō*                      *lò*                      *ǰǰǰ*                      *le*                      *Lāhū-nā?*                      *và*                      *na*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> + P<sub>n</sub>                      P<sub>n</sub>                      V                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      Eth                      N                      M<sub>px</sub>  
 over there (YL)    locative (YL)    reach (YL)    suspensive    Black Lahu (YL)    man (YL)    up there  
*o*                      *tē-qo*              *thā*                      *lo*                      *tā*                      *ŋwē*                      *che*  
 P<sub>n</sub>                      N                      M<sub>px</sub>                      P<sub>n</sub>                      V                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>  
 locative (YL)    log (YL)    on top of (YL)    locative    climb (YL)    look at (YL)    nominalizer (YL)  
*cē*                      –    *Lāhū*                      *a-cā*                      *mε*    *vè*                      *che*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>                      Eth                      N                      V<sub>adj</sub>    P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>  
 quotative (YL)    Lahu (YL)    rice in the field (YL)    ripe    become (YL)    nominalizer (YL)  
*hā*  
 P<sub>n</sub>  
 accusative (YL)
- (4) *khe-te-le*              *Lāhū-nā?*                      *và*                      *zī*                      *le*                      *kú*                      *ve*  
 Conj                      Eth                      N                      V                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>  
 so then (YL)    Black Lahu (YL)    man (YL)    go around (YL)    suspensive    say (YL)    nominalizer  
*che*                      ,    "    *hā*                      *o*                      ,    *ma*                      *có*                      *lo*  
 P<sub>univ</sub>                      N                      P<sub>n</sub>                      N<sub>sd</sub>                      P<sub>n</sub>                      P<sub>n</sub>  
 nominalizer (YL)    pal (YL)    vocative (YL)    down there (YL)    locative (YL)    locative  
*Lāhū*              *a-cā*                      *mε*    *vè*                      *lo*  
 Eth                      N                      V<sub>adj</sub>    P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 Lahu (YL)    paddy (YL)    ripe    become (YL)    emphatic declarative
- (5) *nā*                      *lo*                      *cā*                      *mε*    *la*                      *l*                      !"  
 N<sub>sd</sub>                      P<sub>n</sub>                      N                      V<sub>adj</sub>    P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 up there (YL)    locative    rice in the field (YL)    ripe    become    emphatic declarative
- (6) *kú*                      *vĩ*                      *che*                      *cē*                      ,    *Lāhū-ši*                      *và*  
 V                      V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>                      Eth                      N  
 say (YL)    benefactive (3p) (YL)    nominalizer (YL)    quotative (YL)    Yellow Lahu (YL)    man (YL)  
*hā?*  
 P<sub>n</sub>  
 accusative (YL)
- (7) *khe-te-le*              *Lāhū-ši*                      *và*                      *ǰ-khe*                      ,    "    *cā mε*                      "    *kú*  
 Conj                      Eth                      N                      P<sub>n</sub>                      SV                      V  
 now then (YL)    Yellow Lahu (YL)    man (YL)    topicalizer (YL)    paddy is ripe (YL)    say (YL)



- che*                      *ḡ-khe*                      ” *lā*                      ” *ha*                      *kú*                      *che*  
P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>n</sub>                      N                      P<sub>n</sub>                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>  
nominalizer (YL)    topicalizer (YL)    tiger (YL)    accusative (YL)    mean (YL)    nominalizer (YL)
- (8) *khe*                      *dḡ*                      *ḡ*                      *Lāhū-ḡi*                      *và*                      *cé*                      *ve*  
Adv                      V                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      Eth                      N                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>  
thus (YL)    think (YL)    suspensive    Yellow Lahu (YL)    man (YL)    flee (YL)    nominalizer  
*che*                      *cḡ*  
P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer (YL)    quotative (YL)
- (9) *khe-te-ḡ*                      *Lāhū-ná*                      *và*                      *î*                      *ve*                      *ḡ*                      *ḡ-khá-no*                      *ḡā?*  
Conj                      Eth                      N                      Det                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      N<sub>time</sub>                      V  
so then (YL)    Black Lahu (YL)    man (YL)    this (YL)    genitivizer    topic    after (YL)    chase (YL)  
*cé*                      *ve*                      *ḡ*                      , *na*                      *o*                      *kḡ*                      *thā*  
V                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      M<sub>px</sub>                      P<sub>n</sub>                      N                      M<sub>px</sub>  
run (YL)    nominalizer    suspensive    up there    locative (YL)    mountain (YL)    on top of (YL)  
*lo*                      *ḡā*                      *e*                      *ḡ*                      , *kḡ*                      *pā*                      *lo*  
P<sub>n</sub>                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      N                      N<sub>loc</sub>                      P<sub>n</sub>  
locative    reach (YL)    motion away    suspensive    mountain (YL)    other side of (YL)    locative  
*chḡ*                      *la*                      *lḡ*                      *che*                      *cḡ*  
V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
stay at (YL)    come to V    durative (YL)    nominalizer (YL)    quotative (YL)
- (10) *o*                      *lo*                      *ḡā*                      *ḡ*                      *na-ḡḡ*                      *che*                      *cḡ*                      ,                      ”  
N<sub>sd</sub> + P<sub>n</sub>                      P<sub>n</sub>                      V                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
there (YL)    locative    reach (YL)    suspensive    ask (YL)    nominalizer (YL)    quotative (YL)  
*ni-hḡ*                      *a-tho-ā?*                      *mḡ*                      *ḡ*                      *ca*                      *cé*                      *ve*                      *chḡ*  
Pron                      N<sub>intg</sub>                      V                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      vV                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      V<sub>v</sub>  
we (YL)    what? (YL)    see (YL)    suspensive    go and do    flee (YL)    nominalizer    progressive (YL)  
*ḡ*                      *le*                      ?”  
P<sub>uf</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
affirmative    substantive qst
- (11) *kú*                      *ḡ*                      *na-ḡḡ*                      *che*                      *cḡ*  
V                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
say (YL)    suspensive    ask (YL)    nominalizer (YL)    quotative (YL)
- (12) *khe-te-ḡ*                      *Lāhū-ḡi*                      *và*                      *kú*                      *che*                      ,                      ” *ni-hḡ*                      *kú*  
Conj                      Eth                      N                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      ,                      Pron                      V  
so then (YL)    Yellow Lahu (YL)    man (YL)    say (YL)    nominalizer (YL)    we (YL)    talk (YL)  
*che*                      , *a-ḡé-a*                      ” *cā-mḡ*                      *lā*                      *ò*                      ” *kú*  
P<sub>univ</sub>                      N<sub>time</sub>                      N                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      V  
nominalizer (YL)    just now (YL)    tiger (YL)    come (YL)    completed action    say (YL)  
*che*                      *mḡ*                      *hḡ*                      *lā*                      ” *kú*                      *vḡ*  
P<sub>univ</sub>                      Adv                      V                      P<sub>uf</sub>                      V                      V<sub>v</sub>  
nominalizer (YL)    negative (YL)    be the case (YL)    y    say (YL)    benefactive (3p) (YL)  
*che*                      *cḡ*  
P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer (YL)    quotative (YL)

The tiger is getting ripe

- (13) *khe-te-le yi-hẽ nĩ gã ġĩ dā?*  
 Conj Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 so then (YL) they (YL) two (YL) for people (YL) laugh (YL) mutual action (YL)  
*che cẽ*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer (YL) quotative (YL)

(14) < BLACK LAHU TRANSLATION >

- (15) *qhe te ve qhò?-nõ ̄ , à-šwè thā cho nĩ ġā*  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE N Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 like this do nominalizer after topic once upon a time people two for people  
*c̄ ve c̄ , Lâhũ-ši le Lâhũ-nâ?*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Eth P<sub>unf</sub> Eth  
 be there nominalizer quotative Yellow Lahu and Black Lahu

- (16) *ȳ-hi yà?-qõ qay le ô ̄ Lâhũ he qhõ gâ qay*  
 Pron N V P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>loc</sub> N N M<sub>px</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 they road go suspensive someplace Lahu swidden into reach end up V'ing  
*ve c̄*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer quotative

- (17) *ô ̄ gâ le , Lâhũ-nâ?-pā nô ̄ šĩ?-the ò-thà?-pā ̄ tâ?*  
 NP<sub>loc</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V  
 over there reach suspensive Black Lahu man up topic log on top of locative go up  
*nĩ ve c̄ , Lâhũ cà mε qay ve*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N N V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 V and see nominalizer quotative Lahu rice ripe become more and more V nominalizer  
*thà?*  
 P<sub>n</sub>  
 accusative

- (18) *qhe-te-le Lâhũ-nâ?-pā ȳ le qô? ve c̄ , ” phā*  
 Conj N V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N  
 so Black Lahu man go around suspensive say nominalizer quotative buddy  
*ò , mô ̄ Lâhũ cà mε la ò lo*  
 P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 vocative down there topic Lahu rice ripe become completed action emphatic declarative  
 !

- (19) *nô kâ? cà mε la lo !”*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 up there also rice ripe become emphatic declarative

- (20) *qô? p̄ ve c̄ , Lâhũ-ši-pā thà?*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 say benefactive (3p) nominalizer quotative Yellow Lahu man accusative

- (21) *qhe-te-ɛ Lâhū-ši-pā ̄-qhe , " cà-mɛ " qô? ve ̄-qhe , " lâ*  
 Conj N P<sub>unf</sub> , " N P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 so Yellow Lahu man topicalizer say nominalizer topicalizer tiger  
*" thâ? qô? ve .*  
 P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 accusative mean nominalizer
- (22) *qhe d̄ɔ ɛ Lâhū-ši-pā phɔ e ve cê .*  
 Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 like this think suspensive Yellow Lahu man run away motion away nominalizer quotative
- (23) *qhe-te-ɛ Lâhū-nâ?-pā chi ve ̄ , ð-qhɔ?-nɔ ɡâ?-ɡĩ qay ɛ ,*  
 Conj N Det P<sub>unf</sub> , N<sub>loc</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 so Black Lahu man this topic behind run chasing go off to V suspensive  
*nô ̄ qhɔ ð-thâ? lo ɡà e ɛ ,*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 up there topic mountain top part locative reach motion away suspensive  
*qhɔ-bâ lo chê tã ve cê .*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 other side of a mountain locative stay perfective nominalizer quotative
- (24) *ô kâ? ɡà ɛ na-ni ve cê , " ñâ-hi à-thò?-ma*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> , " Pron N<sub>intg</sub>  
 over there locative reach suspensive ask nominalizer quotative we (pl) what  
*thâ? m̄ɔ ɛ ca phɔ chê ve le ,"*  
 P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 accusative see suspensive go and do run away continuous nominalizer substantive qst  
*qô? ɛ na-ni ve cê .*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 say suspensive ask nominalizer quotative
- (25) *qhe-te-ɛ Lâhū-ši qô? ve , " à-šɛ thâ n̄ qô? ve , ' cà*  
 Conj Eth V P<sub>univ</sub> , " N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 so Yellow Lahu say nominalizer just now when you say nominalizer rice  
*mɛ la ð , qô? ve mâ hê? lâ ?"*  
 V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> VP  
 ripe come to V completed action completed action say nominalizer is it not so?
- (26) *qô? p̄ɪ ve cê .*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 say benefactive (3p) nominalizer quotative
- (27) *qhe-te-ɛ ȳɔ-hí-mâ ɡĩ dâ? ve cê .*  
 Conj Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 so they (dual) laugh mutual action nominalizer quotative

### Translation

1. Well then, once upon a time there were two men, a Yellow Lahu and a Black Lahu.
2. They went along a road and reached the place where the Lahu fields were.<sup>1</sup>
3. When they got there, the Black Lahu climbed up on top of a log [overlooking the fields], to see how the Lahu paddy was ripening.

<sup>1</sup>Note the **co-occurrence** of the Black Lahu nominalizer **ve** and the equivalent Yellow Lahu nominalizer **che** in the same clause.

## The tiger is getting ripe

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4. Then the Black Lahu went over and said,<sup>2</sup> “Friend, down there our Lahu paddy is getting ripe!
5. And there’s paddy getting ripe up there too!” he said to the Yellow Lahu.
6. Now when the Yellow Lahu say “câ-me”, they mean “tiger”.<sup>3</sup>
7. Thinking that[’s what was meant], the Yellow Lahu took to his heels.<sup>4</sup>
8. So then this Black Lahu chased after him, and they got up onto the mountaintop, and finally came to a halt on the other side of the mountain.
9. When they got there he asked, “What did we see that made you go running away like this?”<sup>5</sup>
10. Then the Yellow Lahu answered, “As we were talking just now didn’t you say ‘A tiger’s coming!’?”
11. Afterwards the two of them had a good laugh over it.

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<sup>2</sup>Another case of the **co-occurrence** of **ve** and **che**.

<sup>3</sup>The misunderstanding involves a three-syllable **pun**. In YL, **câ-me** means ‘tiger’ and **lâ** [BL **lâ**] means ‘come’. In BL, **câ** means ‘paddy’ [YL **câ**], **me** means ‘ripe’, and **la** is a verb-particle meaning ‘become/get to be’. Thus BL ‘the paddy is ripening’ gets interpreted as YL ‘a tiger is coming’.

<sup>4</sup>Still another case of **ve che** in the same clause.

<sup>5</sup>Literally, ‘our having seen what, are you going fleeing?’

## 11.8 Those peppers are really hot!

- (1) *a-šwē-lo*                      *à-cho*                      *nĩ*                      *ğã*                      *cô*                      *che*  
 NP<sub>time</sub>                      N                      Num                      Cl<sub>f</sub>                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>  
 once upon a time (YL) person (YL) two (YL) for people (YL) be there (YL) nominalizer (YL)  
*cē*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative (YL)
- (2) *tē*                      *ni*                      *thã*                      *zõ*                      *nĩ*                      *ğã*                      *a-cã*  
 Num                      Cl<sub>f</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      Pron                      Num                      Cl<sub>f</sub>                      N  
 one (YL) for days time when (YL) they (YL) two (YL) for people (YL) curry dish (YL)  
*a-ğõ-ca*                      *phē?*                      *cá*                      *che*                      *cē*  
 N                      V                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 cabbage (YL) pick (as fruit or vegetable) (YL) boil nominalizer (YL) quotative (YL)
- (3) *nã*                      *có*                      *lo*                      *ha*                      *lo*                      *gã*                      *e*                      *le*  
 N<sub>sd</sub>                      P<sub>n</sub>                      P<sub>n</sub>                      N                      P<sub>n</sub>                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>  
 up there (YL) locative (YL) locative field (YL) locative reach (YL) motion away suspensive  
 , *mũ-qo-cí*                      *le*                      *a-cã*                      *ca*                      *cá*                      *cã*                      *che*  
 N<sub>time</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      N                      vV                      V                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>  
 high noon (YL) because curry dish (YL) go and do boil eat (YL) nominalizer (YL)  
*cē*                      , *zõ-hē*                      *nĩ*                      *ğã*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>                      Pron                      Num                      Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 quotative (YL) they (YL) two (YL) for people (YL)
- (4) *khe-te-le*                      *Lãhũ-ši*                      *và*                      *tē*                      *ğã*                      *Lãhũ-nã?*                      *và*  
 Conj                      Eth                      N                      Num                      Cl<sub>f</sub>                      Eth                      N  
 so then (YL) Yellow Lahu (YL) man (YL) one (YL) for people (YL) Black Lahu (YL) man (YL)  
*ha*                      *kú*                      *vĩ*                      *che*                      *cē*                      , " *ni-hē*  
 P<sub>n</sub>                      V                      V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>                      Pron  
 accusative (YL) say (YL) benefactive (3p) (YL) nominalizer (YL) quotative (YL) we (YL)  
*ò*                      , *a-ğõ-ca*                      *cá*                      *o-he*                      , " *kú*                      *vĩ*  
 P<sub>n</sub>                      N                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      V                      V<sub>v</sub>  
 emphatic topicalizer (YL) cabbage (YL) boil hortatory say (YL) benefactive (3p) (YL)  
*che*                      *cē*  
 P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer (YL) quotative (YL)
- (5) *tē*                      *thõ*                      *gã*                      *e*                      *le*                      , *i-hē*                      *a-ğõ-ca*                      *cá*  
 Num                      Cl<sub>f</sub>                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      Pron                      N                      V  
 one (YL) for times (YL) reach (YL) motion away suspensive they (YL) cabbage (YL) boil  
*che*                      *cē*  
 P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer (YL) quotative (YL)
- (6) *cá*                      *le*                      *bĩ*                      *ve*  
 V                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>  
 boil suspensive come to a boil (YL) nominalizer
- (7) *pê*                      *nó*                      *o*                      *a-lē?*                      *le*                      *é-phe*                      *khõ?*  
 V                      N<sub>time</sub>                      P<sub>n</sub>                      N                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      N                      V  
 finish (YL) after (YL) topicalizer salt (YL) suspensive chili peppers (YL) mix (YL)

Those peppers are really hot!

- che*                      *nó*                      *ɔ*                      ,                      *zõ*                      *ã*                      *kú*  
P<sub>univ</sub>                      N<sub>time</sub>                      P<sub>n</sub>                      Pron                      P<sub>n</sub>                      V  
nominalizer (YL) after (YL) topicalizer him (YL) accusative (YL) say (YL)
- vĩ*                      *che*                      ,                      "                      *hã*                      *o*                      ,                      *bẽ?*                      *ɲó*  
V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      N                      P<sub>n</sub>                      V                      V<sub>v</sub>  
benefactive (3p) (YL) nominalizer (YL) pal (YL) vocative (YL) scoop out (YL) try V'ing
- hε*                      "                      *kú*                      *vĩ*                      *che*                      *cẽ*                      .  
P<sub>v</sub>                      V                      V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
hortatory (YL) say (YL) benefactive (3p) (YL) nominalizer (YL) quotative (YL)
- (8) *khe*                      *te*                      *nó*                      *ɔ*                      ,                      *tẽ*                      *thõ*                      "                      *hã*                      *o*                      ,  
Adv                      V                      N<sub>time</sub>                      P<sub>n</sub>                      Num                      Cl<sub>f</sub>                      N                      P<sub>n</sub>  
thus (YL) do after (YL) topicalizer another (YL) for times (YL) pal (YL) vocative (YL)
- a-lẽ?*                      *bẽ?*                      *ɲó*                      *hε*                      "                      *kú*                      *vĩ*  
N                      V                      V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>v</sub>                      V                      V<sub>v</sub>  
salt (YL) scoop out (YL) try V'ing hortatory (YL) say (YL) benefactive (3p) (YL)
- che*                      *cẽ*                      .  
P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer (YL) quotative (YL)
- (9) *khe-te-lε*                      *Lãhũ-nã?*                      *và*                      *kú*                      *che*                      *õ-khe*                      ,  
Conj                      Eth                      N                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>n</sub>  
so then (YL) Black Lahu (YL) man (YL) say (YL) nominalizer (YL) topicalizer (YL)
- Lãhũ-ši-khõ*                      *mã*                      *õ*                      .  
N                      Adv                      V  
Yellow Lahu language negative (YL) know (YL)
- (10) *khe-te-lε*                      *Lãhũ-ši*                      *và*                      *ha*                      *a-gõ*                      *bẽ?*  
Conj                      Eth                      N                      P<sub>n</sub>                      N                      V  
so then (YL) Yellow Lahu (YL) man (YL) accusative (YL) cabbage (YL) scoop out (YL)
- ci*                      *che*                      *cẽ*                      .  
V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
causative (YL) nominalizer (YL) quotative (YL)
- (11) *khe-te-lε*                      *chĩ?*                      *jã*                      *lε*                      *Lãhũ-ši*                      *và*  
Conj                      V<sub>adj</sub>                      V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      Eth                      N  
so then (YL) hot enough to burn (YL) very (YL) because Yellow Lahu (YL) man (YL)
- põ?*                      *cé*                      *ve*                      *che*                      *cẽ*                      .  
V                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
jump (YL) flee (YL) nominalizer nominalizer (YL) quotative (YL)
- (12) < Black Lahu translation >
- (13) *à-šwè thã*                      *chɔ*                      *nĩ*                      *gã*                      *cò*                      *ve*                      *cê*                      .  
AE                      N                      Num                      Cl<sub>f</sub>                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
once upon a time people two for people be there nominalizer quotative
- (14) *tê*                      *ni*                      *thã*                      *yô-hi*                      *nĩ gã*                      *õ-chĩ*                      *gõ-cá*                      *phã?*                      *cá*                      *ve*  
Num                      Cl<sub>f</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      Pron                      Q                      N                      N                      V                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>  
one for days time they two people curry mustard greens pick boil nominalizer

- cê*  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
quotative
- (15) *nô* *̄* *hε* *qhɔ* *gà* *e* *ε* , *mû-lòʔ-qɔ* *thâ* *gà*  
N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V  
up there topic swidden inside reach motion away suspensive afternoon when reach  
*ε* , *̄-chî* *ca* *cá* *ve* *cê* , *yô-hi* *nî gâ* .  
P<sub>unf</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron Q  
suspensive curry go and do boil nominalizer quotative they two people
- (16) *qhe-te-ε* *Lâhû-ši-pā* *tê gâ* *Lâhû-nâʔ-pā* *thàʔ* *qôʔ* *pî*  
Conj N Q N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
so Yellow Lahu man one person Black Lahu man accusative say benefactive (3p)  
*ve* *cê* :  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer quotative
- (17) ” *ñà-hi* *gô-cá* *ca* *cá* *lò* , ” *qôʔ* *pî* *ve* *cê* .  
Pron N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
we (pl) cabbage go and do boil urging say benefactive (3p) nominalizer quotative
- (18) *tê khi* *gà* *e* *ε* , *yô-hi* *gô-cá* *ca* *cá* *ve*  
Q V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub>  
a while reach motion away suspensive they cabbage go and do boil nominalizer  
*cê* .  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
quotative
- (19) *cá* *ε* *bî* *ve* .  
V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
boil suspensive come to a boil nominalizer
- (20) *pà* *ve* *qhòʔ-nó* *̄* *á-lèʔ* *ε* *á-phèʔ* *khòʔ* *ve* *qhòʔ-nó*  
V P<sub>univ</sub> M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> M<sub>px</sub>  
finish nominalizer after topic salt suspensive chili peppers mix nominalizer after  
*̄* , *Lâhû-nâʔ-pā* *qôʔ* *pî* *ve* , ” *phâ* *ò* ,  
P<sub>unf</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
topic Black Lahu man say benefactive (3p) nominalizer buddy vocative
- (21) *bêʔ* *a ni* *lò* , ” *qôʔ* *pî* *ve* *cê* .  
V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
scoop out try to urging say benefactive (3p) nominalizer quotative
- (22) *qhe* *te* *ve* *qhòʔ-nó* *̄* , *tê khi* , ” *phâ* *ò* , *á-lèʔ* *bêʔ*  
Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Q N P<sub>n</sub> N V  
like this do nominalizer after topic again buddy vocative salt scoop out  
*a ni-ʔ* , ” *qôʔ* *pî* *ve* *cê* .  
P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
try to (imp.) say benefactive (3p) nominalizer quotative
- (23) *qhe-te-ε* *Lâhû-nâʔ-pā* *qôʔ* *ve* *̄-qhe* , *Lâhû-ši-khô* *mâ*  
Conj N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv  
so Black Lahu man say nominalizer topicalizer Yellow Lahu language negative

Those peppers are really hot!

	šĩ	.							
	V								
	know								
(24)	<i>qhe-te-le</i>	<i>Lâhũ-ši-pā</i>	<i>thà?</i>	<i>ğô-cá</i>	<i>bê?</i>	<i>ci</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>cê</i>	.
	Conj	N	P <sub>n</sub>	N	V	V <sub>v</sub>	P <sub>univ</sub>	P <sub>uf</sub>	
	so	Yellow Lahu man	accusative	cabbage	scoop out	causative	nominalizer	quotative	
(25)	<i>qhe-te-le</i>	<i>chĩ?</i>	<i>jâ</i>	<i>le</i>	, <i>Lâhũ-ši-pā</i>	<i>ğĩ</i>	<i>qay</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>cê</i>
	Conj	V <sub>adj</sub>	V <sub>v</sub>	P <sub>univ</sub>	N	V	V <sub>v</sub>	P <sub>univ</sub>	P <sub>uf</sub>
	so	be hot	very	because	Yellow Lahu man	run	V away	nominalizer	quotative

### Translation

< told in Yellow Lahu >

1. Once upon a time there were two men.<sup>1</sup>
2. [This story is about how] one day the two of them picked some greens to boil up for a curry.
3. They got up to the fields, and when noontime came the two of them were looking for [something to] boil up and eat<sup>2</sup> for a curry.
4. So the Yellow Lahu said to the Black Lahu, “Why don’t we go boil up some cabbages?”
5. After a while they went and boiled the cabbage.
6. They cooked it, and it came to a boil.<sup>3</sup>
7. After it was done, when he<sup>4</sup> had mixed up some salt and hot peppers [in a dish], he said “Scoop out a little, will you, pal?”
8. Then, after a few seconds<sup>5</sup> he repeated, “Scoop out a little salt, will you, pal?”
9. Now the way the Black Lahu said [it was because] he didn’t know the Yellow Lahu dialect.
10. So that he [ended up] making the Yellow Lahu scoop out some *cabbage* [instead of the spice mixture].
11. Well, it was burning hot, and the Yellow Lahu jumped up and ran away.

<sup>1</sup> One a Black Lahu, the other a Yellow Lahu.

<sup>2</sup> Note the sequence of four syllables identical except for tone.

<sup>3</sup> *cá* is a transitive verb, ‘to cook by boiling’. *bĩ* is an intransitive verb ‘come to a boil’.

<sup>4</sup> I.e., the Black Lahu.

<sup>5</sup> Apparently the Yellow Lahu hadn’t understood at all the first time. <Black Lahu translation follows in interlinear text >



## 11.9 A sticky problem

- (1) *khe te ve ɔ̄ chɔ nĩ ġã cɔ̄*  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V  
 thus (YL) happen nominalizer topic people two (YL) for people (YL) be there (YL)  
*che cẽ , a-šwē-lò , Kɔ̄-né le*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 nominalizer (YL) quotative (YL) once upon a time (YL) male name (YL) and  
*Kɔ̄-ŋɔ̄ kú chi ɔ̄ .*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> V Det P<sub>unf</sub>  
 male name (YL) be called (YL) these topic
- (2) *yi-hẽ tẽ šɔ̄ tɔ̄-ge zĩ le kú*  
 Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> AE V P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 they (YL) one (YL) for mornings (YL) together (YL) go around (YL) suspensive say (YL)  
*ve che cẽ :*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer nominalizer (YL) quotative (YL)
- (3) ” *šɔ̄-ɔ̄-ná?* *ve ŋâ-hẽ pɛ-cí-kā ca tẽ*  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N vV V  
 early tomorrow morning (YL) genitivizer we (YL) parakeet (YL) go and do trap (YL)  
*a ve ” kú vĩ che cẽ .*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 hortatory nominalizer say (YL) benefactive (3p) (YL) nominalizer (YL) quotative (YL)
- (4) *khe-te-le mũ-šɔ̄ tɔ̄-ge ve che cẽ .*  
 Conj N AE V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 so then (YL) morning (YL) together (YL) set out (YL) nominalizer (YL) quotative (YL)
- (5) *pɛ-cí-kā tẽ pê khɔ̄-nɔ̄ pɛ-cí-kā lâ le ,*  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> N<sub>time</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 parakeet (YL) trap (YL) finish V'ing (YL) after (YL) parakeet (YL) come (YL) suspensive  
*ĩ ve hã? Kɔ̄-né ve hã? né*  
 Det P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V  
 this (YL) genitivizer accusative (YL) male name genitivizer accusative (YL) get stuck onto  
*ve che cẽ .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer nominalizer (YL) quotative (YL)
- (6) *khe-te-le Kɔ̄-ŋɔ̄ kú vĩ ve , ” hã ò !*  
 Conj N<sub>pers</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 so then (YL) male name say (YL) benefactive (3p) (YL) nominalizer friend vocative
- (7) *nɔ̄ ve ā? né ve ò ”*  
 Pron P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 you (YL) genitivizer accusative (YL) get stuck onto nominalizer completed action  
*khe kú vĩ che cẽ .*  
 Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 thus (YL) say (YL) benefactive (3p) (YL) nominalizer (YL) quotative (YL)
- (8) *khe-te-le ò lo Kɔ̄-ŋɔ̄ ve a-lĩ? tẽ*  
 Conj N<sub>sd</sub> + P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Num  
 so then (YL) over there (YL) locative male name (YL) genitivizer another one (YL) one (YL)

A sticky problem

- (9) *mâ* *ŋɔ́* *ve* *che* *cẽ* .  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 for things (YL) look at (YL) nominalizer nominalizer (YL) quotative (YL)
- (9) *khe-te-ɛ* *zõ* *kú* *vĩ* *che* , " *hã* *ò* !  
 Conj Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 so then (YL) 3p (YL) say (YL) benefactive (3p) (YL) nominalizer (YL) friend vocative
- (10) *nõ* *ve* *a-li?* *tẽ* *mâ* *ŋɔ́* *ve*  
 Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 you (YL) genitivizer another one (YL) one (YL) for things (YL) stick to nominalizer  
*ò* " *kú* *vĩ* *che* *cẽ* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 completed action say (YL) benefactive (3p) (YL) nominalizer (YL) quotative (YL)
- (11) *khe-te-ɛ* *yi-hẽ* *nĩ* *gã* *né-na* *ɛ* *dõ?*  
 Conj Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 so then (YL) they (YL) two (YL) for people (YL) get angry (YL) suspensive fight  
*dã?* *chẽ* *che* *cẽ* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 mutual action (YL) progressive (YL) nominalizer (YL) quotative (YL)
- (12) *dõ?* *dã?* *ɛ* *ma* *o* *lo* *thõ*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 hit mutual action (YL) suspensive down there (YL) locative (YL) locative as far as (YL)  
*l-ká* *khɔ* *lo* *gã* *ve* *che* *ɛ* ,  
 N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 river (YL) inside (YL) locative reach (YL) nominalizer nominalizer (YL) suspensive  
*Kô-ŋɔ́* *ve* *ã?* *pɛ-cí-kã* *mã* *mõ*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N Adv V  
 male name (YL) genitivizer accusative (YL) parakeet (YL) negative (YL) pay attention to (YL)  
*che* *cẽ* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer (YL) quotative (YL)
- (13) \*\*\*\*\*

(14) < *Black Lahu translation* >

- (15) *qhe te ve õ* *chɔ* *nĩ* *gã* *cò* *ve* *cê* , *à-šwè thã* ,  
 Cl<sub>nf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> AE  
 so then people two for people be there nominalizer quotative once upon a time  
*Qò-né* *ɛ* *Qò-ŋɔ́* *qô?* *ve* *õ* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 male name and male name call nominalizer topic
- (16) *yô-hi* *tê šõ* *tê gɛ* *qay* *ɛ* *qô?* *pĩ* *ve* *cê* .  
 Pron Q Q V P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 they one morning together go suspensive say benefactive (3p) nominalizer quotative

- (17) " šš-p̄s tē nà? ηà-hi pē-cí-qā ca tε a lê "
- N<sub>time</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Pron N vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 tomorrow early we (pl) parakeet go and do lay a trap hortatory request for assent
- qô? pî ve cê .  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 say benefactive (3p) nominalizer quotative
- (18) qhe-te-le mû-šš tē ge qay ve cê .  
 Conj N<sub>time</sub> Q V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 so morning together go nominalizer quotative
- (19) pē-cí-qā tε pà qhà?-nó , pē-cí-qā là le , Qð-né  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> M<sub>pfx</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>pers</sub>  
 parakeet lay a trap finish V'ing after parakeet come suspensive male name
- ve thà? né tã ve cê .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 genitivizer accusative get stuck onto perfective nominalizer quotative
- (20) qhe-te-le Qð-ηó qô? pî ve , " phâ ò , nò ve  
 Conj N<sub>pers</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + ve  
 so male name say benefactive (3p) nominalizer buddy vocative your
- à? né ò , " qhe qô? pî ve  
 P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 accusative get stuck onto completed action like this say benefactive (3p) nominalizer
- cê .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative
- (21) qhe-te-le ô šš Qð-ηó ve à? kà? tē mà ηó  
 Conj NP<sub>loc</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V  
 so over there male name genitivizer accusative also one general classifier stick to
- tã ve cê .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 perfective nominalizer quotative
- (22) qhe-te-le yô qô? pî ve , " phâ ò , nò ve  
 Conj Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + ve  
 so he say benefactive (3p) nominalizer buddy vocative your
- à? kà? tē mà ηó ò , " qô? pî  
 P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 accusative also one general classifier stick to completed action say benefactive (3p)
- ve cê .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer quotative
- (23) Qð-ηó ve à? pē-cí-qā ni mâ mò ve , "  
 N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N V Adv V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 male name nominalizer accusative parakeet pay attention to negative see nominalizer
- tē Qð-né qô? ve hé dô le , Qð-ηó  
 QUOT N<sub>pers</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>pers</sub>  
 embedded quote male name say nominalizer probably think suspensive male name
- ni-ma yî? jâ le , yô ge dô? dâ? le mô  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub>  
 heart be angry very suspensive he with hit mutual action suspensive down there

A sticky problem

	ṣ	lò-qá	qhɔ	lo	gà	qay	ve	cê	.
	P <sub>unf</sub>	N	M <sub>prfx</sub>	P <sub>n</sub>	V	V	P <sub>univ</sub>	P <sub>uf</sub>	
	topic	river	inside	locative	reach	go	nominalizer	quotative	
(24)	Qḍ-ḥṣ	ve	à?	pē-cí-qā	mâ	mḍ	ve	cê	.
	N <sub>pers</sub>	P <sub>univ</sub>	P <sub>n</sub>	N	Adv	V	P <sub>univ</sub>	P <sub>uf</sub>	
	male name	genitivizer	accusative	parakeet	negative	pay attention to	nominalizer	quotative	

**Translation**

1. Then there were two [other] people, once upon a time, named Qḍ-né and Qḍ-ḥṣ. <sup>1</sup>
2. One morning they were going along together, when [one of them] said:
3. “Let’s go parakeet-trapping early tomorrow morning, okay?”
4. So the next morning they went off together.
5. When they had finished laying the parakeet-traps, a parakeet came and got stuck <sup>2</sup> on it–on [the trap] of Qḍ-né.
6. Thereupon Qḍ-ḥṣ [the YL] said, “Friend, it’s stuck<sup>3</sup> on yours!”
7. Then, another one got stuck over on [the trap] of Qḍ-ḥṣ [the BL].
8. At this, he<sup>4</sup> said, “Friend, there’s one stuck<sup>5</sup> on yours too!”
9. Then the two of them got furious at each other and began fighting.<sup>6</sup>
10. As they fought, they ended up down in the river–and [all because] he [the YL] had said “The parakeets aren’t paying any attention to yours!” <sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Qḍ-né is the Black Lahu, and Qḍ-ḥṣ is the Yellow Lahu. The names are humorous, since né and ḥṣ are both verbs meaning ‘to get stuck’ in BL. In a previous translation I called them “Stickney” and “Stuckney” respectively.

<sup>2</sup>The traps were some sort of contrivance on which a sticky substance (bird-lime) was smeared to capture the birds. The traps set by the two men were apparently some distance apart.

<sup>3</sup>né.

<sup>4</sup>Qḍ-né.

<sup>5</sup>ḥṣ.

<sup>6</sup>Actually Qḍ-ḥṣ must have started the fight, since it was he who took exception to the word ḥṣ. See note to the next sentence.

<sup>7</sup>The misunderstanding arose primarily through the word ḥṣ, which means ‘to stick’ (= né) in BL. but ‘look at, pay attention to’ in YL.

## 11.10 Taking off his pants to have a smoke

- (1) *nĩ* *gã* *cô* *che* *ò*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 two (YL) for people (YL) be there (YL) nominalizer (YL) affirmative (YL)
- (2) *zõ-hĩ-ma* *yi-hẽ* *tõ-ge* *zã?-kɔ* *kay* *che*  
 Pron Pron AE N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 the two of them (YL) they (YL) together (YL) road (YL) go (YL) nominalizer (YL)  
*cẽ*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative (YL)
- (3) *Lãhũ-ná* *và* *hã?* *kú* *vĩ* *che*  
 Eth N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 Black Lahu (YL) man (YL) accusative (YL) say (YL) benefactive (3p) (YL) nominalizer (YL)  
 " *na* *o* *ke* *thã* *lo* *gã* *e*  
 M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 up there locative (YL) mountain (YL) on top of (YL) locative reach (YL) motion away  
*ve* *a-šú* *tẽ khi* *ke* *chi* *la*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N Q V V P<sub>v</sub>  
 nominalizer tobacco (YL) for a while (YL) stick into (YL) smoke (tobaco) (YL) come to V  
*há šà* " *khe* *kú* *vĩ* *che*  
 P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 intended action (YL) thus (YL) say (YL) benefactive (3p) (YL) nominalizer (YL)  
*cẽ*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative (YL)
- (4) *khe-te-le* *Lãhũ-ná* *và* *î* *ve* *õ-khe* *na*  
 Conj Eth N Det P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> M<sub>px</sub>  
 so then (YL) Black Lahu (YL) man (YL) this (YL) genitivizer topicalizer (YL) up there  
*o* *gã* *e* *le* *hã* *phẽ*  
 P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V  
 locative (YL) reach (YL) motion away suspensive pants (YL) take off (as trousers) (YL)  
*kha* *le* " *khe* *kú* *che* *cẽ*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 vigorous action (YL) suspensive thus (YL) say (YL) nominalizer (YL) quotative (YL)
- (5) " *nõ* *a-tho* *te* *chẽ* *ɔ* *le* ?"  
 Pron N<sub>intg</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 you (YL) what? (YL) do progressive (YL) affirmative substantive qst
- (6) *khe* *kú* *ve* *le* *na-ŋɔ* *che* *õ* , "  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 thus (YL) say (YL) nominalizer suspensive ask (YL) nominalizer (YL) topic  
*a-šé-a* *ni-hẽ* *kú* *che* , *ŋâ-hẽ* *ha* *thi-chĩ*  
 N<sub>time</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> V  
 just now (YL) we (YL) say (YL) nominalizer (YL) we (YL) accusative (YL) tie up (YL)  
*kú* *che* *mé* *hɔ* *là* ?"  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 say (YL) nominalizer (YL) negative (YL) be the case (YL) y

Taking off his pants to have a smoke

- (7) *kú* *vĩ* *che* *cẽ* .  
 V  $V_v$   $P_{univ}$   $P_{uf}$   
 say (YL) benefactive (3p) (YL) nominalizer (YL) quotative (YL)
- (8) < *Black Lahu translation* >
- (9) *nĩ gâ* *cò* *ve* *yò* .  
 Q V  $P_{univ}$   $P_{uf}$   
 two people be there nominalizer declarative
- (10) *yô-hĩ-mà* *yô-hĩ* *tê gɛ* *yà?-qɔ* *qay* *ve* *cẽ* .  
 Pron Pron Q N V  $P_{univ}$   $P_{uf}$   
 they (dual) they together road go nominalizer quotative
- (11) *Lâhũ-nâ?-pā* *thâ?* *qô?* *pĩ* *ve* , " *nô* *ḡ*  
 N  $P_n$  V  $V_v$   $P_{univ}$   $N_{sd}$   $P_n$   
 Black Lahu man accusative say benefactive (3p) nominalizer up there locative  
*qho-qhò* *ḡ* *gâ* *thâ* , *śú* *tê khi* *kə-chĩ?* *a*  
 N  $P_n$  V  $P_{univ}$  N Q V  $P_v$   
 in the mountains locative reach when tobacco for a while put in and wad up intentive  
*ṣā* " *qhe* *qô?* *pĩ* *ve* *cẽ* .  
 $P_v$  Adv V  $V_v$   $P_{univ}$   $P_{uf}$   
 intentional (1p) like this say benefactive (3p) nominalizer quotative
- (12) *qhe-te-ɛ* *Lâhũ-nâ?* *ô-ve* *ḡ-qhe* , " *nô* *ḡ* *gà* *e* *ɛ*  
 Conj Eth Det  $P_{unf}$   $N_{sd}$   $P_n$  V  $P_v$   $P_{unf}$   
 so Black Lahu that topicalizer up there locative reach motion away suspensive  
 , *hā* *phê* *qha* *ɛ* " , *qhe* *qô?* *ve*  
 N  $V_v$   $P_v$   $P_{unf}$  Adv V  $P_{univ}$   
 trousers launch violent action vivid action suspensive like this say nominalizer  
*cẽ* .  
 $P_{uf}$   
 quotative
- (13) " *nò* *à-thò?-ma* *te* *chê* *ve* *le* ?"  
 Pron  $N_{intg}$  V  $V_v$   $P_{univ}$   $P_{uf}$   
 you what do continuous nominalizer substantive qst
- (14) *chĩ qhe* *qô?* *ve* *ɛ* *na-nĩ* *ve* *yò* .  
 $AE_{ext}$  V  $P_{univ}$   $P_{unf}$  V  $P_{univ}$   $P_{uf}$   
 like this say nominalizer suspensive ask nominalizer declarative
- (15) " *à-ṣɛ* *thā* *nò* *qô?* *ve* , ' *ḡà-hĩ-mà* *thâ?* *phɛ-chĩ?* ' ,  
 $NP_{time}$  Pron V  $P_{univ}$  Pron  $P_n$  V V  
 just now you say nominalizer the two of us accusative tie up firmly tie up firmly  
*qô?* *ve* *mā hê?* *lā* ?"  
 V  $P_{univ}$  VP  
 say nominalizer is it not so?
- (16) *qô?* *pĩ* *ve* *cẽ* .  
 V  $V_v$   $P_{univ}$   $P_{uf}$   
 say benefactive (3p) nominalizer quotative

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## Translation

1. Once there were two men.<sup>1</sup>
2. The two of them were going together along a road.
3. [The Yellow Lahu] said to the Black Lahu, “When we get up there on the mountain, let’s put in some tobacco and smoke for a while.”<sup>2</sup>
4. So then the Black Lahu said, “Well we’re up here now, so I’ll just take off my pants, and...”
5. “What the hell are you doing?” he asked.
6. “When we were talking just now, didn’t you say you were going to tie us up?” he said.<sup>3</sup>

*Note: An over-elaborate explanation of this joke was offered in JAM 1969, pp. 202. The current explanation (arrived at by consultation with my YL consultant Aaron Maung Maung Tun, June 2017) is much better.*

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<sup>1</sup>A Black and a Yellow Lahu.

<sup>2</sup>Lit., “let’s put in and roll (wad up; crumple) tobacco for a while.”

<sup>3</sup>A rather complicated set of puns is involved here. In Black Lahu the synonym compound **phê-chi?** means ‘tie up’ and **hā phê** means ‘take off one’s pants’. In Yellow Lahu, on the other hand, **chi** means ‘to smoke’ (YL **a-šú chi che** is equivalent to BL **šú dō ve**). The BL is pretending to misunderstand what the YL said, by interpreting YL **chi** as BL **chi?** ‘tie up’, and purposely conflating BL **phê** ‘tie up’ and **phê** ‘take off’. He thus removes his pants so that the YL can use them as a rope to tie him up.

Taking off his pants to have a smoke

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## **Part III**

# **Lahu spiritual and musical life**



## **12 Traditional "theo-animism"**

## 12.1 God struggles with the Titan

- (1) *à-šwè thā Ğì-ša cho-yâ thà? phā ve , à-thò?-ma tê cā*  
 AE N N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> Q  
 once upon a time God human beings accusative create nominalizer whatever each kind  
*yù phā ve ò-lon a-ví-a-ni thà? a-cí qāw*  
 vV V P<sub>univ</sub> N Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Adv V  
 take and V sthg create relativizer matter brothers and sisters accusative just tell  
*mā lâ šā mē .*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 indicate by V'ing benefactive (non-3p) intentional (1p) emphatic
- (2) *qha-dê? na tā .*  
 AE V P<sub>v</sub>  
 properly listen durative
- (3) *à-šwè è Ğì-ša chi cho-yâ thà? te phā*  
 NP<sub>time</sub> Prt N Det N P<sub>n</sub> vV V  
 long ago adverbializer God these human beings accusative make sthg and V with it create  
*ve tê yān thā , yô ve khi-mê-là?-mê šô? le , cho-yâ*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + ve Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 relativizer when his body dirt rub off suspensive human beings  
*thà? te phā ve cê .*  
 P<sub>n</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 accusative make sthg and V with it create nominalizer quotative
- (4) *cho-yâ qha-pà-è thà? phā pà le , ò-ló tê dī*  
 N AE P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 human beings all accusative create finish V'ing suspensive leftover one for lumps  
*cò tā ve ô-ve ō yù le cho-ló-ma tê mà te*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V  
 be there durative relativizer that topic take suspensive giant one for things make  
*ha le , Cà-mû-cà-pe phê? qay šē cê .*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 vigorous action suspensive male name become continue V'ing right away quotative
- (5) *qhe-te-le cho-yâ chi ma ve thà? Ğì-ša qô? pī*  
 Conj N NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub>  
 then human beings this many genitivizer accusative God say benefactive (3p)  
*ve : " nò-hi tê phā mì-tô?-vâ-tô? la qo , mì-ú-vâ-ú ñà*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> Pron Q Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> Pron  
 nominalizer you (pl) pluralizer first fruits emerge come to V when first fruits me  
*thà? tâ la-? mē " tê?*  
 P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> QUOT  
 accusative make a religious offering motion toward (imperative) emphatic embedded quote  
*Ğì-ša cho-yâ thà? chi qhe qô? pī le , cho-yâ*  
 N N P<sub>n</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 God human beings accusative like this say benefactive (3p) suspensive human beings  
*thô mì-tô?-vâ-tô? la le , Ğì-ša thà? ca*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> vV  
 also first fruits emerge come to V suspensive God accusative go and do



*mâ là mð lɛ , ca ni la thâ ,*  
 Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 negative come see or hear of suspensive go and do check on come to V when  
*Cà-mû-cà-pɛ thà? ġa mð dà? lɛ , Cà-mû-cà-pɛ qô? ve*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>n</sub> vV + V<sub>h</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 male name accusative encounter mutual action suspensive male name say nominalizer  
 : " *nð à-thò?-ma ca la le " chi qhe qô? cê , Ġì-ša*  
 Pron N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> N  
 you what look for come to V substantive qst like this say quotative God  
*thà?*  
 P<sub>n</sub>  
 accusative

- (11) *Ġì-ša qô? ve ɔ , " cho-yâ-vâ-yâ tê phâ mì-câ-vâ-câ*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> Q Elab<sub>v</sub>  
 God say nominalizer topic human beings pluralizer cultivate the land for a living  
*ve qhà-qhe qay lɛ-nâ dɔ lɛ , ñà ca*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron vV  
 nominalizer how? go indirect question marker think suspensive I go and do  
*ni la ve-ɔ " Cà-mû-cà-pɛ thà? qhe qô? pî*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub>  
 check on come to V emphatic male name accusative like this say benefactive (3p)  
*lɛ , Cà-mû-cà-pɛ qô? ve : " nð Ġì-ša phè? ve qo*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 suspensive male name say relativizer you God be a certain way nominalizer if  
 , *nè-há a-cí tàn dà? lɛ vâ dà?*  
 Pron Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 the two of us just compete mutual action suspensive go at it mutual action  
*qha ni šā " tê? qhe qô? lɛ , ġû-šî*  
 AE P<sub>v</sub> QUOT Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>loc</sub>  
 until it's figured out hortatory (1p) embedded quote like this say suspensive in front of  
*lo cò tã ve šî?-vê? tê mà thà? ġî*  
 P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V  
 locative be there durative nominalizer flower on a tree one for things accusative run  
*yù dà? ve cê .*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 V to get sthg mutual action nominalizer quotative

- (12) *qhe-te-lɛ ġò ġî yù dà? ve , ġî qay*  
 Conj vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 so V vigorously run V to get sthg mutual action nominalizer run V along  
*ve tê yân thâ , Cà-mû-cà-pɛ ve khi-šɛ thà? Ġì-ša qú*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> N V  
 relativizer when male name genitivizer foot accusative God wind around  
*və lɛ , šî?-vê? cò kî lo gà lɛ ,*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 transportatory motion suspensive flower be there locative locative reach suspensive  
*Ġì-ša yù ġa šē ve cê .*  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 God take hold of manage to first nominalizer quotative

- (13) *qhe-te-le Ği-ša thà? mâ ğâ .*  
 Conj N P<sub>n</sub> Adv V  
 so God accusative negative overcome
- (14) *nî pô? tê pô? yô qô? qô? ve , " nò Ği-ša phê? tê ve*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> Pron<sub>v</sub> V V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 second time he V again say nominalizer you God be sthg really V nominalizer  
*qo , tê pô? qô? pho-và? dà? šā " tē? qô?*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Q<sub>v</sub> V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> QUOT V  
 if again V again run and hide mutual action mutual action embedded quote say  
*le , Cà-mû-cà-pe chi thà? Ği-ša a-lô pho-và? ci cê .*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> Det P<sub>n</sub> N Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 suspensive male name this accusative God first run and hide causative quotative
- (15) *yô qhò lo tê kà pho-và? thô Ği-ša yô thà? mò*  
 Pron N<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N Pron P<sub>n</sub> V  
 he wherever locative one for places run and hide even God he accusative find  
*cê .*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative
- (16) *qhe-te-le nî pô? tê pô? Ği-ša qô? pho-và? ve .*  
 Conj NP<sub>q</sub> N<sub>v</sub> V V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 so second time God V again run and hide nominalizer
- (17) *Ği-ša thà? yô ca ni thâ , yô mâ mò .*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron Adv V  
 God accusative he look for try and V when he negative find
- (18) *qhe-te-le yô mì-ği chi thà? ğâ-thê? dô?-ca le yà?-ni*  
 Conj Pron N Det P<sub>n</sub> Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub>  
 so he country this accusative energetically search vigorously suspensive today  
*qho-qhò?-lò-qhò? chi qhe phê? šē ɔ tē cho-mô chi qhe qô?*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> QUOT N AE<sub>ext</sub> V  
 the mountains like this become still affirmative embedded quote ancestors like this say  
*ɔ ma .*  
 P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 affirmative exclamatory
- (19) *qhe-te-le ɔ Ği-ša thô chi tê yân gà le , yô ca le*  
 Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> Det Q V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 so topic God also this the time that reach suspensive he look for suspensive  
*mâ mò thâ , " yà? la ò " tē? qô?*  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> QUOT V  
 negative find when come down come to V completed action embedded quote say  
*le , Ği-ša chi yô ve mē?-kā lo pô? yà?*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N Det Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 suspensive God this he genitivizer genitivizer locative jump V downwards  
*la ve cê .*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 come to V nominalizer quotative

God struggles with the Titan

- (20) *qhe qô? kà? Cà-mû-cà-pe chi ni-ma ī jā ve thà? pa-tɔ , yô*  
 Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> Det N<sub>spec</sub> + V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron  
 like this say although male name this arrogant very nominalizer because he  
*ni-qhâ mâ šī šē , Ğî-ša mû-ni šī mà te pî ha*  
 N<sub>spec</sub> + V P<sub>v</sub> N N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 dissatisfied still God sun seven for things make benefactive (3p) vigorous action  
*tê yân thâ , yô šo-lá-hô? šī mà te qhô?*  
 NP<sub>time</sub> Pron N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> vV V  
 when he iron helmet seven for things make sthg and V with it cover one's head  
*šē cê .*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 right away quotative
- (21) *qhe-te-le mâ mɔ-mɔ Ğî-ša yô thà? tê cə qô? cī-yān pî*  
 Conj AE N Pron P<sub>n</sub> Q vV V V<sub>v</sub>  
 so soon God he accusative another thing V again punish benefactive (3p)  
*ve .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer
- (22) *Ĝî-ša mû-ni thà? yù šī pî qha*  
 N N P<sub>n</sub> vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 god sun accusative take and V sthg go out (fire or light) causative vivid action  
*le , yô a-kí thà? bô? le ś-qā-khɔ thà?*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 suspensive he pitch pine accusative make a notch suspensive buffalo horn accusative  
*phe-tú le he mē cā cê .*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 tie to and set alight suspensive swidden plow (action of an animal) V to eat quotative
- (23) *qhe-te-le yà?-ni ś-qā ð-khɔ à? ð-qhê? ð-qhê? qay*  
 Conj N<sub>time</sub> N N P<sub>n</sub> N N V  
 so today buffalo horn accusative ridge ridge go a certain way  
*ve-š chi qhe pa-tɔ qô?-ma .*  
 P<sub>uf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic nominalizer like this because of emphatic
- (24) *le nî kà tê kà qo -*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 and another place topic
- (25) ( *Paul prompts him* ) *í-mû qā-qhê? ve è? ...*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 horses dance nominalizer contrastive interrogative
- (26) *qhe-te-le Ğî-ša chi ni-ma yî? ve thà? pa-tɔ , yô pá-nû tê*  
 Conj N Det N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron N Num  
 so God this heart be angry nominalizer because he dung beetle one  
*mà thà? te le , pá-nû ð-khɔ thà? š ð-kə*  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N N P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N  
 for things accusative make suspensive dung beetle horn accusative locative poison



- šē* *pî* *pà* *ɛ* , *Cà-mû-cà-pe* *chê-kî* *lo*  
 V  $V_v$   $V_v$   $P_{unf}$   $N_{pers}$   $N_{dwb}$   $P_n$   
 smear onto benefactive (3p) finish V'ing suspensive male name dwelling place locative  
*qay ci* *cê* .  
 V  $V_v$   $P_{uf}$   
 go causative quotative
- (27) *pá-nú* *chi* *Cà-mû-cà-pe* *mê?-gû-šî* *lo* *gà* *thâ* , *Cà-mû-cà-pe* *pá-nú*  
 N Det  $N_{pers}$  N  $P_n$  V  $P_{univ}$   $N_{pers}$  N  
 dung beetle this male name presence of locative reach when male name dung beetle  
*thâ?* *na-ni* *ve* : " *nò* *qhò-qhe* *qay* *tù* *è* "  
 $P_n$  V  $P_{univ}$  Pron  $N_{intg}$  V  $P_v$   $P_{uf}$   
 accusative ask nominalizer you where? go future substantive qst  
*tê?* *qô?* *ɛ* , *pá-nú* *qò?* *qô?* *ve* : " *âa* ,  
 QUOT V  $P_{unf}$  N  $vV$  V  $P_{univ}$  Interj  
 embedded quote say suspensive dung beetle V back say nominalizer oh!  
*Mâ-šén* *qay* " *tê?* *chi* *qhe* *qô?* *cê* .  
 N V QUOT  $AE_{ext}$  V  $P_{uf}$   
 Jewel City go embedded quote like this say quotative
- (28) " *Mâ-šé* *ɔ̄* *ɲà* *né* *â* *gà* *jɔ̄* .  
 $N_{place}$   $P_n$  Pron  $P_{unf}$  Adv V  $P_v$   
 Jewel City locative I even negative reach experiential
- (29) *nò* *qhe* *chi* *hfy* *qhà-qhe* *gà* *tù* *è* " *qô?* *ɛ* ,  
 Pron  $N_{ext}$   $NP_{ext}$   $N_{intg}$  V  $P_v$   $P_{uf}$  V  $P_{unf}$   
 you like only this big how? reach future substantive qst say suspensive  
*gò* *tha* *phê* *qha* *ɛ* , *pá-nú* *ò-khó*  
 $vV$  V  $V_v$   $P_v$   $P_{unf}$  N N  
 V vigorously slap launch violent action violent action suspensive dung beetle horn  
*Cà-mû-cà-pe* *là?-šé* *thâ?* *cī* *ve* *cê* .  
 $N_{pers}$  N  $P_n$  V  $P_{univ}$   $P_{uf}$   
 male name hand accusative prick nominalizer quotative
- (30) *qhe-te-ɛ* *nà* *ha-lâ* *ɛ* *bà?* *ɛ* , *khi-šé* *kà?* *tê* *qhe*  
 Conj V  $P_v$   $P_{unf}$   $V_{adj}$   $P_{unf}$  N  $P_{unf}$  Num  $Cl_f$   
 so hurt lively action suspensive angry suspensive foot also one for strokes  
*qò?* *thi* *qô?-ma* .  
 $vV$  V  $P_{uf}$   
 V again jab emphatic
- (31) *qhe-te-ɛ* *khi-šé* *chi* *kà?* *qò?* *phò?* *ha-lâ* , *là?-šé* *kà?* *qò?*  
 Conj N Det  $P_{unf}$   $vV$  V  $P_v$  N  $P_{unf}$   $vV$   
 so foot this also V in addition swell up lively action hand also V in addition  
*phò?* *ha-lâ* *ɛ-ɔ̄* , *nà* *jâ* *ɛ* *chi* *tê* *pô?* *yô* *chê* *mâ*  
 V  $P_v$   $P_{unf}$  V  $V_v$   $P_{univ}$   $NP_q$  Pron V Adv  
 swell up lively action suspensive hurt very because this time he exist negative  
*phê?* *ò* *cê* .  
 $V_v$   $P_v$   $P_{uf}$   
 able to change of state quotative
- (32) *qhe-te-ɛ* *Ĝî-ša* *ge* *ca* *qò?* *lò-khó* *e* *ɛ* , " *nâ?-chí*  
 Conj N  $P_n$   $vV$   $vV$  V  $P_v$   $P_{unf}$  N  
 so God to go and do V finally beg for sthg motion away suspensive medicine

- a-cí gu a* " *tè?* *qô?* *pî* *le* , *Ĝî-ša thô* "  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> QUOT V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub>  
 please cure hortatory embedded quote say benefactive (3p) suspensive God also
- nâ?-chî cò ve yò* " *tè?* *qô?* *pî*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> QUOT V V<sub>v</sub>  
 medicine have nominalizer declarative embedded quote say benefactive (3p)
- ve cê* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer quotative
- (33) " *qhe-te-le nâ?-chî chi kə ve qo šī ni mâ gà šē*  
 Conj N Det V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 so medicine this apply to nominalizer when seven for days negative reach yet
- thā nò tā phà? mē* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> Pron Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 when you negative imperative unwrap persuasive
- (34) *nâ?-chî chi kə le mâ mɔ-mɔ qo ð-šā cā la ve*  
 N Det V P<sub>unf</sub> AE P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 medicine this apply to suspensive soon when flesh grow back come to V nominalizer
- có-cí-có-cí tè qay ɔ* .  
 AE P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 tingling really V go a certain way mildly exclamatory
- (35) *chi qhe chi qhe phè? pí-à* , " *tè?* *qô?* *pî*  
 AE<sub>ext</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V V + P<sub>v</sub> QUOT V V<sub>v</sub>  
 like this like this be a certain way warning marker embedded quote say benefactive (3p)
- ve cê* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer quotative
- (36) *qhe-te-le Ĝî-ša chi pí-ma-u šī ká-hô?* *yù le Cà-mû-cà-pe*  
 Conj N Det N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>pers</sub>  
 so God this fly eggs seven for storage baskets (bamboo) take suspensive male name
- ve khi-še là?-še nà kì thà? kə pî le* ,  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 genitivizer foot hand hurt locative accusative apply to benefactive (3p) suspensive
- qha-dê? pe-chî? tā pî ve cê* .  
 AE V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 properly tie up with cloth perfective benefactive (3p) nominalizer quotative
- (37) *Cà-mû-cà-pe thô šī ni mâ gà ce* , *yô chè?-nà*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron V  
 male name also seven for days negative reach up to he hurt from an irritation
- ve qhà-qhe ce kà? yô yâ-khā le* , *šī ni*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 nominalizer as much as possible even he suffer patiently suspensive seven for days
- thā gà le yô phà? qha ni le* , *yô ve ð-šā*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N  
 time reach suspensive he unwrap vivid action V and see suspensive his flesh
- chi qha-pè-è kî le hwê? cā pà ve thà? pa-to* , *yô šī*  
 Det AE V P<sub>unf</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron V  
 this all rot suspensive fly larvae eat finish V'ing nominalizer because he die

- qay ve cê*  
V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
V away nominalizer quotative
- (38) *qhe-te-le šī ve tē yān thā Ğī-ša chi cho-yā chi ma ve le*  
Conj V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N Det N NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
so die relativizer when God this human beings this many genitivizer and  
*to-nū-to-šā?* *chi ma ve thā? kù-phò le*  
Elab<sub>n</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
animals and creatures this many genitivizer accusative call together suspensive  
*tū pī dō ā ve yò*  
V V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
bury (in the ground) causative think perfective nominalizer declarative
- (39) *cho-yā chi thō tū le mā pò tā*  
N Det P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
human beings these even bury (in the ground) suspensive negative finish V'ing durative  
*ī jā ve thā? pa-to , Ğī-ša yō-hi thā? qō? pī ve*  
V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N Pron P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
big very nominalizer because God them accusative say benefactive (3p) nominalizer  
: " *mō? ló te le , há-pi-mō ò-qhō ò-to ve ò-ló*  
N B<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> N  
cannon sthg big make suspensive grindstone inside body nominalizer remains  
*thā? ò-māy te mō ha le , mō? qhō*  
P<sub>n</sub> N V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N M<sub>px</sub>  
accusative powder do and grind up vigorous action suspensive cannon from inside  
*qò? bō? bà ha " tē? qō? pī le*  
V<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> QUOT V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
go on to V shoot away hortatory embedded quote say benefactive (3p) suspensive  
*cho-yā thō Ğī-ša tō-khō thā? na le mō? te le*  
N P<sub>unf</sub> N N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub>  
human beings also God words accusative heed suspensive cannon make suspensive  
*ğò bō? bà ha le-ō , yā?-ni pī-šī?-pī-nā? chi ma*  
V<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub>  
V vigorously shoot away vigorous action suspensive today insects (in general) this many  
*cò qay le , cho-yā thā? qò? chē? cā cē*  
V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
be there continue V'ing suspensive people accusative still V bite V to eat quotative  
*qò? chē? ve , ò-šī qò? dō ve*  
V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
still V bite nominalizer blood still V drink nominalizer
- (40) *pī chi qō?-ve ò , cho-yā qhe-lê nā-pò á cò qo yō*  
N Det P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N<sub>ext</sub> N Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron  
insect these topicalizer topic human beings like ear negative have topic they  
*hē?-dō šē tē chi qhe qo ò cē ma*  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
swallow up regrettably really V like this topic topic quotative exclamatory
- (41) *qhe-te-le ò cho-yā chi ma ve thō-kà? Ğī-ša tō-khō chi thā?*  
Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N Det P<sub>n</sub>  
so topic human beings this many genitivizer also God words these accusative

*na* *ɛ* , *Ĝì-ša* *qô?* *ve* *qha* *šū-šū* *Câ-mû-cà-pe* *thà?*  
V P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> AE N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
obey suspensive God say nominalizer just like male name accusative

*te* *pî* *pà* *ɛ* , *Ĝì-ša* *tê pô?* *chɔ-yâ*  
V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Q N  
treat a certain way benefactive (3p) finish V'ing suspensive God now human beings

*chi ma* *ve* *ɛ* *to-nû-to-šâ?* *chi ma* *ve* *thà?* *qa-mî*  
NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N  
this many genitivizer and animals and creatures this many genitivizer accusative singing

*ɛ* *qā-qhê?* *tù* *qô?* *kù-phò* *ɛ* *qā* *qô?*  
P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>v</sub> vV V P<sub>unf</sub> N vV  
and dancing purposive V again call together suspensive dance (traditional) go on to V

*qhê?* *ci* *cê* .  
V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
dance causative quotative

(42) *qhe-te-ɛ* *ɔ* , *to-nû-to-šâ?* *chi ma* *ve* *thô* *qā-qhê?* *ve* *ò-qhɔ*  
Conj P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub>  
so topic animals and creatures this many genitivizer also dance relativizer while

*lo* *ni* *qha* *ve* *tê yân thâ* , *phî* *chi* *kà?* *ò-khɔ* *cò* *ɛ*  
P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N Det P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
locative watch vivid action relativizer when dog this also horn have because

*qā-qhê?* *ve* *ò-qhɔ* *lo* *ni* *ša* *jâ* *cê* .  
V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V + V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
dance relativizer during locative good-looking very quotative

(43) *qhe-te-ɛ* *chi-pí-qwè?* *qô?* *ve* : " *Câ-phî* *ò* , *nò ve* *ò-khɔ* *ɲà*  
Conj N V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + **ve** N Pron  
so barking deer say nominalizer male name vocative your horn me

*thà?* *a-cí* *ɲā-?* " *qô?* *ɛ* , *ɲā* *pî* *qha* *ɛ*  
P<sub>n</sub> Adv V<sub>imp</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
accusative please lend! say suspensive lend benefactive (3p) vivid action suspensive

, *qā-qhê?* *tá* *ɛ* , *yô* *phɔ* *qay* *cê* .  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
dance perfective suspensive he flee V away quotative

(44) *phî* *chi* *ɔ-qhe* *qo* *yâ?-ni* *chi* *thà?* *mâ* *ğā mò*  
N Det P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> Adv vV + V<sub>h</sub>  
dogs these topicalizer topic today barking-deer accusative negative stand the sight of

*ve-ɔ* , *yô* *chi* *ò-qhâ-šî* *ğâ? chè?* *ve* *chi* *ɔ* "  
P<sub>uf</sub> Pron Det N vV + V<sub>h</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub>  
emphatic nominalizer they these trail chase to bite relativizer this matter topic

*qáw-qáw* " *qô?* *ve* *chi* *ɔ* , " *ɲà* *khɔ*  
Onomat V P<sub>univ</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N  
woof-woof! (big dog barking) say relativizer this matter topic my horns

*qhò?-pè?* *a-?* , *ɲà* *khɔ* *qhò?-pè?* *a-?* " *qô?*  
V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> Pron N V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> V  
give back (an object) hortatory my horns give back (an object) hortatory mean

*ve* *cê* *ma* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer quotative exclamatory

- (45) *te-le chi chi ɔ̄ yɔ̄ ɡ̊ò phɔ qay le , mô*  
 Conj N Det P<sub>unf</sub> Pron <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub>  
 after that barking-deer this topic he V vigorously flee V away suspensive down there  
*ɔ̄ ʃu hɛ qh̄o lo phɔ e le ,*  
 P<sub>n</sub> Pron N N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 locative somebody else's swidden up there locative run away motion away suspensive  
*á-po-qo ʃu á-phè? tē ā ve khê-nâ?-qō ɡ̊a*  
 N Pron N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V  
 field hut somebody chili peppers pound down durative relativizer mortar (small) happen to  
*nâ? kə le , chi-pí-qwè? khi-šɛ ð-kí ð-kā ho*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N N N P<sub>n</sub>  
 step on V into suspensive barking deer foot cloven hoof between emphatic locative  
*šū-qō nù-qh̄a qay ve chi hà? là ve*  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Det P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 scallion have a bitter stench continue V'ing nominalizer this accusative come nominalizer  
*cê*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative
- (46) *qhe-te-le tē pɔ? ɔ̄-qā le nū chi kà? qā-qh̄e? ve tē yān thā , yɔ̄ cì*  
 Conj Q N P<sub>unf</sub> N Det P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Pron N  
 so now buffalo and ox these also dance relativizer when he teeth  
*qha-dè?-dè? cò ve thà? pa-to qā-qh̄e? le ɡ̊i a lâ ve*  
 AE V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 perfectly have nominalizer because dance suspensive smile vivid action relativizer  
*tē yān thā , ni ša jâ cê*  
 NP<sub>time</sub> V + V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 when good-looking very quotative
- (47) *qhe-te-le í-mû qô? ve ɔ̄ " Cà-qā ò , nò ve cì ɲà*  
 Conj N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N Pron  
 so horse say nominalizer topic male name vocative your teeth me  
*à? a-cí ɲā a-? , ɲà kà? a-cí te a " tèt?*  
 P<sub>n</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub> QUOT  
 accusative please lend hortatory I also a little do intentive embedded quote  
*qhe qô? le , ɔ̄-qā th̄o ɲā pî qha cê*  
 Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 like this say suspensive buffalo also lend benefactive (3p) vivid action quotative
- (48) *qhe-te-le í-mû chi qā tē cɔ ɡ̊ò qh̄e? šē tá*  
 Conj N Det N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 so horse this dance (traditional) one for rounds V vigorously dance first perfective  
*le , yɔ̄ ɡ̊i-phɔ ɡ̊è?-e cê*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 suspensive he run away intensifier quotative
- (49) *ɔ̄-qā chi yà?-ni " ɔ̄n ɔ̄n " qô? ve chi ɔ̄ "*  
 N Det N<sub>time</sub> Onomat Onomat V P<sub>univ</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub>  
 buffalo this today cry of the buffalo cry of the buffalo say relativizer this topic  
*ɲà cì qh̄e?-pè? a-? " tèt? qhe qô? le ,*  
 Pron N V P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> QUOT Adv V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 my teeth give back (an object) hortatory embedded quote like this say suspensive

	<i>í-mû</i>	<i>thà?</i>	<i>gà?-yù</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>qô?</i>	<i>ve</i>					
	N	P <sub>n</sub>	V	P <sub>univ</sub>	V	P <sub>univ</sub>					
	horse	accusative	chase to capture	nominalizer	mean	nominalizer					
(50)	<i>í-mû</i>	<i>qo</i>	<i>î-î-î</i>	<i>qô?</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>chi</i>	<i>̄</i>	<i>ś-qā</i>	<i>thà?</i>	<i>gì-yò</i>	<i>ve</i>
	N	P <sub>unf</sub>	Adv <sub>onomat</sub>	V	P <sub>univ</sub>	Det	P <sub>unf</sub>	N	P <sub>n</sub>	V	P <sub>univ</sub>
	horse	topic	whinny	say	relativizer	this	topic	buffalo	accusative	laugh at	nominalizer
	<i>cê</i>										
	P <sub>uf</sub>										
	quotative										
(51)	<i>qhe-te-qo</i>	<i>í-mû</i>	<i>chi</i>	<i>thà?</i>	<i>yà?-ni</i>	<i>ś-qā</i>	<i>mâ</i>	<i>thâ</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>̄</i>	<i>chò kà?</i>
	Conj	N	Det	P <sub>n</sub>	N <sub>time</sub>	N	Adv	V	P <sub>univ</sub>	P <sub>unf</sub>	N <sub>sd</sub> + P <sub>n</sub>
	so	horse	this	accusative	today	buffalo	negative	tolerate	nominalizer	topic	here
	<i>lâ</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>yò</i>	<i>tè?</i>	<i>chə-mô</i>	<i>chi qhe</i>	<i>qô?</i>	<i>ā</i>			
	V	P <sub>univ</sub>	P <sub>uf</sub>	QUOT	N	AE <sub>ext</sub>	V	P <sub>v</sub>			
	come	nominalizer	declarative	embedded quote	ancestors	like this	say	perfective			
	<i>lâ</i>		<i>ɔ</i>	<i>ma</i>							
	P <sub>v</sub>		P <sub>uf</sub>	P <sub>uf</sub>							
	benefactive (non-3p)		affirmative	exclamatory							

## Translation

1. I'd like to tell you brethren now about how long, long ago God<sup>1</sup> created mankind and created everything else.
2. Please listen carefully.
3. Long, long ago when *gì-ša* created mankind, he rubbed off the caked-on dirt from his feet and his hands, and created human beings [with it], it is said.
4. After he had finished creating all the humans, he took a left-over lump and made a giant out of it, and so Cà-mû-cà(-qa)-pe<sup>2</sup> came into being.
5. Then *gì-ša* said to all the human beings, "When your crops are ripe, all of you must offer to me the first-fruits," so since *gì-ša* had said this to the humans, when the crops were ripe they went and offered [the first-fruits] to *gì-ša*.
6. At a point on the road that the humans were traveling, the Titan cà-mû-cà-pe saw them, and asked "Where are you all going?", and the people said "We're going to make offerings to *gì-ša*, our first fruits," so the Titan said, "Make the offerings to *me*! What kind of God is there? It's me, I am *gì-ša*," he said, scolding the humans.
7. [Addendum] These people were very afraid of the giant, so even though they didn't want to make offerings to him, they offered everything to him and went back home.
8. So then one day, since *gì-ša* didn't see any humans coming, he went to check things out, and when he met the Titan, cà-mû-cà-pe said to him, "What have you come looking for?"
9. , So *gì-ša* said to the Titan, "I've been thinking about how the human beings are doing with their cultivation, so I've come to check it out," and cà-mû-cà-pe said:

<sup>1</sup>*gì-ša*: 1. [pre-Christian] 'Great Spirit; Creator' (standing far above the nature spirits (*nê*)); 2.[Christian] reinterpreted as the God of the Bible. This word is left untranslated in the rest of the text. See DL 1148-9 and JAM 1985 "God and the Sino-Tibetan copula".

<sup>2</sup>Sometimes translated below as 'Titan'.

10. "If you are really God, let's just have a contest and go at each other to see," he said, and they [decided to] have a race<sup>3</sup> to pluck a certain flower growing on a tree in front of them.
11. So when they raced<sup>4</sup> with all their might<sup>5</sup>, when they went racing, *gì-ša* clung to the Titan's leg, and having arrived at the flower on the tree, *gì-ša* managed to pluck it.
12. Therefore he did not prevail over *gì-ša*.
13. For the second time the Titan said, "If you are really God let's now play hide-and-seek," so *gì-ša* made the Titan go and hide first.
14. But wherever he went to hide, *gì-ša* found him.
15. So then, this time it was *gì-ša*'s turn to go and hide.
16. But when he went to look for *gì-ša*, he couldn't find him.
17. So because he vigorously searched for him all over this country, that's why we still have these mountains and valleys, so our ancestors have said.<sup>6</sup>
18. Then, when the time was up, since he couldn't find him, *gì-ša* said "I've come down!", and he jumped down right before his eyes.
19. Even though he [*gì-ša*] said this, the Titan, since he was very proud, was still not satisfied, and when *gì-ša* created seven suns, he put seven iron helmets on his head.<sup>7</sup>
20. So *gì-ša* soon gave him another punishment.
21. *gì-ša* extinguished the suns,<sup>8</sup> so he [the Titan] made a notch in a pitch-pine tree<sup>9</sup>, tied it to a buffalo born and set it on fire, so he could plow his field.
22. For this reason, to this very day buffalo horns have ridges on them.
23. And, in another place— [Hesitates]
24. *Cà-lô* [*prompting him*] What about the dancing horses?<sup>10</sup>
25. So then, because *gì-ša* was angry, he made a dung-beetle and smeared poison on its horns, and made it go to where the Titan lived}.
26. When the dung-beetle arrived in the presence of the Titan, the Titan asked him, "Where are you going to?", and the dung-beetle replied, "Oh, I'm going to the Jewel City."
27. "I've never been to the Jewel City myself.
28. "Such a tiny thing like you, how could you get there?" he said, and he slapped it hard, so that the dung-beetle's horn pricked his hand.
29. So it hurt him a lot and he got mad, and so he gave it a kick with his foot too!<sup>11</sup>
30. So then his foot also swelled way up on him, and his hand also swelled way up on him, and it hurt terribly, and this time he couldn't stand it any more.

<sup>3</sup>The gloss for *cà-mû-cà(-qa)-pɛ* in DL:450 diverges somewhat from this story: "the first human being, a titan who pits his strength against his creator, *gì-ša*."

<sup>4</sup>*gì yù dâ? ve*: 'have a race', lit. "run together to get something".

<sup>5</sup>'With all their might' translates the vivid pre-head versatile verb *gò*.

<sup>6</sup>That is, the Titan's clumsy but awesomely powerful searching chewed up the landscape.

<sup>7</sup>In order not to be dazzled by so much light.

<sup>8</sup>Thus plunging the world into darkness.

<sup>9</sup>*a-kí*: 'pitch-pine tree'. Torches made from the resinous sap of this tree were the traditional Lahu means of lighting their way at night.

<sup>10</sup>*Cà-lô*, already familiar with the broad outlines of the story, is jumping the gun. See below.

<sup>11</sup>Also impacting on the beetle's horn.

31. So then he went to where *gì-ša* was, and begged and besought him, “Please cure me with some medicine!” he said, and *gì-ša* said, “I have a medicine.”
32. “So when the medicine is put on, don’t unwrap [the bandage] for seven days.
33. “Soon after the medicine has been applied, your flesh will get all tingly as it heals.<sup>12</sup>
34. “That’s just the way it’s likely to be,” he said, he said to him.
35. So then *gì-ša* took seven basketsful<sup>13</sup> of blowfly eggs, and put them on the Titan’s foot and hand, and tied them up nice and tight for him.<sup>14</sup>
36. For seven days, *Cà-mû-cà-pɛ* patiently suffered, no matter how much it hurt<sup>15</sup> him, and when the seventh day came and he opened up [the bandages] to have a look, all that flesh had rotted away since the maggots had eaten it all up, so he died.
37. So when he died, *gì-ša* called together all the human beings and all the animals, thinking he would have them bury him.
38. But the humans couldn’t manage to bury him. since he was so huge, so *gì-ša* said to them,
- 38a. “Make a big cannon, and put what’s left of his body into a grindstone<sup>16</sup>, then shoot it out,” he said, and the people obeyed *gì-ša*’s words, and made a cannon and shot him out of it, and to this very day there have come to be all these insects that still chomp into people<sup>17</sup>, that still bite, that still drink our blood.<sup>18</sup>
39. As for these insects, the reason why they don’t have ears like people is because they [their ears] were swallowed up<sup>19</sup>, so it is said.
40. So then, since all the humans had obeyed *gì-ša*’s words, and since they had dealt with the Titan just as he had commanded, *gì-ša* then called together all the humans and all the animals in order for them to sing and dance,<sup>20</sup> and he made them all dance.
41. So when you watched all the animals dancing, the dog, who also had horns, looked splendid as he danced.
42. So the barking deer said, “Mr. Dog,<sup>21</sup> please lend me your horns for a while!”, and so he lent them to him, and after he had danced for a while he ran away.
43. To this day dogs can’t stand the sight of barking deer, and they chase after them to bite them and bark, “Woof, woof!” which means “Gimme back my horns, gimme back my horns!”, so they say.
44. After this, when the barking deer was fleeing the scene, he ran into somebody’s swidden down in a certain place, where he happened to step onto a mortar with which somebody was crushing chili-peppers in a field-hut, which is why the cloven hooves of a barking deer stink bitterly of scallions, so they say.
45. So meanwhile, as the buffalo and the ox were dancing, since he [the buffalo] had beautiful teeth, when he was smiling as he danced it was a fine sight to see.

<sup>12</sup>*ṣ-šā cā la ve*: lit. “flesh will sprout.”

<sup>13</sup>*ká-hô?* (N; Cl<sub>f</sub>): a measurement equal to the amount of cooked rice that fits into a bamboo storage basket.

<sup>14</sup>*pɛ-chì? ve* ‘tie up with a cloth; wrap around (as a bandage)’: DL 843.

<sup>15</sup>*chê?-nà ve*: lit. “bite-hurt”, i.e., stung painfully.

<sup>16</sup>I.e., grind up his body to powder, so it can be shot out of a gun.

<sup>17</sup>*chê? cā ve*: lit. “bite and eat”.

<sup>18</sup>I.e., the powdery remains of the Titan’s body turned into the insects that still plague us today.

<sup>19</sup>By the noise of the explosion when they were shot from the cannon.

<sup>20</sup>Note the unusual use of *le* ‘and’ to join two verbs, ‘sing’ and ‘dance’ (here translated ‘singing’ and ‘dancing’), no doubt because they are both in constituency with the purposive verb-particle *tù*, which can also function as a purposive nominalizer in other contexts.

<sup>21</sup>*cā-phî: phî* ‘dog’ is here preceded by *cā*, the traditional prefix to male names. Actually boys born on the Day of the Dog were also traditionally given this name. See DL 448-451.



46. So the horse said, "Mr. Buffalo, please lend me your teeth for a while, so I can just dance with them a little," he said, and the buffalo lent them to him.

47. So then the horse danced once around, then kicked up his heels and ran away lickety-split.<sup>22</sup>

48. To this very day, when a buffalo says "aw-ehn, aw-ehn," when it's chasing after a horse it means "Gimme back my teeth!"

49. When a horse says "î-î-î" it's because he's laughing at the buffalo.

50. So to this day the reason why a buffalo can't tolerate a horse is because of this, so our ancestors have told us.

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<sup>22</sup>'Lickety-split' translates the vivid vV ḡḡ, which means 'drag, pull' as a main verb.

## 12.2 Lahu cosmogony

- (1) *nó-tì?-nó-šé* *g̃i-po qhô thâ? mâ-cè?* *cè mâ ġa* .  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> AE M<sub>px</sub> Adv V  
 precious eternal lake lake above accusative in great abundance tree negative attain
- (2) *šô-tì?-ma-tì?* *tê cè ce* .  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> Q P<sub>univ</sub>  
 tree of eternal life (animist) one tree just
- (3) *šô-tì?-ma-tì?* *chi-ve phâ? dà? qá ve lɛ*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> Det V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 tree of eternal life (animist) this split up mutual action branch out nominalizer suspensive  
*š-qhe* , *qá-lè? phâ? dà? lɛ lɔ-qò? qô chi qô*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Num  
 topicalizer branch separate mutual action mutual action twisting river ninety-nine  
*qò? lo* , *mâ-cè? cè mâ ġa* .  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> AE M<sub>px</sub> Adv V  
 for bends locative in great abundance tree negative attain
- (4) *phè?-qhwê* *tê cè-cè* .  
 N NP<sub>q</sub>  
 edible fern sp. a few trees
- (5) *phè?-qhwê* *chi š-qhe phâ? dà? ha-kə qhe fe* .  
 N Det P<sub>unf</sub> M<sub>px</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> N N<sub>ext</sub> V<sub>adj</sub>  
 edible fern sp. these topicalizer leaf beautiful winnowing sieve like wide
- (6) *mâ-cè?* *cè mâ ġa* .  
 AE M<sub>px</sub> Adv V  
 in great abundance tree negative attain
- (7) *qā-ni* *tê cè-cè*  
 N NP<sub>q</sub>  
 huge tree sp. a few trees
- (8) *qā-ni* *chi phè?-dâ? , ha-kə chi phè?-dâ? , ha-ma chi* .  
 N Det V<sub>adj</sub> N Det V<sub>adj</sub> N Det  
 huge tree sp. these fertile winnowing sieve these useful winnowing tray these
- (9) *mâ-cè?* *cè mâ ġa* .  
 AE M<sub>px</sub> Adv V  
 in great abundance tree negative attain
- (10) *g̃i-yâ* *phè?-qhwê* *tê cè-cè* .  
 N N NP<sub>q</sub>  
 water creatures edible fern sp. a few plants
- (11) *g̃i-yâ* *phè?-qhwê* *chi lɛ , qô chi qô qá chɛ ā*  
 N N Det P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 water creatures edible fern sp. these topic ninety-nine for branches be there durative  
*ve* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer

- (12) *yà?-qhâ tê qá lè cè-yâ yô phê? ve* .  
 Conj Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Pron V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 however one for branches topic servant it become nominalizer
- (13) *tê qá cè-yâ yô phê? , tê qá , ôo tê qá*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N Pron V Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Interj Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 one for branches servant it become one for branches oh! one for branches  
*cè-yâ yô phê? ve* .  
 N Pron V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 servant it become nominalizer
- (14) *tê qá ô-ve lè vî-yâ yô phê? ve* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub> N Pron V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 another for branches that topic race of snakes it become nominalizer
- (15) *mâ-cê? cè mâ ġa* .  
 AE M<sub>px</sub> Adv V  
 in great abundance tree negative attain
- (16) *ġî-yâ šš?-tî? tê cè cε*  
 N N Q P<sub>univ</sub>  
 divine object created by G'uisha tree of life (animist) one tree only
- (17) *šš?-tî? chi phâ? dà? qá l-hi* ,  
 N Det V P<sub>v</sub> V V  
 tree of life (animist) this split up mutual action branch out function as intended (poetic)
- (18) *qá dà? phâ? l-hi* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> V V  
 branch out mutual action separate function as intended (poetic)
- (19) *yà?-qhâ tê qá ce ve tê yâ thâ khî-yī*  
 Conj Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 however one for branches fall (from a height) relativizer when time deer (great sambhur)  
*yô phê? tš? e* .  
 Pron V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 it arise from motion away
- (20) *tê qá ce ve tê yân hε-và? yô phê? tš?*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Q N Pron V + V<sub>v</sub>  
 one for branches fall (from a height) relativizer the time that wild boar it arise from  
*e* .  
 P<sub>v</sub>  
 motion away
- (21) *tê qá ce ve tê yân chw-yâ yô*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Q N Pron  
 one for branches fall (from a height) relativizer the time that human beings it  
*phê? tš? e* .  
 V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 arise from motion away
- (22) *qhe láy-cà ve ô kà? phê? tš? la ve*  
 Adv Q P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 like this everything genitivizer over there locative arise from come to V nominalizer

yò  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
declarative

### Translation

1. Above the Precious Eternal Lake there was no abundance of trees to be found.
2. There was only the Tree of Eternal Life.
3. This Tree of Eternal Life split up and branched out, splitting up into branches [which turned into] a crooked river with 99 bends, [but] there was no abundance of trees to be found.
4. There were a few phè?-qhwê ferns<sup>1</sup>; these phè?-qhwê had pretty leaves as broad as winnowing sieves, but there was no abundance of trees to be found.
5. There were a few qā-ni trees.<sup>2</sup> These qā-ni were fertile, useful for making winnowing sieves and winnowing trays, but there was no abundance of trees to be found.
6. These were a few aquatic<sup>3</sup> phè?-qhwê plants, and these aquatic phè?-qhwê plants had 99 branches.
7. However, one of the branches became a servant. One branch became a servant – oh, one branch became a servant.
8. Another branch became a race of water creatures.
9. One branch became a servant – oh, one branch became a servant.
10. Another branch became a race of snakes.
11. But there was no abundance of trees to be found.
12. The divine Tree of Eternal Life alone, this Tree split up nicely.
13. It split up very well, but when one branch fell down sambar deer came out.
14. When another branch fell, wild boars came out.
15. Another branch fell and human beings came out.
16. Thus all kinds came into being and emerged there.

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<sup>1</sup>phè?-qhwê: a kind of soft edible dark green leaf like spinach. The plant grows in high and damp places, and is about two feet tall. See DL: 913.

<sup>2</sup>qā-ni: a huge tree indicating good land for all crops, used in shipbuilding [*Duabanga grandiflora*]. See DL: 236.

<sup>3</sup>gī-yā: gī means both ‘pertaining to God’ (< PLB \*ray) and ‘water’ (< PLB \*rəy), so this compound means both ‘lesser deity created by G’uisha’ and ‘water creature; aquatic creature’.

## 12.3 Man escapes from the primeval gourd

- (1) *à-šwè thā*      *Ĝì-ša lè*      *chɔ-yâ thà?*      *te*      *phā*      *ve*  
 AE                      N      P<sub>unf</sub>      N      P<sub>n</sub>                      vV                      V      P<sub>univ</sub>  
 once upon a time      God      topic      human      accusative      make sthg and V with it      create      relativizer  
*tê yân*      ,      *á-mo-qō*      *à-qhɔ*      *phā*      *kə*      *tā*      *pî*      *ve*  
 Q                      N                      N<sub>loc</sub>      V                      V<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>v</sub>                      V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>  
 the time that      gourd      inside      create      V into      perfective      benefactive (3p)      nominalizer  
*yò*      *cê*      .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative      quotative
- (2) *tê*      *ni*      *qhe*      *pò-ná*      *tê*      *khe*      *tɔ-kɔ-šĩ*  
 Num      Cl<sub>f</sub>      N<sub>ext</sub>      N                      Num      Cl<sub>f</sub>      N  
 one      for days      topicalizer      bat (animal)      one      for animals      fruit of the tawkaw palm  
*gà?*      *ce*      *qha*      *ɛ*      ,      *tɔ-kɔ-cè*      *à-hɔ*      *lo*  
 V                      V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      N                      N<sub>loc</sub>      P<sub>n</sub>  
 bite down hard      V so it falls      violent action      suspensive      palm tree sp.      under      locative  
*chi-pí-qwè?*      *tê*      *khe*      *yì?-mí qa*      *chê*      *ve*      *pa-tɔ*      ,      *yô*  
 N                      Num      Cl<sub>f</sub>                      N<sub>spec</sub> + V      V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>n</sub>                      Pron  
 barking deer      one      for animals      be asleep      continuous      nominalizer      because of      him  
*à-qhò*      *ce-tê*      *pî*      *qha*      *ɛ*      ,      *chê?-kà?*  
 N<sub>loc</sub>      V                      V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      AE  
 on top of      fall upon and squeeze      benefactive (3p)      violent action      suspensive      with a start  
*qay*      *ve*      *pa-tɔ*      *tê pɔ? tí*      *pɔ?-tu*      *ɛ*      ,  
 V                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>n</sub>                      NP<sub>q</sub>                      V                      P<sub>unf</sub>  
 go a certain way      nominalizer      because of      all of a sudden      jump to one's feet      suspensive  
*he-šā*      *à-qhɔ*      *lo*      *ǵf-phɔ*      *e*      *ve*      *yò*      *cê*      .  
 N                      N<sub>loc</sub>      P<sub>n</sub>                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 abandoned field      into      locative      run away      motion away      nominalizer      declarative      quotative
- (3) *hé-ǵá?*      *thɔ*      *qò?*      *pò*      *ɛ*      ,      *mì-cè*      *à-qhò*      *nā*      *ve*  
 N                      P<sub>unf</sub>      vV                      V      P<sub>unf</sub>                      N      N<sub>loc</sub>      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>  
 jungle chicken      also      V in turn      fly      suspensive      cassia      on top of      alight on      nominalizer  
*yò*      *cê*      .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative      quotative
- (4) *ô-thā*      *mì-cè*      *à-hɔ*      *lo*      *thɔ*      *t-mú*      *tê*      *khe*      *yî*      *cā*      *chê*  
 N<sub>time</sub>      N      N<sub>loc</sub>      P<sub>n</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>      N      Num      Cl<sub>f</sub>      N      V      V<sub>v</sub>  
 that time      cassia      under      locative      also      horse      one      for animals      grass      eat      progressive  
*ve*      *yò*      .  
 P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer      declarative
- (5) *t-mú*      *ô-ve*      *kɔ?*      *jā*      *ve*      *pa-tɔ*      ,      *yô*      *phɔ*      *e*      *ɛ*  
 N      Det      V                      V<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>n</sub>                      Pron      V      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>  
 horse      that      be afraid      very      nominalizer      because of      he      flee      motion away      suspensive  
*hɔ*      *nā-pɔ*      *qhɔ*      *lò?*      *e*      *ve*      *cê*      .  
 N      N      M<sub>px</sub>      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 elephant      ear      into      enter      motion away      nominalizer      quotative

Man escapes from the primeval gourd

- (6) *hɔ* *thô* *yô* *kâ?* *kô?* *jâ* *ve* *pa-tɔ* , *gâ-thê?* *gî-phɔ*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Adv V  
 elephant also he also be afraid very nominalizer because of energetically run away  
*e* *thâ* *á-mo-qô-šĩ* *thà?* *gâ* *nâ?-pu* *tá*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub>  
 motion away when gourd accusative happen to step on and make roll perfective  
*ve* *yò* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (7) *tê* *ni* *qhe* *Ĝĩ-ša* *lê* *cho-yâ* *ɛ* *ca* *gĩ* *la* *thâ* *cho-yâ*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 one for days topicalizer God topic human to go and do visit come to V when human  
*thâ?* *mâ* *mò* *le* *to-nú-to-šâ?* *qha-pà-è* *le*  
 P<sub>n</sub> Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> AE P<sub>unf</sub>  
 accusative negative see suspensive animals and creatures all suspensive  
*šĩ?-hô?* *qha-pà-è* *thà?* *kù-phò* *le* *na-ni* *ve* *yò*  
 N AE P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 trees and shrubs all accusative call together suspensive ask nominalizer declarative  
 .
- (8) *ô-thâ* *Ĝĩ-ša* *thô-cê* *thà?* *na-ni* *thâ* , *thô-cê* *qô?* *ve* : " *ɲà*  
 N<sub>time</sub> N N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron  
 then God pitch pine accusative ask when pitch pine say nominalizer I  
*mâ* *mò* ."  
 Adv V  
 negative see
- (9) *Ĝĩ-ša* *qô?* *ve* " *cho-yâ* *chi* *tô?* *la* *thâ* , *nò* *thà?*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> N Det V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub>  
 God say nominalizer human this come out come to V when you accusative  
*thu* *bâ* *pĩ-?* .  
 V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 chop down away benefactive (imperative)
- (10) *le* *nò* *à-cā* *tê pô?* *kâ?* *tâ* *qô?* *cā* , " *tê?*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N Q P<sub>unf</sub> Adv vV V QUOT  
 and you sprout once more even negative imperative V again sprout embedded quote  
*Ĝĩ-ša* *qô?* *pĩ* *ve* *pa-tɔ* , *yâ?-ni* *qha-gà* *thô-cê* *tê cè*  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>time</sub> N<sub>time</sub> N Q  
 God say benefactive (3p) nominalizer because of today until pitch pine the type  
*à-cā* *mâ* *cā* *ve* *yò* .  
 N Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 sprout negative sprout nominalizer declarative
- (11) *tê pô?* *pù-lú-qā* *thà?* *qô?* *na-ni* *le* , *pù-lú-qā* *thô* , " *ɲà*  
 Q N P<sub>n</sub> vV V P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> Pron  
 next time butterfly accusative V in turn ask suspensive butterfly also I  
*mâ* *šĩ* " *qô?* *pĩ* *le* , *Ĝĩ-ša* *qô?* *ve* : " *nò* *kâ?*  
 Adv V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub>  
 negative know say benefactive (3p) suspensive God say nominalizer you also

- tê ni le-le mû-cha mû-yè yâ mâ qô? , ġa ca câ ve*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> N N M<sub>px</sub> Adv + V <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 every day sunlight rain season whether must look for V to eat nominalizer  
*yò têt? qô? pî le , tê ni le-le ġa ca*  
 P<sub>uf</sub> QUOT V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V  
 declarative embedded quote say benefactive (3p) suspensive every day must look for  
*câ ve yò .*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 V to eat nominalizer declarative
- (12) *tê pô? pê-mê-cè? thà? qô? na-ni le , pê-mê-cè?*  
 Q N P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 next time tiny bee-like insect accusative V in turn ask suspensive tiny bee-like insect  
*qô? pî ve : " mô ̄ í-kâ? ð-qhɔ lò? e*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 say benefactive (3p) nominalizer down there locative water inside enter motion away  
*mò à? , " têt? tho pî ve pa-tɔ , Ğì-ša qô?*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> QUOT V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N V  
 see perfective embedded quote tell benefactive (3p) nominalizer because of God say  
*ve : " nò tê cə lè qhà-thâ?-kà? ð-ğî cò pî "*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE N V V<sub>v</sub>  
 nominalizer you one for kinds topic always liquid be there causative  
*têt? Ğì-ša nà? pî tá ve pa-tɔ ,*  
 QUOT N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 embedded quote God bless with benefactive (3p) perfective nominalizer because of  
*yà?-ni qha-gà yô tê cə ð-ğî cò ve yò .*  
 N<sub>time</sub> N<sub>time</sub> Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 today until its one for kinds liquid be there nominalizer declarative
- (13) *tê pô? Ğì-ša to-nû-to-šâ? qha-pə-è thà? qô? kù-phə le ,*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> N Elab<sub>n</sub> AE P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 then God animals and creatures all accusative V again call together suspensive  
*í-kâ? ġi-po ð-qhɔ lo á-mo-qô thà? qô? yù tɔ?*  
 N N N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub>  
 water pond inside locative gourd accusative V back (to starting point) take V out  
*ci ve yò .*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 causative nominalizer declarative
- (14) *to-nû-to-šâ? chi ma ve thô tê cə le-le qô? yù tɔ? a-tè*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>quot</sub>  
 animals and creatures this many genitivizer even every kind V again take V out purposive  
*te le , mâ ġa .*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
 do suspensive negative succeed
- (15) *á-ci-ku tê cə qô? yù le pē-šá lo*  
 N Q <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 crab the type V back (to starting point) take suspensive bank (of body of water) locative  
*tē pî ve yò .*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 put down benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative

- (16) *ô-thâ Ğì-ša qò? qò? ve : " cho-yâ chi thà? a-šu tê ğâ*  
 N<sub>time</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> N Det P<sub>n</sub> Pron Q  
 then God V again say nominalizer human this accusative whoever one person  
*yù tš? ğa ve qo , yô-hi mî-tš? la ve*  
 V <sub>V</sub> <sub>V</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 take V out be able nominalizer if they cultivate successfully come to V relativizer  
*mî-ú-vâ-ú thà? ğa mî câ ve yò "*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V + <sub>V</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 first fruits accusative get to earn a living from the soil nominalizer declarative  
*tê? qò? pî lē , cà-pí-nê? qò? ve : " ñà*  
 QUOT V <sub>V</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron  
 embedded quote say benefactive (3p) suspensive starling say nominalizer I  
*yù tš? a , chi qhe te qo " qò? lē , Ğì-ša qò?*  
 V <sub>V</sub> <sub>V</sub> P<sub>v</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N V  
 take V out tentative like this be a certain way if say suspensive God say  
*pî ve : " nò te phè? ve qo , te ô? " qò?*  
<sub>V</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron V <sub>V</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V  
 benefactive (3p) nominalizer you do able to nominalizer if do hortatory say  
*pî thâ , cà-pí-nê? qò? ve " ñà ve mò?-qo*  
<sub>V</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 benefactive (3p) when starling say nominalizer I genitivizer beak (of bird)  
*yì jâ " tê? qò? lē , yô tâ-vâ tâ-vâ thš?*  
 V<sub>adj</sub> <sub>V</sub> QUOT V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N<sub>time</sub> N<sub>time</sub> V  
 be long very embedded quote say suspensive he all day all day peck at (as a bird)  
*ve yò .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (17) *qhe-te-le yô ve mò?-qo ô-ve lē ve thô mâ pō*  
 Conj N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N Det V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
 then its beak (of bird) that get worn out nominalizer even negative go through  
*ve yò .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (18) *qhe-te-le fâ?-chà? qò? qò? ve : " ñà qò? yù tš? a "*  
 Conj N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron <sub>v</sub>V V <sub>V</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 thereupon rat V in turn say nominalizer I V finally take V out tentative  
*tê? qò? lē , yô qò? gò? lē pō*  
 QUOT V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 embedded quote say suspensive he keep on V'ing gnaw suspensive go through  
*ve yò .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (19) *pō ve tê yân , cho-yâ ve nâ-qhô thà? a-cí*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> Q N P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> Adv  
 go through relativizer the time that human genitivizer nose accusative a little  
*ğà?-hâ? šē ve yò .*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 strike by biting regrettably nominalizer declarative



(20)	<i>qhe-te-le</i>	<i>yà?-ni</i>	<i>qha-gà</i>	<i>mê?-ce-kā</i>		<i>lo</i>	<i>chê?-kú-lê?</i>	<i>phê?</i>			
	Conj	N <sub>time</sub>	N <sub>time</sub>	N		P <sub>n</sub>	N	V <sub>v</sub>			
	so	today	until	space between the eyes		locative	indentation	be a certain way			
	<i>šē</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>yò</i>								
	P <sub>v</sub>	P <sub>univ</sub>	P <sub>uf</sub>								
	regrettably	nominalizer	declarative								
(21)	<i>le</i>	<i>yà?-ni</i>	<i>qha-gà</i>	<i>fâ?-châ?</i>	<i>tê</i>	<i>cà</i>	<i>chə-yâ</i>	<i>ge</i>	<i>qhô</i>	<i>chê</i>	<i>le</i>
	Conj	N <sub>time</sub>	N <sub>time</sub>	N	Num	Cl <sub>f</sub>	N	P <sub>n</sub>	vV	V	P <sub>unf</sub>
	and	today	until	rat	one	for kinds	human	with	V secretly	live	suspensive
	<i>chə-yâ</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>câ-tù-dò-tù</i>	<i>cà-šī-cà-qha</i>	<i>tê phā</i>	<i>thà?</i>	<i>qhô</i>	<i>cā</i>			
	N	P <sub>univ</sub>	Elab <sub>n</sub>	Elab <sub>n</sub>	Q	P <sub>n</sub>	vV	V			
	human	genitivizer	food and drink	rice in general	pluralizer	accusative	V sneakily	eat			
	<i>chê</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>a-khən</i>	<i>cò</i>	<i>tá</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>yò</i>				
	V <sub>v</sub>	P <sub>univ</sub>	N	V	P <sub>v</sub>	P <sub>univ</sub>	P <sub>uf</sub>				
	continuous	relativizer	permission	be there	perfective	nominalizer	declarative				

**Translation**

1. Once upon a time, when God created the [first] human being, He created him to stay inside a gourd<sup>1</sup>, it is said.
2. One day a bat lit off a *tawkaw*-fruit<sup>2</sup> so that it fell right down, and since there was a barking-deer dozing under the *tawkaw*-tree, it fell crashing down on him, and because he was startled he suddenly jumped up and ran away into an old field.<sup>3</sup>
3. A jungle-chicken also flew over, and alighted} on a cassia shrub<sup>4</sup>
4. At that time a horse was also grazing under the cassia.
5. That horse got very scared, so he ran away, and this reached the ears of an elephant.
6. Since the elephant was also very frightened, when he was running away full tilt he happened to step on the gourd and made it roll<sup>5</sup> [away down a slope].
7. One day when God came to visit the human, he couldn't find him, so he summoned all the animals and all the trees, and asked them [where the human was].
8. Then when God asked the pine tree, the pine tree said "I didn't see anything."
9. So God said, "When the human gets out [of the gourd], may he chop you down!
10. And do not ever again put out sprouts<sup>6</sup>!" Because God said that, to this very day the pine tree puts out no sprouts.
11. Then when he went on to question the butterfly, but since the butterfly also said "I didn't see anything," God said, "And as for you, every day, rain or shine, you will have to go look for food." And since He said that, every day they have to look for their food.

<sup>1</sup>The Freudian analysis of this creation myth is obvious: gourd = womb. The gourd has become the logo of the Lahu people in China and Burma, just as buffalo horns have become the logo of the Wa.

<sup>2</sup>The *tə-kə* is a kind of palm with very large leaves, bearing plentiful fruit.

<sup>3</sup>*he-šā*: a swidden allowed to lie fallow and revert to jungle over several years

<sup>4</sup>*mī-cè*: cassia sp. (a shrub with red flowers) [*Cinnamomum cassia*].

<sup>5</sup>*gā nā?-pu*: happen to (*gā*) + step (*nā?*) + roll (*pu*)

<sup>6</sup>*ə-cā cā ve*: lit. "sprout sprouts," a cognate object construction that does not translate well as such.

## Man escapes from the primeval gourd

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12. Then he went on to ask the *peh-meu*<sup>7</sup> bug, and the *peh-meu* bug said, “I saw it go down into the water down there.” So since he told Him this God said, “May your kind always have liquid!” And because God blessed him thus, to this very day his species produces a liquid.
13. Then God called all the animals together again, and made them [try to] take the gourd back out of the water.<sup>8</sup>
14. All the animals, all the different kinds of animals then tried to take it out, but they could not.
15. A kind of crab then grabbed it, and placed it on the bank for Him.<sup>9</sup>
16. Then God went on to say: “Whoever<sup>10</sup> manages to take this human out of the gourd will get to eat the first fruits of their successful labor in the fields!” When he said this, the starling said, “I’ll get him out, if that’s the way it is.” And when God said, “If you can do it, do it!,” the starling said, “My beak is very long!”, and all day and all night he pecked away at it.
17. But even though that beak of his got all worn down, it couldn’t pierce through.
18. Then the rat said in his turn, “I’ll now get him out!”, and he gnawed away and pierced it through.
19. When he pierced through, unfortunately<sup>11</sup> he slightly bit the human’s nose as he gnawed.<sup>12</sup>
20. Thus to this day, we have an indentation<sup>13</sup> between our eyes.<sup>14</sup>
21. And to this very day, rats live secretly with humans, and have permission to keep sneakily eating people’s food and drink, people’s rice.

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<sup>7</sup> **pê-mâ(n)-cè?**: a tiny bee-like insect, the size of a fly, that secretes a very sticky liquid that makes beeswax. Its bite does not hurt, and its larvae are edible. See DL:848.

<sup>8</sup>This sentence contains a four-verb concatenation: **qà? yù tš? ci**.

<sup>9</sup>This very sentence, used as an example in DL 854, there receives a different translation, also possible in a different context: “He took a kind of crab and put it on the bank for him.”

<sup>10</sup>**a-šú tē gâ**: The classifier for humans (**gâ**) is used, since all the animals are personified in this tale.

<sup>11</sup>**šē**: one use of this particle is to express regret at the verbal event. See DL 1200-1201.

<sup>12</sup>**gà?-hâ?**: ‘strike by gnawing’.

<sup>13</sup>**chê?-kú-lê?**: ‘a dent; an indentation.’

<sup>14</sup>The before-and-after appearance of human beings was illustrated for me by a sketch!

## 12.4 Spirits that bite and those that don't

- (1) *nê chi lê , yô nê-jô-mô chi yô šā mà?*  
 N Det P<sub>uf</sub> Pron N Det Pron N V  
 spirit (animist) this request for assent he master spirit this he meat hungry  
*ve tê yân thâ qo , cho-yâ thà? yô šo-qò?-lê? yù*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> Pron N V  
 relativizer when when human accusative he pitchfork (of evil spirit) take  
*le , thô? cí tã le , yô thà? câ-tù*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub>  
 suspensive hook onto do so it sticks durative suspensive him accusative food  
*mê ve mâ cã ve tê yân thâ , yô gâ-thê? có*  
 V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Pron Adv V<sub>adj</sub>  
 taste good nominalizer negative feed relativizer when he energetically be thin  
*ci ve cho-yâ à?*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 causative relativizer human accusative
- (2) *yà?-qhâ cho-yâ chi lê yô mós-pā thà? ca ni ve*  
 Conj N Det P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N P<sub>n</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 however human this topic he spirit doctor accusative go and do consult relativizer  
*tê yân thâ , mós-pā lê : ” nò lê , ò-to có ve lê ,*  
 NP<sub>time</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 when spirit doctor topic you topic body be thin nominalizer topic  
*mú-nê nò ge câ-tù mêmê ve câ gâ thà? pa-to le ,*  
 N Pron P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 sky spirit you from food delicious relativizer eat desiderative because suspensive  
*nò chi qhe te ve yò*  
 Pron AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 you like this behave towards nominalizer declarative
- (3) *yà?-qhâ kà? nò câ-tù mê ve te le , cã*  
 Conj Pron N<sub>dvb</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 however you food taste good relativizer cook (as food) suspensive feed  
*pî a qo lê , nay ve yò*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (3p) try to if topic get better nominalizer declarative
- (4) *yà?-qhâ šo-qò?-lê? ô-ve lê , nò lê mâ cã pî*  
 Conj N Det P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub>  
 however pitchfork (of evil spirit) that topic you topic negative feed benefactive (3p)  
*ve tê yân thâ qo , nò thà? thô? cí tã*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 relativizer when when you accusative hook onto do so it sticks durative  
*ve yò*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (5) *yà?-qhâ cã pî ve tê yân thâ qo , qha-pè-è yù le*  
 Conj V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 however feed benefactive (3p) relativizer when when all take away suspensive

Spirits that bite and those that don't

- nò ð-to ché-ša la ve yò* .  
 Pron N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 your body healthy become nominalizer declarative
- (6) *yà?-qhâ kâ? yè chi kâ? nê qô?-ve tê câ lè chè? la*  
 Conj N Det P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 however household this also spirit (animist) topicalizer the type topic bite come to V  
*ve yò* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (7) *yà?-qhâ kâ? mâ ché? pí ve tê câ lè , ñà-hi te*  
 Conj Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V  
 however negative bite prone to V relativizer the type topic we (pl) worship (animist)  
*ve cê tí cò ve yò qô?-pí-?* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> + P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer only be there nominalizer declarative emphatic
- (8) *ña-hi ché? pí ve ð-câ ñà-hi mâ te* .  
 Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Pron Adv V  
 we (pl) bite able to V relativizer kind we (pl) negative worship (animist)
- (9) *ché? pí ve nê ð-to chi lè , qhâ-qhe le*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N N Det P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 bite able to V relativizer spirit (animist) form this topic what kind? substantive qst  
*qô? qo , mâ já ve pa-tò lè , qhâ-lo kâ? cò*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>loc</sub> V  
 topicalizer many very nominalizer because of because everywhere be there  
*ve pa-tò lè , gñ-nê , há-nê , qhâ-nê , lè-nê ,*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N N N N  
 nominalizer because of because water spirit rock spirit hill spirit river spirit  
*šî?-nê , mú-thé?-nê láy câ ve ð-nê cò ve* .  
 N N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 tree spirit lightning spirit several for kinds genitivizer spirit be there nominalizer
- (10) *yà?-qhâ kâ? , chi ma-ma cò ve kâ? , ché? pí ve ð-nê*  
 Conj N<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 however this many be there nominalizer although bite able to V relativizer spirit  
*chi qhe ve qha-pâ-è ñà-hi chò-yâ ve ð-hó tí ché ve*  
 AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> AE Pron N P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 like this genitivizer all us human genitivizer under only exist nominalizer  
*yò* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (11) *chi tê lon yò* .  
 Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 this one for matters declarative

## Translation

1. This spirit, you see, when this master-spirit is hungry for meat, he takes a pitchfork<sup>1</sup> and hooks it fast onto a human being, [so that] if he [= the human] doesn't feed him tasty food, he will fiercely make the human being waste away.<sup>2</sup>
2. But if the man goes to consult the spirit-doctor<sup>3</sup> the doctor [will say]:
3. "The reason why your body has become so thin is, that the sky-spirit wanted to eat delicious food through you, so he has treated you this way.
4. "However, if you cook up some good-tasting food and feed it to him, you will be cured.
5. "If you don't feed him, that pitchfork will stay hooked onto you.
6. But<sup>4</sup> as soon as you do feed him, he'll take it all away, and your body will be healthy [again]."
7. This kind of spirit can also start to cause trouble<sup>5</sup> for the whole household.
8. However, as far as the kind [of spirit] that cannot bite goes, we simply pay homage to them, mark you!<sup>6</sup>
9. We do not worship the kind that can bite.
10. If we were to speak about what forms<sup>7</sup> the biting kind of spirits have, seeing as how there are so many of them, since they are everywhere—water-spirits, rock-spirits, mountain-spirits, valley-spirits, tree-spirits, thunder-and-lightning-spirits—there are all kinds of spirits.
11. But even though there is such a large number of them, this kind of spirits that can bite are all inferior to us human beings.
12. This is the way the matter stands.

<sup>1</sup>šo qəʔ lèʔ ve: lit. "a crooked piece of iron." lèʔ ~ èʔ 'adverbializer'. See the *Index Verborum* in GL:647.

<sup>2</sup>cʃ ci ve 'cause to be thin.'

<sup>3</sup>mʃ-pa: a "ritual specialist" in animist villages, often an opium addict, who is recognized as an authority in dealing with the spirits by reciting the appropriate incantations. See the many such texts recorded by A.R. Walker (partial bibliography in DL:1421-25).

<sup>4</sup>This speaker uses yàʔ-qhâ(-kâʔ) 'but; however' to the exclusion of all other conjunctions. It is left untranslated occasionally, where its iteration would be tedious in English.

<sup>5</sup>chèʔ: lit. "bite".

<sup>6</sup>nê te ve 'to worship the spirits.' qəʔ-pî-ʔ is a final unrestricted particle meaning literally "tell it to third persons!", here translated 'mark you'.

<sup>7</sup>ʒ-to: lit. "bodies" (< Shan).

## 12.5 Explanation of poetic phrases

- (1) " *a-yo-ma* *jô-mô* *qā-ni-šf?* *jô-mô* "
- N N N N  
kind of very tall straight tree master tree sp. (very large; used in ship building) master
- (2) *qa-mi-khô* *chi-ve* ...
- N Det  
song this
- (3) " *á-ló* " *qô? qo* *š* *le-šû?* *e* *ve* *cê* .
- P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
topicalizer topic be the very latest V more and more nominalizer quotative
- (4) " *á-šš* " *qô? qo* *šwî?* *e* *ve* .
- P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>lim</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
topicalizer the most V more and more nominalizer
- (5) " *á-ló-á-šš* " *qô? qo* *š* *á-lé* *à?* *šwî?* *e*
- P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
topicalizer topic topic object drive away by magic V more and more
- ve* *cê* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer quotative
- (6) *qhe-qo* *š-qhe* ,...
- Conj P<sub>unf</sub>  
so topicalizer
- (7) " *mû* *kà-kà* *â* *hê?* " *qô? ve*
- N V<sub>redup</sub> Adv V V P<sub>univ</sub>  
heavens move away negative be the case say nominalizer
- (8) " *mî* *kà-kà* *â* *hê?* " *qô? ve* *qo* *š* " *kà*
- N V<sub>redup</sub> Adv V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V  
earth move away negative be the case say nominalizer topic topic shift position
- e* *ve* " *cê* .  
P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
motion away nominalizer quotative
- (9) *ô-ve* *qo* " *kà* *e* *ve* "
- Det P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
that topic shift position motion away nominalizer
- (10) " *á-lé* " *qô? qo* *š* , *šô?* *e* *ve* ...
- P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
topicalizer topic drive away by magic motion away nominalizer
- šû? -kà* *e* *ve* ...  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
cause to shift position by magic motion away nominalizer
- (11) *qhe-qo* *š* ,
- Conj P<sub>unf</sub>  
so topic

- (12) " *mû* *kà-kà* *â* *cò* " *qô?* *ve* ,  
 N *V<sub>redup</sub>* Adv V V *P<sub>univ</sub>*  
 heavens move away negative be there say nominalizer
- (13) " *mì* *kà-kà* *â* *cò* " *qô?* *ve* .  
 N *V<sub>redup</sub>* Adv V V *P<sub>univ</sub>*  
 earth move away negative be there say nominalizer
- (14) " *ha-pa* , *ha-pa* *mà?-kə* , *mû-ni* *ha-pa* , *tê khi-khi* *yá* *pí* *ɔ* " *qô?*  
 N N N N N *NP<sub>q</sub>* V *V<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>* V  
 moon moon star sun moon sometimes move able to V affirmative say  
*ve* .  
*P<sub>univ</sub>*  
 nominalizer
- (15) " *qhɔ* *qhô?* *mà?-kə-ši* " *qô?* *ve* .  
 N *N<sub>loc</sub>* N V *P<sub>univ</sub>*  
 mountain on top of star say nominalizer
- (16) " *mû* *kà-kà* *â* *hê?* " *qô?* *ve* .  
 N *V<sub>redup</sub>* Adv V V *P<sub>univ</sub>*  
 heavens move away negative be the case say nominalizer
- (17) " *ni-?* , *t̄-ha-pa* *kà-kà* *à?* *ni-?* .  
*V<sub>imp</sub>* N *V<sub>redup</sub>* *P<sub>n</sub>* *V<sub>imp</sub>*  
 look! full moon (poetic) move away object look!
- (18) *mû* *kà-kà* *â* *hê?* " *qô?* *ve* .  
 N *V<sub>redup</sub>* Adv V V *P<sub>univ</sub>*  
 heavens move away negative be the case say nominalizer
- (19) *hîn*  
 Interj  
 sound

## Translation

1. This poem is "Lordly a-yaw Tree<sup>1</sup> a Lordly k'a-nyi Tree.<sup>2</sup>"
2. "á-ló" means "the very latest/the very last".
3. "á-šó" means "the most".
4. So "á-ló-á-šó" means "drive away the very last ones".<sup>3</sup>
5. Then, there is "mû kà-kà â hê?" ["the sky does not move"].
6. The "kà" in "mì kà-kà â hê?" means "move away/shift".
7. That means "move away/shift".
8. As for "á-lé", it means "drive away" or "protect by moving away".
9. Then, it is said "the sky does not move, the earth does not move."

<sup>1</sup>One of the four "master trees" (either *Lagerstroemia cylindrica* or *L. Macrocarpa*) in Lahu tradition. It is very tall and straight, and believed to be especially apt to be hit by lightening. It indicates good land for rice, chili, or opium. See DL p. 79.

<sup>2</sup>A huge tree indicating good land for all crops. See DL, p. 236.

<sup>3</sup>The word á-lé is defined below.

## Explanation of poetic phrases

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10. It says, “the moon, the moon and the stars, the sun and the stars, sometimes they can move.”

11. They say “the stars are now above the mountains”.

12. But “the sky doesn’t move”, it is said.

13. “Look how the full moon<sup>4</sup> changes. But the sky does not change”, they say.

[The speaker dissolves in laughter]

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<sup>4</sup>**t5-ha-pa**: in ordinary language this is **ha-pa t5** ‘the moon is full’.



## 12.6 Recalling a wandering soul

- (1) *háv* , *ôo* , *ôo* !  
 Interj Interj Interj  
 cry to attract a spirit cry to attract a spirit's attention cry to attract a spirit's attention
- (2) *pí-dà?* *yà?-pí* *tê* *há* *l* !  
 N N<sub>time</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 auspicious evening (poetic) tonight one for nights emphatic declarative
- (3) *yâ* *chi* *à-ha* , *ô* *lo* *tù?-cāw-tù?-qhô* *tê* *phô* *ve* ,  
 N Det N N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> Num M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 person this soul over there locative much trouble (RL) one direction genitivizer  
*á-šî?* *tê* *ni* *pō* , *yà?-pí* *qò?* *la* , *phu-go*  
 N<sub>time</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> N  
 a while ago one for days emphatic topicalizer tonight return come to V silver ladder  
*chɔ* *ɛ* *qò?* *la* , *ši-go* *chɔ* *ɛ* *qò?*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 cross over suspensive return come to V golden ladder cross over suspensive return  
*la* .  
 P<sub>v</sub>  
 come to V
- (4) *yè-ma* *ô* *cē* *chi* *hɔ* *qha-cî-tê-ki* *qò?*  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Det P<sub>n</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V  
 home (poetic) four corner these emphatic locative area below fireplace V again  
*šò?* *la* , *qò?* *la* , *qha-cî-tê-na* *qò?*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V  
 return to one's abode (RL) come to V return come to V area above fireplace V again  
*šò?* *la* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub>  
 return to one's abode (RL) come to V
- (5) *áa* , *ô* *lo* *Pū-phā*  
 Interj N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>prop</sub>  
 cry to attract the attention of a spirit over there locative gatekeeper of the land of the dead  
*khi* *kā* *nò* *tā* *jî* ,  
 N M<sub>px</sub> Pron Adv V  
 feet space between you negative imperative dwell (poetic)  
*Pū-phā* *là?* *kā* *nò* *tā*  
 N<sub>prop</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> Pron Adv  
 gatekeeper of the land of the dead hands space between you negative imperative  
*jî* .  
 V  
 dwell (poetic)
- (6) *ši-khô* *nò* *tā* *i* , *nà-khô* *nò*  
 N Pron Adv V N Pron  
 voice of death you negative imperative heed (poetic) voice of illness you  
*tā* *i* , *ši-qhā* *nò* *tā* *jî* ,  
 Adv V N Pron Adv V  
 negative imperative heed (poetic) path of death you negative imperative prepare for

- nà-ghâ*      *nò*      *tâ*                                      *ji*                                      .  
 N                      Pron    Adv                                      V  
 path of illness    you    negative imperative    prepare for
- (7) *yê-ma*              *ô*      *cē*      *chi*      *hɔ*                                      *ú*                                      *chi*  
 N                      Num    Cl<sub>f</sub>      Det    P<sub>n</sub>                                      P<sub>n</sub>                                      Det  
 home (poetic)    four    corner    these    emphatic locative    locative (poetic)    these  
*pì-ca*    *khô*      *na*      *ɛ*                                      *qò?*      *la*                                      ,      *phu-jî*  
 N    N                      V                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                                      N  
 pair of (divine) chickens (animist)    advice    listen    suspensive    return    come to V    silver jewelry  
*khi-cí*      *cí*    ,      *ši-jî*                                      *là?-cí*      *cí*                                      ,  
 N                      V    N                                      N                      V  
 knee    put on (article affixed to body)    gold jewelry    wrist    put on (article affixed to body)  
*câ-lu*                                      *ša-phâ?*                                      *tí*                                      ,      *dò-lu*                                      *ša-phâ?*                                      *tí*                                      ,  
 N<sub>divb</sub>                      B<sub>n</sub>                                      V                                      N                                      B<sub>n</sub>                                      V  
 food (poetic)    all kinds of    be attached to    beverages (poetic)    all kinds of    be attached to  
*yê-ma*                      *ô*      *cē*      *chi*      *hɔ*                                      *p̄*                                      *̄*                                      .  
 N                      Num    Cl<sub>f</sub>      Det    P<sub>n</sub>                                      P<sub>unf</sub>                                      P<sub>unf</sub>  
 home (poetic)    four    corner    these    emphatic locative    emphatic topicalizer    topic
- (8) *áa*                                      ,      *chɔ-ha-vâ-ha*      *qò?-qo*                                      ,      *cè-ši-cè-nɔ*                                      *mâ*  
 Interj                                      Elab<sub>n</sub>                                      P<sub>unf</sub>                                      Elab<sub>n</sub>                                      N  
 cry to attract a spirit    human soul    topicalizer    yellow and green birds of prey    mouth  
*kā*                                      *nò*      *tâ*                                      *jî*                                      ,      *šô-ši-šô-nɔ*  
 M<sub>px</sub>                                      Pron    Adv                                      V                                      Elab<sub>n</sub>  
 space between    you    negative imperative    dwell (poetic)    yellow and green trees (poetic)  
*mâ*      *kā*                                      *nò*      *tâ*                                      *jî*                                      .  
 N                      M<sub>px</sub>                                      Pron    Adv                                      V  
 mouth    space between    you    negative imperative    dwell (poetic)
- (9) *ši-ghâ*                      *nò*      *tâ*                                      *dô*                                      ,      *ô*                                      *lo*  
 N                                      Pron    Adv                                      V                                      N<sub>sd</sub>                                      P<sub>n</sub>  
 path of death    you    negative imperative    think    over there    locative  
*Pū-phā*    *qhɔ-cú-kú-cú*                                      *qay*      *cē*                                      .  
 N<sub>prop</sub>    Elab<sub>n</sub>                                      V                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 gatekeeper of the land of the dead    precipitous cliffs    go    quotative
- (10) *Pū-phā*                                      *ŋà*      *ú-pā*                                      *ɛ*                                      *phā*                                      *ɛ*  
 N<sub>prop</sub>                                      Pron    V                                      P<sub>unf</sub>                                      V                                      P<sub>unf</sub>  
 gatekeeper of the land of the dead    me    rule over    suspensive    command (as a deity)    suspensive  
*yâ*                                      *chi*      *khi*      *kā*                                      *qò?*                                      *tā*                                      *pî*                                      ,  
 N                                      Det    N                      M<sub>px</sub>                                      vV                                      V                                      V<sub>v</sub>  
 human being    this    feet    space between    V again    establish    benefactive (3p)  
*phā*                                      *ɛ*                                      *yâ*                                      *chi*      *là?*                                      *kā*                                      *qò?*                                      *tā*  
 V                                      P<sub>unf</sub>                                      N                                      Det    N                      M<sub>px</sub>                                      vV                                      V  
 command (as a deity)    suspensive    human being    this    hands    space between    V again    establish  
*pî*                                      .  
 V<sub>v</sub>  
 benefactive (3p)
- (11) *nô*                      *lo*                      *gē-ma*                                      *kāy-khâ-tì?*                                      ,      *tē*      *pè*  
 N<sub>sd</sub>                      P<sub>n</sub>                      N                                      N                                      Num    Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 up there    locative    divine being (animist)    Eternal Golden Fowl    one    for mouthfuls of words

- |                           |                            |                  |                    |                        |                  |                    |                       |                |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|------------------|--------------------|------------------------|------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| <i>bù</i>                 |                            | <i>ɛ</i>         | <i>tê</i>          | <i>pə̀</i>             |                  | <i>qə̀?</i>        | <i>yù</i>             | <i>šē</i>      |
| V                         |                            | P <sub>unf</sub> | Num                | Cl <sub>f</sub>        |                  | <sub>v</sub> V     | V                     | P <sub>v</sub> |
| cry out (esp. of animals) |                            | suspensive       | one                | for mouthfuls of words |                  | go on to V         | keep on               | still          |
| <i>ɛ</i>                  | <i>bù</i>                  |                  | <i>ɛ</i>           | <i>á-yù?-co-pâ</i>     | <i>gã</i>        | <i>pí</i>          |                       |                |
| P <sub>unf</sub>          | V                          |                  | P <sub>unf</sub>   | N                      | V                | V <sub>v</sub>     |                       |                |
| suspensive                | cry out (esp. of animals)  |                  | suspensive         | long life (RL)         | get              | benefactive (3p)   |                       |                |
| <i>bù</i>                 |                            | <i>ɛ</i>         | <i>á-yù?-ha-pâ</i> | <i>gã</i>              | <i>pí</i>        |                    | <i>nô</i>             | <i>lo</i>      |
| V                         |                            | P <sub>unf</sub> | N                  | V                      | V <sub>v</sub>   |                    | N <sub>sd</sub>       | P <sub>n</sub> |
| cry out (esp. of animals) |                            | suspensive       | endless life       | get                    | benefactive (3p) |                    | up there              | locative       |
| <i>gĩ-ci-phu</i>          |                            | <i>tê</i>        | <i>cɛ</i>          | <i>qa</i>              | <i>ɛ</i>         | <i>á-yù?-co-pâ</i> | <i>há-pi-há-mē</i>    | <i>co</i>      |
| N                         |                            | Num              | Cl <sub>f</sub>    | V                      | P <sub>unf</sub> | N                  | Elab <sub>n</sub>     | B <sub>n</sub> |
| Gĩ-ša's white servants    |                            | one              | for pairs          | sing                   | suspensive       | longevity          | stones and rocks (RL) | life           |
| <i>qô-thà?</i>            | <i>qə̀?</i>                |                  |                    | <i>phú?</i>            |                  | <i>ɛ</i>           | <i>qə̀?</i>           | <i>la</i>      |
| P <sub>n</sub>            | <sub>v</sub> V             |                  |                    | V                      |                  | P <sub>unf</sub>   | V                     | P <sub>v</sub> |
| accusative (RL)           | V back (to starting point) |                  |                    | reverse direction      |                  | suspensive         | return                | come to V      |
| <i>šē</i>                 |                            |                  |                    |                        |                  |                    |                       |                |
| P <sub>v</sub>            |                            |                  |                    |                        |                  |                    |                       |                |
| right away                |                            |                  |                    |                        |                  |                    |                       |                |
- (12) *yà?-pí* , *áa* , *chə-ha-vâ-ha* *chi*  
N<sub>time</sub> Interj Elab<sub>n</sub> Det  
tonight cry to attract the attention of a spirit human souls this  
*yò-lə-lê-qô?-qo* , *á-šē?* *tê khi* *tù?-cāw-tù?-qhô*  
P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> Q Elab<sub>n</sub>  
topicalizer (frequent in animist religious poetry) before temporarily much trouble (RL)  
*ve* , *lə-kā-há-kā* *yí* *gã* *ve* ,  
P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
nominalizer among the streams and rocks go around must (poetic) nominalizer  
*qhə-kā-lə-kā* *yí* *gã* *ve* , *yà?-pí* *qə̀?*  
Elab<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> V  
among the hills and streams go around must (poetic) nominalizer tonight return  
*la*  
P<sub>v</sub>  
come to V
- (13) *áa* , *yà?-tə* *qo* , *phà?-tà-phà?-mē* *tō* *ɛ*  
Interj V P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
cry to attract a spirit be ashamed if leaves (RL) block off from view suspensive  
*qə̀?* *la* *šē* , *qə̀?* *la* , *máy-mo-cú-phu* *chi*  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> N Det  
return come to V right away return come to V white cotton thread for tying (RL) this  
*hó* *chə* *ɛ* *qə̀?* *la* , *má-mo-cú-ni*  
M<sub>px</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> N  
under follow along a path suspensive return come to V red cotton thread for tying (RL)  
*chi* *hó* *qə̀?* *la*  
Det M<sub>px</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
this under return come to V
- (14) *yê-ma* *ô* *cē* *chi* *hó* *ú* *chi*  
N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Det M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Det  
home (poetic) four corner these upon (poetic) locative (poetic) this

## Recalling a wandering soul

<i>pì-ca</i>		<i>khô</i>	<i>qò?</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>šē</i>		<i>háv</i>	
N		N	<sub>v</sub> V	V	P <sub>v</sub>		Interj	
pair of (divine) chickens (animist)		advice	go on to V	obey	right away		cry to attract a spirit	
, <i>ôo</i>		, <i>ôo</i>						
Interj		Interj						
cry to attract a spirit's attention		cry to attract a spirit's attention						
<i>áa</i>		, <i>áa</i>				, <i>qò?</i>	<i>la</i>	
Interj		Interj				V	P <sub>v</sub>	
cry to attract the attention of a spirit		cry to attract the attention of a spirit				return	come to V	
, <i>yà?-pí</i>	<i>má-mo-cû-ni</i>		<i>chi</i>	<i>hó</i>	<i>chɔ</i>		<i>lɛ</i>	<i>qò?</i>
N <sub>time</sub>	N		Det	M <sub>px</sub>	V		P <sub>unf</sub>	V
tonight	red cotton thread for tying (RL)		this	under	follow along a path		suspensive	return
<i>la</i>	, <i>yê-ma</i>	<i>â</i>	<i>cē</i>	<i>chi</i>	<i>hɔ</i>		<i>ú</i>	<i>chi</i>
P <sub>v</sub>	N	Num	Cl <sub>f</sub>	Det	P <sub>n</sub>		P <sub>n</sub>	Det
come to V	home (poetic)	four	corner	this	emphatic locative		locative (poetic)	these
<i>pì-ca</i>		<i>khô</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>lɛ</i>		<i>qò?</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>mē</i>
N		N	V	P <sub>unf</sub>		V	P <sub>v</sub>	P <sub>uf</sub>
pair of (divine) chickens (animist)		advice	obey	suspensive		return	come to V	urging

(15) *qò?* *la* *ò* *lâ* ?  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
return come to V completed action yes

(16) *qò?* *la* *ò* !  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
return come to V completed action

## Translation

1. Haw, O, O! This night is indeed an auspicious one!

The other day this man's soul went away in a direction where it has suffered much trouble.<sup>1</sup> Tonight come back along these silver steps, come back along these golden steps.<sup>2</sup>

2. Come back again into the four corners of the household, come back to the guest's side of the fireplace, come back to the household head's side of the fireplace.<sup>3</sup>

3. Oh do not dwell between the feet of Pū-phā up there, do not dwell between Pū-phā's hands.<sup>4</sup>

4. Do not obey the voices of death, do not obey the voices of sickness; do not prepare yourself for the pathway of death, do not prepare yourself for the pathway of sickness.

5. Listen to the voice of this chicken<sup>5</sup> within the four corners of this house and come back! Cover your legs up to the knees with this silver jewelry, cover your hands up to your wrists with this golden jewelry! Within the four corners of this house there are all kinds of food, every kind of drink.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The specialist who recorded this prayer said the soul of his patient had wandered away into the jungle where it had no place to eat or sleep.

<sup>2</sup>A poetic reference to symbolic steps carved in wood.

<sup>3</sup>Guests are seated in the area below the fireplace (**qha-cî-tê-ki**), while the household head sits in the area above the fireplace (**qha-cî-tê-na**).

<sup>4</sup>The gatekeeper **Pū-phā** lives in a large house at the gate of the land of the dead. At the birth of each human, **Pū-phā** knows when he or she will die. If a sick person's soul has wandered towards the land of the dead before its time, **Pū-phā** takes his great staff and beats the erring soul resolutely, sending it fleeing back to its rightful place in the land of the living.

<sup>5</sup>This refers on one level to the chicken held by the specialist during the rite, but it also seems to be viewed as the earthly counterpart of the two divine chickens of G'uisha. This seems to be implied by the poetic word **pì-ca**, where the 2nd syllable means 'pair'. See note 9.

<sup>6</sup>Lit., "there are firmly attached all kinds of food and drink".

6. Oh soul, do not jump into the mouth of a yellow bird of prey, a green bird of prey! Do not jump into the mouth of a yellow tree, a green tree.<sup>7</sup>
7. Do not think about the pathway of death; they say that over there Pū-phā's hills are precipitously steep.
8. Pū-phā, you who rule over me, command this soul to be put back between the feet of this man, order that it be put back between his hands.
9. Up there, G'uisha's Eternal Golden Fowl, Kāy-khâ-ti?<sup>8</sup>, you have cried one time, do not cease to cry, cry that this man may enjoy a long life! You two white servants of G'uisha up there<sup>9</sup>, cry that this man may enjoy a long life, cry that he may have a life like rock and stone, cry that he may come back here again.
10. Some time ago, oh soul, you went away and suffered much trouble. Oh, tonight you are wandering between the streams and the rocks, you are wandering between the hills and the streams. Tonight come back!
11. Oh, if you are ashamed, cover your face with these leaves and come back, come back, follow underneath this white cotton string, this red cotton string<sup>10</sup> and come back, listen to the voice of this chicken within the four corners of the house and come back!
12. Has the soul come back?
13. It has come back!<sup>11</sup>

<sup>7</sup>This means "do not get lost in the jungle".

<sup>8</sup>The specialist who recorded this text explained that **G̃i-ša**, the supreme Lahu supernatural, owns two birds: one called "**Kāy-khâ-ti?**" (cf. Thai *kāj* "chicken"; *kham* 'gold'), while the other is called "**ŋê?-phu-ti?**" (**ŋê?** means simply "bird" in Red Lahu; **phu** 'white'). He said that when a person's soul wanders from his body, these two birds call it to return to him. They also cry for the long life of people in general.

<sup>9</sup>The "two white servants" are **G̃i-ša**'s two birds.

<sup>10</sup>In Text II of this article (p.24, sentence 9), the soul is also bidden to return by following a red string: **khe-ni qhâ-ši qò? la ô?**

<sup>11</sup>The officiating specialist ends the prayer by calling out this question to the people inside the patient's house. The people inside the house reply loudly in the affirmative.

## 12.7 Exorcising evil spirits

- (1) *áa* , *yàʔ-ni chi-bàʔ chò kàʔ a-dš* *chi ve tē-yē-tē-qa* ,  
 Interj N<sub>time</sub> N<sub>time</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> + P<sub>n</sub> N Det Elab<sub>n</sub>  
 cry to attract a spirit today now here headman (RL) this whole household  
*yē-ma š cē* *chi hš* , *šī-jə-nà-jə* ,  
 NP<sub>q</sub> Det M<sub>px</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub>  
 the four corners of the house (poetic) this upon (poetic) evil spirits of death and illness  
*yī-yē-vā-yē* *chi ve* , *cš* *ğā* *yò-lē-qòʔ-qa* .  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> Det V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 house of thatch and bamboo this be there manage to topicalizer (poetic)
- (2) *yàʔ-ni* , *áa* , *yàʔ-ni šī-jə-nà-jə* ,  
 N<sub>time</sub> Interj N<sub>time</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub>  
 today cry to attract a spirit today evil spirits of death and illness  
*šī-hēʔ-nà-hēʔ* *chi ve cš* *ğā* *yò-qòʔ-qa* .  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> Det V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 omens of death and illness these be there manage to topicalizer (poetic)
- (3) *yš* *yē-ma* *š* *cē* *yē-bo* *chi hš* , *yàʔ-ni*  
 Pron N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N Det M<sub>px</sub> N<sub>time</sub>  
 his home (poetic) four corner tranquillity in the home this upon (poetic) today  
*šī-jə-nà-jə* *qhō thàʔ* *šš-ğā-bə-ğā-tā-ğā*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>extd</sub>  
 evil spirits of death and illness upon accusative drive away evil spirits with sharp words  
*yò-lē-qòʔ-qa* , *yàʔ-ni yē-bo-qa-bo* , *áa* ,  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> Interj  
 topicalizer (poetic) today guardian spirit of the home cry to attract a spirit  
*yē-bo-qa-bo* *ga-ğāʔ-ga-cē*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub>  
 guardian spirit of the home help to prosper by driving away evil spirits  
*ga-gu-ga-šš* *lā* .  
 Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 help to cure and propitiate benefactive (non-3p)
- (4) *ηà* *tē* *pə* *šš-ğā-bə-ğā-tā-ğā* *yò-lē-qòʔ-qa*  
 Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Elab<sub>extd</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 I one for mouthfuls of words drive away evil spirits with sharp words topicalizer (poetic)  
 , *yē-bo* *hó-tìʔ-ka-tìʔ* *pū* *šē-phā* , *ηà* *mā* *qš* *chi qš*  
 N Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v-nom</sub> Pron N Num  
 house spirit all-hearing ear of truth bear (v.) agentive nominalizer my lips ninety-nine  
*pə* *ga* *šš* *lā* .  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub>  
 for mouthfuls of words help to propitiate a spirit (RL) benefactive (non-3p)
- (5) *ηà* *tē* *pə* *bə* *ğā* , *ηà* *mā*  
 Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> Pron N  
 I one for mouthfuls of words exorcise by scolding (RL) manage to my lips  
*qš* *chi qš* *pə* , *qha-dēʔ*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> AE  
 ninety-nine for mouthfuls of words properly

- ga-š̄-ga-lè?-ga-pə*  
 Elab<sub>extd</sub>  
 help to propitiate, free from, and send away an evil spirit (RL) *lâ*  
 P<sub>v</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p)
- (6) *áa* , *yà?-ni qhɔ-chi-qhɔ-ma phô mâ phû?* ,  
 Interj N<sub>time</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> M<sub>px</sub> Adv V  
 cry to attract a spirit today all these mountains direction negative reverse direction  
*nò phô tâ phû? pî-lò*  
 Pron M<sub>px</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 your direction negative imperative reverse direction causative (formal)
- (7) *yà?-ni l̄-chi-l̄-ma phô mâ phû? ñà phô tâ*  
 N<sub>time</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> M<sub>px</sub> Adv V Pron M<sub>px</sub> Adv  
 today all these rivers direction negative reverse my direction negative imperative  
*phû? pî-lò*  
 V P<sub>v</sub>  
 reverse causative (formal)
- (8) *yà?-ni š̄i-hê?-š̄i-jɔ cò lɛ yà?-ni*  
 N<sub>time</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub>  
 today omens of death and death-dealing spirits be there because today  
*nà-hê?-nà-jɔ cò lɛ yà?-ni qha-dê?*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> AE  
 omens of illness and illness-causing spirits be there because today properly  
*ga-š̄-ga-lè? lɛ pə lâ* ,  
 Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 help to propitiate and free from suspensive expel benefactive (non-3p)  
*ga-qāw-ga-š̄e?-ga-lè? pə lâ*  
 Elab<sub>extd</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 help to pray, teach, and liberate send V'ing benefactive (non-3p)
- (9) *áa* , *ñà tê pə*  
 Interj Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 cry to attract a spirit I one for mouthfuls of words  
*š̄-ga-bə-ga-tā-gā yò-lê-qô?-qo* ,  
 Elab<sub>extd</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 drive away evil spirits with sharp words topicalizer (poetic)  
*yè-ma î cē yè-bo hó-ti?-ka-ti? pû*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> N Elab<sub>n</sub> V  
 the four corners of the house (poetic) house spirit all-hearing ear of truth bear (v.)  
*š̄e-phâ* , *nò qha-dê? ġa ga lɛ lè? lɛ*  
 P<sub>v-nom</sub> Pron AE <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 agentive nominalizer you properly get to help suspensive free from (poetic) suspensive  
*pə lâ*  
 V P<sub>v</sub>  
 expel benefactive (non-3p)
- (10) *yà?-ni yè chi tê-yè-tê-qa a-dô chi ve tê-yè-tê-qa*  
 N<sub>time</sub> N Det Elab<sub>n</sub> N Det Elab<sub>n</sub>  
 today house this whole household headman (RL) this whole household  
*yè-ma î cē chi hó* , *áa* ,  
 NP<sub>q</sub> Det M<sub>px</sub> Interj  
 the four corners of the house (poetic) this upon (poetic) cry to attract a spirit

- yì?-mâ?-yì?-mo* *yì?-tù?-mì-hā* , *yà?-ni* *šì-jɔ-nà-jɔ*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> Quasi-Elab N<sub>time</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub>  
 nightmares unable to find a comfortable position today evil spirits of death and illness
- chi ma* , *yà?-ni* *šì-jɔ-nà-jɔ* *chi ve* *qha-dê?* *ga*  
 N<sub>ext</sub> N<sub>time</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> Det AE <sub>v</sub>V  
 all these today evil spirits of death and illness these properly help to
- š̄* *lā* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub>  
 propitiate a spirit (RL) benefactive (non-3p)
- (11) *chi-bà?* *nò* *yè* *chi ve* *qha-dê?* *ga* *š̄* *lā* .  
 N<sub>time</sub> Pron N Det AE V V P<sub>v</sub>  
 now you house this properly help propitiate a spirit (RL) benefactive (non-3p)
- (12) *ɲà* *tê* *pà* *š̄-ga-bə-ga* *yò-lê-qô?-qo* , *yè-bo*  
 Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 I one for mouthfuls of words scold away evil spirits topicalizer (poetic) house spirit
- hó-tì?-ka-tì?* *pû* *š̄-phā* , *áa* , *nò*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v-nom</sub> Interj Pron  
 all-hearing ear of truth bear (v.) agentive nominalizer cry to attract a spirit you
- qha-dê?* *ga-gô-ga-cē-ga-š̄* *lā* , *nò* *qha-dê?*  
 AE Elab<sub>extd</sub> P<sub>v</sub> Pron AE  
 properly help to bless and prosper by propitiation benefactive (non-3p) you properly
- ga-gô-ga-cē-ga-lè?* *lā* *mē* .  
 Elab<sub>extd</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 help to bless and prosper by liberation benefactive (non-3p) urging
- (13) *ɲà* *tê* *pà* *bə-ga-lè?-ga-š̄-ga* , *nò* *qha-dê?*  
 Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Elab<sub>extd</sub> Pron AE  
 I one for mouthfuls of words free by propitiatory scolding you properly
- ga-gô-ga-š̄-ga-bə* *lā* .  
 Elab<sub>extd</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 help to bless by scolding benefactive (non-3p)
- (14) *yà?-ni* *šì-jɔ-nà-jɔ* *chi ve* *bə* *gā* *ve*  
 N<sub>time</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> Det V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 today evil spirits of death and illness these exorcise by scolding (RL) manage to nominalizer
- , *áa* , *yè-bo-qa-bo* *nò* *qha-dê?*  
 Interj Elab<sub>n</sub> Pron AE  
 cry to attract a spirit guardian spirit of the home you properly
- ga-gô-ga-cē-ga-š̄* *lā* *mē* .  
 Elab<sub>extd</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 help to bless and prosper by propitiation benefactive (non-3p) urging
- (15) *yà?-ni* *qhɔ-chi-qhɔ-ma* *phô* *mā* *phû?* *mò* , *phô*  
 N<sub>time</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> M<sub>px</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub> M<sub>px</sub>  
 today all these mountains direction negative reverse see or hear of direction
- tā* *phû?* *pî* *mē* .  
 Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative imperative reverse allow to V urging
- (16) *yà?-ni* *lè-chi-lè-ma* *phô* *mā* *phû?* , *ɲà* *phô*  
 N<sub>time</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> M<sub>px</sub> Adv V Pron M<sub>px</sub>  
 today all these rivers direction negative reverse direction my direction



	<i>tâ</i>		<i>phû?</i>	<i>pî-lò</i>			
	Adv		V	P <sub>v</sub>			
	negative imperative		reverse	causative (formal)			
(17)	<i>yà?-ni</i>	<i>yô</i>	<i>yî? mâ mi mâ ša</i>		<i>ve</i>		,
	N <sub>time</sub>	Pron	VP		P <sub>univ</sub>		
	today	he	sleeping and sitting are not pleasant (poetic)	nominalizer			
	<i>câ mâ dò mâ mè</i>			<i>ve</i>		<i>chê-mâ-cò-mâ-ša</i>	
	VP			P <sub>univ</sub>		Elab <sub>extd</sub>	
	eating and drinking are not tasty (poetic)	nominalizer				not be happy or prosperous	
	<i>ve</i>	,	<i>áa</i>	,	<i>ši-hê?-nà-hê?</i>		<i>ši-jò-nà-jò</i>
	P <sub>univ</sub>		Interj		Elab <sub>n</sub>		Elab <sub>n</sub>
	nominalizer		cry to attract a spirit		omens of death and illness		evil spirits of death and illness
	<i>chî ve cò</i>		<i>ve</i>				
	Det	V	P <sub>univ</sub>				
	these	be there	nominalizer				
(18)	<i>yà?-ni</i>	<i>qha-dê?</i>	<i>ga-cê-ga-ni-ga-šš</i>		<i>lâ</i>		<i>mē</i> , <i>qha-dê?</i>
	N <sub>time</sub>	AE	Elab <sub>extd</sub>		P <sub>v</sub>		P <sub>uf</sub> AE
	today	properly	help to care for by propitiation	benefactive (non-3p)	urging		properly
	<i>ga-ğô-ga-cê-ga-lè?</i>		<i>lâ</i>		<i>mē</i>		
	Elab <sub>extd</sub>		P <sub>v</sub>		P <sub>uf</sub>		
	help to bless and prosper by liberation	benefactive (non-3p)	urging				

**Translation**

1. Ah! today, now here in this headman’s house<sup>1</sup>, within the four corners of the house, into this house of thatch and bamboo, death-dealing *jɔ* spirits, sickness-bringing *jɔ* spirits have managed to enter.<sup>2</sup>
2. Today, ah! today, there have managed to enter death-dealing *jɔ* spirits, sickness-bringing *jɔ* spirits, omens of death, omens of sickness.
3. Today, O guardian spirit of this home<sup>3</sup>, drive away these evil spirits that have [descended upon] the peacefulness of this household, today, ah! help them to prosper and be cured by propitiating these spirits.
4. By myself I can only drive them away with one word, but you, O house spirit, who possess the all-hearing ear of truth, please help my lips to propitiate them with ninety-nine words!
5. I can only manage to drive them away with one word, so please help my lips to utter ninety-nine mouthfuls of words to properly propitiate them, free us from them, and send them away!
6. Ah, today, just as the bottoms of these mountains do not switch position with their summits<sup>4</sup>, do not permit [these malicious spirits] to return to your side!
7. Today as long as these rivers do not flow backwards, do not allow [these evil spirits] to return to my side!

<sup>1</sup>Walker recorded this prayer at an exorcism ceremony for the village headman’s household.

<sup>2</sup>The *jɔ* (transcribed as “jaw” in the Baptist orthography) are extremely malicious spirits that arise from the blood of the sun or moon during an eclipse. They alight on bamboos, and can thus be brought inadvertently back to one’s home. They cause fatal bloody accidents.

<sup>3</sup>*yê-bo-qa-bo*: a benevolent spirit that watches over one’s home (if properly respected).

<sup>4</sup>Lit., “Just as all these mountains do not reverse their direction, do not allow (these evil spirits) to turn to where you [the house-spirit] are.”

## Exorcising evil spirits

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8. Today there are omens of death and death-dealing **jɔ** spirits, today there are omens of sickness and sickness-bringing **jɔ** spirits, so today please help me properly to propitiate them, free us from them, expel them with my prayers and teaching!
9. Ah, since I can only manage to drive them away with a single word, O guardian spirit within the four corners of this house, you who possess the all-hearing ear of truth, help me properly to help free us from them and expel them!
10. Today in this house, within the four corners of this headman's household, ah!, there are bad dreams and discomfort<sup>5</sup>, so today help me properly to propitiate these evil spirits of death and sickness!
11. Now properly command them to leave your<sup>6</sup> house alone.
12. My scolding can drive them out only by one word, but you, O guardian spirit of the house, bearer of the all-hearing ear of truth, you carefully help me to bless this house and help it to prosper!
13. I can drive them out only once, so you carefully help me to drive them out by scolding them.
14. Today I attempt to scold away these death-dealing and sickness-bringing **jɔ**, O guardian spirit of the house, so help me to propitiate them properly.
15. Today if we have not seen the bottom of the hill reverse places with its summit, do not permit them to turn back here.
16. Today if the rivers do not flow backwards, do not permit [those evil spirits] to return to my side.
17. Today these people cannot sleep well nor sit down well<sup>7</sup>, their food and drink do not taste good<sup>8</sup>, they are sick.<sup>9</sup> Ah! here there are omens of death, omens of sickness, death-dealing **jɔ** spirits, sickness-bringing spirits.
18. Today carefully help to take care of (this household), bless them and help them prosper by freeing them [from these evil spirits]!

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<sup>5</sup>**yɪʔ-tùʔ-mi-hā**: lit., “sleep-troubled-sitting-difficult”.

<sup>6</sup>I.e. the house guarded by this particular **yè-nê** or house spirit.

<sup>7</sup>**yɪʔ mâ mi mâ ša**: In non-poetic language this would be expressed as **yɪʔ mâ ša mi mâ ša**.

<sup>8</sup>**câ mâ dɔ̄ mâ mɛ̄**: In ordinary language this would be **câ mâ mɛ̄ dɔ̄ mâ mɛ̄**.

<sup>9</sup>**chê-mâ-cò-mâ-ša**: This is a poetic negation of the verbal elaborate expression **chê-ša-cò-ša** ‘be happy and prosperous’.

## 12.8 Prayer for game

- (1) *ôo* , *ôo* , *yà?-ni* *chò kà?* *thī-ηθ-thī-khâ* *tô?*  
 Interj Interj N<sub>time</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> + P<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> V  
 cry to attract a spirit cry to attract a spirit today here silver and gold altar offer  
*le* *và?-pā-và?-ma* *là?-ša* *cê* *hún* *hu* *šē-phâ* ,  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v-nom</sub>  
 suspensive male and female pigs right hand seven thousand raise agentive nominalizer  
*là?-mē* *cê* *làn* *hu* *šē-phâ* , *chò kà?* *hɔ*  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v-nom</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> + P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 left hand seven million raise agentive nominalizer here emphatic locative  
*càw-mɔ-càw-tú* *càw-ī-càw-yô* .  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub>  
 great lords great princes (Shan deities)
- (2) *áa* , *và?-pā-và?-ma* *lò-câ-ghâ-câ* *ve* *mē*  
 Interj Elab<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 cry to attract a spirit male and female pigs beg and beseech for food nominalizer persuasive  
 , *chī-pā-chī-ma* *lò-câ-ghâ-câ* *ve* .  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 male and female barking deer beg and beseech for food nominalizer
- (3) *yà?-ni* *khó-lú-khó-tân* *tô?* *le* *nò* *khi-hó-là?-hó* *gà*  
 N<sub>time</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Elab<sub>n</sub> V  
 today offering offer suspensive your under feet and hands (of a deity) reach  
*ve* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer
- (4) *áa* , *hā-gā-gô-gā* *tā* *yù khá* ,  
 Interj Elab<sub>v</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V + V<sub>h</sub>  
 cry to attract a spirit experience suffering negative imperative block up  
*bô?-gā-ša-gā* , *šo-câ?-kê-câ?* *phe* *le* ; *ηà* *qhɔ-ú*  
 Elab<sub>v</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N  
 easy to shoot and get chains of iron and brass tie suspensive I mountain top  
*cɔ* *gā* *yù* *le* *qhɔ-ú* *tā* *lá* , *qhɔ-mē*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> N  
 follow a trail get to take suspensive mountain top place benefactive (non-3p) foothill  
*cɔ* *gā* *qo* , *yù* *le* *qhɔ-mē* *tā* *lá* ,  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub>  
 follow a trail manage to when take suspensive foothill place benefactive (non-3p)  
*šô-phâ?-ma-phâ?* *qō* *lá* .  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 leaves of trees cover (RL) benefactive (non-3p)
- (5) *áa* , *tē* *kā* *qo* , *chɔ-mô-chɔ-ho* ,  
 Interj Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub>  
 cry to attract a spirit one half topic elders (RL)  
*phâ-kú-ma-kú* *tô?* *gā* ,  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 game-sharing customs of the men and women contribute desiderative

- phâ-lî-ma-lî*                      *fî*                      *gâ*                      , *tê*    *kâ*    *qo*                      ,  
 Elab<sub>n</sub>                                      V                                      P<sub>v</sub>                                      Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 men's and women's customs divide up desiderative one half topic
- mî-hu-yâ-hu*                      *gâ*                      , *a-vî-a-ni*                      , *mî-hu-yâ-hu*                      *gâ*  
 Elab<sub>v</sub>                                      P<sub>v</sub>                                      Elab<sub>n</sub>                                      Elab<sub>v</sub>                                      P<sub>v</sub>  
 support wife and children desiderative relatives support wife and children desiderative
- lâ*  
 P<sub>v</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p)
- (6) *nò*    *thà?*                      *lò*    *ve*                      *tâ-hâ-tâ-gô pè?*  
 Pron P<sub>n</sub>                                      V                                      P<sub>univ</sub>                                      verbal elaborate expression + verb (Elab<sub>v</sub> + V)  
 you accusative pray nominalizer do not make us suffer
- lâ*                                      , *a-cí*    *mâ?-câ*                      *lâ*  
 P<sub>v</sub>                                      Adv                                      V                                      P<sub>v</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p) please provide food for benefactive (non-3p)
- (7) *yâ?-ni*    *pâ*                      *tâ*                                      *qê*                                      *ha*  
 N<sub>time</sub> N                                      Adv                                      V                                      N  
 today evening star negative imperative set (of a heavenly body) moon (poetic)
- tâ*                                      *qê*                                      *pè?*                                      *lâ*                                      , *qhô-ú*  
 Adv                                      V                                      V<sub>v</sub>                                      P<sub>v</sub>                                      N  
 negative imperative set (of a heavenly body) allow to V benefactive (non-3p) mountain top
- cò*                      *qo*    *yù*    *é*                      *qhô-ú*                      *te*                      *lâ*                                      , *qhô-mê*  
 V                                      P<sub>unf</sub>                                      V                                      P<sub>unf</sub>                                      N                                      V                                      P<sub>v</sub>                                      N  
 follow a trail when take suspensive mountain top put onto benefactive (non-3p) foothill
- cò*                      *gâ*    *qo*                      , *yù*    *é*                      *qhô-mê*    *te*                      *lâ*  
 V                                      V<sub>v</sub>                                      P<sub>unf</sub>                                      V                                      P<sub>unf</sub>                                      N                                      V                                      P<sub>v</sub>  
 follow a trail get to when take suspensive foothill put onto benefactive (non-3p)
- (8) *chô-yâ*    *hó-tî?*                      *mâ*    *cò*                      , *ta-tî?*                      *mâ*    *cò*                      , *nò*  
 N                      N                                      Adv                      V                      N                      Adv                      V                      Pron  
 human all-hearing ear negative have all-seeing eye negative have your
- khi-ghô-lâ?-ghô*                      *lò-câ-ghâ-câ*                      *ve*                      , *tâ-hâ-tâ-gô pè?*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub>                                      Elab<sub>v</sub>                                      P<sub>univ</sub>                                      Elab<sub>v</sub> + V  
 within the feet and hands beg and beseech for food nominalizer do not make us suffer
- lâ*                                      , *yâ?-ni*    *pâ*                      *tâ*                                      *qê*  
 P<sub>v</sub>                                      N<sub>time</sub> N                                      Adv                                      V  
 benefactive (non-3p) today evening star negative imperative set (of a heavenly body)
- ha*                      *tâ*                                      *qê*                                      *pè?*    *lâ*  
 N                                      Adv                                      V                                      V                                      P<sub>v</sub>  
 moon (poetic) negative imperative set (of a heavenly body) grant benefactive (non-3p)
- a-cí*    *mâ?-câ*                      *lâ*  
 Adv                      V                                      P<sub>v</sub>  
 please provide food for benefactive (non-3p)
- (9) *áa*                                      , *nô*                      *qhô-ú*                      *tâ*    *qo*                      , *qhô-ú*                      *ô*  
 Interj                                      N<sub>sd</sub>                      N                      V                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      N                      P<sub>n</sub>  
 cry to attract a spirit up there mountain top put when mountain top locative
- šô-phâ?-ma-phâ?*    *qô*                      *é*                      *qhô-ú*                      *tâ*    *lâ*                                      *mê*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub>                                      V                                      P<sub>unf</sub>                                      N                                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 leaves of trees cover (RL) suspensive mountain top put benefactive (non-3p) persuasive

- (10) *šo-câ?-kê-câ?* *phe le* *ŋà ġû* *chi šì-šì tã*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron B<sub>n</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> V  
 chains of iron and brass tie suspensive I in front of (poetic) this far place  
*lâ* *mē* , *šo-mô?-kê-mô?* *qhô thà?* *qò?*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V  
 benefactive (non-3p) persuasive cannons of iron and brass on top of accusative go on to V  
*šē le tã lâ* *mē* , *nò hó-tì?-ta-tì?* *cò*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron Elab<sub>n</sub> V  
 lead suspensive place benefactive (non-3p) persuasive you supernatural powers have  
*šē-phâ* , *ŋà tí qo hó-tì?-ta-tì?* *mâ cò le nò*  
 P<sub>v-nom</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron  
 agentive nominalizer I topicalizer supernatural powers negative have because your  
*khi-hó-là?-hó* *lò-câ-qhâ-câ* *ve* .  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 under feet and hands (of a deity) beg and beseech for food nominalizer
- (11) *áa* , *yà?-ni thi-ŋê-thi-khâ* *tô?* *le* *šwê-ŋê-šwê-khâ*  
 Interj N<sub>time</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub>  
 cry to attract a spirit today silver and gold altar offer suspensive silver and gold pennants  
*tô?* *le* *câ-ú-dò-ú* *tô?* *le* *nò*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron  
 offer suspensive the best of food and drink offer suspensive your  
*khi-hó-là?-hó* *lò-câ-qhâ-câ* *ve* *mē* .  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 under feet and hands (of a deity) beg and beseech for food nominalizer persuasive
- (12) *a-cí* *mà?-cā* *lâ* *mē* .  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 please provide food for benefactive (non-3p) persuasive
- (13) *tê kã qo mî-hu-yâ-hu* , *tê kã qo cho-mô*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 one half topic support wife and children one half topic ancestors  
*phâ-lî-ma-lî* *fî* *gâ* *le* *cê* ,  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 men's and women's customs divide up desiderative suspensive quotative  
*phâ-kû-ma-kû* *tô?* *gâ* *le* *cê* .  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 game-sharing customs of the men and women contribute desiderative because quotative
- (14) *nò* *khi-hó-là?-hó* *lò* *câ ve* , *và?-pā-và?-ma*  
 Pron Elab<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub>  
 your under feet and hands (of a deity) ask to V eat nominalizer male and female pigs  
*chi-pā-chi-ma* *pè-lò?-thi-lò?* *ve* , *mà?-cā*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V  
 male and female barking deer enough to divide up and enjoy nominalizer provide food for  
*lâ* , *yà?-ni pā* *tâ* *qè*  
 P<sub>v</sub> N<sub>time</sub> N Adv V  
 benefactive (non-3p) today evening star negative imperative set (of a heavenly body)  
*ha* *tâ* *qè* *pè?* *lâ*  
 N Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 moon (poetic) negative imperative set (of a heavenly body) allow to V benefactive (non-3p)

	<i>mē</i>	!						
	P <sub>uf</sub>							
	persuasive							
(15)	<i>ôo</i>	,	<i>ôo</i>	,	<i>hâ?</i>	<i>lâ</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>mē</i>
	Interj		Interj		V	P <sub>v</sub>	P <sub>uf</sub>	P <sub>uf</sub>
	cry to attract a spirit		cry to attract a spirit		accept	benefactive (non-3p)	emphatic	urging
	!							

### Translation

1. Oh today, at this place, I offer you this silver altar, this golden altar<sup>1</sup>, you who watch over the seven thousand male and female pigs on the right-hand side, you who watch over the seven million male and female pigs on the left-hand side, you rulers, great princes of this place.<sup>2</sup>
2. Oh, I beg for male and female pigs, I beseech you for male and female barking deer.
3. Today I bring for you these offerings, I place them under your feet and under your hands.<sup>3</sup>
4. Oh, do not block me up with distress! Make them easy for me to shoot! Bind them with your chains of iron and brass! And when I am stalking around the summit of a hill, take and put them at the summit of the hill; when I am following a trail around the foot of a hill, take and put them at the foot of the hill! Cover [their eyes] with leaves!
5. Oh, one half [of the meat I obtain] I wish to contribute according to the sharing customs of the elders, I wish to follow the customs of the menfolk and the womenfolk<sup>4</sup>; one half I desire for my wife and children, and for my kinsmen.
6. I pray to you not to make us suffer!<sup>5</sup> Please provide sustenance for us!
7. Today grant that the evening star not set, that the moon not set [before I succeed]! When I am stalking around the summit of the hill, take and put them at the summit of the hill; when I am following a trail around the foot of a hill, take and put them at the foot of the hill!
8. We human beings lack your all-hearing ears and all-seeing eyes!<sup>6</sup> Within your feet and hands I beg and beseech you, that you cause us no suffering! Today, before the evening star has set, before the moon has set, please provide us sustenance!
9. Oh, when you put them over there at the summit of the hill, cover [their eyes] with leaves! Bind them in your chains of iron and brass, put them right in front of me and lead them to my big gun of iron and brass! You who have supernatural powers, I myself have none, but I put my humble request under your feet, under your hands.
10. Oh, today I offer you this silver altar, this golden altar; I offer you these silver pendants, these golden pendants.<sup>7</sup> I offer you this splendid food and drink, and I put my prayer under your feet and under your hands.

<sup>1</sup> *thi-ŋə-thi-khâ*: ‘silver and gold altar’. A poetic way of referring to the modest construction of bamboo used in this prayer. [See Plate 38 in Matisoff 1988.] The spirits are conceived of as powerful but rather stupid, easily deceived by hyperbolic language.

<sup>2</sup> This prayer is directed mainly to the Hill Spirit (*qhə-nê*), the guardian of the game in a certain area, but in order to avoid any problems, it is also addressed to the local Shan legendary princes or deities.

<sup>3</sup> Lit., “they have reached your feet and hands”.

<sup>4</sup> That is, “Let me shoot large animals, not small ones like squirrels and birds”. Lahu do not customarily divide up small game.

<sup>5</sup> *tā-hā-tā-gō pè? lâ*: The verb *pè?* ‘give; bestow’ here functions as a causative post-head auxiliary, like its more common synonym *pī*.

<sup>6</sup> Exaggerated humility is one of the strategies commonly used to try and win the spirits’ good will.

<sup>7</sup> These refer to paper streamers of interlocked rings of paper attached to the “altar”.

11. Please provide us sustenance!
12. One half I desire for my wife and children, with one half I wish to follow the customs of the elders, I wish to contribute according to the customs of the menfolk and the womenfolk.
13. I pray to you under your feet and hands, for male and female pigs, for male and female barking deer, enough to divide up and enjoy [8]! Give us sustenance! Today, before the setting of the evening star and the moon!
14. Oh, please accept [my offerings and my prayers]!

## 12.9 Gratefully eating the new rice

- (1) *áa* !  
Interj  
cry to attract the attention of a spirit
- (2) *ôo* !  
Interj  
cry to attract a spirit's attention
- (3) *ôo* !  
Interj  
cry to attract a spirit's attention
- (4) *chi-qhò?* *tê-mô-tê-cû* *ve* , *tâ-ló-tâ-láy* *chi-ma* *ve* ,  
N<sub>time</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
this year (RL) our whole group genitivizer the whole community this many genitivizer  
*ô* *mâ-phí-mû-mì* *qhò* *chê* *ve* , *cà-ší-ğì-ší* *câ*  
N<sub>sd</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> V  
over there spirit land in dwell nominalizer "new rice and new water" eat  
*ve* , *chi-qhò?* *là-câ-là-dò* , *la* *o* *mē* !  
P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer this year (RL) come to eat and drink come to V emphatic urging
- (5) *nò-hi* *tê-mô-tê-cû* *kà?* *là* *le* , *ha* , *a-šú-yô* *ve* *chò-mô*  
Pron Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Interj Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N  
you (pl) the whole group also come suspensive oh! (RL) whoever genitivizer elders  
*qhà-ğâ-chi-ğâ* *ve* , *qhà-to-chi-to* *là* *le* *yè-ma* *chì*  
Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N Det  
every last person genitivizer everybody come suspensive home (poetic) this  
*hò* *câ-la-dò-la* *mē* !  
P<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
emphatic locative come to eat and drink urging
- (6) *câ-ğì* *le* *yè-ma* *chi* *hò* ,  
V P<sub>unf</sub> N Det P<sub>n</sub>  
have abundance of food (RL) suspensive home (poetic) this emphatic locative  
*ha* , *mâ* *ğâ* *dô-khí* *tù* *ve* , *mâ* *ğâ* *dô-hā*  
Interj Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V V  
oh! (Red Lahu) negative have to worry purposive nominalizer negative have to grieve  
*tù* *ve* , *chi* *bon* *qò?* *jî* *le*  
P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Det N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub>  
purposive nominalizer this blessing V again bless with good things (RL) suspensive  
*tā* *pî* , *chi* *ší* *qò?* *jî* *le*  
V V<sub>v</sub> Det M<sub>px</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub>  
establish benefactive (3p) this boon V again bless with good things (RL) suspensive  
*tā* *pî* *mē* !  
V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
establish benefactive (3p) urging
- (7) *á-yù?-co-mâ* *qhò?* *thà?* *qò?-qo* , *nô* *lo* *há-phu*  
N N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N  
eternal heavenly abode (RL) up there accusative topicalizer up there locative white rock







- 
4. Just like the Enduring Pillar of White Rock<sup>3</sup> up there in the eternal heavenly abode (of G'uisha), once again ordain the blessings of eternal life upon the womenfolk and the menfolk.
  5. Oh, if we work for one day in the fields, may the food not be exhausted in ten days! If we work for one year in the fields, may the food not be exhausted in two years! With these boons once again bless us; please ordain them for us, upon each and every person, upon each and every household.
  6. If we work for one day in the fields, may the food not be exhausted in ten days! If we work for one year in the fields, may the food not be exhausted in ten years, in one hundred years! For this boon we once again wait<sup>4</sup>, please ordain this blessing upon us.
  7. Oh, you with the all-hearing ear, with the all-seeing eye, you who rule over the eternal heavenly dominions<sup>5</sup>, you who think eternal efficacious thoughts<sup>6</sup>, you who have reached the path to the heavenly land of the blessed, please shower each and every person within this household with your blessings, a blessing for each one, please ordain that for us!
  8. Upon every last person open up the blessing and ordain the boon that when they work for one day in the fields there will be enough to eat for ten years.
  9. Like the eternal heavenly pillar up there, bless us once again with a life like that of the stone, like the stone pillar that forever resists decay and blight, so that the husbands and wives and all their descendants may not have to worry or be distressed, oh, please open up this blessing and ordain it for us, bless us with this boon and ordain it for us!

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<sup>3</sup>The *kɔ-mô* or *kɔ-mô-twē* are roughly carved wooden posts placed in the ground in front of the village temple. (See Plates #17, 58, and 59 in Matisoff 1988.) Walker's Red Lahu informants had various opinions on what these posts signify. A common view was that they are earthly replicas of Ġi-ša's divine *kɔ-mô-twē* in heaven, which is said to be of white stone representing indestructible and undecaying permanence. As Walker has demonstrated, the animist Lahu believe that everything on earth has a divine prototype.

<sup>4</sup>Lit. "we wait to be established within this boon".

<sup>5</sup>This is Ġi-ša, the supreme creator divinity of the Lahu.

<sup>6</sup>*dɔ-ti?-gâ-ti?* 'thoughts of immortal spirits who only need to think of something for it to come to pass'.

## 12.10 Marriage prayers

- (1) *qhà* *ôo*  
 Interj Interj  
 syllable used to attract the spirits cry to attract a spirit's attention  
*ôo* , *yâ?-ni* , *áa* , *mû-ni* *ha-pa*  
 Interj N<sub>time</sub> Interj N N  
 cry to attract a spirit's attention today cry to attract the attention of a spirit sun moon  
*ð-cɛ cò lɛ Cà-nâ? Na-phu yô nî mà ð-cɛ*  
 N V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N  
 pair be there suspensive male name female name they two for people (poetic) pair  
*mâ cò lɛ ú-phu-kâw-phu-nû chi ma yù lɛ*  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>extd</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 negative be there because white haired elders and young people this many take suspensive  
*ð-cɛ te pî ve*  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 pair make benefactive (3p) nominalizer
- (2) *mû-ni ha-pa ð-cɛ cò yô nî mà ð-cɛ mâ cò lɛ*  
 N N N V Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N Adv V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 sun moon pair be there they two for people (poetic) pair negative be there because  
*nî tê-mô-tê-cû ve , tâ-ló-tâ-láy chi ma yù lɛ*  
 Pron Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 we (RL) the whole group genitivizer the whole community all of take suspensive  
*Câ-nâ? lɛ Na-phu thâ? yù lɛ ð-cɛ te pî*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Conj N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub>  
 male name and female name accusative take suspensive pair make benefactive (3p)  
*ve , yâ?-pí chò kâ? hɔ*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> + P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 nominalizer tonight here emphatic locative
- (3) *áa* , *chê-ša-cò-ša* *pî* *mē* ,  
 Interj Elab<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 cry to attract the attention of a spirit be free from cares benefactive (3p) persuasive  
*yâ hu qo yâ ye , táw-ma-ší qhe* ,  
 OV P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>spec</sub> + V N N<sub>ext</sub>  
 be pregnant when bear children easily plentiful fruit of the tao-ma tree like  
*qhâ?-cá-ší qhe , chi bon phɔ lɛ tã pî , chi*  
 N N<sub>ext</sub> Det N V P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> Det  
 wild gooseberry like this blessing open up suspensive establish benefactive (3p) this  
*ší jî lɛ tã pî* ,  
 M<sub>px</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 advantage (animist) bless with good things (RL) suspensive establish benefactive (3p)  
*Câ-nâ? Na-phu yô nî mà thâ?*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 male name female name they two for people (poetic) accusative
- (4) *lú-qu* *cá-bê?* *ð-cɛ cò lɛ yô nî*  
 N N N V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Num  
 spoon (esp. curved Chinese type) ladle pair be there suspensive they two

<i>mà</i>		<i>ḍ-cɛ</i>	<i>mâ</i>	<i>cḍ</i>	<i>ɛ</i>	<i>mû-ni</i>	<i>ha-pa</i>	<i>ḍ-cɛ</i>	<i>cḍ</i>	<i>ɛ</i>
Cl <sub>f</sub>		N	Adv	V	P <sub>univ</sub>	N	N	N	V	P <sub>unf</sub>
for people (poetic)	pair	negative	be there	because	sun	moon	pair	be there	suspensive	
<i>yḥ</i>	<i>nî</i>	<i>mâ</i>		<i>ḍ-cɛ</i>	<i>mâ</i>	<i>cḍ</i>	<i>ɛ</i>	<i>nî</i>	<i>tê-mō-tê-cû</i>	
Pron	Num	Cl <sub>f</sub>		N	Adv	V	P <sub>univ</sub>	Pron	Elab <sub>n</sub>	
they	two	for people (poetic)	pair	negative	be there	because	we (RL)	the whole group		
<i>ve</i>		<i>ṣí-phu-tàw</i>			<i>kàw-phu-nû</i>		<i>chi ma yù</i>	<i>ɛ</i>	<i>ḍ-cɛ</i>	
P <sub>univ</sub>		N			N		N <sub>ext</sub>	V	P <sub>unf</sub>	N
genitivizer		gray-haired venerables			old and young (RL)		all of	take	suspensive	pair
<i>te</i>	<i>pî</i>		<i>ve</i>		<i>Câ-nâ?</i>	<i>Na-phu</i>	<i>yḥ</i>	<i>nî</i>		
V	V <sub>v</sub>		P <sub>univ</sub>		N <sub>pers</sub>	N <sub>pers</sub>	Pron	Num		
make	benefactive (3p)	nominalizer			male name	female name	they	two		
<i>mâ</i>		<i>thâ?</i>								
Cl <sub>f</sub>		P <sub>n</sub>								
for people (poetic)		accusative								

(5) *áa* , *yâ hu* *qo* *yâ ye* ,  
 Interj OV P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>spec</sub> + V  
 cry to attract the attention of a spirit be pregnant when bear children easily

<i>kô</i>	<i>hó</i>	<i>qo</i>	<i>cê-hwè-cà-hwè</i>		<i>qhô</i>	<i>thâ?</i>	<i>qo</i>
N	M <sub>px</sub>	P <sub>unf</sub>	Elab <sub>n</sub>		N <sub>loc</sub>	P <sub>n</sub>	P <sub>unf</sub>
veranda (poetic)	under	topic	many domestic animals together		above	accusative	topic
<i>chɔ-hwè-vâ-hwè</i>	<i>chi</i>	<i>bon</i>	<i>phɔ</i>	<i>ɛ</i>	<i>tâ</i>	<i>pî</i>	<i>mē</i>
Elab <sub>n</sub>	Det	N	V	P <sub>unf</sub>	V	V <sub>v</sub>	P <sub>uf</sub>
many people	this	blessing	open up	suspensive	establish	benefactive (3p)	persuasive
<i>chi</i>	<i>ṣí</i>		<i>jî</i>		<i>ɛ</i>	<i>tâ</i>	<i>pî</i>
Det	M <sub>px</sub>		V		P <sub>unf</sub>	V	V <sub>v</sub>
this	advantage (animist)		bless with good things (RL)		suspensive	establish	benefactive (3p)
<i>mē</i>							
P <sub>uf</sub>							
persuasive							

(6) *ôo* , *ôo* , *dà?* *e*  
 Interj Interj V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 cry to attract a spirit's attention cry to attract a spirit's attention good V more and more

<i>yò</i>	<i>Câ-nâ?</i>	<i>Na-phu</i>	!
P <sub>uf</sub>	N <sub>pers</sub>	N <sub>pers</sub>	
declarative	male name	female name	

**Translation**

1. Oh ho! today the sun and the moon form a pair, but these two, Mr. Black and Miss White<sup>1</sup> are not one pair, and so we elders and young people take these two and make them one pair.
2. The sun and the moon are one pair, these two are not one pair, so here in this place this evening we of this community, all of us, take Mr. Black and Miss White and make them one pair.
3. Oh, let them enjoy good and carefree health, and when they have children may their birth be easy,<sup>2</sup> may they be as plentiful as the fruit of the *táw-ma* tree <sup>3</sup>, as plentiful as the fruit of the wild gooseberry;

<sup>1</sup> *Câ-nâ?* (Mr. Black) and *Na-phu* (Miss White) are common Lahu personal names. They generally refer to the color of the person's complexion. Mr. Black would be a man of dark skin while Miss White would have a rather light brown complexion.  
<sup>2</sup>The expression *yâ ye ve* can mean either 'bear children easily' or 'bear strong children who do not die'.  
<sup>3</sup>This tree has yet to be identified, although it is proverbial for bearing abundant fruit.

## Marriage prayers

---

open this blessing on Mr. Black and Miss White, favor them with these boons!

4. The small bamboo spoon and the large bamboo ladle<sup>4</sup> are one pair, but these two are not yet one pair; the sun and the moon are one pair; but these two are not one pair, so we of this community, we elders and young people all together take Mr. Black and Miss White and make them one pair.

5. Oh, when they have children, may the children not die; let there be many animals underneath the house and many people inside the house<sup>5</sup>; let this blessing be opened upon them, let them be favored by these boons!

6. Oh ho! Good fortune to Mr. Black and Miss White!

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<sup>4</sup>The small bamboo spoon is used for serving relishes; the large ladle is for stirring and serving rice.

<sup>5</sup>To possess many animals (tethered under the house since Lahu houses are raised on stilts) and many children are signs of **ḍ-bon** ‘merit; blessing’ in a Lahu village community.

## 12.11 Rite of divorce

- (1) *yâ chi nî mà yà?-pí bà-dà?-chê?-dà? ve cê*  
 N Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>time</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 young people these two for people (poetic) tonight get divorced nominalizer quotative  
*mē !*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic
- (2) *chò kà? càw-ī-càw-yô , càw-pâ?-càw-kē ò chò kà? ve*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> + P<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> + P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 here Shan deity Shan deity ("powerful cleansing leader") vocative here genitivizer  
*kà , là?-mâ pē-vê?-khê-vê? tō? lē*  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> N Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 for places handmade thing beautiful beeswax candles and vessels offer suspensive  
*pē-tú-khê-tú chē? dà? ve cê , qhò-thô*  
 Elab<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N  
 kindle beeswax candles sever mutual action nominalizer quotative either party  
*tâ dō-hā tâ dō-khí pī lō mē*  
 Adv V Adv V V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative imperative grieve negative imperative worry benefactive (3p) pray emphatic
- (3) *yô nî mà qô? qo cho yù chē? mâ hē? ,*  
 Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V<sub>v</sub> V Adv + V  
 they two for people (poetic) topicalizer people take and V sthg break not be the case  
*yô-qhâ-yô chē? dà? ve*  
 AE V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 by themselves break mutual action nominalizer
- (4) *yà?-ni nî tē-mō-tē-cū ve là?-mâ*  
 N<sub>time</sub> Pron Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 today we (RL) the whole group genitivizer handmade thing  
*pē-vê?-khê-vê? tō? lē qhâ?-phū kà? nî*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> Num  
 beautiful beeswax candles and vessels contribute suspensive village fine also two  
*thē? tháy ve yò mē*  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 for Burmese rupees pay compensation (RL) nominalizer declarative emphatic
- (5) *hó-qhâ? mâ hâ? qo , hó-qhâ? tháy ve ; yâ-mî*  
 N Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 man negative want to stay married if man pay a fine (RL) nominalizer woman  
*mâ hâ? qo , yâ-mî tháy ve*  
 Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 negative want to stay married if woman pay a fine (RL) nominalizer
- (6) *chi tháy qo pà ve yò mē*  
 Det V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 this pay compensation (RL) when be completed nominalizer declarative emphatic
- (7) *qhò-thô chē-ša pī mē*  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 both parties (RL) healthy benefactive (3p) emphatic

- (8) *tê-ghâ?-tê-lò* *ve* , *yâ* *chi* *nî* *mà* *chê?*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V  
 the whole village genitivizer young people these two for people (poetic) break up  
*dà?* *ò* *cê* *mē* , *tê-mō-tê-cû* *ve* *ò*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 mutual action completed action quotative emphatic the whole group genitivizer vocative  
 , *yâ?-ni* *lè* *bà-dà?-chê?-dà?* *ve* *yò* .  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 today topic get divorced nominalizer declarative
- (9) *ú-phu* *kà?* , *ú-nâ?* *kà?* *chi ma* *ve* , *yâ-nè*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 elders also youngsters also all these genitivizer unmarried young men  
*šā-nū-šā-qá* *chi ma* *ve* *kà?* , *ğa* *le* *chê?*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 children and siblings' children (RL) all of genitivizer also accept suspensive break up  
*pî-ô?* *mē* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 hortatory persuasive
- (10) *chê?* *ò* !  
 V P<sub>v</sub>  
 sever completed action
- (11) *chê?* *ò* !  
 V P<sub>v</sub>  
 sever completed action

## Translation

1. This evening these two young people are divorcing,<sup>1</sup> they say.<sup>2</sup>
2. Great Ruler, Powerful Ruler here at this place<sup>3</sup>, I bring for you these beautiful beeswax candles made by my own hands. By the lighting of these (two) candles<sup>4</sup>, we say that the marriage is dissolved. We pray that neither party suffer misfortune.
3. We people have not broken up this couple, they themselves have broken up.
4. Today we of this community offer you these beautiful beeswax candles made by our own hands. The village fine of two rupees has been paid.
5. If it is the man who wishes the divorce, the man must pay the fine; if it is the woman who wishes the divorce, the woman must pay the fine. Once the fine has been paid, the matter has been resolved.
6. May both sides enjoy good health!
7. Let the whole village witness that these two people are breaking up! Let the whole community today witness that this couple are divorcing!<sup>5</sup>
8. All you elders and youngsters<sup>6</sup>, all you adolescents and children, please let them break up!

<sup>1</sup>*bà-dà?-chê?-dà?*: lit. “mutually cast-aside mutually break”.

<sup>2</sup>“They say” translates the quotative particle *cê* .

<sup>3</sup>Addressed to the guardian spirit of the locality. *chò kà?* *ve kà* ‘here’ is poetic language for *chò kà?* *ve tê kà*, where the classifier *kà* appears after the numeral *tê* ‘one’.

<sup>4</sup>Walker (1976:179) had never personally witnessed this rite, but was informed that two candles were involved.

<sup>5</sup>Lit., “ O, all you villagers, today they are divorcing.”

<sup>6</sup>*ú-phu* ‘elders’ (lit. “white-haired ones”); *ú-nâ?* ‘youngsters’ (lit. “black-haired ones”).



9. It is dissolved! It is dissolved!

## 12.12 Funerary chants (I)

- (1) *ôo* , *ôo* , *chɔ* *chi* *yò-l-lê-qôʔ-qo* , *yô*  
 Interj Interj N Det P<sub>unf</sub> Pron  
 cry to attract a spirit cry to attract a spirit person this topicalizer (poetic) he  
*pū-phā-ša-phā* *mâ* *qay* *ve* *yò-l-lê-qôʔ-qo* .  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 gatekeeper at the shore of heaven country go nominalizer topicalizer (poetic)
- (2) *áa* , *yô-mî-yô-yâ* *tê-yê-tê-qa* *ve* *yò-l-lê-qôʔ-qo*  
 Interj Elab<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 cry to attract a spirit his wife and children whole household genitivizer topicalizer (poetic)  
 , *cê-qā-cà-qā* *kàʔ* *chi ma* *ve* *yò-l-lê-qôʔ-qo* , *yô* *nî*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Num  
 domestic animals also all of genitivizer topicalizer (poetic) they two  
*mâ* *ɔ̂-pā-ɔ̂-mî-ma* *qôʔ-qo* *chêʔ* *dàʔ* *e*  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> Elab<sub>extd</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 for people (poetic) husband and wife topicalizer break ties with mutual action motion away  
*le* *yô* *qôʔ-qwe* , *pū-phā-ša-phā* *mâ* *ɔ̂* *chê*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V  
 suspensive he topicalizer gatekeeper at the shore of heaven country locative dwell  
*ve* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer
- (3) *áa* , *yô-mî-yô-yâ* *yò-l-lê-qôʔ-qo* , *yàʔ-ni* *tàn*  
 Interj Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> V  
 cry to attract a spirit his wife and children topicalizer (poetic) today begin  
*ô* *qay* *ve* *yò-l-lê-qôʔ-qo* , *tâ*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv  
 distant point in the future continue nominalizer topicalizer (poetic) negative imperative  
*ca* *dàʔ* *o* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 seek mutual action emphatic
- (4) *nò* *khî* *nò* *mâ hêʔ* *o* , *nò-tâ-nò-qay*  
 Pron N Pron Adv + V P<sub>uf</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub>  
 your physical appearance you not be the case emphatic where you crave to go  
*ve* *lè* *ô* *pū-phā-ša-phā* *mâ* *ɔ̂* *chê* *lò*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 nominalizer topic over there gatekeeper at the shore of heaven country locative stay urging  
 .
- (5) *chi-bàʔ* *nò* *mî-a* *yàʔ-ni* *tàn* *ô* *qay* *ve* *a-šu*  
 N<sub>time</sub> Pron N N<sub>time</sub> V N<sub>sd</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron  
 now your wife today begin distant point in the future continue nominalizer anybody  
*qha šū* *mî câ* *le* *ɔ̂-pā-ší* *qàʔ* *ca*  
 AE V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N <sub>v</sub>V V  
 in the same way cultivate for a living suspensive new husband go on to V look for

- le* *ché* *ve* *yò-l-lê-qô?-qo* , *ché* *phê?* *pî* ,  
 P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 suspensive continuous nominalizer topicalizer (poetic) live able to benefactive (3p)  
*ché* *phê?* *pî* .  
 V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 live able to benefactive (3p)
- (6) *nò* *yò-l-lê-qô?-qo* , *nê-phê?-še-phê?* *le* *Pū-phā*  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>pers</sub>  
 you topicalizer (poetic) turn into a spirit suspensive gatekeeper of the shore of heaven  
*mâ* *š* *qay* *qo* , *qha-dê?* *qay* *le* *a* , *ô* *qay*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> AE V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>v</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> V  
 country locative go when carefully go suspensive hortatory over there go  
*le* *qha-dê?* *qô?* *ca* *hâ?* *mē* .  
 P<sub>unf</sub> AE <sub>v</sub>V <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 suspensive carefully V again go and do marry urging
- (7) *nò* *khî* *nò* *mâ hê?* *o* *mē* , *nò* *qô?-qo*  
 Pron N Pron Adv + V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub>  
 your physical appearance you not be the case emphatic emphatic you topicalizer  
*ô* *ve* *thâ?* *qô?* *ca* *hâ?* *mē* .  
 N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 over there genitivizer accusative V again go and do marry urging
- (8) *nò-mî-nò-yâ* *chò* *qô?-qo* , *chò* *ve* *à?* *ca* *hâ?*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V  
 your wife and children here topicalizer here genitivizer accusative go and do marry  
*pî* , *nò* *yò-l-lê-qô?-qo* , *nò* *à?* *khî-le-ŋâ-le* *mâ hê?* ,  
 V<sub>v</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> Adv + V  
 causative you topicalizer (poetic) you accusative being disrespectful not be the case  
*nò* *ğa* *qay* *ò* *ve* *le* *ô*  
 Pron <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>sd</sub>  
 you must leave a place completed action nominalizer because over there  
*Pū-phā* *mâ* *š* *ve* *ca* *le* *hâ?* .  
 N<sub>prop</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 gatekeeper of the land of the dead country locative genitivizer look for suspensive marry
- (9) *nò* *khî* *nò* *mâ hê?* , *yà?-ni* *tàn* *ô*  
 Pron N Pron Adv + V N<sub>time</sub> V N<sub>sd</sub>  
 your physical appearance you not be the case today begin distant point in the future  
*qay* *ve* *yò-l-lê-qô?-qo* , *nò* *qô?-qo* , *qay* *qô?-qo* ,  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 continue nominalizer topicalizer (poetic) you topicalizer leave a place topicalizer  
*qha-dê?* *qay* , *qhò?-nó* *nò-mî-nò-yâ* *nò-cê-nò-câ* *chi ma* *ve*  
 AE V M<sub>px</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 properly go from now on your wife and children your livestock all these genitivizer  
*à?* , *qô?-qo* , *tâ* *dô-khî* , *tâ* *dô-hâ*  
 P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V Adv V  
 accusative topicalizer negative imperative worry negative imperative be sad  
*pî* , *chò* *ve* *qô?-qo* *ca* *ché* *pî* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub>  
 causative here genitivizer topicalizer go and do live benefactive (3p)

Funerary chants (I)

(10)	<i>nò</i>	<i>yò-l-lê-qô?-qo</i>	<i>pū-phā-ša-phā</i>	<i>mâ</i>	<i>ṣ</i>	<i>ca</i>
	Pron	P <sub>unf</sub>	Elab <sub>n</sub>	N	P <sub>n</sub>	V
	you	topicalizer (poetic)	gatekeeper at the shore of heaven	country	locative	seek
	<i>e</i>	<i>lɛ</i>	, <i>ôo</i> , <i>ôo</i> , <i>qay</i>	<i>qô?-qo</i>	, <i>qha-dê?</i>	
	P <sub>v</sub>	P <sub>unf</sub>	Interj	Interj	V	P <sub>unf</sub>
	motion away	suspensive	oh!	oh!	leave a place	topicalizer
	<i>qay</i>	<i>lâ</i>				AE
	V	P <sub>v</sub>				
	leave a place	benefactive (non-3p)				properly

**Translation**

1. Oh! Oh! This man has departed for Pū-phā-ša-phā's country.<sup>1</sup>
2. Ah! He is separated from his wife and his children and from all his animals; these two, husband and wife, are now separated, and he is living in Pū-phā-ša-phā's country.
3. Ah! From today and hereafter let him, and his wife and children not seek one another.
4. You<sup>2</sup> are not the same as you were before<sup>3</sup>, so what (your spirit) craves is to stay over there in Pū-phā-ša-phā's country.
5. Now, from today and hereafter, your wife works in the fields like everyone else, she is looking for a new husband<sup>4</sup>, so let her live in peace.<sup>5</sup>
6. You have become a spirit, so when you go to Pū-phā-ša-phā's country, go carefully, and there carefully look for and marry a new wife.
7. You are not as you were before, so look for and marry a new wife from over there.
8. Your wife and children are here, so let her marry someone from here. She does not disrespect you, for you must leave now, and over there in Pū-phā-ša-phā's country you must look for and marry a new wife.
9. You are not as you were before. From today and hereafter, when you leave, go carefully! From now on, do not cause trouble for your wife and children, or for your livestock; let them live here in peace.
10. You go and seek [a new family and new livestock] in Pū-phā-ša-phā's country, Oh go, go carefully!<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>**Pū-phā-ša-phā**: the boatsman or gatekeeper at the "shore" (**pū**) of G'uisha's heaven. He decides who may enter. Also called simply **Pū-phā**. See *Text 12.6*.

<sup>2</sup>The first part of the chant is addressed to the surviving villagers, but at this juncture the officiating specialist begins to address the deceased's spirit (**ṣ-ha**) directly.

<sup>3</sup>Lit., "your appearance is not you".

<sup>4</sup>This lie is supposed to encourage the deceased's spirit to leave, since he will now want to find a new wife in the land of the dead.

<sup>5</sup>**chê phê? pî**: lit., "make her able to live". That is, "Unlike you, she is not a spirit, so do not try to take her with you to the land of the dead."

<sup>6</sup>The non-3rd person benefactive particle **lâ** shows that the spirit's departure is for "our" benefit, i.e. the benefit of the deceased's family and of the whole village.

## 12.13 Funerary chants (II)

- (1) *ôo* , *ôo* , *šī* *qôʔ-qo* , *qha-dêʔ* *šī-mâ* *qha-gà* *qay*  
 Interj Interj V P<sub>unf</sub> AE N N<sub>ext</sub> V  
 oh! oh! be dead topicalizer properly land of the dead up to (a place) go  
*mē* !  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 urging
- (2) *ḷ-ví-ḷ-ni* *cò* *qo* , *ḷ-ví-ḷ-ni* *chê-kì* *qay* *mē* !  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 brothers and sisters be there if brothers and sisters dwelling place go urging
- (3) *ḷ-pa-ḷ-e* *cò* *qôʔ-qo* , *ḷ-pa-ḷ-e* *chê* *qha-gà* *qay* *mē* !  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> V N<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 parents be there topicalizer parents live up to (a place) go persuasive
- (4) *kàʔ* *hɔ* *tâ* *chê* *o* *mē* !  
 N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 here emphatic locative negative imperative stay emphatic persuasive
- (5) *chi-bàʔ* *yò-a-qôʔ-qo* , *nì* *gâʔ-t̄-làʔ* *chi*  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N Det  
 now topicalizer (in religious poetry) our chicken wing this  
*yò-a-qôʔ-qo* , *mû-cha* *hɔ* *qo* , *phâ* *ɛ* *qay* *mē*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 topicalizer (in religious poetry) sunlight hot if fan to cool off suspensive go urging  
 !
- (6) *gâʔ-khī* *qòʔ* *qôʔ-qo* , *í-kâʔ* *gâʔ-d̄* *qay* *mē* !  
 N Conj P<sub>unf</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 chicken claw also topicalizer water scratch for drinking water go off to V urging
- (7) *gəʔ-l* *qôʔ-qo* , *hɔ-phû-pê-phû* *pî* *ɛ* *qay* *mē* !  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 lead (n.) topicalizer boat fare pay for suspensive go persuasive

### Translation

1. Oh, oh, you are dead, go carefully to the land of the dead!
2. If you have brothers and sisters there, go to your brothers' and sisters' place!
3. If you have a father and mother there, go to your father and mother's place!
4. Do not remain here!
5. Now if the sun is hot, fan yourself with this chicken wing of ours, and please go!
6. And you can also scratch for water with this chicken's claw, so please go!
7. Pay for the boat fare with this piece of lead<sup>1</sup>, and please go!

<sup>1</sup>**hɔ-phû-pê-phû**: lit. "boat and raft fare". This fare is to be paid to **Pû-phâ(-ša-phâ)**, the gatekeeper/boatsman at the shores of G'uisha's heaven.

## **13 Traditional songs**

### 13.1 Song of reconciliation between brother and sister

- (1) *à-šwè thâ Lâhū mû-mì mû-mê-mì-mê ̄ chê ve ð-u-phâ*  
 AE N N N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 once upon a time Lahu country Land of Meh locative live relativizer older brother  
*ð-nù-ma ní ġâ šā-pun pè cā ve*  
 N Q N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 younger sister two people portion of meat divide up V to eat nominalizer
- (2) *mâ hî dâ? ve ð-lɔn a-cí qāw m̄*  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Adv V V<sub>v</sub>  
 negative get along together mutual action relativizer matter a little tell show by V'ing  
*lâ šā*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p) intentional (1p)
- (3) *ɔ-lɔ tê ni ð-nù-ma khí-yī tê khɛ ġa*  
 N<sub>time</sub> Num M<sub>prfx</sub> N N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V  
 first one day younger sister deer (great sambhur) one for animals catch  
*və tá lɛ , yɔ ve ð-u-phâ thâ? qha-dê?*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N P<sub>n</sub> AE  
 transportatory motion perfective suspensive her older brother accusative properly  
*pè cā pî ve cê*  
 V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 divide up feed benefactive (3p) nominalizer quotative
- (4) *ð-qhð?-nɔ ð-u-phâ fâ?-pu tê khɛ ġa və tá*  
 N<sub>time</sub> N N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 afterwards older brother porcupine one for animals catch transportatory motion perfective  
*ve cê*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer quotative
- (5) *qhe-te-lɛ yɔ ve ð-nù-ma thâ? mâ pè pî cê*  
 Conj N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N P<sub>n</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 so his younger sister accusative negative divide up benefactive (3p) quotative
- (6) *qhe-te-lɛ ð-nù-ma ni-ma yî? lɛ , ð-nù-ma ġî-mi yâ?*  
 Conj N N V P<sub>unf</sub> N N V  
 so younger sister heart be angry suspensive younger sister downstream go down  
*e ve cê*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 motion away nominalizer quotative
- (7) *ð-u-phâ ġî-ú tâ? e ve cê*  
 N N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 older brother upstream go up motion away nominalizer quotative
- (8) *tê ni ġa qð? mð dâ? lɛ ha-lè ve qa-mì-khô é*  
 Num M<sub>prfx</sub> vV vV V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N M<sub>prfx</sub>  
 one day get to V again see each other suspensive happy relativizer song little

Song of reconciliation between brother and sister

- chi qhe qa ve* :  
 AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 like this sing nominalizer
- (9) *ḡ-nù-ma* : *à-ṣwè thâ tí tê gε ġa chê ve* !  
 N NP<sub>time</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 younger sister long time ago only together get to live nominalizer
- (10) *â hê? lâ , ôo , ḡ-u-phâ ò ?*  
 Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> Interj N P<sub>n</sub>  
 negative be the case yes oh! older brother vocative
- (11) *ḡ-u-phâ* : *yò ve yò , ôo , ḡ-nù-ma ò* .  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Interj N P<sub>n</sub>  
 older brother be true nominalizer declarative oh! younger sister vocative
- (12) *yò mē* .  
 V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be true emphatic
- (13) *à-ṣwè thâ tí ġa mḡ dâ? ve yò mē* .  
 NP<sub>time</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 long time ago only get to see mutual action nominalizer declarative emphatic

**Translation**

1. Once upon a time, in Lahu country, in the land of Meh<sup>1</sup>, there lived an older brother<sup>2</sup> and a younger sister<sup>3</sup>, who used to divide up portions of game to eat.
2. I'd just like to tell a little story about how they didn't get along with each other.
3. First the younger sister caught a great sambhur deer<sup>4</sup>, which she brought [home] and properly shared out with her brother.
4. Afterwards, the elder brother caught a porcupine.<sup>5</sup>
5. But then he didn't share it with his sister.
6. So the sister was very offended, and she went off downstream.
7. The brother went off climbing upstream.
8. One day they met each other again, and were so happy that they sang this little song:
9. Sister: Only long ago could we live together  
 Is that not so, oh, my brother!
10. Brother: It is so, oh, my sister!
11. Narrator: Indeed so! They hadn't seen each other for ages!<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>**mû-mê-mì-mê**: an elaborate expression built on **mû-mì** 'country'. This is the traditional former abode of the Lahu, in Yunnan. It is claimed that this land was called **mê** because the Chinese Lahu used animals to plow their swiddens (**mê** 'to plow'). In Thailand mountain fields (swiddens) are always cultivated by hand, unlike lowland wet-rice fields, where oxen and buffalo are used.

<sup>2</sup>**ḡ-u-phâ**: an archaic kin term with a variety of related meanings: (1) older brother of a girl; (2) a girl's mother's brother; (3) wife's brother; (4) man's brother in law. The basic meaning is 'guardian of a young girl'.

<sup>3</sup>**ḡ-nù-ma**: Correlative of **ḡ-u-phâ**. Archaic kin term meaning (1) sibling's daughter/niece; (2) female word of an elder brother or maternal uncle.

<sup>4</sup>**khí-yī**: *Cervus unicolor*.

<sup>5</sup>**fâ?pu**: Asiatic porcupine [*Hystrix brachyura*].

<sup>6</sup>Lit., "only long ago had they seen each other."



## 13.2 Antiphonal love-songs (I)

- (1) *yâ-mî-há*                      *chɔ-há*              *khô*      *qāw*      *dà?*                      *ve* .  
       N                                      N                      N      V      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>  
       unmarried young woman    young man    word    tell    mutual action    nominalizer
- (2) *chi tê khi*    *na*      *tā*              *šē* .  
       NP<sub>q</sub>              V      P<sub>v</sub>              P<sub>v</sub>  
       right now    listen    durative    right away
- (3) *Girl* : *Lāhū*      *ò*              ,    *là-lí*                      *qha lɛ*    *là*      *ve*                      *lā* .  
       .              N              P<sub>n</sub>                      N<sub>loc</sub>                      AE      V      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
       Lahu boy    vocative              here (poetic)    up to    come    nominalizer    yes
- (4) *Boy* : *là-lí*                      *qha lɛ*    *là*      *ve*                      *mā hê?* .  
       .              N<sub>loc</sub>                      AE      V      P<sub>univ</sub>                      Adv + V  
       here (poetic)    up to    come    nominalizer    not be the case
- (5) *Girl* : *Lāhū*      *ò*              ,    *chê-lí-mi-lí*                      *qha lɛ*    *là*      *ve*                      *lā* .  
       .              N              P<sub>n</sub>                      Elab<sub>n</sub>                      AE      V      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
       Lahu boy    vocative              dwelling place (poetic)    up to    come    nominalizer    yes
- (6) *Boy* : *chê-lí-mi-lí*                      *qha lɛ*    *là*      *ve*                      *mā hê?* .  
       .              Elab<sub>n</sub>                      AE      V      P<sub>univ</sub>                      Adv + V  
       dwelling place (poetic)    up to    come    nominalizer    not be the case
- (7) *Girl* : *là-lí*                      *qha lɛ*    *là*      *ve* .  
       .              N<sub>loc</sub>                      AE      V      P<sub>univ</sub>  
       here (poetic)    up to    come    nominalizer

### Translation

1. This is a song that the young men and women sing to each other.
2. Please listen well now.
3. O Lahu [boy], will you come to visit [me]?
4. No, I won't come to visit [you]!
5. O Lahu [boy], will you come to my dwelling place?<sup>1</sup>
6. No, I won't come to your dwelling place!
7. He did come to visit me!

<sup>1</sup> *chê-lí-mi-lí*: lit. "dwelling and sitting place".

### 13.3 Antiphonal love-songs (II)

- (1) *yâ-mî-há*      *chɔ-há*      *khô*      *qa-mî-khô*      *chi-bà? tê khi*      *qāw šā* .  
 N                      N                      N                      N                      NP<sub>q</sub>                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>  
 marriageable girl    young man    word    song            at the present time    tell    intentional (1p)
- (2) *na*      *tā*      *šē* .  
 V              P<sub>v</sub>              P<sub>v</sub>  
 listen    durative    first
- (3) : *yâ-mî-há*      *ò*                      ,      *nò*      *thà?*                      *â*                      *mò*      *qo*      *nî-ma hā*      *jā*      *lē*  
 N                      P<sub>n</sub>                      Pron    P<sub>n</sub>                      Adv                      V                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      N<sub>spec</sub> + V                      V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 maiden    vocative    you    accusative    negative    see    if    sad            very    request for assent
- (4) : *chɔ-há*      *pā*      *ò*                      ,      *nò*      *khô*      *â*                      *kā*      *qo*      ,      *š*      *kà?*      *cā*      *â*  
 N                      M<sub>prfx</sub>                      P<sub>n</sub>                      Pron    N                      Adv                      V                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      V                      Adv  
 young man    male    vocative    you    sound    negative    hear    if            topic    even    eat    negative  
*mè*                      *lē*  
 V<sub>adj</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 delicious    request for assent
- (5) : *yâ-mî-há*      *ò*                      ,      *nò*      *qo*      *dà?*                      *ve*                      *šwî?*                      *yò*  
 N                      P<sub>n</sub>                      Pron    P<sub>unf</sub>                      V<sub>adj</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      N<sub>lim</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 maiden    vocative    you    topic    beautiful    nominalizer    the most    declarative  
*lē*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 request for assent
- (6) : *chɔ-há-pā*                      *ò*                      ,      *nò*      *thô*      *dà?*                      *ve*                      *šwî?*  
 N                      P<sub>n</sub>                      Pron    Pron    P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      N<sub>lim</sub>  
 unmarried young man    vocative    you    you    mutual action    nominalizer    the most  
*yò*                      *ve*                      *nē*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative    nominalizer    emphatic
- (7) : *yâ-mî-há*      *ò*                      ,      *nò*      *qo*      *dà?*                      *ve*                      *pa-kè-pa-câ?*      *ō*                      *qhe-lē*  
 N                      P<sub>n</sub>                      Pron    P<sub>unf</sub>                      V<sub>adj</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      Elab<sub>n</sub>                      B<sub>n</sub>                      N<sub>ext</sub>  
 maiden    vocative    you    topic    beautiful    relativizer    sucker sp.    young one    like  
*yò*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (8) : *chɔ-há-pā*                      *ò*                      ,      *nò*      *qo*      *dà?*                      *ve*                      *á-pô-ō*                      *qhe*  
 N                      P<sub>n</sub>                      Pron    P<sub>unf</sub>                      V<sub>adj</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      N                      N<sub>ext</sub>  
 unmarried young man    vocative    you    topic    good    relativizer    young banana flower    like  
*yò*                      *lē*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative    request for assent

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(9)	<i>Lâhū</i>	<i>qa-mì</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>khô</i>	<i>pà</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>yò</i>	.
	N	V	P <sub>univ</sub>	N	V <sub>v</sub>	P <sub>univ</sub>	P <sub>uf</sub>	
	Lahu	sing	relativizer	word	finish V'ing	nominalizer	declarative	

### Translation

1. Now I'd like to sing a courtship song sung by the young girls and young men. Please listen!
2. Boy: Oh maid, when I don't see you my heat is so sad!
3. Girl: Oh youth, when I don't hear your voice, even my food is tasteless to me!
4. Boy: Oh maid, you are the fairest of them all!
5. Girl: Oh youth, you are also the handsomest of them all!
6. Boy: Oh maid, you are as beautiful as a young iridescent pá-kè-pa-câ!<sup>1</sup>
7. Girl: Oh youth, you are also as handsome as a young banana flower!
8. That's the end of this Lahu song.

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<sup>1</sup>A beautiful white fish that reflects rainbow hues. A kind of sucker, perhaps *Osteochilus hasselti*. See DL: 802.

### 13.4 Six traditional love-songs

- (1) *Singer* : *qa ve ð-l hâ? gâ lâ ?*  
 ? V P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 sing relativizer matter get desiderative yes
- (2) *Paul* : *yâ-ð*  
*yâ-ð* Interj  
 Interj yes!
- (3) *Singer* : *chi tê khi ð-qhe yâ-mî qa ve ð-po mâ hê?* .  
 . NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> N Adv + V  
 right now topicalizer woman sing relativizer sake not be the case
- (4) *hó-ghâ?* *ð-po lê* .  
 N N P<sub>uf</sub>  
 man sake request for assent
- (5) *qha-dê?* *na tã mē* .  
 AE V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 properly listen durative persuasive
- (6) *160a*  
*160a*  
*160a*
- (7) *tê mú pã-tî? ð-na nε cð ve yò* –  
 NP Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 in the northeast (poetic) you (used to a girl in love poetry) be there nominalizer declarative  
*aàa cê* ;  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative
- (8) *nε yâ-cð-yâ-ğû nε ha mâ*  
 Pron Elab<sub>n</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> Adv  
 you (used to a girl in love poetry) young man you (used to a girl in love poetry) with negative  
*pɔ qo – aàa* .  
 V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 arise if
- (9) *mâ-lɔ-šɔ-khê tê pè tho lâ a ni* –  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub>  
 lovers' conversation (poetic) one for mouthfuls of words tell benefactive (non-3p) try to  
*aàa* .
- (10) *Singer* : *qhe ġa vâ ve* .  
 . N<sub>ext</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 like get to act in a lively way nominalizer
- (11) *160b*  
*160b*  
*160b*

- (12) *Singer* : *le* *ɲà-hi* *tê pɔʔ* *qɔʔ* *te* .  
 . Conj Pron Q <sub>v</sub>V V  
 and we (pl) again V again do
- (13) *qhe-te-le* *yâ-mî-qêʔ* *khô* *qɔʔ* *na* *ve* *lê* , *tê pɔʔ* .  
 Conj N N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Q  
 thereupon woman word V again listen nominalizer request for assent now
- (14) *tê mû pā-qê ma hɔ* *yâ-cò* *yè* *tā* *ve* – *aà*  
 NP N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 in the southwest (poetic) lover faithful durative nominalizer
- (15) *yâ-cò-yâ-gû* *ne* *ha* *mâ* *pɔ* *qo* – *aà*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> Adv V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 young man woman with negative arise if
- (16) *yâ* *to* *khi* *chî* *le* *yâ* *to* *làʔ* *chî*  
 Pron M<sub>px</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron M<sub>px</sub> N V  
 your (masc., poetic) body foot lift up suspensive your (masc., poetic) body hand lift up  
*le*  
 P<sub>unf</sub>  
 suspensive
- (17) *pā-tɔʔ* *ɔ-na* *tê* *mû* *jî* *la* *lò* – *aà* .  
 N N<sub>loc</sub> Num N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 morning star above one country (poetic) dwell become imperative
- (18) *Singer* : *cê* .  
 . P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative
- (19) *chi* *yâ-mî-qêʔ* *ɔ-khô* *dàʔ* *ve* .  
 Det N N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 this woman sound beautiful nominalizer
- (20) ” *yô* *ge* *là-ʔ* ” *qôʔ* *ve* .  
 Pron P<sub>n</sub> V<sub>imp</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 her to come! say nominalizer
- (21) *tê* *gâ* *tê* *mû-mî* *chê* *ve* *lê* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 one for humans one for countries live nominalizer request for assent
- (22) 160c  
 160c  
 160c
- (23) *Singer* : *le* ” *šɔ-pɔ-šɔ-ni* ” *ve* *ɔ-lo* :  
 : Conj Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 and sometime soon genitivizer matter
- (24) *šɔ-pɔ-šɔ-ni* *gà* *e* *qo*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 sometime soon reach motion away when

Six traditional love-songs

- (25) *a-bê ú ní qá qhe ò lê*  
 N M<sub>px</sub> B<sub>n</sub> M<sub>px</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 abeh plant head red branch like affirmative (poetic) request for assent
- (26) *tê gã tē qá jê e ò l*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num M<sub>px</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 one for humans one branch dwell motion away completed action emphatic declarative
- (27) *chi mâ-nó khô .*  
 Det N N  
 this north country language
- (28) *yô-hi qa-mì pî ve tē yân thâ , ð-na-phô chê ve nê-á*  
 Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron  
 they sing benefactive (3p) relativizer when north live relativizer the two of us  
*š-p̄ qo tē kà qay ve lê .*  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 tomorrow when another for places go nominalizer request for assent
- (29) *phâ? dâ? ve .*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 separate mutual action nominalizer
- (30) *mâ gã mð dâ? ò .*  
 Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 negative get to see mutual action completed action
- (31) *chi yâ-mî-há qa pî ve yâ .*  
 Det N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 this unmarried young woman sing benefactive (3p) nominalizer emphatic
- (32) *tê gã tē mû-mì chê tã ve .*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 one for humans one country live durative nominalizer
- (33) *qhe-qo , nð chi tē khi qhà-qhe ve qð? hê tû ve*  
 Conj Pron NP<sub>q</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 so you right now how? nominalizer V also learn future nominalizer  
*le .*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 substantive qst
- (34) *qð? hê tû ve ð-l .*  
<sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 V also learn purposive relativizer matter
- (35) *na lâ ve cε tí lō ve yð .*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> + P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 ask benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer only need nominalizer declarative
- (36) *Paul : hý-qhâ? phô ve ê -*  
 - N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 man side genitivizer topicalizer
- (37) *Singer : hý-qhâ? phô ve yà?-šc qa ò .*  
 . N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 man side genitivizer quite recently sing completed action

- (38) *yà?-šɛ*            *thâ*    *ð-khí-pī*   *hś-qhâ?*   *phô*   *ve*            *na*    *ve*            .  
 Adv            P<sub>univ</sub>    N            N            M<sub>prfx</sub>   P<sub>univ</sub>            V            P<sub>univ</sub>  
 quite recently   when   first   man   side   nominalizer   listen   nominalizer
- (39) *160d*  
*160d*  
*160d*
- (40) *Cà-bī*            :   *Lâhū-ši-khô*                            *qa-mì-khô*   .  
 N<sub>pers</sub>                    N    N  
 male name            Yellow Lahu language   song
- (41) *tê pô?*   *te*    *ni*            *šā*            .  
 Q            V    V<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>v</sub>  
 now   perform (as a song)   try and V   intentional (1p)
- (42) *tê mū pà tō? ð-na*    *nɛ*    *cò*            *ve*  
 NP    Pron    V            P<sub>univ</sub>  
 in the northeast (poetic)   you (used to a girl in love poetry)   be there   nominalizer
- (43) *nɛ-cò-nɛ-ğū*            *yâ*    *chi*    *â*            *chê*            *qo*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub>                    N    Det    Adv            V            P<sub>unf</sub>  
 maiden (poetic)   young man   this   negative   be there   if
- (44) *mâ-l-šš-khô*    *à-pù*   *yâ*    *qa-jê*  
 N    N            Pron    V  
 lovers' conversation (poetic)   story   me (masc., poetic)   speak in song (poetic)  
*lâ*    *a ni*  
 P<sub>v</sub>    P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p)   try to
- (45) *Lâhū*    *à*  
 N    P<sub>v</sub>  
 Lahu girl (poetic)   asseverative
- (46) *160e*  
*160e*  
*160e*
- (47) *tê mū pà tō? ð-na*    *nɛ*    *chê*   *ve*    *ò*  
 NP    Pron    V    P<sub>univ</sub>    P<sub>v</sub>  
 in the northeast (poetic)   you (used to a girl in love poetry)   live   nominalizer   completed action
- (48) *ma*   ,   *nɛ-cò-nɛ-ğū*            *yâ*    *chi*    *â*            *chê*            *qo*  
 M<sub>prfx</sub>            Elab<sub>n</sub>    N    Det    Adv            V            P<sub>unf</sub>  
 girl   maiden (poetic)   young man   this   negative   be there   if
- (49) *mâ-l-šš-khô*    *à-pù*   *yâ*    *qa-jê*    *nī*  
 N    N            Pron    V    V<sub>v</sub>  
 lovers' conversation (poetic)   story   me (masc., poetic)   speak in song (poetic)   try and V  
*lò*  
 P<sub>v</sub>  
 imperative
- (50) *mâ dâ?*    *Lâhū*            *mâ*            *te*   *ve*    *ò*            .  
 Adv + V    N    Adv    V    P<sub>univ</sub>    P<sub>v</sub>  
 not pretty   Lahu boy   negative   do   nominalizer   would be

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- (51) *Cà-bî* : *Lâhū-šî qa-mî ve chi*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Eth N P<sub>univ</sub> Det  
 male name Yellow Lahu song (poetic) nominalizer this
- (52) *Paul* : *kâ jɔ ɔ , qhe ve lê* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 hear experiential affirmative like genitivizer topic
- (53) *Cà-bî* : *kâ jɔ lâ* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name hear experiential yes
- (54) *Cà-bo* : *âa , ð-khô dâ? jâ nē* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Interj N V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 male name well! sound beautiful very emphatic
- (55) *Cà-bî* : *tê pɔ? te ni a šā* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Q V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 male name again perform (as a song) try and V intentive intentional (1p)
- (56) *a-cí-cí ê* .  
 Adv P<sub>n</sub>  
 a little only
- (57) *qha te jɔ ā ve* .  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 all perform (as a song) experiential durative relativizer
- (58) *Cà-bo* : *tê hó pð tê hó qha-dê? te èè , qha na ša-ša*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> B<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> AE V V Adv V+V<sub>v</sub>  
 male name one for kinds after one for kinds properly do do very sound beautiful  
*te ê? nē* .  
 V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 do do emphatic
- (59) *Cà-bî* : *tê pɔ? ŋà-hi Lâhū-khô qð? te* –  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Q Pron N V<sub>v</sub> V  
 male name again we (pl) Lahu language V again perform (as a song)  
*Lâhū-nâ?-khô* .  
 N  
 Black Lahu language
- (60) *160g*  
*160g*  
*160g*
- (61) *yà?-ni* – *âa , mâ cð šē lo* –  
 N<sub>time</sub> Interj Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 today er negative be right yet emphatic declarative
- (62) *yà?-pí pí dâ? tê há*  
 N<sub>time</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 tonight evening (poetic) good one for nights
- (63) *le yà?-ni ni dâ? tê ni è lo*  
 Conj N<sub>time</sub> M<sub>px</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 and today day good one for days only locative



- (64) *jê-dâ?-jê-ni*      *ê?*                      *lò*  
 Elab<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>                                      P<sub>v</sub>  
 talk things over talk things over imperative
- (65) *tho-gâ-tho-ni*                                      *ê?*                                      *lò*  
 Elab<sub>v</sub>                                      P<sub>uf</sub>                                      P<sub>v</sub>  
 what you wish to say (poetic) what you wish to say (poetic) imperative
- (66) *tê mù pà tî? ò-na*                      *nε*                                      *cò*                      *ve*  
 NP                                      Pron                                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>  
 in the northeast (poetic) you (used to a girl in love poetry) be there nominalizer
- (67) *à-mù*      *pā*                      *phû?*                      *qò?*                      *e*                      *thâ*      *jê*  
 Conj      N                      V                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>      V  
 some day morning star turn around come back motion away when talk over  
*lâ*                                      *qo*  
 P<sub>v</sub>                                      P<sub>unf</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p) if
- (68) *jê*      *gâ*                      *jê*                      *mâ*      *mi*                      *tho* *gâ*                      *tho* *mâ*  
 V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      V                      Adv      C<sub>r</sub>                      V      P<sub>v</sub>                      V      Adv  
 talk over desiderative talk over negative succeed in doing tell desiderative tell negative  
*mi*                                      *mē*                      .  
 C<sub>r</sub>                                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 succeed in doing persuasive
- (69) *lô-ni-yâ*                                      *ve*                      *tho* *lâ*                                      *qo*  
 N                                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      V      P<sub>v</sub>                                      P<sub>unf</sub>  
 when the moon shines genitivizer tell benefactive (non-3p) when
- (70) *lô-ni-yâ*                                      *ve*                      *thî*                      *la*                      *qo*  
 N                                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>  
 when the moon shines genitivizer be dawn become when
- (71) *a-bê*                      *ú*      *ní*      *qá*      *qhe*      *ê?*      *lê*  
 N                      M<sub>px</sub>      B<sub>n</sub>      M<sub>px</sub>      N<sub>ext</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 abeh plant head red branch like like request for assent
- (72) *tê*      *gâ*                      *tê*      *qá*                      *jî*      *e*                      *è*      *yò*  
 Num      Cl<sub>f</sub>                      Num      Cl<sub>f</sub>                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>n</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 one for humans one for branches dwell motion away only declarative
- (73) *cê*                      *Lâhû*                                      *à*                      .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>                      N                                      P<sub>v</sub>  
 quotative Lahu girl (poetic) asseverative
- (74) *audience* : *alôo* !  
 !                      Interj  
 wow!

## Translation

1. Singer: Would you like to get some songs?
2. P: Sure!
3. Singer: This time it's not a song for the girls to sing. It's for the guys. Please give a listen!

Six traditional love-songs

---

160a.

4. Oh maiden who dwells above the morning star<sup>1</sup> — ah!

5. If perchance you have<sup>2</sup> no lover — ah!

6. Please let me speak a few sweet words to you — ah!

Singer: That's how he goes at it.

160b.

7. Singer: And let's do it again. So this time let's listen to what the girl says.

8. Oh faithful lover who has dwelled beneath the evening star<sup>3</sup> — ah!

9. If perchance you have no mistress — ah!

10. Lift up your body's feet, lift up your body's hands,

11. And come sojourn in the land to the north of the east — ah!

12. Singer: That's what they say. These are the nice words of the woman. "Come to her," she's saying. They live in separate places, you see.

160c.

13. Singer: And now the song "Sometime Soon":

14. Before too long a time has passed

15. We shall be, shall we not, like the red-headed a-bê branch!<sup>4</sup>

16. Each branch going off to dwell in a different place!

17. Singer: This is a North-country dialect.

18. At the time they're singing about, the two of them<sup>5</sup> are both living in the north, but in the future each of them is going to a different place.

19. They're separating. They won't get to see each other again.

20. This is what the young woman sings. They'll each be living in a separate land.

21. So then, what sort of thing would you still like to learn now? The things you'd still like to learn?

22. You just have to ask.

23. P: As for what the man's side is —

24. Singer: I just sang the man's side already. You just heard the man's side a while ago.

160d.

25. Cà-bî (the newly appointed headman): A Yellow Lahu song. I'll try doing it now: [*laughs*]

26. In a land to the north of the east you dwell

27. Maid, if perchance you have no {suitor/lover/man}

---

<sup>1</sup>This song is appropriate when a girl from the north comes visiting to the south. **tê mû pã-tã? ð-na**: lit. "one-sky-morning.star-above", i.e. to the north of where the morning star appears, i.e. the northeast.

<sup>2</sup>An informant translated this particle **ha** into ordinary Lahu as the comitative particle **ge** 'with/for'.

<sup>3</sup>**tê mû pã-qè ma h́**: lit. "one-sky-evening.star-below", i.e. to the south of where the evening star sets, i.e. the southwest.

<sup>4</sup>The **a-bê** plant is used to strengthen cotton thread after it is spun. When young, the fruits are on twigs growing close together. As the plant matures, the twigs open up, like loves separating.

<sup>5</sup>The speaker says "the two of us", placing himself in the perspective of the woman in the song.

28. Please try singing to me with words of love.
29. Oh, you Lahu [maiden]!
- 160e.
30. Cà-bî: In a land to the north of the east you have dwelled!
31. Maid, if perchance you have no suitor
32. Please try singing to me with words of love!
33. Were you not fair this Lahu would not court you.
34. Cà-bî: This is a Yellow Lahu song. [*laughs*]
35. P: We've heard that one already.<sup>6</sup>
36. Cà-bî: You've heard it?
37. T: Well, you've got a very good voice!
38. Cà-bî: I'll try it again. Just a little bit. All the ones I've done.<sup>7</sup>
39. T: Do it well, one song after the other. Do it as prettily as you can!
40. Now I'll do another one in Lahu — In Black Lahu.
- 160f. unusable
- 160g.
1. Today — er, that's not right yet! —
  2. Tonight in the best of all nights
  3. And today in the best of all days!
  4. Let's talk everything over and see!
  5. Say whatever you want to say!
  6. In the north of the east<sup>8</sup> a maiden lives
  7. Even if I were to talk to you until the morning star turns around backwards
  8. I could never say<sup>9</sup> to you all I want to say; I could never tell you all I want to tell.<sup>10</sup>
  9. If I tell you when the moon is shining
  10. If the dawn breaks when the moon is shining
  11. We shall be, shall we not, like the red-headed a-bê branch
  12. Each of us will go our separate ways.
  13. Is it not so, O Lahu [maid]!
  14. [the audience]: Wow!
- 160h. -j unusable

<sup>6</sup>Indeed, the first three lines are almost identical to 160d.

<sup>7</sup>I.e., I won't mess up the words.

<sup>8</sup>Cf. *p̄ā-t̄s̄?* 'morning star'.

<sup>9</sup>*j̄è mā mi*, lit. 'discuss-not-catch'.

<sup>10</sup>Lit. 'tell-not-catch'

## **14 Modern secular songs**

## 14.1 Two modern love-songs

- (1) *lî?-he-kwân tê pwê? te mā lâ*  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 song one for songs perform (as a song) show by V'ing benefactive (non-3p)  
*šā mē*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 intentional (1p) emphatic
- (2) *qha-dê? na-?*  
 AE V<sub>imp</sub>  
 properly listen!
- (3) *ôo , dà? jâ ve ġî-po ð-pâ lo gâ lē*  
 Interj V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 oh! beautiful very relativizer lake nearby locative reach suspensive
- (4) *ŋà hà? ve chē-kì thâ? ŋà mð ve*  
 Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 I love relativizer dwelling place accusative I see nominalizer
- (5) *mû-cha é ší-vê? é phû dà? kî lo*  
 N M<sub>px</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 sunlight little flowers little meet mutual action locative locative
- (6) *ŋà tê ġâ tê ġâ chē tã ve yð*  
 Pron NP<sub>q</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 I utterly alone stay durative nominalizer declarative
- (7) *pð ð*  
 V P<sub>v</sub>  
 be completed completed action
- (8) *vî kî lo nð ca chē qay thô ŋà thâ? lē nð*  
 V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron  
 far locative locative you go and do live go off to V even me accusative topic you  
*tâ lð mē !*  
 Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative imperative forget emphatic
- (9) *nò ð-kā-ð-nu ð-chô mð thô , qð? mð-dà?-phû-dà? thâ qha-gà Ğî-ša*  
 N Elab<sub>n</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> vV Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> N  
 my dear elsewhere friend find even V again meet each other when until God  
*bo nð qhò cð pî !*  
 N Pron N<sub>loc</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 grace (X'n) you upon be there optative
- (10) *hà? ve ð-chô , nò ð !*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> N N P<sub>n</sub>  
 love relativizer friend my dear vocative

### Translation

- I'll just sing a song for you now.
- Please listen well!

Two modern love-songs

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*Song #1*

3. Oh, I've reached the banks of a beautiful lake,
4. And I can see the dwelling place I love
5. Where rays of sun and little flowers meet.
6. I am still all, all alone.

[7 That's it.]

*Song #2*

8. Even if you go live far away, please do not forget me!
9. My dear, even if you should find a friend elsewhere, may God's grace be upon you until we meet again!
10. My beloved friend, my dear!

## 14.2 Alas, we must part

- (1) *chi-bəʔ nə-hi tɛ khi ɡa pɦaʔ dɑʔ* .  
 N<sub>time</sub> Pron Q <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub>  
 now we (pl) for a while must separate mutual action
- (2) *yàʔ-qɦa ʔ-chɦ ̀ , ni-ma tɦ lù !*  
 Conj N P<sub>n</sub> N Adv V  
 however friend vocative heart negative imperative sad
- (3) *dɦ-nd ɛ nɛ vɦn yàʔ la ve*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 miss (smn) suspensive I (used by girl in love poetry) town go down come to V nominalizer  
*qo* ,  
 P<sub>unf</sub>  
 when
- (4) *pɦa-cèʔ v̀ fə dɑʔ tɦ ɛ chɦ m̄ !*  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 handkerchief buy send mutual action perfective suspensive stay emphatic
- (5) *ʔ-chɦ ̀ , qay yò , qay yò !*  
 N P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 friend completed action go declarative go declarative
- (6) *làʔ-q̄ cá dɑʔ l̀ !*  
 OV P<sub>v</sub>  
 join hands in marriage urging

### Translation

1. Now we must separate for a while.
2. But do not be sad, my friend!
3. Missing you, when I get down to the town, the handkerchief you bought for me to take<sup>1</sup> will stay with me!
4. My friend, I'm going, indeed I'm going!
5. Let us get married!

<sup>1</sup>*v̀ fə dɑʔ tɦ* Vh-Vv-Vv-Pv “buy-send-mutual-perfective”. Evidently they had each bought each other (*dɑʔ*) a handkerchief as a keepsake.

### 14.3 Granny gets smeared with mud

- (1) *ð-ví-ð-ni tē ġī ò , qa-mì-khō é chi tē mà lē ” a-pi-qu*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> Q P<sub>n</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 brethren pluralizer vocative song little this one for things topic grandmother  
*jè?-nē? né ve ” ð-l qa-mì-khō é tē mà phē?*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> N N M<sub>px</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V  
 mud smeared with relativizer about song little one for things be sthg  
*ve yò .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (2) *na tā šē .*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 listen durative still
- (3) *qa mā lâ šā .*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 sing show by V'ing benefactive (non-3p) intentional (1p)
- (4) *a-pi-qu jè?-nē? né ve qa-mì-khō :*  
 N N V P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 grandmother mud smeared with relativizer song
- (5) *mū-yè là ò , a-pi ò .*  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 rain come change of state grandmother vocative
- (6) *mū-yè là ve nð â mð lē-lâ ?*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 rain come nominalizer you negative see yes
- (7) *lō-pū-mō yō thā? qō? ve , ” tā qay mē ,*  
 N Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 old grandpa her accusative say nominalizer negative imperative go persuasive  
*a-pi cō?-qō?-ma ò ”!*  
 N N P<sub>n</sub>  
 old woman hunchbacked woman vocative
- (8) *a-pi-qu mâ na lē , kō-cá lo qay lē ,*  
 N Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 grandmother negative listen suspensive veranda locative go suspensive  
*cà-šī thā? ca gā?-hú qay ve yò*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 unhusked rice accusative go and do spread out for drying go off to V nominalizer declarative  
 .
- (9) *khi nā?-lē? lē , jè?-nē? ð-qhō ce ve .*  
 N V P<sub>unf</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 leg slip suspensive mud into fall (from a height) nominalizer



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(10)	<i>tê</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>jè?-nê?</i>	<i>tí</i>	<i>phè?</i>	<i>šē</i>	<i>ò</i>	.
	Num	Cl <sub>f</sub>	P <sub>univ</sub>	N	P <sub>univ</sub>	V	P <sub>v</sub>	P <sub>v</sub>	
	the whole	for bodies	genitivizer	mud	only	become	regrettably	completed	action
(11)	<i>a-pi</i>	<i>qhâ</i>	<i>ve</i>	, "	<i>a-la-la-ô?</i>	, <i>a-la-la-ô?</i>	, <i>a-la-ī</i>	!"	
	N	V	P <sub>univ</sub>		Interj	Interj	Interj		
	grandmother	cry out	nominalizer		alas and alack!	alas and alack!	woe is me!		

## Translation

< a modern song >

1. Brothers and sisters! This little song is about how “Granny gets smeared with mud”—it’s just a little song.
  2. Listen up now! I’m going to sing!
- SINGS:
3. “Grandma gets smeared with mud”:
  4. It’s raining now, Grandma!
  5. Don’t you see that it’s raining?
  6. Old grandpa said to her, “Don’t go anywhere, you hunchbacked old woman!”
  7. Grandma didn’t listen, and went out onto the veranda to scratch apart some rice grains for drying.
  8. She slipped and fell down into the mud.<sup>1</sup>
  9. Her whole body was covered in mud.<sup>2</sup>
  10. Grandma cried, “Alas, alas, and woe is me!”<sup>3</sup>
- 

<sup>1</sup>The split bamboo floor of the veranda often buckles under one’s weight if a false step is made, resulting in a slow descent into the mud under the house. (This happened to the author one morning in 1965, as he was brushing his teeth on Cà-bo’s veranda. Trying not to laugh, Cà-bo led me to the stream to wash off.)

<sup>2</sup>*jè?-né tí phè? šē-ò*: lit. “became only mud unfortunately.”

<sup>3</sup>*a-la-la-ô?, a-la-la-ô?, a-la-ī!*

## 14.4 Getting older

- (1) *qa-mì-khō é tē mà qa šā* .  
 N M<sub>prfx</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 song little one for things sing intentional (1p)
- (2) *ηà lē mō la pə lē*  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 I topic old (of living things) become V already because
- (3) *qhà-thā? tē yān šī tū nā a*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 at any time die future could well happen emphatic
- (4) *ηà lē mō la pə lē*  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 I suspensive old (of living things) become finish V'ing because
- (5) *nə à? ̄-chī mē-mē cā gā cà?* .  
 Pron P<sub>n</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 you accusative curry delicious feed desiderative very much
- (6) *pə ò ve yò* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be completed completed action nominalizer declarative

### Translation

1. I'll just sing a little song:
2. Since I have become so old
3. I could likely die at any time.
4. Since I've become so old
5. I very much want to feed you delicious food!
6. That's the end.

## 14.5 Frère Jacques

- (1) *a-ví-pā*      *ò*                      , *a-ví-pā*      *ò*                      ,  
 N                      P<sub>n</sub>                                      N                      P<sub>n</sub>  
 elder brother    vocative    elder brother    vocative
- (2) *yì?*      *ša*                      *lâ*      , *yì?*      *ša*                      *lâ*      ?  
 V      V<sub>v</sub>                                      P<sub>uf</sub>      V      V<sub>v</sub>                                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 sleep    pleasant to V    yes    sleep    pleasant to V    yes
- (3) *nò*      *lê*      *chɔ-bɔ̄-pā*    *yò*                      , *nò*      *lê*      *chɔ-bɔ̄-pā*    *yò*                      !  
 Pron    P<sub>unf</sub>      N                      P<sub>uf</sub>                                      Pron    P<sub>unf</sub>      N                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 you    topic    lazy man    declarative    you    topic    lazy man    declarative
- (4) *hâ?*      *tu*                                      *lò*                      , *hâ?*      *tu*                                      *lò*                      !  
 Adv      V                                      P<sub>v</sub>                                      Adv      V                                      P<sub>v</sub>  
 quickly    get up from sleep    urging    quickly    get up from sleep    urging

### Translation

1. Older brother, older brother!
2. Enjoying your sleep? Enjoying your sleep?
3. You're a lazybones, you're a lazybones!
4. Hurry and get up, hurry and get up!

This traditional round was translated into Lahu by the author in 1966, and was quickly learned by the villagers in Huey Tat, who sang it with great enjoyment.

The meaning of frère 'brother' in the original refers to a monastic brother, here simply translated "elder brother".

## **15 Christian hymns and Bible readings**

## 15.1 Bible reading (Mark I: 1-17)

- (1) *lî?phu ġo ve Mākû? lî?*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> N  
 Bible read nominalizer male name book
- (2) *Ġî-ša ve Yâ-phu Yēšû? Khî? ve ha-lê ve bon-khô ð-khî-pî*  
 N P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>prop</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> RC N  
 God genitivizer Jesus Christ the Son of God genitivizer gospel first
- (3) *Ġî-ša ve ci-kā-pā Íšāyâ? lî?-dɔ ð-qhɔ bù? tā ve qhe :*  
 N P<sub>univ</sub> N N<sub>pers</sub> N N<sub>time</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub>  
 God genitivizer prophet Isaiah scroll in write perfective nominalizer nominalizer  
 " *ni lò .*  
 V P<sub>v</sub>  
 look at urging
- (4) *nð ve mē?-phú ð-ġû-šî ñà ve ci-yâ tê ġâ*  
 Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 you genitivizer face in front of I genitivizer messenger one for humans  
*thà? ñà pə qay ve ... yô ɔ nð ve yà?-qɔ*  
 P<sub>n</sub> Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> ... Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 for humans I send continue V'ing nominalizer He topic you genitivizer way  
*thà? gu pî tù yò "*  
 P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 way prepare benefactive (3p) future declarative
- (5) *hē?-pí-qhɔ lo tê ġâ kù chē ve ð-khô ɔ : " Jô-mô*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 wildness locative one for humans call continuous relativizer sound topic Jesus  
*ve yà?-qɔ thà? gu tā ò?*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 genitivizer way way prepare durative hortatory
- (6) *yô ve yà?-qɔ-qhâ tê phâ thà? thé lē te ò? mē "*  
 Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N Q P<sub>n</sub> AE<sub>stat</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 he genitivizer path pluralizer pluralizer straight make make persuasive
- (7) *Yôhàn í-kâ? tū šē-phâ hē?-pí-qhɔ lo tɔ? la lɛ ,*  
 N N<sub>spec</sub> + V P<sub>v-nom</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 John baptize agentive nominalizer wilderness locative come out become suspensive  
*vên-bâ? pòn tù ð-pon vên-bâ? thà? qò? dɔ-šî-dɔ-phú? tù*  
 N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> N N P<sub>n</sub> vV Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub>  
 sin forgive purposive for N's sake sin sin V again repent purposive  
*ve thà? cá dâ? ve í-kâ? tū ve ð-lî-ð-lɔn bon mā*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>spec</sub> + V P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> OV  
 nominalizer nominalizer relate relativizer baptize relativizer custom preach  
*pî ve yò .*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (3p) nominalizer nominalizer
- (8) *pə-le , Yûdâ? mì-gì chɔ qhə-pə-è lɛ Yēlû?šālēn vên chɔ*  
 Conj N<sub>pers</sub> N N AE P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>place</sub> N N  
 then male name earth human being all and Jerusalem town human being

- qha-pà-è* , *yô lo qay pà ve lɛ a-šu vên-bâ? thà?*  
 AE Pron P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N P<sub>n</sub>  
 all he locative go finish V'ing nominalizer suspensive everybody sin sin
- tho-pôn šē lɛ , yô-hi thà? Yôdân-gî-ma ô-qhɔ í-kâ? tū pî*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>place</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> N<sub>spec</sub> + V V<sub>v</sub>  
 admit first suspensive they they River Jordan inside baptize benefactive (3p)
- ve yò*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer nominalizer
- (9) *Yôhân ̄ kālā-û? ô-mu vâ?-de tã lɛ , yô ve cò?-cē-ni lo*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> N N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 John topic camel hair wear durative suspensive he genitivizer waist locative
- šā-gî hā-pi-câ? çî? tã pà lɛ , pá-cê? lɛ hê?-pî-qhɔ*  
 N N V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Conj N  
 animal-skin belt fasten durative finish V'ing suspensive locust and wilderness
- ve pē-gî câ ve yò*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 genitivizer honey eat nominalizer nominalizer
- (10) *yô bon m̄ lɛ qô? ve : " ñà a-ké ĩ ve tē*  
 Pron OV P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N<sub>ext</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Num  
 he preach suspensive say nominalizer I more than big relativizer one
- ğâ ñà ô-qhò?-nó là tū yò*  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> Pron N<sub>time</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 for humans I later than come future future
- (11) *yô ve khí-nû?-câ? cɛ kà? ñà qò? lè? te lɛ phi*  
 Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron AE<sub>stat</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V  
 he genitivizer shoelaces extensive even I stooping down do suspensive untie
- mâ kân šē ɔ*  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative worthy of yet affirmative
- (12) *ñà ̄ nò-hi thà? í-kâ? ô-qhɔ lo í-kâ? tū pî ve*  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>spec</sub> + V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 I topic you (pl) you (pl) water inside locative baptize benefactive (3p) nominalizer
- (13) *yà?-qhâ yô ̄ nò-hi thà? dà?-kè ve ô-ha-phu ô-qhɔ lo í-kâ?*  
 Conj Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N  
 but he topic you (pl) you (pl) holy relativizer Holy Spirit inside locative water
- tū pî tū yò*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 baptize (X'n) benefactive (3p) future future
- (14) *ô-ni ô-ve tē phā ô-qhɔ lo Yēšû? Gālilê mî-gî Nāšalê? vên qhɔ*  
 N Det Q N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> N<sub>place</sub> N N<sub>place</sub> N M<sub>px</sub>  
 day that pluralizer while locative Jesus Galilee country Nazareth town inside
- tu la lɛ , Yôdân-gî ô-qhɔ lo Yôhân yô thà? í-kâ? tū*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>place</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N Pron P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>spec</sub> + V  
 set out from become suspensive River Jordan inside locative John he he baptize

- pî* *ve* *yò*  
*V<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 benefactive (3p) nominalizer nominalizer
- (15) *pà-le* , *yô* *thà?* *tê-cɔ-há* *mû-nɔ-ma* *phɔ* *bà* *le* , *ð-ha-phu* *á-pi-qā* *qhe*  
 Conj Pron P<sub>n</sub> AE N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N NP<sub>ext</sub>  
 then he he suddenly heavens open away suspensive Holy Spirit dove dove  
*yô* *ð-qhò?* *lo* *yà?* *la* *ve* *thà?* *yô* *gā* *mò*  
 Pron N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron <sub>v</sub>V V  
 he above locative descend become nominalizer nominalizer he get to see  
*ve* *yò*  
*P<sub>univ</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 nominalizer nominalizer
- (16) *pà-le* , *mû-nɔ-ma* *qhɔ* *ð-khò* *bù* *tô?* *la* *le* *qô?* *ve* :  
 Conj N M<sub>px</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 then heavens inside voice make a sound V out become suspensive say nominalizer  
 " *nò* *ɔ* *ɲà* *hà?* *jā* *ve* *Yā-phu* *yò* .  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>uf</sub>  
 you topic I love very relativizer Son of God (X'n) Son of God (X'n)
- (17) *nò* *thà?* *ɲà* *ni-qhā* *qha-dê?* *cô* *ve* *yò* "  
 Pron P<sub>n</sub> Pron N AE V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 you you I viewpoint properly find favor with nominalizer declarative  
*tê?* *qô?* *ve* *yò* .  
 QUOT V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 embedded quote say nominalizer declarative
- (18) *tê-cɔ-há* *ð-ha-phu* *yô* *thà?* *hê?-pí-qhɔ* *lo* *gà?* *pə* *qay*  
 AE N Pron P<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 suddenly Holy Spirit he accusative wilderness locative hunt send smn to V V away  
*ve* *yò*  
*P<sub>univ</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 nominalizer nominalizer
- (19) *yô* *hê?-pí-qhɔ* *lo* *ɔ* *chi* *ni* *gā* *chê* *le* , *Šātān* *bè*  
 Pron N P<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>prop</sub> V  
 he wilderness locative forty for days manage to live suspensive Satan tempt  
*ve* *thà?* *gā* *khān* *pə* *le* , *hê?-pí-qhɔ* *lo*  
*P<sub>univ</sub>* *P<sub>n</sub>* <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 nominalizer accusative must endure finish V'ing finish V'ing wilderness locative  
*to-nû-to-šā?* *tê phā* *ge* *yô* *gā* *chê* *le* , *mû-nɔ-ma* *ci-yā*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> Q P<sub>n</sub> Pron <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 animals and creatures pluralizer with he must live suspensive angel  
*tê phā* *yô* *ð-pon* *gā-te-gā-ga* *pî* *ve*  
 Q Pron N Elab<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 pluralizer he for N's sake did all they could to help benefactive (3p) nominalizer  
*yò* .  
*P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 nominalizer
- (20) *Yòhàn* *thà?* *thɔn* *ð-qhɔ* *yù* *kə* *pə* *ve* *qhò?-nó* *Yēšú?*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> M<sub>px</sub> N<sub>pers</sub>  
 John John prison inside take and V sthg put into finish V'ing relativizer after Jesus

- Gālilê mî-gî lo tu la lɛ , Ğî-ša ve ha-lê ve bon-khô*  
 N<sub>place</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> RC  
 Galilee earth locative set out from become become God genitivizer gospel  
*mā-pî-šê?-pî lɛ qô? ve : ” ð-yân bî la pà*  
 Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 teach and instruct suspensive say nominalizer time fulfill become finish V'ing
- (21) *Ğî-ša ve mû-mî gâ la pâ-nê pà mē*  
 N<sub>poss</sub> + ve V P<sub>v</sub> M<sub>prfx</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 kingdom of God (X'n) reach become near finish V'ing finish V'ing
- (22) *vên-bâ? thà? qô? dî-šî qô? dî-phû? lɛ ,*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> vV V vV V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 sin accusative keep on V'ing know what is right keep on V'ing repent repent  
*ha-lê ve bon-khî-šî-ñ-khî thà? yôn ô? .”*  
 RC P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 gospel accusative believe hortatory
- (23) *Gālilê lâ-chî-ğî-pû pâ lo qay chê ve tê*  
 N<sub>place</sub> N M<sub>prfx</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Num  
 Galilee shore of lake nearby place locative go continuous relativizer one  
*yân thâ , yô Šîmôn lɛ yô ve ð-ni-pâ*  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 for periods of time when he male name male name he genitivizer younger brother  
*Āndālê lâ-chî-ğî-po ð-qhɔ lo gô? phê chê ve thà?*  
 N N N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 Andrew lake inside locative net cast (as a net) continuous nominalizer accusative  
*ğâ mò ve yò*  
 vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 get to see nominalizer declarative
- (24) *ð-lɔn qo lɛ , yô-hî-mâ ɔ ñâ-ca-šê-phâ tê phâ yò*  
 NP P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> Q P<sub>uf</sub>  
 the thing is topic they (dual) topic fisherman pluralizer declarative
- (25) *pà-le , Yēšû? yô-hî-mâ thà? ” ñâ qhâ-šî là ô?*  
 Conj N<sub>pers</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> Pron M<sub>prfx</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 then Jesus they (dual) accusative I along come hortatory
- (26) *ñâ ɔ-qhe nð-hî-mâ thà? chɔ ca šê-phâ phê? ci tù*  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 I topicalizer you (dual) accusative fisher of men be (a certain way) causative future  
*yò ” tē? qô? pî ve yò*  
 P<sub>uf</sub> QUOT V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 future embedded quote say benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative

## Translation

1. The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God;
2. As it is written in the prophets, Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, which shall prepare thy way before thee.
3. The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight.



4. John did baptize in the wilderness, and preach the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins.
5. And there went out unto him all the land of Judea, and they of Jerusalem, and were all baptized of him in the river of Jordan, confessing their sins.
6. And John was clothed with camel's hair, and with a girdle of a skin about his loins; and he did eat locusts and wild honey;
7. And preached, saying, There cometh one mightier than I after me, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to stoop down and unloose.
8. I indeed have baptized you with water: but he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost.
9. And it came to pass in those days, that Jesus came from Nazareth of Galilee, and was baptized of John in Jordan.
10. And straightway coming up out of the water, he saw the heavens opened, and the Spirit like a dove descending upon him:
11. And there came a voice from heaven, saying, Thou art my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.
12. And immediately the Spirit driveth him into the wilderness.
13. And he was there in the wilderness forty days tempted of Satan; and was with the wild beasts; and the angels ministered unto him.
14. Now after that John was put in prison, Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the gospel of the kingdom of God,
15. And saying, The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye, and believe the gospel.
16. Now as he walked by the sea of Galilee, he saw Simon and Andrew his brother casting a net into the sea: for they were fishers.
17. And Jesus said unto them, Come yet after me, and I will make you to become fishers of men.

## 15.2 Bible reading (I Corinthians XIII: 1-13)

- (1) *ηὰ λὲ cho-yâ ve t̄s-kh̄ le m̄u-nɔ-ma ci-yâ ve t̄s-kh̄ yɔ*  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> N V  
 I topic human nominalizer words or angel genitivizer words speak  
*pí ve th̄ , hà?-pên ve mâ cò qo , bo-lo-qō*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 able to V nominalizer even though love nominalizer negative be there if gong  
*d̄s? ve ð-kh̄ le š̄n h̄e? ve ð-kh̄ qhe-cɛ ηὰ ph̄e?*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> N AE Pron V  
 strike nominalizer sound or symbol scrape nominalizer sound only I able to  
*ve yò .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (2) *ηὰ bon mā pí ve mâ qō? , fá t̄a ve qha-p̄-è le c̄u-yī*  
 Pron OV V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv + V RC AE P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 I preach able to V nominalizer whether sthg hidden all or knowledge  
*qha-p̄-è th̄a? ηὰ š̄i ve mâ qō? , qh̄ t̄e ph̄a th̄a?*  
 AE P<sub>n</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv + V N Q P<sub>n</sub>  
 all accusative I know nominalizer whether mountain pluralizer accusative  
*j̄? qay ġa t̄u yōn ve ni-ma qha bī cò ve*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N AE V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 move V away be able irrealis believe nominalizer heart completely be there nominalizer  
*m̄a qō? , hà?-pên ve mâ cò qo , ηὰ t̄e?-chí ð-bon mâ*  
 Adv + V V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Adv N Adv  
 whether love nominalizer negative be there if I nothing advantage negative  
*c̄u .*  
 V  
 be there
- (3) *ηὰ ve m̄-j̄ qha-p̄-è š̄u th̄a? p̄-ē-p̄-t̄n-p̄i le , ηὰ ð-to*  
 Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N AE Pron P<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron  
 I nominalizer property all others accusative share with and offer or myself  
*th̄a? k̄a? à-mī t̄u-t̄n p̄i ve th̄*  
 P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 accusative also fire make a burnt offering benefactive (3p) nominalizer even though  
*h̄a?-pên ve mâ cò qo , ηὰ t̄e?-chí ð-bon mâ ġa .*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Adv N Adv V  
 love nominalizer negative be there if I nothing advantage negative get
- (4) *h̄a?-pên ve λ̄ , d̄s-ȳ-ġa-ȳ le h̄a?-qá pí ve*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 love nominalizer topic think deeply suspensive take pity on prone to V nominalizer  
*yò .*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (5) *h̄a?-pên ve λ̄ mâ khw̄é pí , mâ c̄a?-m̄ pí ,*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub>  
 love nominalizer topic negative jealous prone to V negative be arrogant prone to V

- ni-ma* *ĕ-ve-mu-ve* *mâ* *cò* .  
 N *Elab<sub>v</sub>* Adv V  
 heart haughty and arrogant negative be there
- (6) *hà?-pên* *ve* *lê* , *mâ-šš-mâ-câ?* *mâ* *te* *pí* , *a-šú-yô*  
 V *P<sub>univ</sub>* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *Elab<sub>adv</sub>* Adv V *V<sub>v</sub>* Pron  
 love nominalizer topic in a disrespectful way negative act as prone to V one's own  
*ò-to* *ò-pon* *mâ* *ca* *pí* , *ni-ma* *mâ* *yî?* *pí* , *šú*  
 N N Adv V *V<sub>v</sub>* N Adv V *V<sub>v</sub>* Pron  
 self sake negative seek prone to V heart negative be angry prone to V others  
*ò-ghô?* *vên-bâ?* *mâ* *tā* *pí* .  
*N<sub>loc</sub>* N Adv V *V<sub>v</sub>*  
 on top of sin negative place prone to V
- (7) *hà?-pên* *ve* *lê* , *mâ-thê-mâ-cô* *ve* *ò-gho* *lo* *mâ* *ha-lê*  
 V *P<sub>univ</sub>* *P<sub>unf</sub>* *Elab<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *N<sub>loc</sub>* *P<sub>n</sub>* Adv *V<sub>adj</sub>*  
 love nominalizer topic dishonest nominalizer amongst locative negative happy  
*pí* .  
*V<sub>v</sub>*  
 prone to V
- (8) *yà?-qhâ* *thê-ve-cô-ve* *ò-gho* *lo* *ha-lê* *pí* *ve* *yò* .  
 Conj *Elab<sub>v</sub>* *N<sub>loc</sub>* *P<sub>n</sub>* *V<sub>adj</sub>* *V<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 but righteous amongst locative happy prone to V nominalizer declarative
- (9) *hà?-pên* *ve* *lê* *qha-pà-è* *thâ?* *khān* *pí* *ve* , *qha-pà-è*  
 V *P<sub>univ</sub>* *P<sub>unf</sub>* AE *P<sub>n</sub>* V *V<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>univ</sub>* AE  
 love nominalizer topic all accusative endure prone to V nominalizer all  
*thâ?* *yōn* *pí* *ve* , *qha-pà-è* *thâ?* *dô-lb* *pí*  
*P<sub>n</sub>* V *V<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>univ</sub>* AE *P<sub>n</sub>* V *V<sub>v</sub>*  
 accusative believe prone to V nominalizer all accusative hope prone to V  
*ve* *lê* , *qha-pà-è* *thâ?* *yān-khān* *pí* *ve* *yò*  
*P<sub>univ</sub>* *P<sub>unf</sub>* AE *P<sub>n</sub>* V *V<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>univ</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 nominalizer suspensive all accusative patient prone to V nominalizer declarative
- (10) *hà?-pên* *ve* *lê* *mâ* *lù* *pí* .  
 V *P<sub>univ</sub>* *P<sub>unf</sub>* Adv V *V<sub>v</sub>*  
 love nominalizer topic negative ruined able to V
- (11) *yà?-qhâ* , *bon mā* *ve* *mâ qô?* , *tš* *láy-cà* *yɔ* *chū-mu* *ve*  
 Conj OV *P<sub>univ</sub>* Adv+V N Q V V *P<sub>univ</sub>*  
 but preach nominalizer whether word several kinds speak praise nominalizer  
*mâ qô?* , *šī pí* *ve* *cū-yī* *mâ qô?* , *qha-pà-è* *mé* *qay*  
 Adv+V V+*V<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>univ</sub>* N Adv+V AE V *V<sub>v</sub>*  
 whether be intelligent relativizer knowledge whether all disappear V away  
*tù* *yò* .  
*P<sub>v</sub>* *P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 future declarative

- (12) *chi-bà?* *ηà-hi* *šĩ* *tā* *ve* *lè* , *mā* *bĩ* *šē* .  
 N<sub>time</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 now we (pl) know durative nominalizer topic negative complete yet
- (13) *ηà-hi* *bon mā* *ve* *kà?* *mā* *bĩ* *šē* .  
 Pron OV P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 we (pl) preach nominalizer also negative complete yet
- (14) *yà?-qhā* , *bĩ* *ve* *ò-cà* *gà* *la* *thā* , *mā* *bĩ* *ve*  
 Conj V P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 but complete relativizer thing reach become when negative complete relativizer  
*tê phā* *mé* *qay* *tù* *yò* .  
 Q V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 pluralizer disappear V away future declarative
- (15) *ηà* *yā-é* *phè?* *chê* *thā* , *yā-é* *qhe* *ηà* *tš* *yo*  
 Pron N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N N<sub>ext</sub> Pron N V  
 I small child be (a certain way) continuous when small child like I word speak  
*ve* , *yā-é* *qhe* *ηà* *ni-ma cò* *ve* *le* ,  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N N<sub>ext</sub> Pron N<sub>spec</sub> + V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 nominalizer small child like I be interested in sthg nominalizer suspensive  
*yā-é* *qhe* *ηà* *dš-ni* *ve* *yò* .  
 N N<sub>ext</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 small child like I care about nominalizer declarative
- (16) *yà?-qhā* , *ηà* *chw-mô* *phè?* *la* *thā* , *yā-é* *ve* *ò-lĩ-ò-qhā* *tê phā*  
 Conj Pron N V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> Q  
 but I adult become when small child genitivizer custom pluralizer  
*thā?* *ηà* *bà* *tá* *ve* *yò* .  
 P<sub>n</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 accusative I throw away durative nominalizer declarative
- (17) *chi-bà?* *lè* , *mā* *kè-dà?* *ve* *mê?-gò?* *ò-qhō* *lo* *ηà-hi* *ni*  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron V  
 now topic negative clear nominalizer mirror through locative we (pl) look at  
*chê* *ve* *qhe* *yò* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 continuous nominalizer like declarative
- (18) *yà?-qhā* *ô-thā* *gà* *qo* , *mê?-phū tš dà?* *le* *gā mō*  
 Conj N<sub>time</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> S + VP P<sub>unf</sub> vV + V<sub>h</sub>  
 but a certain time in the future reach if be face to face suspensive find  
*dā?* *tù* *yò* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 mutual action future declarative
- (19) *chi-bà?* *ηà* *qha bĩ* *mā* *šĩ* *šē* .  
 N<sub>time</sub> Pron AE Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 now I completely negative know yet
- (20) *yà?-qhā* , *chi-bà?* *Ğì-ša* *ηà* *thà?* *šĩ* *tā* *ve* *qhe* ,  
 Conj N<sub>time</sub> N Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub>  
 but now God I accusative know durative nominalizer like

	<i>ô-thâ</i>		<i>gâ</i>	<i>qo</i>	<i>ηà</i>	<i>qha bî</i>	<i>šĩ</i>	<i>tù</i>	<i>yò</i>	.			
	N <sub>time</sub>		V	P <sub>unf</sub>	Pron	AE	V	P <sub>v</sub>	P <sub>uf</sub>				
	a certain time		in the future	reach	when	I	completely	know	future	declarative			
(21)	<i>chi-bà?</i>	<i>lè</i>	,	<i>yōn</i>	<i>ve</i>	,	<i>dô-lo</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>hà?-pên</i>	<i>ve</i>	,	<i>chi</i>
	N <sub>time</sub>	P <sub>unf</sub>		V	P <sub>univ</sub>		V	P <sub>univ</sub>	P <sub>unf</sub>	V		P <sub>univ</sub>	Det
	now	topic		believe	nominalizer		hope	nominalizer	and	love		nominalizer	this
	<i>šē?</i>	<i>cà</i>	<i>cà</i>	<i>tā</i>	<i>ve</i>		<i>yò</i>						.
	Num	Cl <sub>f</sub>	V	P <sub>v</sub>	P <sub>univ</sub>		P <sub>uf</sub>						
	three	kind	be	there	durative		nominalizer	declarative					
(22)	<i>yà?-qhâ</i>	,	<i>chi</i>	<i>šē?</i>	<i>cà</i>	<i>ò-qhò</i>	<i>lo</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>jâ</i>	<i>ve</i>		<i>lè</i>	<i>hà?-pên</i>
	Conj		Det	Num	Cl <sub>f</sub>	N <sub>loc</sub>	P <sub>n</sub>	V <sub>adj</sub>	V <sub>v</sub>	P <sub>univ</sub>		P <sub>unf</sub>	V
	but		this	three	kind	amongst	locative	great	most	nominalizer		topic	love
	<i>ve</i>		<i>tê</i>	<i>cà</i>	<i>yò</i>								.
	P <sub>univ</sub>		Num	Cl <sub>f</sub>	P <sub>uf</sub>								
	nominalizer		one	thing	declarative								

**Translation**

1. Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal.
2. And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing.
3. And though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing.
4. Charity suffereth long, and is kind; charity envieth not; charity vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up,
5. Doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil;
6. Rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth;
7. Beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things.
8. Charity never fails: but whether there be prophecies, they shall fail; whether there be tongues, they shall cease; whether there be knowledge, it shall vanish away.
9. For we know in part, and we prophesy in part.
10. But when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away.
11. When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child: but when I became a man, I put away childish things.
12. For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then we shall see face to face: now I know in part; but then shall I know even as I also am known.
13. And now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity.

### 15.3 Let us rise up!

- (1) *tu* *yò* *mē* , *ŋà-hi* *qha-pà-è*  
 V P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron AE  
 rise up declarative emphatic we (pl) all
- (2) *tu* *ò?* *mē* , *ni-ma* *tê* *šī* *tí* *tā*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V  
 rise up urging imperative emphatic heart one for round objects only establish  
*ò?*  
 P<sub>v</sub>  
 hortatory
- (3) *mâ-pî-mâ-šā* *à-qhɔ* *lo* *chi-co-qô-tāy* *ha-lê* *ché*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Quasi-Elab V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 ancient town inside locative for untold generations happy continuous
- (4) *ha-lê* *tù* *ve* *mà?-qɔ* *yɔ* *mâ* *pà* *tā* , *mâ*  
 V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> Adv  
 happy cause for V'ing nominalizer mouth speak negative finish V'ing durative negative  
*pà* *tā* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 finish V'ing durative

#### Translation

1. Let us rise up, all of us!
2. Rise up, with united hearts!<sup>1</sup>
3. In this old, in this ancient city,
4. We shall dwell in bliss for ever and ever.<sup>2</sup>
5. Our happiness no mouth can fully utter, none can fully utter!

<sup>1</sup>*ni-ma tê šī tí tā*: lit. “establish a single heart”, i.e., “be united in feeling or purpose; be constant, not fickle’.

<sup>2</sup>*chi-co-qô-tāy*: lit. “ten generations, nine eras.”

## 15.4 What is a Christian?

- (1) *Khì?-yâ tê qô? ve à-thô?-ma le* .  
 N<sub>prop</sub> M<sub>px</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 Christian sthg real call nominalizer what substantive qst
- (2) *Khì?-yâ tê qô? ve lê , mâ dâ? ve ð-lî-ð-qhâ mâ ġa*  
 N<sub>prop</sub> M<sub>px</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv + V P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V  
 Christian sthg real call nominalizer topic bad relativizer conduct negative must  
*te* .  
 V  
 do
- (3) *jê mâ ġa dð* .  
 N Adv <sub>v</sub>V V  
 liquor negative must drink
- (4) *fîn mâ ġa dð* .  
 N Adv <sub>v</sub>V V  
 opium negative must smoke (tobacco)
- (5) *mâ?-têw mâ ġa te* .  
 N Adv <sub>v</sub>V V  
 gambling negative must do
- (6) *fîn mâ ġa ti* .  
 N Adv <sub>v</sub>V V  
 opium negative must plant
- (7) *lî?-khô é tê mà te šā* .  
 N M<sub>px</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 hymn little one for things perform (as a song) intentional (1p)
- (8) *Hymn*  
 Hymn  
 Hymn
- (9) *Yēšû? ð-qhɔ ha-lê , Yēšû? ð-qhɔ ha-lê* ,  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N<sub>lim</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> N<sub>lim</sub> V<sub>adj</sub>  
 Jesus with happy Jesus with happy
- (10) *yô bon thâ? chî-mu , chî qhâ-mu-chî-mu chê !*  
 Pron N P<sub>n</sub> V V Elab<sub>adv</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 His grace (X'n) accusative praise exalt as high as possible progressive

### Translation

1. What is it that we call a real Christian?
2. A real Christian must not indulge in bad behavior.
3. He must not drink alcohol, he must not smoke opium, he must not gamble, he must not plant opium.
4. Let us sing a little hymn!

#### *Hymn*

1. How happy it is with Jesus, how happy with Jesus!

What is a Christian?

---

2. Let us praise his grace, let us always exalt Him in the highest!



## 15.5 God's doors are still open

- (1) *chi tē khi ̄ ηà-hi ð-ví-ð-ni è Kâlâ-phu lɛ Lâhū , ηà-hi*  
 Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N Pron  
 this one for times topic we (pl) brethren topicalizer Westerner and Lahu we (pl)  
*ð-chô ġa te ve yâ?-pí ġa mð dâ? ve ha-lê já*  
 N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 friend get to make nominalizer tonight get to see mutual action nominalizer happy very  
*ve yò .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (2) *tê ġâ tē kâ chē thô , yâ?-pí ġa phô? dâ?*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> Q V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub>  
 each person another place live even though tonight get to gather together mutual action  
*ve ð-qhɔ lo Ğî-ša ve ð-bo ĩ jâ ve yò*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 relativizer while locative God genitivizer grace (X'n) great very nominalizer declarative  
 .
- (3) *lɛ qhɔ lo , chi tē khi ̄ , ηà-hi lì?-he-kwân tē pò?*  
 Conj noun + noun-particle (N + P<sub>n</sub>) NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 and in this connection this time topic we (pl) hymn one for songs  
*te kə ġâ ve yò : lì?-he-kwân*  
<sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N  
 do and record (as on tape) desiderative nominalizer declarative hymn  
*te ve chi-ve lê , ηà-hi Ğî-ša ve Tɔ-khô ð-qhɔ lo cð*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N<sub>poss</sub> + **ve** N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V  
 perform (as a song) nominalizer this topic our prayer book in locative be there  
*ve qhe , te m̄ tū ve yò .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer like this perform (as a song) teach to V future nominalizer declarative
- (4) .... ( *Singing* )
- (5) ‘ *Ğî-ša yè-mí phɔ chē t̄a ve yò vên-bâ?-yâ*  
 N N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N  
 God door open continuous durative nominalizer declarative sinner  
*ġî ð-po .*  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> N  
 for groups of people for N's sake
- (6) *chi thâ? pa-tɔ ð-ví-ð-ni ò ,*  
 NP Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 therefore brethren vocative
- (7) *mɔ-chwɛ t̄a chē ò? m̄*  
 Adv Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 for a long time negative imperative stay urging imperative emphatic

God's doors are still open

- (8) ð-yâ pò qay pð ve qo lè  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 time elapse continue V'ing finish V'ing nominalizer if topic
- (9) nò lè tù ve ð-yâ mâ cò  
 Pron V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Adv V  
 you happy future relativizer time negative be there
- (10) Ğì-ša yô yè-mí pho chê tã ve yò !  
 N Pron N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 god His door open continuous durative nominalizer declarative
- (11) lò? e la lò? e la !  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 enter motion away come to V enter motion away come to V
- (12) Yěšû? yè-mí mâ hô? šē thâ , ð-yân mâ lē .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Adv V  
 Jesus door negative shut yet when time negative be too late
- (13) pò qay pð ve qo lè  
 V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 elapse end up V'ing finish V'ing nominalizer if topic
- (14) nò lè tù ve ð-yâ mâ cò .' .'  
 Pron V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Adv V  
 you happy future relativizer time negative be there
- (15) qhe pð ve yò .  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 like this finish nominalizer declarative

**Translation**

[Medic who had received training in Mae Taeng]

1. At this time, we brethren<sup>1</sup> are very happy that a foreigner<sup>2</sup> and a Lahu<sup>3</sup> have become friends with us, and that we are seeing each other this evening.
2. Although we live in different places<sup>4</sup>, our being able to meet this evening is due to the great grace of God.
3. And in this connection, at this time we would like to record<sup>5</sup> a hymn.
4. I'll teach you this hymn that has been composed, just as it is in our prayer-books.<sup>6</sup>

**Hymn**

The doors of God {are still/ stay} open  
 for all (us) sinners.

<sup>1</sup>ð-ví-ð-ni: lit. 'elder and younger siblings'; the most common vocative term used when addressing a group of Lahu.  
<sup>2</sup>Kâlâ-phu: lit. 'white Indian'. Term is used for Euro-Americans, like Thai *fàràp*. The reference is to the author. African Americans are called *Kâlâ-phu = nâ?*, lit. "black white Indian".  
<sup>3</sup>I.e., Cà-lô, my chief consultant on this first fieldtrip (1965-66), a recent immigrant to Thailand from Shan State, then living in Chiang Mai, not in a Lahu village.  
<sup>4</sup>tê gâ tê kâ: lit. "one-person-one-place".  
<sup>5</sup>te kə gâ: kə 'insert, put in' is used for 'to record'.  
<sup>6</sup>ğì-ša ve tš-khò: lit. "God's words"

Therefore, O brethren  
do not hesitate!<sup>7</sup>  
If time runs out  
you won't have time to be happy.  
The doors of God are still open.  
Come in, come in!  
Before Jesus' door closes it's not too late!  
If time runs out  
you won't have time to be happy.  
Speaker: That's how it ends.

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<sup>7</sup>Lit., "do not stay for a long time".

## 15.6 Changeless Jesus

- (1) *á-ni yà?-ni le qhà-thà?-kà? Yěšú? mâ thāy pí ;*  
 NP<sub>time</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE N<sub>pers</sub> Adv V V<sub>v</sub>  
 yesterday today and always Jesus negative change able to V
- (2) *qha-pà-è lù thô , Yěšú? mâ lù ;*  
 AE V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> Adv V  
 all be destroyed even Jesus negative be destroyed
- (3) *yô thà? chî-mu pî-?* .  
 Pron P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 Him accusative praise 3p benefaction (imperative)
- (4) *yô thà? chî-mu pî-?* .  
 Pron P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 Him accusative praise 3p benefaction (imperative)
- (5) *yô thà? chî-mu pî-?* .  
 Pron P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 Him accusative praise 3p benefaction (imperative)
- (6) *qha-pà-è lù thô , Yěšú? mâ lù ;*  
 AE V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> Adv V  
 everybody be destroyed even Jesus negative be destroyed
- (7) *yô thà? chî-mu pî-?* .  
 Pron P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 Him accusative praise 3p benefaction (imperative)

### Translation

<Hymn>

Yesterday, today, and always

Jesus cannot change!

Though all be destroyed

Jesus cannot be destroyed!

Praise be unto Him! (3 times)

Though all be destroyed,

Jesus cannot be destroyed!

Praise be unto Him!

## 15.7 Ananias came to grief

- (1) *chi tê khi* *chî-mu-khô* *é* *tê* *mà* *te* *gâ*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 right now hymn little one general classifier perform (as a song) desiderative  
*ve* *yò* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (2) *chî-mu-khô* *é* *chî-ve* *lê* *ci-yâ-lî?* *kanán-î* *ηâ*  
 N M<sub>px</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub> N N Num  
 hymn little this topic Acts of the Apostles chapter (of the Bible) five  
*mà* , *kanán-é* *tê lê ηâ* *mà* *ò-qhò* *lo*  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> N NP<sub>q</sub> Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 general classifier verse (of the Bible) from one to five general classifier in locative  
*cò* *ve* *yò* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be there nominalizer declarative
- (3) *chi tê khi* *chî-mu-khô* *chî-ve* *te* *ve* *lê* *yâ-mî-ma* *chò-mô-ma*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> N Det V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N  
 right now hymn this perform (as a song) nominalizer topic woman mature woman  
*nî* *mà* *ve* *yò* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 two for people (informal) genitivizer declarative
- (4) *Song* : *cân-lî?* *ò-qhò* *qô?* *tâ* *ve* ,  
 , N N<sub>time</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 Bible in say durative nominalizer
- (5) *hê* *ve* *thà?* *yê* *lê* , *šî* *ve* , *Anani* ,  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>pers</sub>  
 tell a lie nominalizer accusative make use of because die nominalizer Ananias  
*Šaphîla* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub>  
 Sapphira
- (6) *Ğî-ša* *thà?* *tâ* *ve* *tê yâ* , *ci-yâ* *yô* *thà?*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Q N Pron P<sub>n</sub>  
 God accusative make a religious offering relativizer when apostle (X'n) him accusative  
*na-ni* *ve* : " *nò ve* *mî-gê* *qhô* *phu* *chi ma* *tí* *yò*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N N<sub>loc</sub> N NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 ask nominalizer your land in return for money this much only declarative  
*lâ* ?  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 yes
- (7) *ò-tê* *yò* *lâ* , *Anani* ?"  
 N P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N<sub>pers</sub>  
 truth declarative yes Ananias
- (8) " *yò* , *chi ma* *tí* *ğa* *ve* *yò* .  
 Interj NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 yes! this much only get nominalizer declarative



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## Translation

<Pastor Cà-bo>

1. At this point I would like us to sing<sup>1</sup> a hymn.
2. This hymn is from The Acts of the Apostles, Chapter V, verses 1 to 5.<sup>2</sup>
3. So now this hymn will be sung by two women, two mature women.<sup>3</sup>

[Singers]

4. It says in the Bible,
5. that having lied, they died, Ananias and Sapphira.<sup>4</sup>
6. When they were making offerings to God, the apostle asked him, “For your land you only got this much?
7. Is that the truth, Ananias?”
8. “Yes, I only got this much. Truly I only got this much.”
9. The apostle said, “Do not lie to God, Ananias!”
10. Peter said, “Do not lie to God, O Ananias!”
11. Suddenly Ananias keeled over and died.
12. Sapphira also had talked it over with him in just this way.<sup>5</sup>
13. For this reason the couple<sup>6</sup> both had to die.
14. For lying, one must truly die!
15. My brethren, for this reason let us cast aside all lies!
16. Lest we end up like Ananias!
17. The end.

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<sup>1</sup>Lit. “do a hymn”. **chî-mu-khô** ‘hymn’, lit. “words of praise” (**chî** ‘lift up’, **mu** ‘high’, **khô** ‘words’).

<sup>2</sup>**ganân i** ‘chapter’ (“big number”); **ganân i** ‘verse’ (“small number”)

<sup>3</sup>**yâ-mî-ma** ‘woman’; **chô-mô-ma** ‘mature woman’.

<sup>4</sup>The relevant passages in the King James version are as follows: *Acts of the Apostles, Chapter 5 1. But a certain man named Ananias, with Sapphira his wife, sold a possession, 2. And kept back a part of the price, his wife also being privy to it, and brought a certain part, and laid it at the apostle’s feet. 3. But Peter said, “Ananias, why hath Satan filled thine heart to lie to the Holy Ghost, and to keep back part of the price of the land?...” 5. And Ananias hearing these words fell down and gave up the ghost...*

<sup>5</sup>I.e., she had colluded with her husband in preparing the lie.

<sup>6</sup>**yô tê ca**: the singular 3rd person pronoun **yô** is used (instead of the plural **yô-hi**) since the plurality is already indicated by the numeral-plus-classifier **tê ca** ‘a couple’.

## 15.8 God keeps me company

- (1) *chi-bà? ò-yâ ve ò-qhɔ lo hà? ve ò-ví-ò-ni tê phā*  
 NP<sub>time</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> Q  
 on this occasion genitivizer during locative love relativizer brethren the whole group  
*thâ? qa-mì-khô é tê mà te mā*  
 P<sub>n</sub> N M<sub>prfx</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 accusative song little one general classifier perform (as a song) show by V'ing  
*lâ šā .*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p) intentional (1p)
- (2) *na tā šē .*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 listen durative still
- (3) *ηà ni-ma-šī dō-hā ve ò-qhɔ lo ,*  
 Pron N V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 my heart be sad relativizer while locative
- (4) *tô qay thâ , ηà ni-ma dō-hā lē ,*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 roam around V along when my heart be sad suspensive
- (5) *ηà ge tô-pā ò-chô mâ cò tê yā ,*  
 Pron P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> N Adv V Q  
 me with wanderer friend negative be there when
- (6) *chi qhe phê? chê ve ò-qhɔ ,*  
 AE<sub>ext</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub>  
 like this be a certain way continuous nominalizer while
- (7) *ηà tí gò-lê? phê? chê thâ ,*  
 Pron P<sub>univ</sub> AE V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 I only calmly be a certain way continuous when
- (8) *mû phò? thâ qha-gà ηà qa-mì chê ve*  
 Cl<sub>nf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 when night falls until I sing continuous nominalizer
- (9) *ηà Jô-mô , ηà Jô-mô ge tô lē ,*  
 Pron N Pron N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 my Lord my Lord with walk along suspensive
- (10) *tô yɔ ve , yô hà? ve , yô hà? ve ò-lɔ ηà*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> N Pron  
 words speak nominalizer His love nominalizer His love relativizer about I  
*qa-mì ve ;*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 sing nominalizer
- (11) *chi qhe phê? chê ve ò-qhɔ , ηà ha-lê qa-mì qa*  
 AE<sub>ext</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> Pron V<sub>adj</sub> N V  
 like this be a certain way progressive relativizer while I happy song (poetic) sing



*qo* ,  
 P<sub>unf</sub>  
 when

(12) *hà?-pê ve qa-mì-khî yô ñà thà? pî tû ve yò* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> N Pron Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 love relativizer song He me accusative give future nominalizer declarative

(13) *pà ò* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub>  
 finish completed action

**Translation**

1. On this occasion I'd like to sing a little song for my beloved brethren.

Please listen.

[Sings]

2. amid the sadness of my heart
3. when I roam sad at heart
4. when I have no friend to share my wandering
5. while I am in this state
6. when calmly and all alone
7. until night falls I keep singing
8. my Lord, I walk with my Lord
9. I speak to Him, His love, I sing of His love
10. while I am in this state, when I happily sing
11. He will grant me a song of love
12. That's the end.

## 15.9 Let us dedicate our precious lives to the Lord

- (1) *yôʔ-ya ve ð-qhɔ lo chw-ī ci lâ*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>lim</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub>  
 respect relativizer with locative important person bid to do benefactive (non-3p)  
*ve pa-tɔ , a-cí šī a-cí te ve tí*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Adv V Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer because of a little know a little perform (as a song) nominalizer just  
*yò*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (2) *tê khî tê mà qðʔ te ni šā*  
 Q Num Cl<sub>f</sub> vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 now one general classifier go on to V perform (as a song) try and V intentional (1p)
- (3) *yâ-mî nî ġâ ve :*  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 women two for humans genitivizer
- (4) *Song : ŋà-hi ġa chê ve ð-bo-ð-ší chi tê pôʔ*  
 tê pôʔ Pron vV V P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> Det NP<sub>q</sub>  
 NP<sub>q</sub> we (pl) get to exist relativizer great blessing this this time
- (5) *ð-phû qhâʔ ve a-šâʔ phêʔ ve*  
 N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 value priceless relativizer life be a certain way nominalizer
- (6) *a-šâʔ têtʔ chê ve ð-yâ tê phā ð-qhɔ lo*  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Q N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 life be alive continuous relativizer time all of during locative
- (7) *thây-qhðʔ-pā Jô-mô po tí phêʔ pî*  
 N<sub>divb</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 redeemer (X'n) Lord sake only be a certain way benefactive (3p)
- (8) *amen*  
 Interj  
 amen

### Translation

1. With deep respects, since a great personage has bidden us to do it, though we only know a little, we will just sing what little we know.

2. So now we'll try singing one. [A song] for two women.

*Song:*

3. The precious blessing that we are alive at this moment

4. it is a priceless life

5. for all the time that we live our life

6. let us make it be for the Lord Redeemer's sake!

7. Amen.

## 15.10 I long for thee, Jerusalem

- (1) *ôo* , *Yêlû?šālēn* ò , *nò thà?* *ηà dš-nô jâ* !  
 Interj N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> Pron V V<sub>v</sub>  
 oh! Jerusalem vocative you accusative I long for very much
- (2) < *dš-nô jâ* >  
 V V<sub>v</sub>  
 long for very much
- (3) *ôo* , *Yêlû?šālēn* ò , *nò thà?* *ηà ni-ma hā à* .  
 Interj N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> Pron N<sub>spec</sub> + V P<sub>v</sub>  
 oh! Jerusalem vocative you accusative I miss with sadness asseverative
- (4) < *ni-ma hā à* >  
 N<sub>spec</sub> + V P<sub>v</sub>  
 miss with sadness asseverative
- (5) *ôo* , *Yêlû?šālēn* ò , *ηà nò thà?* *dš-nô jâ*  
 Interj N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron Pron P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 oh! Jerusalem vocative I you accusative long for very much
- (6) *qhà-thâ? tê yân nò ge ηà ġa chē tù le* ?  
 NP<sub>intg</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> Pron <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 when? you with I get to dwell future substantive qst
- (7) *ôo* , *Yêlû?šālēn* , *nò thà?* *ηà-hi* < *Yêlû?šālēn* >  
 Interj N<sub>place</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> Pron N<sub>place</sub>  
 oh! Jerusalem you accusative we (pl) Jerusalem
- (8) *mû-nɔ* < *mû-nɔ-ma qhō* >  
 N N N<sub>loc</sub>  
 heaven heavens up there
- (9) *dâ?-kê ve ô* < *dâ?-kê ve* >  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 holy nominalizer there holy nominalizer
- (10) *chɔ-dâ?* < *chɔ-dâ?-chɔ-kê* >  
 N Elab<sub>n</sub>  
 good people pure and holy people
- (11) *chɔ-kê* < *tê phā chē kî* >  
 N Q V P<sub>v-nom</sub>  
 pure people the whole group dwell locative
- (12) *tê phā chē kî* < *po gu tā ve* >  
 Q V P<sub>v-nom</sub> M<sub>px</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 the whole group dwell locative sake prepare perfective nominalizer
- (13) *mû-mì* < *Ġî-ša mû-mì* > .  
 N N N  
 country God country
- (14) *dâ?-kê-kê ve ô* < *dâ?-kê ve ô* >  
 V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>sd</sub>  
 most holy nominalizer over there holy nominalizer there

- (15) *nò gɛ ɡä lò? e tù lɛ*  
 Pron P<sub>n</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 you to get to enter motion away future suspensive
- (16) *ni-ma < ni-ma dà? >*  
 N N V<sub>adj</sub>  
 heart heart good
- (17) *dà?-kè ve < cò ve chɔ >*  
 V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 pure nominalizer be there relativizer people
- (18) *chɔ hi tɛ ɡi < ɡä lò? e yò >*  
 N B<sub>n</sub> Q vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 people pluralizer pluralizer get to enter motion away declarative
- (19) *ɡä lò? e yò < lò? e tù ve*  
 vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 get to enter motion away declarative enter motion away future nominalizer  
*yò >*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (20) *Ĝi-ša ve dà?-kè ve vên ô !*  
 N P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N N<sub>sd</sub>  
 God genitivizer holy relativizer city over there
- (21) *Yêlû?šālên , ɲà bo-yè dà? , ɲà qhô chê ve dà?-kè ve*  
 N<sub>place</sub> Pron N V<sub>adj</sub> Pron N<sub>loc</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 Jerusalem my temple beautiful I up there dwell relativizer holy nominalizer  
*ô !*  
 N<sub>sd</sub>  
 that
- (22) *nò gɛ ɲà ha-lè-ha-qa chê yò .*  
 Pron P<sub>n</sub> Pron Elab<sub>adv</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 you with I happily dwell declarative
- (23) *Yêlû?šālên dà?-kè ve ô .*  
 N<sub>place</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>sd</sub>  
 Jerusalem holy nominalizer over there

## Translation

[Choral song, sung antiphonally]

—Oh Jerusalem, how I long for<sup>1</sup> thee! —Long for thee!

—Oh Jerusalem, my heart is sore for thee! —Sore for thee!

—Oh Jerusalem, how I long for thee! —Long for thee!

Oh when shall I get to live with thee?

—Oh, Jerusalem, we thee— —Jerusalem

—Heaven —Up in heaven

<sup>1</sup> *dɔ-nɔ* has a range of meanings covering ‘remember’, ‘realize’, and (as here) ‘miss, long for, regret the absence of’.

I long for thee, Jerusalem

---

—That holy —The holy one  
—Good people —Good people pure people  
—Pure people —All their dwellings  
—All their dwellings —Have been prepared for their sake  
—Country —God's country  
—The holiest of all holies there —That holy place

To you we shall enter in!

—Hearts —Good hearts  
—Pure —Those who have<sup>2</sup>  
—All those people —Shall enter in  
—Shall enter in —Shall surely enter in

Oh pure and holy city of God!

Jerusalem, my beautiful Temple, my holy dwelling on high,

Oh holy Jerusalem, with you I shall live happy and content.

---

<sup>2</sup>Since Lahu is an OV language, it is natural to have 'good hearts' precede 'those who have'.

## 15.11 There the flowers do not wither

- (1) *ηὰ ve yê lo qay chê ve yò*  
 N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 my home locative go progressive nominalizer declarative
- (2) *ô kà? yà?-qɔ šĩ qhô tã*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N N V P<sub>v</sub>  
 over there locative road gold spread with durative
- (3) *co-ha šĩ?-cê ð-vê? vê? chê*  
 N N N V V<sub>v</sub>  
 holy object tree flower bloom continuous
- (4) *ô kà? lo ð-vê? mâ hwē*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N Adv V  
 over there locative locative flower negative wither
- (5) *mì-gì qhô lo dâ-hâ-tù cò mâ*  
 N N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> V V<sub>adj</sub>  
 earth on locative sorrow be there much
- (6) *nê-hày ve mì-nâ?-ma lón*  
 N P<sub>univ</sub> N B<sub>n</sub>  
 Satan (X'n) genitivizer earth (poetic) sthg big
- (7) *bè-ve-lô-ve thà? pòn tù yò*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 temptation accusative save from future declarative
- (8) *ô kà? lo ð-vê? mâ hwē*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N Adv V  
 over there locative locative flower negative wither
- (9) *Yêšû? gε hà?-pên-khô yɔ dà?*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub>  
 Jesus with words of love speak mutual action
- (10) *yô gε phu ve vâ?-qâ vâ?*  
 Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N V  
 Him with white relativizer clothes wear
- (11) *chi-bà? yô ηὰ thà? l chê tã*  
 N<sub>time</sub> Pron Pron P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 now He me accusative wait for continuous durative
- (12) *ô kà? lo ð-vê? mâ hwē*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N Adv V  
 over there locative locative flower negative wither
- (13) *Chorus : chò kà? tê khi cε ð-vê? dà?*  
 N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Q P<sub>univ</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub>  
 here locative a while only flower beautiful
- (14) *tê khi qo ð-vê? hwē qay*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub>  
 in a short while flower wither end up V'ing

There the flowers do not wither

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- (15) *ŋà ve vê lo qay chê ve yò* .  
N<sub>poss</sub> + **ve** N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
my city locative go progressive nominalizer declarative
- (16) *ô kà? lo ð-vê? mâ hwē* .  
N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N Adv V  
over there locative locative flower negative wither

### Translation

1. I am going to my home
2. There the roads are paved with gold
3. The eternal trees are abloom with flowers
4. There the flowers do not wither.
5. On earth there are many sorrows
6. In the great earth of the Evil One
7. We will be saved from temptation
8. There the flowers do not wither.
9. We will speak words of love with Jesus
10. We will be clothed in white garments with him
11. He is now waiting for me
12. There the flowers do not wither.
13. Chorus: Here flowers are beautiful only for a while
14. Soon flowers will wither away
15. I am going to my city<sup>1</sup>
16. There the flowers do not wither!

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<sup>1</sup>That is, the Celestial City of Heaven.



## **16 Sermons and announcements in church**

## 16.1 God bless this meeting!

- (1) *nê* *šť-ğwé* *Ği-ša* *ve* *đ-mì?-đ-phôn* *ŋà-hi* *chi ma* *đ-qhō* *cō*  
 Pron N N P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> Pron N<sub>ext</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> V  
 our (colloq.) church conference God genitivizer blessings us all of upon be there  
*pī-ō?*  
 P<sub>v</sub>  
 hortatory
- (2) *ŋà-hi* *Khrì?-yâ* *đ-mō* *lê* *chi qhe* *a-khôn* *ğa* *ve* *pa-tō* ,  
 Pron N<sub>prop</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 we (pl) Christian group topic like this opportunity get nominalizer because of  
*mâ-mâ* *ha-lê* *tù* *ī* *jâ* *ve* *yò* .  
 V<sub>redup</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 very much happy sthg that is cause for V'ing great very nominalizer declarative
- (3) *Ği-ša* *ve* *đ-bon* *thà?* *mâ-mâ* *chī-mu* *tù*  
 N P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V<sub>redup</sub> V P<sub>v-nom</sub>  
 God genitivizer grace (X'n) accusative very much praise sthg that is cause for V'ing  
*yò* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (4) *phôn* *dà?* *ve* *chi-ve* *lê* , *tê* *ğa* *le* *tê* *ğa*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 meet mutual action nominalizer this thing topic one for humans and one for humans  
*đ-chō* *te* *dà?* *ve* *đ-qhō* *lo* , *Ği-ša* *ve* *mû-mì*  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 friend make mutual action relativizer while locative God genitivizer world  
*ī-la-mu-la* *tù* *đ-pon* *phôn* *dà?* *ve* *yò* .  
 Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 grow and mature purposive sake meet mutual action nominalizer declarative
- (5) *nê* *šť-ğwé* *te* *ve* *lê* ,  
 Pron N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 our (colloq.) church conference convene (as a meeting) nominalizer topic  
*šť-ğwé* *ló* *te* *ve* *thà?* *cá*  
 N B<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V  
 church conference sthg great convene (as a meeting) nominalizer accusative connect  
*dà?* *ve* *kán* *lê* *mâ-mâ* *ī-la-mu-la* *ve* *thà?* *ğa mō*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>redup</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> vV + V<sub>h</sub>  
 mutual action relativizer work topic very much progress nominalizer accusative find  
*ve* *yò* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (6) *yà?-qhâ* *kán* *chi* *ve* *lê* *mâ* *pà* *šē* .  
 Conj N Det P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 on the other hand work this genitivizer topic negative be completed yet
- (7) *đ-ğū-šť* *cō-câ* *le* *ğa* *te* *qay* *tù* *yò* .  
 N<sub>time</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 in the future strive suspensive must do continue V'ing future declarative

- (8) *dô-lo tã ve qhe phê? la thâ qha-gà , cô-câ*  
V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> V  
hope durative nominalizer like be a certain way come to V when until strive  
*lɛ te qay tù yò .*  
P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
suspensive do continue V'ing future declarative
- (9) *Khri?-yâ phê? ve tê gâ le-le qhe dô-ni šê .*  
N<sub>prop</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
Christian be a certain way relativizer everybody like this consider still
- (10) *Khri?-yâ phê? ve chɔ tê gâ le-le a-šû-yô ð-to thâ?*  
N<sub>prop</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N NP<sub>q</sub> Pron N P<sub>n</sub>  
Christian be a certain way relativizer people everybody one's own body accusative  
*qha-dê? dô-ni šê .*  
AE V P<sub>v</sub>  
properly consider still
- (11) *ð-gâ yù tš? lɛ Ği-ša ð-pon kán qhà-ma te cô ve*  
N V + V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N N N<sub>intg</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
strength exert suspensive God sake work how much? do ought to nominalizer  
*le ?*  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
substantive qst
- (12) *ð-yân qhà-ma pè tá ve lɛ , ð-gâ qhà-ma pî tá*  
N AE V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N AE V P<sub>v</sub>  
time so much spend durative nominalizer suspensive effort so much give durative  
*ve lɛ bo qhà-ma lè tá ve kán chi-ve lè*  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N AE V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Det P<sub>unf</sub>  
nominalizer suspensive grace (X'n) so much pray for durative relativizer work this topic  
*, Khri?-yâ tê gâ le-le ve kán phê? ve yò .*  
N<sub>prop</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
Christian everybody genitivizer work be a certain way nominalizer declarative
- (13) *chi pa-tɔ Khri?-yâ hi lè kán chi ve thâ? tã-wün*  
NP N<sub>prop</sub> B<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Det P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N  
because of this Christian pluralizer topic work this genitivizer accusative responsibility  
*yù tù lō ve yò .*  
V P<sub>v-nom</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
take purposive need nominalizer declarative
- (14) *tê gâ le-le a-šû-yô yè qhɔ lo tã-wün yù lɛ , te*  
NP<sub>q</sub> Pron N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> V  
everybody one's own household within locative responsibility take suspensive do  
*ve qo kán chi hâ?-hâ? phê? la tù yò .*  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Det AE V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer if work this quickly be a certain way come to V future declarative
- (15) *Ği-ša ve tš-khô thâ? ğa kâ ve chɔ tê gâ le-le ð-ğû-šî-phô*  
N P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> N NP<sub>q</sub> N<sub>time</sub>  
God genitivizer words accusative get to hear relativizer people everybody in the future

God bless this meeting!

- cô-câ* *le* *te* *tù* *lō* *ve* *yò* .  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 try hard suspensive do future need nominalizer declarative
- (16) *kán* *chi* *ve* *lè* *chi* *tê* *mû-mì* *qhɔ* *ce tí* *te* *ve*  
 N Det P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> M<sub>prfx</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> + P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 work this genitivizer topic this one for countries within only do nominalizer  
*mâ hê?* , *Khri?-yâ* *à-mō* *tê kà le-le* *te* *ve* *kán* *phê?*  
 Adv + V N<sub>prop</sub> N NP<sub>q</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N V<sub>v</sub>  
 not be the case Christian community everywhere do relativizer work be a certain way  
*ve* *yò* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (17) *Khri?-yâ* *tê phā* *lè* , *yè* *à-qhɔ* *lo* *mâ qô?* , *à-mō*  
 N<sub>prop</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Adv + V N  
 Christian the whole group topic household within locative whether community  
*à-qhɔ* *lo* *mâ qô?* , *qhâ?* *à-qhɔ* *lo* *mâ qô?* , *šĩ-ǵwé* *à-qhɔ*  
 N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Adv + V N N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Adv + V N N<sub>loc</sub>  
 within locative whether village within locative whether church conference within  
*lo* *mâ qô?* , *tā-wūn* *yù* *tù* *lō* *ve* *yò* .  
 P<sub>n</sub> Adv + V N V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 locative whether responsibility take future need nominalizer declarative
- (18) *à-ǵũ-šĩ* *qay* *ve* *qo* *lā-le* *à-ǵá yù tɔ?* *le* , *Ǵĩ-ša*  
 N<sub>time</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE OV P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 in the future continue nominalizer when additionally exert effort suspensive God  
*ve* *mû-mì* *ĩ-la-mu-la* *tù* *thà?* *mâ-mâ* *dô-lo* *tā* *ve*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V<sub>redup</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 genitivizer world progress future accusative very much hope durative nominalizer  
*yò* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (19) *Ǵĩ-ša* *hà?-pên* *ve* *à-mì?-à-phôn* *tê ǵá le-le* *à-qhɔ* *cò* *pĩ-ô?* .  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 God love relativizer blessings everybody upon be there optative

## Translation

1. May the blessings of God be upon all of us at our conference!
2. It is a great source of joy for our Christian community to have this privilege.
3. We have much for which to praise God's grace.
4. Our meeting together, while we are making friends with each other, the real purpose of our meeting is to glorify the kingdom of God.
5. Our convening this conference has made it clear that the work connected with this great meeting has made a lot of progress.
6. However this work is not yet finished.
7. In the future we must strive to continue doing it.

8. Until what we have hoped for has come to pass, we must strive to continue [this work].
9. Let all of us who are Christians keep thinking in this way.
10. All of us who are Christians should take good care of our own bodies.
11. How much effort should we exert, how much work ought we to do for God's sake?
12. This work for which we must devote so much time, exert so much of our effort, pray so earnestly, this is the work of all Christians.
13. So all of us Christians need to take responsibility for this work.
14. If everybody takes responsibility for his own household, if we do this, this work can be completed speedily.
15. All those people who heed the words of God must strive to do this in the future.
16. This work is not only to be done in our country, but it is the work of Christian communities everywhere.
17. All of us Christians, not only in our homes, not only in our communities, not only in our villages, not only in this meeting, need to take responsibility.
18. In the future as we exert even more energy, we have great hopes that the kingdom of God will come to fruition.
19. May the glory of God's love be upon us all!

## 16.2 God, parents, and village welfare

- (1) *chi-bə? nə-hi yā-é tē phā à-gū-šī phō qay tū ve , qhà-qhe te le*  
 N<sub>time</sub> Pron N Q N<sub>time</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Cl<sub>nf</sub>  
 now our children pluralizer in the future go future nominalizer how  
*qhā?-cī?-lā-cī? yè tū ve nə-hi qhà-qhe ġa te tū ve*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N<sub>intg</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 village site stable purposive nominalizer we (pl) how? must do future nominalizer  
*le*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 substantive qst
- (2) *mì-gì ve jō-mō khō tē phā qha-dē? ġa na tā ve*  
 N P<sub>univ</sub> N N Q AE vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 country genitivizer officials words pluralizer properly ought to heed durative nominalizer  
*yò*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (3) *chi à-qhō? kà? nò ve co-yè-ha-yè ġa qo , nò-pa-nò-e khō*  
 Det N P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>poss + ve</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> N  
 this above also your long life desiderative if your father and mother advice  
*qha-dē? na yù ò?*  
 AE V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 properly listen V lastingly urging imperative
- (4) *chi à-qhō? thà? thō , nò co-ha-phō dà? la ġa ve qo ,*  
 Det N P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 this above accusative even you spiritual life improve desiderative nominalizer if  
*nò ve Ġì-ša Jō-mō Yēšū? Khì? à-qhā-šī qha-dē? qay-? .*  
 N<sub>poss + ve</sub> N N N<sub>pers</sub> N<sub>prop</sub> N AE V<sub>imp</sub>  
 your God Lord Jesus Christ footsteps properly go!
- (5) *qhe-qo , chi à-qhō thà? kà? , nò ve à-ví-pā mâ qō? , à-ví-ma*  
 Conj Det N P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>poss + ve</sub> N Adv + V N  
 then this above accusative even your elder brother whether elder sister  
*mâ qō? , chi ve tē phā lè nò ve*  
 Adv + V Det Q P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>poss + ve</sub>  
 whether these pluralizer topic your
- (6) *mì-gì-qhō à-šī-à-šā phō à-pa-à-e qhe phē? ve yò*  
 N Elab<sub>n</sub> M<sub>prfx</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 in this world physical life aspect parents like be a certain way nominalizer declarative
- (7) *à-pa-à-e tē cā lè mì-gì à-šī-à-šā-phō thà? šō qo , a-šū-yō ve*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> N Elab<sub>extd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>poss + ve</sub>  
 parents one thing topic earth material aspect accusative consider if each person's  
*Ġì-ša yò*  
 N P<sub>uf</sub>  
 God declarative
- (8) *mū-phān-mì-phān šē-phā lè , mū-nō-ma qhō? ve*  
 Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 create heaven and earth agentive nominalizer topic heavens throughout genitivizer

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	<i>qha-pə̀-è</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>Ĝì-ša</i>	<i>phè?</i>	<i>tè</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>yò</i>	.			
	AE	P <sub>univ</sub>	N	V	P <sub>univ</sub>	P <sub>univ</sub>	P <sub>uf</sub>				
	all	genitivizer	God	be a certain way	really V	nominalizer	declarative				
(9)	<i>qhe-qo</i>	<i>yâ-pā</i>	<i>yâ-mî</i>	<i>tê phā</i>	<i>dà?</i>	<i>jâ</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>Jô-mô</i>	<i>Yēšû?</i>	<i>tô-khô</i>	<i>thà?</i>
	Conj	N	N	Q	V <sub>adj</sub>	V <sub>v</sub>	P <sub>univ</sub>	N	N <sub>pers</sub>	N	P <sub>n</sub>
	so	boy	girl	pluralizer	good	very	relativizer	Lord	Jesus	words	accusative
	<i>qha-dê?</i>	<i>na-yù</i>	<i>mē</i>	.							
	AE	V	P <sub>uf</sub>								
	properly	take to heart	persuasive								
(10)	<i>chî</i>	<i>ò-qhò?</i>	<i>yè-yâ-qa-yâ</i>	<i>tê phā</i>	,	<i>gò-lê?</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>nò-hî</i>	<i>ò-qhò?</i>	<i>cò</i>	
	Det	N	Elab <sub>n</sub>	Q		AE	P <sub>univ</sub>	Pron	N <sub>loc</sub>	V	
	this	besides	household members	pluralizer		at peace	nominalizer	you (pl)	upon	be there	
	<i>pî-ô?</i>	<i>mē</i>	.								
	P <sub>v</sub>	P <sub>uf</sub>									
	optative	emphatic									

### Translation

1. Now what do we have to do so that all of our children in the future can be assured of the stability of our village’s site?
2. We have to listen carefully to what the government officials<sup>1</sup> say.
3. More importantly, if you want to achieve a long life, listen carefully to what your parents say.<sup>2</sup>
4. And even above that, if you want your spiritual life to improve, you must properly follow in the footsteps of your God, the Lord Jesus Christ.
5. And also besides that, whether it’s your older brother or your older sister, they are like your parents with respect to the material side<sup>3</sup> of your life on earth.
6. One’s parents, if we consider the earthly, material point of view, are like everybody’s God.
7. Everything throughout the heavens<sup>4</sup> is truly [the work of] God, the creator of heaven and earth.
8. Therefore all of you boys and girls should take careful heed of the excellent words of Lord Jesus.
9. Finally, may peace be upon all of your households!

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<sup>1</sup> *mî-gì jô-mô*: lit. “lords of the land”.

<sup>2</sup> See the fifth of the Ten Commandments: “Honor thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.” *Exodus* 20:12.

<sup>3</sup> *ò-šî-ò-šā-phô*: lit. “the aspect of one’s blood and flesh”.

<sup>4</sup> *mû-nò-ma qhò?* *ve qha-pə̀-è*: lit. “everything above the heavens”.

### 16.3 Conference of Lahu Christians at Shatodo

- (1) *cì-qhò?* *tê* *hún* *qô* *ha* *khò? chi nâ* *qhò? thâ* *Šá-to-dô* *qhâ?* *qhò*  
 NP<sub>time</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num N P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>place</sub> N M<sub>px</sub>  
 this year one thousand nine hundred sixty-five year when village name village in  
*ší-ğwé* *te* *ve* *à-lon* *a-cí* *qāw* *šā*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> N Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 church conference do relativizer matter a little tell intentional (1p)
- (2) *à-lon* *lè* *chi qhe* *yò*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 matter topic like this declarative
- (3) *ηà-hi* *à-ví-à-ni* *Yân-cho* *Lâhū* *cho-phu* *tê phā* *tê ge* *ğa* *phòn* *dà?*  
 Pron Elab<sub>n</sub> Eth N N Q Q <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub>  
 we (pl) brethren Karen Lahu white people pluralizer together get to meet mutual action  
*ve* *yò*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (4) *chi pa-tò* , *Ği-ša* *bon* *thà?* *mâ-mâ* *chî-mu* *ve* *yò*  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N N P<sub>n</sub> V<sub>redup</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 ten because of God grace (X'n) accusative very much praise nominalizer declarative
- (5) *qhe-qo* *ηà-hi* *phòn* *dà?* *ve* *lè* *Ği-ša* *ve* *tô-khò* *hên*  
 Conj Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> N V  
 then we (pl) meet mutual action nominalizer topic God genitivizer words study  
*ve* *yò*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (6) *Ği-ša* *ve* *tô-khò* *hên* *ve* *lè* , *êfšù?* *kanán-ī* *ηà* ,  
 N P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N Num  
 god genitivizer words study nominalizer topic Ephesians chapter (of the Bible) five  
*kanán-é* *tê chi šē?* *à-qhò* *lo* *hên* *ve* *yò*  
 N Num N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 verse (of the Bible) thirteen in locative study nominalizer declarative
- (7) *Yēšù?* *lè* *ηà-hi* *ve* *ó-qô* *phè?* *ve* *yò*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 Jesus topic we (pl) genitivizer head be nominalizer declarative
- (8) *ηà-hi* *Khî?-yâ* *lè* *qhà-thâ?-kà?* *Yēšù?* *thà?* *ğa* *cú* *ve*  
 Pron N<sub>prop</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 we (pl) Christian topic always Jesus accusative must rely on nominalizer  
*yò*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (9) *à-lon* *lè* *chi ma* *tí* *yò*  
 N P<sub>adv</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 matter matter this much only declarative



- (10) *Ĝi-ša bon co-co cò pî-ô?* .  
 N N AE V P<sub>v</sub>  
 god grace (X'n) forever have optative

### Translation

1. I'd just like to say a few words about the meeting that we held this year, 1965. , at Shatodu village.
2. This is the story.
3. All of us brethren—Karen, Lahu, white people—we all met together.
4. For that we greatly praise the grace of God.
5. Then, having met together we studied the Word of God.
6. The Words of God that we studied were in Ephesians 5:13.<sup>1</sup>
7. Jesus is our chief.<sup>2</sup>
8. We Christians must always rely upon<sup>3</sup> Jesus.
9. That's the story.
10. May God's blessing be upon us forever!

<sup>1</sup>In the King James translation, the verse is: "But all things that are reprov'd are made manifest by thy light; for whatsoever doth make manifest is light."

<sup>2</sup>**ô-qó**: 'head; principal part'.

<sup>3</sup>The Lahu verb is **cû**. For a study of its etymology, see JAM 1989: "A new ST root \***d-yuk** 'belong/trust/depend/accept/take', and a note of caution to megallo-reconstructionists".

## 16.4 Headman's communication: even if you're busy there are things to discuss

- (1) *qhâ?-šɛ* : *yâ-mî-ma* *là* *tā* *ve* *hó-qhâ?-pā* *cò* *ve* *tê*  
 N N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> Num  
 headman women come perfective nominalizer men be there relativizer one  
*yê* *ò-ghɔ* *mā* *là* *ve* *chɔ* *cò* *qo* , *tê gâ le-le* *tho*  
 N N<sub>loc</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> V  
 household amongst negative come relativizer people be there if everybody tell  
*dà?* *lê*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 mutual action request for assent
- (2) *nò-ηà-hi* *ō* *tê mō* *phê?* *ve* *ò-ghɔ* *kán* *láy-cà*  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Q V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> N Q  
 all of us topic one group be a certain way nominalizer amongst work several kinds  
*bî-šê?* *chê* *ve* *mē*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 full to overflowing continuous nominalizer emphatic
- (3) *hó-qhâ?* *yâ-mî* *tê gâ le-le* *thô* , *kán* *ηà-hi* *ò-ghɔ* *lê* *qhà-thâ?-kà?* *bî*  
 N N NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Pron N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE V<sub>adj</sub>  
 men women everybody even work we (pl) amongst topic always be full  
*chê* *ve* *yò* , *tê cà le-le*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub>  
 continuous nominalizer declarative every kind
- (4) *chi tê khi* *ò-ghɔ* *lo* *kì* *jâ* *ve* *ò-ghɔ* *lo* , *ò-ví-ò-ni* *thô*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 this time during locative busy very relativizer during locative brethren also  
*qhâ?-ghɔ* *kán* *cò* *thô* *mā* *gā* *šī* *lê*  
 N N V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv vV V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 village (as a unity) work be there also negative get to know request for assent
- (5) *yà?-qhâ* *chi tê khi* *ò-ví-ò-ni* *thâ?* *ηà* *tho* *lâ* *tù* *yò*  
 Conj NP<sub>q</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 however this time brethren accusative I tell benefactive (non-3p) future declarative
- (6) *á-šî?-ni* *thâ* *ηà-hi* *ge* *šālà?* *ca* *gî* *la* *ve-ō* , " *ca*  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> N vV + V<sub>h</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> vV  
 a while ago when we (pl) to pastor come and V visit come to V emphatic go and do  
*hà?* *la-?* " *qô?* *ve* *yò*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 welcome welcome say nominalizer declarative
- (7) *ò-gû-šī* *thâ* *kà?* *ηà-hi* *kâ* *ò* *lê*  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 in advance topicalizer we (pl) hear completed action request for assent
- (8) *ca* *hà?* *pî* *ve*  
 vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 go and do welcome benefactive (3p) nominalizer

- (9) *yô ve mô tê phā ñà-hi ġa ga pî ve*  
 Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N Q Pron <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 his genitivizer belongings pluralizer we (pl) must help benefactive (3p) nominalizer
- (10) *á-šî?-ni ší pè ní ni thâ ñà qay ve yò*  
 N<sub>time</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 last Tuesday when I go nominalizer declarative
- (11) *le khò?-ni tê ni Mēlè ð-pa ší qò pî ve*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> N V + V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 and Saturday one for days female name father see off benefactive (3p) nominalizer  
*yò*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (12) *qhe-te-le yô thâ? ga pî ve phu ñà-hi tê chi bà? pî*  
 Conj Pron P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Pron Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V  
 so him accusative help benefactive (3p) relativizer money we (pl) ten baht give  
*ve yò cê*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative quotative
- (13) *yò lâ , tê chi bà? ?*  
 V P<sub>uf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 be true yes ten baht
- (14) : *yò*  
 Interj  
 yes!
- (15) : *tê chi bà? pî ve yò*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 ten baht give nominalizer declarative
- (16) *phu ô-ve ñ-ñà-hi qhà-qhe te tù le*  
 N Det Pron N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 money that all of us how? do future substantive qst
- (17) *phu ô-ve ð-lon thô dō-ni cō lê , kōmiti tê phā*  
 N Det N P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> N Q  
 money that matter also consider ought to request for assent committee pluralizer
- (18) *le ñà-hi ð-mō tê phā thô tê ġâ le-le tê ġâ khô tê ġâ na*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N Q P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> Q N Q V  
 and our group pluralizer also everybody one person advice another person heed  
*le dō-ni cō ve yò*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 suspensive consider ought to nominalizer declarative
- (19) *le ð-ví-ð-ni thâ? qô? qô? lâ tù thô*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 and brethren accusative still V a certain way say benefactive (non-3p) purposive also  
*cô šō ve yò*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be there still nominalizer declarative

- (20) *à-mù tê khi côn-yè yà? pè tê yân thâ òà-hi*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Pron  
 a short time from now church break up (church service) finish V'ing when we (pl)  
*kōmīti á-qhɔ lo jè dà? tù cò ve qo , kōmīti á-qhɔ*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 committee room locative discuss purposive be there nominalizer if committee room  
*thô jè dà? phê? ve yò .*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 also discuss able to nominalizer declarative
- (21) *kōmīti á-qhɔ lo jè dà? tù mâ cò ve qo ,*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 committee room locative discuss purposive negative be there nominalizer if  
*à-mù tê khi côn-yè yà? pè ve qo ,*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 a short time from now church break up (church service) finish V'ing nominalizer when  
*tê gâ le-le òà á-qhɔ tê khi phòn lê .*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> Pron N Q V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 everybody my home for a while meet request for assent
- (22) *ò-lɔn a-cí jè dà? a ni a .*  
 N Adv V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 matter a little discuss try to intensitive
- (23) *ò-lɔn láy-cà cò ve yò .*  
 N Q V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 matter several kinds be there nominalizer declarative
- (24) " *mâ qay gâ !*  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 negative go desiderative
- (25) *yà?-ni ší-ni le mâ dà? ve ò-cà mâ te gâ "*  
 N<sub>time</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 today Sunday because negative good relativizer thing negative do desiderative  
*tè? tâ dš lê , ò-ví-ò-ni tê phā ò*  
 QUOT Adv V P<sub>uf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> Q P<sub>n</sub>  
 embedded quote negative imperative think request for assent brethren pluralizer vocative
- (26) *dà? ve à? te-qo , ší-ni thô dà? ve yò .*  
 V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 good nominalizer accusative if Sunday also good nominalizer declarative
- (27) *qha-dê? qô? qo , yà?-ni ší-ni mâ hê? qo , nò-òà-hi tê gâ le tê gâ kà?*  
 Cl<sub>nf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> N Cl<sub>nf</sub> Pron Q Conj Q P<sub>unf</sub>  
 in fact today Sunday unless all of us one person and another person even  
*mò tù mâ hê? lê .*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> Adv + V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 see future not be the case request for assent

- (28) *kán kì já ve pa-tɔ , a-šú-yô tê ġâ tê kà ,*  
 N V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron Q Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 work busy very nominalizer because of each person one person one for places  
*tê ġâ tê qhò? , tê ġâ tê qhɔ .*  
 Q Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Q Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 one person one for fields one person one for mountains
- (29) *khò?-ni ɛ ší-ni mâ hê? qo ɲà-hi tê ġâ thà?*  
 N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Q P<sub>n</sub>  
 Saturday or Sunday negative be the case if we (pl) one person accusative  
*tê ġâ mâ ġa mò dà? ve yò .*  
 Q Adv vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 another person negative get to see mutual action nominalizer declarative
- (30) *chi thà? pa-tɔ mâ là ve chɔ cò qo , tê ġâ le-le tho*  
 NP Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> V  
 therefore negative come relativizer people be there if everybody tell  
*pî?*  
 V<sub>v</sub>  
 benefactive (imperative)
- (31) *mâ là ve mâ phê? lê , ò-ví-ò-ni tê yè*  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> Num N  
 negative come nominalizer negative able to request for assent brethren one household  
*le-le , nà-ve-ğò-ve chɔ mâ hê? qo .*  
 B<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> N Cl<sub>nf</sub>  
 every ill people unless

## Translation

Cà-bí (Huey Tat)

1. You women who have come, if among the menfolk in your household, there are people <sup>1</sup> who haven't come, please tell all of them about it, OK?
2. Among all of us<sup>2</sup> who make up this community, we're always overloaded with all kinds of work, aren't we.
3. All the men, all the women, we always have work loaded upon us.
4. All kinds [of work].
5. These days when we're all so busy, even though there is work to be done in the village, you brethren haven't had a chance to know about it, right?
6. But now I'm going to tell you all [about it].
7. A while ago a preacher<sup>3</sup> was coming to visit us, so we were told "Go and welcome him."
8. We had heard about this in advance, you see.
9. We were to go and welcome him.
10. We were supposed to help him with all of his belongings.

<sup>1</sup>I.e., your menfolk.

<sup>2</sup>*nò-ɲà-hi*: lit. "you pl. and me". This is the way to express "inclusive 1st p. plural."

<sup>3</sup>This was a Karen pastor from a distant village.

11. So last Tuesday, I went.<sup>4</sup>
12. And on Saturday, Mehle's father<sup>5</sup> went and saw him off again.
13. So I've heard that we paid out ten baht for the expenses we had to help him with.
14. That's right, isn't it, ten baht?
- Somebody 15. Yes.
- Headman 16. We spent ten baht.<sup>6</sup>
17. So what shall we do about that money?
18. We ought to think about the question of this money, all the members of the committee.<sup>7</sup>
19. And our whole community, all of us, ought to listen to each other's opinions and think this over.
20. And I still have other things to tell you, brethren.
21. Soon, when church is over,<sup>8</sup> if we have things to discuss in the committee room, we can discuss them in the committee room.
22. If there's nothing to discuss in the committee room, soon when church is over everybody please gather at my house for a while, OK?
23. There are matters I'd like to discuss. Let's consider them. There are several matters.
24. Brethren, please don't think "[I] don't want to go, since today is Sunday and I don't want to do a bad thing."<sup>9</sup>
25. If you're doing something good, it's good to do it even on Sunday.
26. In fact, if it wasn't today, if today wasn't Sunday, we wouldn't be seeing each other at all, would we!
27. Since we're so busy, everybody is off to his own place, his own field, his own mountain.
28. Unless it's Saturday or Sunday, we don't get to see each other at all.
29. For that reason if there are people who won't come, everybody tell them to!
30. You really must come<sup>10</sup>, brethren, every house [in the village].
31. Unless somebody is actually sick.

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<sup>4</sup>To meet him and bring him to our village.

<sup>5</sup>Villagers are frequently referred to by their children's names, a practice called *teknonymy* by anthropologists.

<sup>6</sup>At this time (mid-1960s) a baht was worth about 5 cents (20 baht to the dollar). Ten baht was a considerable amount of money in Huey Tat in those days.

<sup>7</sup>A committee to handle important matters in Christian villages, of which the headman was an *ex officio* member.

<sup>8</sup>**cô-yè yà? pè tê yân thâ:** lit. "when [we've] finished going down [from] church".

<sup>9</sup>By breaking the Sabbath.

<sup>10</sup>**mâ là ve mâ phè?:** lit. "cannot not come."

## 16.5 Headman's welcome to the New Rice Festival

- (1) *âa* , *yà?-ni* *ηà-hi* *qhɔ-qhò?-lò-qhò?-yâ* , *ηà-hi* *Lâhū-yâ* *gɛ* *ηà-hi* *ve*  
 Interj N<sub>time</sub> Pron Elab<sub>extd</sub> Pron N P<sub>n</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub>  
 well! today we (pl) hill-folk us Lahu people with we (pl) genitivizer  
*ð-chô* *ð-ví-ð-ni* *Kâlâ-phu* *tê phâ* *ηà-hi* *gɛ* *là* *lɛ* , *ηà-hi* *câ-š*  
 N Elab<sub>n</sub> N Q Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N  
 friend brethren Westerner pluralizer us to come suspensive we (pl) new rice  
*câ* *ve* *ð-qhɔ* *lo* *yô-hi* *kà?* *ηà-hi* *gɛ* *ha-lê-ha-qa* *gâ* *te*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>adv</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V  
 celebrate relativizer while locative they also us with happily get to celebrate  
*la* *ve* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 come to V nominalizer
- (2) *lɛ* *ηà-hi* *chɔ* *tê gâ le-le* *ve* *̄* *ha-lê-ha-qa* *tê gɛ* *gâ* *te*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>adv</sub> Q <sub>v</sub>V V  
 and we (pl) people everybody genitivizer topic happily together must do  
*pî* *tù* *yò* *lê* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (3p) future declarative request for assent
- (3) *tê gâ le-le* *ve* *ha-lê-ha-qa* *te* *tù* *yò* .  
 NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>adv</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 everybody genitivizer happily do future declarative
- (4) *dà?* *ve* *yò* , *chi qhe* *te* *ve* *lê* .  
 V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 good nominalizer declarative like this do nominalizer topic
- (5) *ð-bon* *ī* *jâ* .  
 N V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 merit great very
- (6) *lɛ* *Kâlâ-phu* *ηà-hi* *ð-pon* *câ-tù-dò-tù* *ha-lê-ha-qa* *te* *ve* , *và?*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N Pron N Elab<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>adv</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 and Westerner our for N's sake food and drink happily provide nominalizer pig  
*tê* *khe* *vì* *lɛ* *ηà-hi* *chɔ* *qha-pə-è* *ð-pon* *câ* *tù* *ηà-hi*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N AE N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> Pron  
 one for animals buy suspensive us people all for N's sake eat purposive us  
*thâ?* *te-câ-te-tɔ* *lâ* *ve* *ð-bon* *ī* *jâ*  
 P<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 accusative give food and drink benefactive (non-3p) relativizer favor great very  
*lê* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 request for assent
- (7) *Ĝî-ša* *ve* *ð-bon* *ηà-hi* *chɔ* *tê gâ le-le* *ð-qhò?* *gâ* *la* *ve*  
 N P<sub>univ</sub> N Pron N NP<sub>q</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 god genitivizer grace (X'n) us people everybody upon reach come to V nominalizer  
*pa-tɔ* , *te* *chî-mu* *lɛ* , *mâ* *pə* *thâ* *qha-gâ* *Ĝî-ša*  
 P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> N  
 because of do and praise suspensive negative come to an end time until God

- bon*    *ī*    *jâ*    *ve*            *yò*            .  
 N        V<sub>adj</sub>   V<sub>v</sub>    P<sub>univ</sub>            P<sub>uf</sub>  
 blessing   great   very   nominalizer   declarative
- (8) *le*    *yàʔ-ni*   *ηà-hi*    *ha-lè-ha-qa*   *tê ge*    *te*            *ve*            *lè*    *Kâlâ-phu*   *thô*  
 P<sub>unf</sub>   N<sub>time</sub>   Pron    Elab<sub>adv</sub>    Q        V            P<sub>univ</sub>        P<sub>unf</sub>    N            P<sub>unf</sub>  
 and   today   we (pl)   happily   together   celebrate   nominalizer   topic   Westerner   also  
*šêʔ gâ*            ,   *le*    *Yân-cho*   *kàʔ*   *šêʔ gâ*            ,   *Lâhū-yâ*    *kàʔ*   *tê ge*    *ha-lè-ha-qa*  
 Q                    P<sub>unf</sub>    Eth        P<sub>unf</sub>    Q                    N            P<sub>unf</sub>    Q            Elab<sub>adv</sub>  
 three people    and   Karen    also   three people    Lahu people    also   together   happily  
*câ-tù-dò-tù*        *gu*        *le*            *Ĝì-ša*   *ga*    *lâ*                    *ve*        *ò-bon*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub>                V            P<sub>unf</sub>        N        V        P<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>univ</sub>        N  
 food and drink   prepare   suspensive   God   help   benefactive (non-3p)   relativizer   grace (X'n)  
*thâʔ*            *chî-mu*   *ve*                    *pa-tò*        ,   *cho*    *tê gâ le-le*   *ve*            *ha-lè-ha-qa*   *gâ*  
 P<sub>n</sub>                V            P<sub>univ</sub>            P<sub>n</sub>                N        NP<sub>q</sub>        P<sub>univ</sub>        Elab<sub>adv</sub>        vV  
 accusative   praise   nominalizer   because of   people   everybody   genitivizer   happily   get to  
*te*            *ve*            *ò-bon*        *ī*        *jâ*            .  
 V            P<sub>univ</sub>        N            V<sub>adj</sub>    V<sub>v</sub>  
 celebrate   relativizer   grace (X'n)   great   very
- (9) *le*    *chi*    *ò-qhòʔ*    *kàʔ*    *ηà-hi*    *ò-ví-ò-ni*    *cho-ī-cho-mu*    *tê phā*    *thàʔ*    *ηà-hi*  
 P<sub>unf</sub>    Det    N            P<sub>unf</sub>    Pron    Elab<sub>n</sub>    Elab<sub>n</sub>            Q        P<sub>n</sub>            Pron  
 and   this   besides   also   we (pl)   brethren   important people   pluralizer   accusative   our  
*ò-cho*    *gâ*        *te*        *ve*                    *lè*    *Ĝì-ša*   *ga*    *lâ*                    *ve*  
 N        vV        V            P<sub>univ</sub>            P<sub>unf</sub>        N        V        P<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>univ</sub>  
 friend   get to   make   nominalizer   topic   God   help   benefactive (non-3p)   nominalizer  
*mâ*        *hêʔ*            *qhe-qa*   ,   *ηà-hi*    *gâ-mò-gâ-phû*    *dàʔ*            *jo*  
 Adv        V            P<sub>unf</sub>        Pron    Elab<sub>v</sub>                    P<sub>v</sub>            P<sub>v</sub>  
 negative   be the case   if            we (pl)   get to see and meet   mutual action   experiential  
*ve*            *cho*        *kàʔ*    *mâ*        *hêʔ*            .  
 P<sub>univ</sub>        N            P<sub>unf</sub>        Adv        V  
 relativizer   people   even   negative   be the case
- (10) *tê gâ*        *tê*        *mû-mì*        *tê gâ*        *tê*        *mì-gì*        *chê*    *ve*        *cho*  
 NP<sub>q</sub>            Num        Cl<sub>f</sub>            NP<sub>q</sub>            Num        Cl<sub>f</sub>            V        P<sub>univ</sub>        N  
 each person   another   for countries   each person   another   for countries   live   relativizer   people  
*phêʔ*                    *ve*                    ,   *yàʔ-ni*   *Ĝì-ša*   *ve*                    *ò-bon*    *pa-tò*        ,   *tê ge*  
 V                    P<sub>univ</sub>                    N<sub>time</sub>    N        P<sub>univ</sub>                    N            P<sub>n</sub>            Q  
 be a certain way   nominalizer   today   God   genitivizer   grace (X'n)   because of   together  
*ha-lè-ha-qa*   *gâ*        *te*            *ve*                    ,   *Ĝì-ša*   *bon*        *ī*        *jâ*        *lé*  
 Elab<sub>adv</sub>        vV        V            P<sub>univ</sub>                    N        N            V<sub>adj</sub>    V<sub>v</sub>        P<sub>uf</sub>  
 happily   get to   celebrate   nominalizer   God   blessing   great   very   request for assent
- (11) *ò-qhòʔ-nó*    *a-yé-yé*    *gâ*        *qòʔ*        *mò dàʔ*   *ve*            *thàʔ*        *dô*  
 N<sub>time</sub>            Adv        vV        vV        V + P<sub>v</sub>    P<sub>univ</sub>            P<sub>n</sub>            V  
 in the future   sometime   get to   V again   meet   nominalizer   accusative   look forward to  
*le*            *Ĝì-ša*   *ve*                    *bon*        *thàʔ*        *qhà-thâʔ-kàʔ*   *dô-nô*        *chê*  
 P<sub>unf</sub>            N        P<sub>univ</sub>                    N        P<sub>n</sub>            AE            V            V<sub>v</sub>  
 suspensive   God   genitivizer   blessing   accusative   always   be mindful of   continuous  
*ve*            *yò*                    .  
 P<sub>univ</sub>            P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer   declarative



## Translation

1. Well, today our friends, our Caucasian<sup>1</sup> brethren, have visited us, us hillfolk, us Lahu, and while we are celebrating the New Rice Festival<sup>2</sup> they have come to participate with us in joy and gladness.
2. And we, all of us, must welcome them happily.
3. We will all have fun.
4. It's a good thing, to do it this way.
5. The merit is very great.
6. And the Westerner has graciously provided food and drink for us, having bought a pig for all of us, to feed us all, feeding us and giving us to drink.
7. The merit is very great, is it not!
8. Since the grace of God has reached all of us, we must praise Him, for God's grace is great and never-ending.
9. And today we are celebrating together, three Westerners, and three Karens, together happily with us Lahu, preparing food and drink together, and since we are praising the grace of God for helping us, all of us can celebrate, and the merit is very great.
10. And besides this, since great and important people have become friends of all of us, if it were not for God's helping us, we would never have been the sort of people who would have been able to meet them.
11. The fact that people living in different countries, in different lands, because of the grace of God, are celebrating together today, is indeed because God's grace is very great, is it not!
12. In the future we look forward to meeting each other again, and we will always be properly grateful for God's grace.

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<sup>1</sup>**Kâlâ-phu**: the original meaning of Kâlâ was "India", but this was later extended to any foreign country inhabited by non-Mongoloid people. Adding the morpheme **phu** 'white' specifically refers to Caucasians. See DL:325-6.

<sup>2</sup>**Cà-šĩ-Ń cá ve**: 'celebrate the New Rice Festival' (lit. "eat cooked rice from the new paddy"). A harvest festival celebrated in October, both in animist and Christian villages. See DL:446.

## 16.6 Church service

(1) ( *Singing* )

(2) *lî?-he-kwân nābà? nî ha tē chi hí mà , ni ha tē chi hí*  
 N N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V Cl<sub>f</sub> Num  
 hymn number two hundred eighteen for things look at hundred eighteen  
*mà , " jō-mō thà? cū lē kán te tù "...*  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub>  
 for things lord accusative put one's trust in suspensive work do future

(3) *yō ve là?-ka ò-lōn tho tù ηà mâ yà?-tō*  
 Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N N V P<sub>v</sub> Pron Adv V  
 he genitivizer cross matter tell future I negative be embarrassed  
*tē yō .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic topicalizer declarative

(4) *là?-ka lo ηà qay thā ò-ğō? thà? ġa mō yā .*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> vV V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 cross locative I go when light accusative get to see emphatic

(5) *ηà dō-hā tù qha-pà-è mé qay pà .*  
 Pron V P<sub>v-nom</sub> AE V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 I worry sthg that is cause for V'ing all disappear V away V completely

(6) *yōn ve thà? pa-tō co-ha ġa mō yō .*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N vV+V<sub>h</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 believe nominalizer because eternal life find declarative

(7) *chi-bà? ha-lē-ha-qa ġa chē pà .*  
 N<sub>time</sub> Elab<sub>adv</sub> vV V V<sub>v</sub>  
 now happily get to live V completely

(8) *ηà ve jō-mō ve ò-mē thà? ηà ġā va lē*  
 N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> Pron N<sub>spec</sub> + V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 my lord genitivizer name accusative I rely on another's strength suspensive  
*yōn jā .*  
 V V<sub>v</sub>  
 believe very

(9) *ηà yà?-tō tù ni-ma lū tù yō mâ phē?*  
 Pron V P<sub>v-nom</sub> N<sub>spec</sub> + V P<sub>v-nom</sub> Pron Adv V<sub>v</sub>  
 I be ashamed cause for V'ing be upset cause for V'ing He negative able to  
*pî-lō yā .*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 causative (formal) emphatic

(10) *yō ve ka-tî?-šá-câ? yē jâ .*  
 N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 His covenant (X'n) strong very

- (11) *yô tî-khô mâ lû tà* .  
 Pron N Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 His words negative be destroyed negative probability
- (12) *ɲà yô thà? qha chî-à? ve thà? yô qha-dê? hà?-šá*  
 Pron Pron P<sub>n</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron AE V  
 I Him accusative all entrust with nominalizer accusative He properly take care of  
*tā*  
 P<sub>v</sub>  
 durative
- (13) *yô ð-pa qɔ-jɔ ġû-šĩ lo ɲà thà? šɛ qay tû yò* .  
 Pron N N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 He father throne before locative I accusative lead V along future declarative
- (14) *Yēlû?šālēn ð-šĩ ð-qhɔ lo ɲà thà? chē ci tû*  
 N<sub>place</sub> N NP<sub>loc</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 Jerusalem new thing in I accusative live let (permissive causative) future  
*yò*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (15) *nī ha tē chi hí mà* ...  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 two hundred eighteen for things
- (16) *ca m̀ p̀ ve qo , tē gɛ tu lɛ* ...  
 vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Q V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 go and do find finish V'ing nominalizer if together stand up suspensive
- (17) .....
- (18) *ð-ví-ð-ni tē ġā le-le Ğì-ša bon thà? pa-tɔ mâ hē? ve qo ,*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> N N P<sub>n</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 brethren everybody God blessing because negative be the case nominalizer if  
*ɲà-hi chi qhe mâ ġā chē ve yò lê*  
 Pron AE<sub>ext</sub> Adv vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 we (pl) like this negative get to live nominalizer declarative request for assent  
*mì-ğì-qhò?* .  
 N<sub>loc</sub>  
 on earth
- (19) *Ğì-ša ɲà-hi thà? thāy-qhò? ve pa-tɔ , ɲà-hi tē ġā le-le chi-bà?*  
 N Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron NP<sub>q</sub> N<sub>time</sub>  
 god we (pl) accusative redeem nominalizer because of we (pl) everybody now  
*mì-ğì-qhò? ġā chē ve yò lê*  
 N<sub>loc</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 on earth get to live nominalizer declarative request for assent
- (20) *chɔ ve ni-ma-šĩ ɲà-hi mâ ġa m̀ lê* .  
 N P<sub>univ</sub> N Pron Adv vV + V<sub>h</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 people genitivizer heart we (pl) negative find request for assent

- (21) *yà?-qhâ yô šî ve yò qô?-ve* .  
 Conj Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 however He know nominalizer declarative it is said
- (22) *thò?-ma pa-tò le* .  
 N<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 what because of substantive qst
- (23) *nò-hi cà-šî-ŵ ġa cá ve pa-tò , Ğî-ša thà? dō-nō*  
 Pron N V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> , N P<sub>n</sub> V  
 you (pl) new rice get to celebrate nominalizer because of God accusative remember  
*le , yô-hi thà? kù-là le* ,  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 suspensive them accusative invite to come suspensive
- (24) *cà-šî ca cá la ve thà? pa-tò le yô mâ-mâ*  
 N V<sub>v</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V<sub>redup</sub>  
 new rice go and do celebrate come to V nominalizer because suspensive He very much  
*ha-lê jâ ve yò cê* .  
 V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 happy very nominalizer declarative quotative
- (25) *à-thò?-ma thà? pa-tò le* .  
 NP P<sub>uf</sub>  
 for what reason substantive qst
- (26) *nò-hi Ğî-ša ve bon mâ lân ve pa-tò le* ,  
 Pron N P<sub>univ</sub> N Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 you (pl) God genitivizer grace (X'n) negative forget nominalizer because of suspensive  
*nò-hi qhe te ve yò cê* .  
 Pron Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 you (pl) thus do nominalizer declarative quotative
- (27) *yô qô? ve , Yēšû? mì-ġi-qhō? chē thâ khi-tù?-chō tê chi ġâ*  
 Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 he say nominalizer Jesus on earth live when leper ten for humans  
*ve ò-to gu-nay ve lê* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 genitivizer body heal nominalizer request for assent
- (28) *tê chi ġâ chi ve ò-qhō lo , nay pà qhò?-nō qô ġâ*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Det NP<sub>loc</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> M<sub>px</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub>  
 ten for people these among get better finish V'ing after nine for people  
*ō-qhe le qò? e ve cê , tê pò? tí* .  
 P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub>  
 topicalizer return home motion away nominalizer quotative immediately
- (29) *ò-mî-ò-yâ ġe ha-lê-ha-qa qò? e le , " chi-bà? ñà*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>adv</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> , N<sub>time</sub> Pron  
 wife and children to happily go home motion away suspensive now I  
*khi-tù? a-nà tê phā qha-pà-è mé qay pà* " .  
 N N Q AE V V V<sub>v</sub>  
 leprosy disease pluralizer pluralizer get lost go finish V'ing

- (30) *tê gã* *̄-qhe le* , *yô ð-to* *nay* *thô* , *yô* *Yēšû?* *thà?*  
 Q P<sub>unf</sub> NP V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 the other one topicalizer he himself get better even though he Jesus accusative  
*mâ* *lân* *ve* *pa-tô* , *Yēšû?* *ge* *qay* *le* , *Yēšû?* *thà?*  
 Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 negative forget nominalizer because of Jesus to go suspensive Jesus accusative  
*chî-mu* *ve* *yò* *cê* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 praise nominalizer declarative quotative
- (31) " *chi-bà?* *nò* *hà* *à?* *gu* *lâ* *ve* *pa-tô*  
 N<sub>time</sub> Pron Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 now you me accusative cure benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer because of  
*le* *hà ve* *ð-to* *qò?* *dà?* *la* *pà*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N <sub>v</sub>V V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 suspensive my body V back (to starting point) fine come to V V completely  
*ve* *pa-tô* , *nò ve* *ð-bon* *hà* *mâ* *lân* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N Pron Adv V  
 nominalizer because of Your grace (X'n) I negative forget
- (32) *nò ve* *ð-bon* *à?* *chî-mu* *šā* " .  
 N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 Your grace (X'n) accusative praise intentional (1p)
- (33) *chî-mu* *pà* *qhà?-nó* *yô* *ð-mî-ð-yâ* *ge* *qò?* *e* *le*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> M<sub>prfx</sub> Pron Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 praise finish V'ing after he wife and children with go home motion away suspensive  
 , *ð-mî-ð-yâ* *ge* *ha-lè-ha-qa* *chê* *qay* *ve* *yò*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>adv</sub> V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 wife and children with happily continuous continue V'ing nominalizer declarative  
*cê* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative
- (34) *chɔ* *chi qhe* *ve* *tê phā* *lê* *dà?* *à* *qô?-ve* .  
 N AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 people like this genitivizer pluralizer topic good asseverative it is said
- (35) *chɔ* *qhà* *ve* *tê gã* *mâ qô?* *lê* , *šu* *yô*  
 N N<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q Adv + V P<sub>uf</sub> Pron Pron  
 people whichever genitivizer one person does not matter request for assent others his  
*ð-pon* *ga* *pî* *ve* *tê yân thā* , *šu* *ð-pon* *yô* *mâ* *qò?*  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Pron N Pron Adv <sub>v</sub>V  
 sake help benefactive (3p) relativizer when others towards he negative V again  
*dô-nô* *qo* , *šu* *ð-pon* *mâ* *qò?* *šī* *pí*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N Adv <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub>  
 be mindful of if other people towards negative V in return understand able to V  
*ve* *ô-ve* *lê* *mâ dà?* *qô?-ve* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub> Adv + V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 relativizer that topic bad it is said
- (36) *dà?* *ve* *chɔ* *mâ* *hê?* .  
 V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Adv V  
 good relativizer people negative be the case

Church service

- (37) *šū ò-pon dš-šī ve chò lè dà? ve yò*  
 Pron N V P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 others towards know what is right relativizer people topic good nominalizer declarative
- (38) .....
- (39) *ò-thá chò ní ġá cò ve cê*  
 N<sub>time</sub> N Q V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 in the past people two people be there nominalizer quotative
- (40) *tê ġá ̄ Ġì-ša-yâ , tê ġá ̄ Ġì-ša-yâ mâ hê?*  
 Q P<sub>unf</sub> N Q P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv V  
 one person topic godly person the other one topic Christian negative be the case  
*cê*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative
- (41) *̄ câ ve tê yân thâ , ô ̄ Ġì-ša-yâ phê? ve*  
 N V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 meal eat relativizer when over there locative Christian be a certain way relativizer  
*tê ġá ̄ bon lè ve cê*  
 Q P<sub>unf</sub> OV P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 one person topic pray nominalizer quotative
- (42) *Ġì-ša thà? chî-mu ve cê*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 god accusative praise nominalizer quotative
- (43) *ò-ve tê ġá ̄ yô lški-yâ phê? ve pa-tò bon*  
 Det Q P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N  
 that one person topic he heathen be a certain way nominalizer because of blessing  
*mâ lè cê*  
 Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 negative ask for quotative
- (44) *chî thà? pa-tò yô Ġì-ša-yâ tê ġá thà? qô? pî ve , "*  
 NP Pron N Q P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 therefore he Christian one person accusative say benefactive (3p) nominalizer  
*à-ma te nò ̄ câ lε bon lè le " cê*  
 Cl<sub>nf</sub> Pron N V P<sub>unf</sub> OV P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 why you meal eat suspensive pray substantive qst quotative
- (45) *yô tê ġá lè bon mâ lè qô?-ve*  
 Pron Q P<sub>unf</sub> N Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 he one person topic blessing negative ask for it is said
- (46) *yô-qhâ-yô ti-mi te ve hε te ve*  
 AE N V P<sub>univ</sub> OV P<sub>univ</sub>  
 he himself paddy field (irrigated) cultivate nominalizer cultivate a swidden nominalizer
- (47) *yô-qhâ-yô câ-tù cò ve*  
 AE N<sub>dvb</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 automatically food have nominalizer

- (48) *qhe à? pa-tə , yŕ-qhâ-yŕ câ* .  
 Adv P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> AE V  
 like this accusative because of he himself eat
- (49) *yŕ Ğî-ša bon à? mâ dŕ-nŕ qô?-ve* .  
 Pron N N P<sub>n</sub> Adv V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 he God blessing accusative negative be mindful of it is said
- (50) *nŕ à-thò?-ma te Ğî-ša thà? dŕ-nŕ le qô? pî*  
 Pron Adv<sub>interrog</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 you why God accusative be mindful of substantive qst say benefactive (3p)  
*ve cê*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer quotative
- (51) .....
- (52) *yŕ qô? pî ve , ” ni?* .  
 Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V<sub>imp</sub>  
 he say benefactive (3p) nominalizer look!
- (53) *ŋà Ğî-ša-yâ phê? ve thà? pa-tə ŋà câ-tù câ ve tê yân thâ*  
 Pron N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron N<sub>dvb</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub>  
 I Christian be a certain way nominalizer because I food eat relativizer when  
*Ğî-ša thà? dŕ-nŕ ve yò ”, qô? ve cê* .  
 N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 God accusative be mindful of nominalizer declarative say nominalizer quotative
- (54) *tê ĝâ ̄-qhe le câ tù ve ̄ tê phâ*  
 Q P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Q  
 the other one topicalizer eat sthg that is used for V'ing nominalizer food pluralizer  
*lâ ā ve lê* .  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be left over perfective nominalizer request for assent
- (55) *yù-qò? e le yè qhə ̄ , và?-é tê phâ*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N Q  
 take back home motion away suspensive house inside locative piglet pluralizer  
*à? ŋā kə cā pî le , và?-é tê phâ ca câ*  
 P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Q V<sub>v</sub> V  
 accusative pour V into feed benefactive (3p) suspensive piglet pluralizer go and do eat  
*la ve cê* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 come to V nominalizer quotative
- (56) .....
- (57) *yŕ qô? ve nŕ-hî Ğî-ša thà? pî ve lè*  
 Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N P<sub>n</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 he say nominalizer you (pl) God accusative benefactive (3p) nominalizer topic

- chi má-ê* *ce tí* *yò* *cê* .  
 N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> + P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 such a tiny bit only declarative quotative
- (58) *Ĝì-ša ñà-hi thà? qhò? lâ ve mâ já qô?*  
 N Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> V  
 god we (pl) accusative give back benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer much very say  
*ve*  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer
- (59) *ñà-hi thà? mē?-šī pè? lâ ve , nā-pɔ , là?-šɛ ,*  
 Pron P<sub>n</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N N  
 we (pl) accusative eye give benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer ear hands  
*à-ğâ-à-šá , khi-šɛ-là?-šɛ tē phā pè? lâ ve*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> Q V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 vital force hands and feet pluralizer give benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer
- (60) *le mû-ni à-ğâ? tē phā pè? lâ ve*  
 Conj N N Q V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 and sun rays of light pluralizer give benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer
- (61) *qhɔ-qhò?-lâ-qhò? tē phā ha-lê-ha-qa ġa ni ve*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> Q Elab<sub>adv</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 mountains and valleys pluralizer happily get to look at nominalizer
- (62) *chi thà? pa-tɔ le , Ĝì-ša bon mâ-mâ ĩ já ve yò cê*  
 Conj N N V<sub>redup</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 therefore God blessing very much great very nominalizer declarative quotative
- (63) *chi ñà-hi Ĝì-ša à? pî ve lè a-cí ce è*  
 Det Pron N P<sub>n</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>rt</sub>  
 this we (pl) God accusative benefactive (3p) nominalizer topic a little only adverbializer
- (64) *Ĝì-ša ñà-hi à? pè? lâ ve lè mâ já*  
 N Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 god we (pl) accusative give benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer topic much very
- (65) *le ñà-hi šī pà qhò?-nó lè , ñà-hi ôo mû-nɔ-ma qhò?*  
 Conj Pron V V<sub>v</sub> M<sub>prfx</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N<sub>sd</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub>  
 and we (pl) die V already after topic we (pl) way over there heaven (X'n) up there  
*ğa qò? chē tū ve yò cê*  
 vV vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 get to V again live future nominalizer declarative quotative
- (66) *chi-ve à? ni-? qô?-ve*  
 Det P<sub>n</sub> V<sub>imp</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 this matter object consider! it is said
- (67) *chi-bà? ñà-hi Ĝì-ša-yâ phè? ve lè chi-ve á-pɔ-qu tē šī*  
 N<sub>time</sub> Pron N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Det N Num V  
 now we (pl) Christian be a certain way nominalizer topic this banana one know





Church service

- (76) *Ği-ša thà? pî ve lè mâ mâ lê*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv + V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 god accusative give nominalizer topic not much request for assent
- (77) *ð-pa ñà-hi thà? pî lâ ve lè mâ já qô?-ve*  
 N Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 father we (pl) accusative give benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer topic much very it is said
- (78) *chi-bà? ñà-hi Ği-ša thà? tân pî ve lè*  
 N<sub>time</sub> Pron N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 now we (pl) God accusative make a religious offering benefactive (3p) nominalizer topic  
*chi má-ê ce tí yò cê*  
 N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> + P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 such a tiny bit only declarative quotative
- (79) *phu mâ qô? câ-tù mâ qô? Ği-ša thà? tân pî*  
 N Adv + V N<sub>dvb</sub> Adv + V N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 money whether food whether God accusative make a religious offering benefactive (3p)  
*ve lè a-cí ce tí yò cê*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Adv P<sub>univ</sub> + P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer topic a little only declarative quotative
- (80) *chi câ-tù le phu tí mâ hê?*  
 Det N<sub>dvb</sub> Conj N P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V  
 this food and money only negative be the case
- (81) *ñà-hi ve ni-ma thô qha-pà-è Ği-ša thà? tân pî qô?-ve*  
 Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> AE N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 we (pl) genitivizer heart also all God accusative offer benefactive (3p) it is said
- (82) *Ği-ša thà? tân pî pà qhò?-nó Ği-ša ñà-hi thà? ga*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> M<sub>px</sub> N Pron P<sub>n</sub> V  
 god accusative offer benefactive (3p) finish V'ing after God we (pl) accusative help  
*lâ tù ve lè*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p) future nominalizer request for assent
- (83) *Ği-ša ñà-hi thà? thāy-ghò? lâ tù ve yò*  
 N Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 god we (pl) accusative redeem benefactive (non-3p) future nominalizer declarative
- (84) *ñà-hi à? thāy-ghò? tù ð-pon Yěšû?-Khi? là?-ka qhò?*  
 Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> N N<sub>pers</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub>  
 we (pl) accusative redeem purposive in order to Jesus Christ cross on top of  
*khān-ši ve*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 sacrifice one's life nominalizer
- (85) *ñà-hi ̄ vên-bâ?-yâ phê? ve yò cê*  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 we (pl) topic sinner be sthg nominalizer declarative quotative

- (86) *qhe-qa , ñà-hi tē gā lē tē gā vên-bâ? cò ve qhe ,*  
 Conj Pron Q Conj Q N V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv  
 so we (pl) one person and another person sin be there nominalizer like this  
*tē gā lē tē gā vên-bâ? mâ phê dâ? ve qo ,*  
 Q Conj Q N Adv V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 one person and another person sin negative forgive mutual action nominalizer if  
*te yâ? dâ? mâ qô? lê , vên-bâ? mâ phê*  
 vV V+P<sub>v</sub> Adv+V P<sub>uf</sub> N Adv V  
 do and offend each other whether request for assent sin negative forgive  
*dâ? ve qo , mì-gì-qhò? chē ve tē gā lē*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub>  
 mutual action nominalizer if on earth live relativizer one person suspensive  
*tē gā mē?-phû ni qo mâ pyō qô?-ve .*  
 Q N V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 another person face look at if negative pleasant it is said
- (87) *qhe-te-lē , tē gā le-le Ği-ša ge chî-â? lē , Ği-ša ge lò-khó lē ,*  
 Conj NP<sub>q</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub>  
 so everybody God to devote suspensive God to beg for sthg suspensive  
*tē gā lē tē gā te yâ? dâ? mâ qô? , dē-dâ?-yâ?-dâ?*  
 Q P<sub>unf</sub> Q vV V+P<sub>v</sub> Adv+V Elab<sub>v</sub>  
 one person suspensive one person do and quarrel with each other whether quarrel  
*mâ qô? , Ği-ša ñà-hi thâ? vên-bâ? phê pà qhe-lē , ñà-hi thô*  
 Adv+V N Pron P<sub>n</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub>  
 whether God we (pl) accusative sin forgive V completely like you (pl) also  
*tē gā lē tē gā ò-ví-ò-ni ge vên-bâ? ğa phê dâ?*  
 Q Conj Q Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N vV V P<sub>v</sub>  
 one person and another person brethren toward sin get to forgive mutual action  
*ve yò cê .*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative quotative
- (88) .....
- (89) *Cà-bo : ... chi tē pô? ñà-hi phò dâ? ve ò-yân chi*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Det  
 male name on this occasion we (pl) meet mutual action relativizer time this  
*tē yân ò-qhò lo ñà-hi phê qay tù yò .*  
 Q NP<sub>time</sub> Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 the time that during we (pl) break up (as a meeting) V away future declarative
- (90) *chi thâ? pa-tò lē ò-yân chi ve ò-qhò lo ò-ví-ò-ni tē phā thâ? pò la*  
 Conj N Det N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> Q P<sub>n</sub> V+P<sub>v</sub>  
 therefore time this during locative brethren pluralizer accusative in the past  
*ve ò-ni-ò-há tē phā qha-pà-è ve ò-qhò lo , ñà-hi*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> Q AE P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron  
 nominalizer days and nights pluralizer all genitivizer during locative we (pl)  
*chò-yâ lē te mâ cê ve ò-cà tē phā thâ? pa-tò phâ?-dâ?-gí-dâ?*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> V Adv V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Q P<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub>  
 people topic do negative ought to relativizer thing pluralizer because become estranged

- ve*  
*P<sub>univ</sub>*  
 nominalizer
- (91) *tê gã*    *ɛ*    *tê gã*            *vê-bá* *tàn*    *dà?*            *ve*            *tê cə*    *mā*  
*Q*            *Conj* *Q*                    *N*    *V*    *P<sub>v</sub>*            *P<sub>univ</sub>*    *Q*            *V<sub>adj</sub>*  
 one person and another person sin blame mutual action relativizer situation many  
*ve*            ,    *ə-ví-ə-ni*    *tê phā*    ...  
*P<sub>univ</sub>*            *Elab<sub>n</sub>*    *Q*  
 nominalizer brethren pluralizer
- (92) *tê gã*            *ɛ*    *tê gã*            *thà?*            *vê-bá?* *phê*    *dà?*            *ve*  
*Q*            *P<sub>unf</sub>* *Q*                    *P<sub>n</sub>*            *N*    *V*    *P<sub>v</sub>*            *P<sub>univ</sub>*  
 one person and another person accusative sin forgive mutual action relativizer  
*tê cə*            *lê*    *Ĝĩ-ša* *ve*            *a-lō* *cə*                    *ɛ*            *dà?*    *jā*    *ve*  
*Q*            *P<sub>unf</sub>* *N*    *P<sub>univ</sub>*            *N*    *V*                    *P<sub>univ</sub>*    *V<sub>adj</sub>*    *V<sub>v</sub>*    *P<sub>univ</sub>*  
 one thing topic God genitivizer will be in accordance with because good very relativizer  
*ə-cə*    *phê?*                    *ve*                    *yò*  
*N*    *V*                            *P<sub>univ</sub>*                    *P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 thing be a certain way nominalizer declarative
- (93) *ŋà-hi*    *Khrĩ?-yā*    *te*    *tù*            *ve*            *kán*    *chi qhe*    *phê?*            *ve*  
*Pron*    *N<sub>prop</sub>*    *V*    *P<sub>v</sub>*            *P<sub>univ</sub>*            *N*    *AE<sub>ext</sub>*    *V*                    *P<sub>univ</sub>*  
 we (pl) Christian do purposive relativizer work like this be a certain way nominalizer  
*pa-to*            *ŋà ə-to*    *thō* *pə*                    *la*            *ve*            *ə-yān* *ə-qhə* *lo*    ...  
*P<sub>n</sub>*            *Pron*    *P<sub>unf</sub>* *V*                    *P<sub>v</sub>*            *P<sub>univ</sub>*            *N*    *N<sub>time</sub>*    *P<sub>n</sub>*  
 because of I myself also spend (time) come to V relativizer time while locative
- (94) *chi háy*            *ve*            *kà?*    *te yà?*            *kì*            *ĩ-jā-mā-jā*            *ve*  
*NP<sub>ext</sub>*            *P<sub>univ</sub>*            *P<sub>unf</sub>*    *vV + V<sub>h</sub>*            *P<sub>v-nom</sub>*            *Elab<sub>v</sub>*            *P<sub>univ</sub>*  
 very small genitivizer also cause offense reason to V very much indeed nominalizer  
*yò*  
*P<sub>uf</sub>*  
 declarative
- (95) *yà?-qhā*    *ə-ví-ə-ni*    *tê phā*            *thà?*            *ŋà*    *kà?*    *ni-mə*    *ve*            *ə-cə*    *kà?*    *cə*  
*Conj*            *Elab<sub>n</sub>*    *Q*                    *P<sub>n</sub>*            *Pron*    *P<sub>unf</sub>*    *V*            *P<sub>univ</sub>*            *N*            *P<sub>unf</sub>*    *V*  
 however brethren pluralizer accusative I also observe relativizer things also be there  
*mā*  
*V<sub>v</sub>*  
 be many
- (96) *yà?-qhā*    *vê-bá?*    *qô?*    *ve*            *tê phā*            *pò*            *la*            *šē* .  
*Conj*            *N*            *V*    *P<sub>univ</sub>*            *Q*            *V*            *P<sub>v</sub>*            *P<sub>v</sub>*  
 however offense call nominalizer pluralizer overlook come to V still
- (97) *ə-ví-ə-ni*    *tê phā*            *ə-qhō* *kà?*            *ŋà*    *tê cə*            *è*    *kà?*    *vên-bá*    *tàn*  
*Elab<sub>n</sub>*            *Q*                    *N<sub>loc</sub>*    *P<sub>n</sub>*            *Pron*    *Q*                    *P<sub>unf</sub>*    *P<sub>unf</sub>*    *N*            *V*  
 brethren pluralizer upon locative I one thing even even offense accuse  
*tù*                    *mā*            *cə*  
*P<sub>v-nom</sub>*                    *Adv*            *V*  
 cause for V'ing negative be there

- (98) *lɛ cò tã ve ð-ǵũ-šĩ ð-qhɔ lo Ğĩ-ša ve a-lõ*  
 Conj V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 and be there perfective nominalizer in the future in locative God genitivizer will  
*cò lɛ cò ve qhe-qo , tẽ gɛ ð-hó-ð-ná*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Q Elab<sub>n</sub>  
 be in accordance with topic be in accordance with nominalizer even if together leader  
*mã ġa - mã te phê? thô , ð-chô-ð-pá? ġa te chê*  
 Adv V Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>adv</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub>  
 negative get negative do able to even in a neighborly way must do continuous  
*lɛ Ğĩ-ša ve a-lõ tẽ gɛ ġa te*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> N Q <sub>v</sub>V <sub>v</sub>V  
 suspensive God genitivizer will together must make sthg and V with it  
*cò qo thô ...*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 be in accordance with topic also
- (99) *lɛ chi tẽ khi ñã-hi phò dà? ve chi tẽ pɔ? lì?-hê-kwân qa-mì*  
 Conj NP<sub>q</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> N V  
 and this time we (pl) meet mutual action nominalizer this time hymn sing  
*ve chi tẽ mà thà? qa pè ve tẽ yân thâ ñã-hi*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Pron  
 nominalizer this one for things accusative sing finish V'ing relativizer when we (pl)  
*phê qay ve yò*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 break up (as a meeting) V away nominalizer declarative
- (100) *šɛ? ha nĩ chi khò? mà .*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Q  
 three hundred twenty number six
- (101) *šɛ? ha nĩ chi khò? mà .*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Num Q  
 three hundred twenty number six

**Translation**

Pastor Cà-bo:

1. Hymn Number 218, 218: “Trusting in the Lord I shall work.”<sup>1</sup>

Verse I:

Trusting in the Lord I shall work

I shall teach His words

Indeed I am not ashamed

To tell about His cross

Chorus:

When I approach the Cross I surely see the light.

<sup>1</sup>This hymn was published by Isaac Watts in 1707 (refrain by Ralph E. Hudson, 1885), under the title “At the Cross.” The style is poetic and strikes one now as pleasantly archaic. The Lahu words have nothing to do with the English original, which may be accessed at: [http://library.timelesstruths.org/music/At\\_the\\_Cross\\_Hudson/](http://library.timelesstruths.org/music/At_the_Cross_Hudson/)

## Church service

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My worries have completely disappeared.  
Since I have faith, eternal life is mine  
Henceforth shall I live in joy and gladness.

Verse II:

I rely upon the name of the Lord  
And staunchly do I believe and trust in Him  
Surely He will not allow  
Shame or distress to come to me!

Verse III:

Exceeding strong His promise and His covenant  
His words incontrovertible  
All that I entrust to Him  
He shall nurture faithfully.

Verse IV:

Before the throne of the Father  
He will guide me  
He will allow me to live  
In the New Jerusalem.

Number 218—when we have found it, let us rise.

<The following text is a paragraph-by-paragraph translation by a bilingual Karen woman pastor (Hsəya-ma Hla Yin) of a Karen preacher’s sermon at this church service in Huey Tat village.>

1. Brethren one and all, if it were not for the grace of God, we could not exist like this, in the world, could we!
2. Because God has redeemed us, we can all now exist in the world.
3. We cannot see into people’s hearts, can we! But He knows, as it is said.
4. Why is this?
5. Since you all have gotten to celebrate the New Rice Festival<sup>2</sup>, remembering God, and because you have invited them to come celebrate the new rice, He is extremely pleased.
6. Why is that?
7. Because you have not forgotten the grace of God, you are doing it this way, He says.
8. He says that when Jesus lived on the earth, He cured the bodies of ten people with leprosy, didn’t he!
9. Among these ten people, nine of them went home immediately after they had been cured, it is said.
10. Returning home happily to their wives and children, they said, “Now my disease of leprosy has completely disappeared!”

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<sup>2</sup>cà-š̄i-5 cā ve: ‘celebrating the new rice’ (“eating the cooked rice from the new paddy”), a joyous harvest feast observed in both animist and Christian villages in October. See DL 446. “Them” refers to guests from other villages as well as foreigners.

11. As for the other person, although his body was cured, he did not forget Jesus, so he went to Jesus and sang his praises, it is said.
  12. “Because you have cured me now, since my body has become well again, I shall not forget your grace.”
  13. I shall praise your grace!”
  14. [Only] after he had praised Him did he go home to his wife and children, and go on living with them in joy and gladness.
  15. All people like that are very good, it is said.
  16. Whosoever it may be, if he does not remember when others have helped him, if he can’t acknowledge it, that is not good, is it!
  17. That is not a good person.
  18. As for those people who are mindful towards others, they are good...
  19. Once there were two people.
  20. One was a person of God, and the other was not, it is said.
  21. When it was time to eat a meal, the Christian said a prayer.
  22. He praised God.
  23. As for the other person, since he was a heathen<sup>3</sup>, he did not say a prayer.
  24. So he said to the religious person, “Why do you pray when you eat?”
  25. As for him, he didn’t say a prayer.
  26. All by himself he cultivated a paddy field, cultivated a swidden.
  27. As if automatically there was food to eat.
  28. Therefore he ate all by himself.
  29. He was not grateful for the grace of God.
  30. “Why do you remember God?” he said.
  31. He answered, “Look! Since I am a Christian, when I eat a meal I remember God,” he said.
  32. As for the other person, he had a lot of food left over. So he took it all home, and poured it out for his piglets to eat around his house, and all the piglets came to eat.
- \*\*\*
33. He says, “What you give to God is very little.
  34. What God gives back is very great,” he says.
  35. He has given us eyes, ears, vital force, hands and feet.
  36. And He has bestowed upon us all the rays of the sun.
  37. All the mountains and the valleys<sup>4</sup> we happily get to behold.
  38. For these reasons the grace of God has been exceedingly great.
  39. That which we give to God is only a little.

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<sup>3</sup>lōkī-yā: ‘member of a religious outgroup; worldly person; gentile; heathen’. Ult. < Sanskrit loka ‘world’. See DL:1401. This term is opposed to ḡī-śa-yā ‘Christian’, lit. “godly person”.

<sup>4</sup>qhō-qhō?-lō-qhō?

40. What God bestows on us is very great.
  41. And after we die, over there, up there in Heaven we will live again.
  42. “ Consider this!” he says.
  43. The fact that we are now Christians is the same as the story of the banana.
  44. One day a certain mother and father brought a cluster of bananas to give to their tiny little daughter.
  45. So they picked a banana and gave it to their daughter.
  46. After this they put the cluster back down.
  47. Then he [the father] said, “Daughter, please feed [one to] your daddy.”
  48. She didn’t give [anything] to him. She didn’t want to give anything to her father.
  49. He asked her a second time, and she just plucked off a tiny bit for him, her father.
  50. So we Christians are also just like this, are we not?<sup>5</sup>
  51. That which we give to God is not much.
  52. What the Father gives to us is very much indeed, he says.
  53. What we offer to God now is just a tiny bit.
  54. Whether it is money or whether it is food, what we offer to God is only a little.
  55. It’s not just a question of food or money.
  56. Let us also offer up our hearts completely to God.
  57. After we have offered [ourselves] to God, God will help us, will he not!
  58. God will redeem us.
  59. Jesus Christ sacrificed himself on the cross in order to save us.
  60. We are sinners.
  61. So, given that we sin one against the other, if we do not forgive each other’s sins, even if we have been quarreling and bickering, if we do not forgive one another, it is unpleasant when one person living on this earth sees another’s face.
  62. Therefore, all of us trusting in God, praying to God, whether we have committed offenses against each other, or quarreled and disputed with each other, just as God has forgiven us our sins, you also [must] forgive each other, your brethren.
- \*\*\*
63. In the course of this occasion when we have met together, we will now soon break up.
  64. Therefore within this [remaining] time, amid everything [that has happened] to us all<sup>6</sup> in the past days and nights, because of all the things we folk<sup>7</sup> did that we should not have done, we have become estranged from one another.<sup>8</sup>
  65. There are many cases of people blaming each other for offenses, my brethren.

<sup>5</sup>The pastor repeatedly uses the quotative morphemes **cê** and **qô?-ve** in the following sentences to indicate that he is quoting scripture. However, many of the occurrences of **qô?-ve** ‘it is said; he says’ in this text are there mainly because the Karen woman is translating what someone else is saying.

<sup>6</sup>**ò-ví-ò-ni tê phā:** ‘all older and younger siblings’.

<sup>7</sup>**chō-yâ:** ‘human beings’.

<sup>8</sup>**phâ?-dâ?-gî-dâ?:** (Elab<sub>v</sub>) ‘break-up a relationship, split up (as a married couple or a village)’.



66. [But] for a person to forgive another person's offense [is according to] God's [will, and is a very good thing.
67. Since this is the work we Christians have to do, during the time I myself have spent on this...
68. There are so many cases of totally trivial matters [becoming] huge causes for disputes.
69. But I have also observed many things about my brethren.
70. However, I have forgiven all these so-called offenses.
71. I am not laying blame on any of you brethren for anything.
72. And if in the future<sup>9</sup> it should be the will of God that we cannot agree on a leader<sup>10</sup>, even if we can't do it, we must go on living together in amity and act together according to the will of God, and [*loud sound of chairs scraping*]
73. [hastily] And now while we are all gathered together, after we have finished singing this hymn, we will break up the meeting.
74. Number 326. Number 326.

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<sup>9</sup> cō tā ve ð-ǵū-šī: the use of the perfective P<sub>v</sub> tā is curious here, giving a meaning like “the fore-ordained future”.

<sup>10</sup>A new headman for the village. This was the casus belli, since the former headman had fallen into disrepute. I was told that his punishment had been to be tied down in the bright sunlight and covered with honey, so that he was exposed to the stinging of voracious red ants.

## 16.7 We sinners are like pigs

- (1) *Woman* : *tâ* *gĩ* !  
! Adv V  
negative imperative laugh
- (2) *tâ?-í* *chê-?* .  
Adv V<sub>imp</sub>  
quietly stay!
- (3) *Another person* : *tâ* *gĩ* !  
! ! Adv V  
negative imperative laugh
- (4) *chi-bà?* *te a* *qo* *lò?* *ve* *yâ* !  
N<sub>time</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
now do intentive if record (on tape) nominalizer emphatic
- (5) *šālà?* *Dāvî?* :  
N N<sub>pers</sub>  
pastor David
- (6) *tê pô?* *thâ* *šathê* *tê gâ* *cò* *ve* .  
NP<sub>time</sub> N Q V P<sub>univ</sub>  
once rich man one person be there nominalizer
- (7) *le* *yô* *và?* *tê* *khe* *cò* *ve* *yò* .  
Conj Pron N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
and he pig one for animals have nominalizer declarative
- (8) *và?-ma-qu* *ô-ve* *õ* *Na-nâ?* *me* *ve* .  
N Det P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
sow that topic female animal name have a name nominalizer
- (9) *le* *tê* *ni* *thâ* *yô* *mê?-gũ* *ca* *hé* *qò?* *la* *ve*  
Conj Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N <sub>v</sub>V V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
and one for days when she mud-hole go and do bathe return come to V nominalizer  
, *ò-šê-phâ* *gâ mò* *ve* *le* *mê?-gũ* *ô-ve* *qha-pà-è* *thâ?* *ò-šê-phâ* *ni*  
N <sub>v</sub>V + V<sub>h</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N Det AE P<sub>n</sub> N V  
owner find nominalizer suspensive mud that all accusative owner look at  
*thâ* , *mâ* *dâ?* *le* , *ò-šê-phâ* *yù* *le* *mê?-gũ* *ô-ve* *qha-pà-è*  
P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>unf</sub> N Det AE  
when negative good because owner take suspensive mud that all  
*thâ?* *í-kâ?* *chî* *bà* *pî* *ve* *le* *kê-lè è*  
P<sub>n</sub> N V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>stat</sub>  
accusative water wash away benefactive (3p) nominalizer suspensive sparkling clean  
*te* *pî* *ve* *yò* .  
V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
make benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative
- (10) *le* *qò?* *phê-pə* *thâ* *yô* *qò?* *pî* *ve* : “ *tê pô?*  
Conj <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q  
and so V again let go when he say benefactive (3p) nominalizer again

- qhò?-nó* *nò* *mè?-gù* *tâ* *qò?* *hé* *mē* ,” *ò-šē-phâ*  
M<sub>prfx</sub> Pron N Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>uf</sub> N  
from now on you mud-hole negative imperative V again bathe emphatic owner
- chi qhe* *qò?* *pî* *ve* .  
AE<sub>ext</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
like this say benefactive (3p) nominalizer
- (11) *le* *phê-pə* *pî* *ve* *tê yân thâ* , *yô* *tê pò?* *mè?-gù* *thà?*  
Conj V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Pron Q N P<sub>n</sub>  
but then let go benefactive (3p) relativizer when she again mud-hole accusative
- qò?* *mò* *le* , *yô* *í-kâ?* - *è* , *mè?-gù* *qò?* *hé* *ve*  
<sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N Interj N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub>  
V again see suspensive she water er... mud V again bathe nominalizer
- yò* .  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
declarative
- (12) *yà?-qhâ* *ò-šē-phâ* *yô* *thà?* *hà?-qá* *ve* *mâ* *pò* *tâ*  
Conj N Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
however owner he accusative take pity on nominalizer negative be exhausted durative
- šē* .  
P<sub>v</sub>  
yet
- (13) *chi-ve* *lè* *cân-lì?* *ò-qhò* *lo* *cò* *ve* *yò* .  
Det P<sub>unf</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
this matter topic Bible inside locative be there nominalizer declarative
- (14) *chò-yâ* *tê gâ le-le* *vên-bâ?* *ò-qhò* *lo* *šî* *chê* *thâ* ,  
N NP<sub>q</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
human beings everybody sin inside locative persist in sin (X'n) continuous when
- Jô-mô* *Yēšû?* *Khî?* *vên-bâ?-yâ* *chi* *tê phâ* *thà?* *hà?-qá* *jâ* *ve*  
N N<sub>pers</sub> N<sub>prop</sub> N Det Q P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
Lord Jesus Christ sinner these pluralizer accusative take pity on very nominalizer
- pa-tò* , *yô* *ve* *ò-šî* *qha-pò-è* *vên-bâ?* *thà?* *chî* *bà*  
P<sub>n</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N AE N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
because of he genitivizer blood all sin accusative wash away
- pî* *ve* .  
V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
benefactive (3p) nominalizer
- (15) *le* *yô* *qò?* *ve* : “ *ò-qhò?-nó* *qo* *tê gâ* *kâ?* *vên-bâ?*  
Conj Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> N  
and He say nominalizer in the future when one person even sin
- tâ* *qò?* *te-?* ,” *tê?* *chi qhe* *qò?* *pî*  
Adv <sub>v</sub>V V<sub>imp</sub> QUOT AE<sub>ext</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
negative imperative V again do! embedded quote like this say benefactive (3p)
- ve* *yò* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer declarative
- (16) *yà?-qhâ thò* *chò-yâ* *tê gâ le-le* *Yēšû?* *ve* *tô-khò* *thà?* *mâ* *qò?*  
Conj N NP<sub>q</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V  
however human beings everybody Jesus genitivizer words accusative negative still V

We sinners are like pigs

- na le , ð-qhò?-nó yô-hi vên-bâ? qò? te ve*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub> Pron N <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 heed suspensive in the future they sin V again commit (as a sin) nominalizer  
*yò*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (17) *yà?-qhâ thô Yēšû? lē chò qha-pà-è thà? hà?-qá ve , ð-le*  
 Conj N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N AE P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 however Jesus topic people all accusative take pity on nominalizer end  
*mâ cò šē*  
 Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 negative be there still
- (18) *yô-hi mâ dà? ve tē phā thà? qò? dō-phû? bà*  
 Pron Adv V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub>  
 they negative good relativizer pluralizer accusative V for a change repent away  
*le , yô ge qò? la tù yô qhâ-thâ?-kâ? lō chē*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> Pron AE V V<sub>v</sub>  
 suspensive Him to return come to V future He always wait for continuous  
*ve yò*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (19) *chi pa-to nò-hi tē gâ le-le ve mē?-gù ô-ve lē vên-bâ? thà?*  
 Det P<sub>n</sub> Pron NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Det P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 this because of you (pl) everybody genitivizer mud that topic sin accusative  
*qô? gâ ve yò*  
 V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 mean nominalizer declarative
- (20) *í-kâ? lē Yēšû? ve ð-šī thà? qô? gâ ve yò*  
 N P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V + P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 water topic Jesus genitivizer blood accusative mean nominalizer declarative
- (21) *Yēšû? ve ð-šī qha chī pà ve Khî?-yâ tē gâ le-le “ yà?-ni*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Adv V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>prop</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> N<sub>time</sub>  
 Jesus genitivizer blood all wash exhaustively V relativizer Christian everybody today  
*ð-gû-šī vên-bâ? tâ qò? te ô? ,” tē? Yēšû?*  
 N<sub>time</sub> N Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> QUOT N<sub>pers</sub>  
 onwards sin negative imperative V again do hortatory embedded quote Jesus  
*chī qhe qô? ve thâ? dō-nô ô? !*  
 AE<sub>ext</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub>  
 like this say nominalizer accusative remember hortatory

## Translation

[Sermon by Pastor David in Šátodū vilage, 1965]

1. Woman: Don't laugh! Be quiet!

2. Another person: Don't laugh! If you talk now it'll be recorded!<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *chi bô? te a qo lô? e ve yâ:* lit. "if you do it now it will go in!"

3. Pastor David: Once upon a time there was a certain wealthy man.<sup>2</sup>
4. And he had one pig.
5. This sow was called Miss Blackie.<sup>3</sup>
6. So one day when she came back after bathing in a mud-hole, when her owner saw her, when he looked at all that mud, it wasn't good, so he took her and washed away all that mud from her<sup>4</sup>, and made her sparkling clean.
7. Then when he let her go again he said to her, "From now on, don't you ever again bathe in mud!", the owner said.
8. But then after he let her go, she saw a mud-hole again and took a bath again in the water—er, I mean the *mud*.<sup>5</sup>
9. But the owner's concern<sup>6</sup> for her was not exhausted yet.
10. On this matter there is something in the Bible.
11. While all human beings are wallowing in sin<sup>7</sup>, the Lord Jesus Christ has great compassion for all sinners, and therefore with His blood he washes away all sins.
12. For He says, "From now on let no one sin again!" Thus He says.
13. However, all of us human beings still do not heed the words of Jesus, so we'll continue to sin in the future.
14. However, Jesus' love for all of humanity is boundless.
15. He is always waiting for them to repent their bad actions and return to Him.
16. Therefore that mud-hole means<sup>8</sup> the sins of all of you!
17. As for the water, that means the blood of Jesus.
18. May all Christians who have been washed in the blood of Jesus remember what Jesus said: "From today onward, do not sin again!"

<sup>2</sup>*šathê* < Burmese < Pali < Skt. *śre(ṣṭha)* 'most splendid; preeminent'.

<sup>3</sup>*na-nâ?*: *na-* (Bn) 'prefix to female names', *nâ?* (N; Mpx) 'black'

<sup>4</sup>*í-kâ? chí bà pî:* "washed away with water for her benefit."

<sup>5</sup>The verb *hé* 'bathe' almost always occurs with the specifying noun *í-kâ?* 'water', so the speaker lets the word 'water' slip out before correcting himself.

<sup>6</sup>*hâ?-qá:* 1st syll. < Shan *hak* 'love' (cf. Si. *rák*).

<sup>7</sup>*vên-bá ð-qh lo ši chê ve: ši* 'die' can be used metaphorically to mean 'persist in a wretched state'. See DL: 1232.

<sup>8</sup>*qô? gâ ve:* "want to say," i.e., 'mean'; cf. Fr. *vouloir dire*, Bse. *pyô tšin te*, etc.

## 16.8 Laying up riches in heaven

- (1) *tê pô? thâ yâ-mî-ma tê gâ cò ve yò* .  
 NP<sub>time</sub> N Q V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 once upon a time woman one person be there nominalizer declarative
- (2) *chɔ ô-ve ̄-qhe câ-câw ð-yâ ð-mō ð-qhō šālā-ma ló phê?*  
 N Det P<sub>unf</sub> N N N N N B<sub>n</sub> V  
 person that topicalizer nobility children group above tutoress sthg great be sthg  
*ve yò* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (3) *yô lê câ-câw ð-yâ ð-mō thà? hà?-šá šē-phâ , šē*  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N N N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v-nom</sub> V  
 she topic nobility children group accusative take care of agentive nominalizer lead  
*qay šē-phâ phê? ve yò* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 V along agentive nominalizer be sthg nominalizer declarative
- (4) *qhe-go tê ni thâ yô yî?-mâ? ve yò* .  
 Conj Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 well one for days when she dream nominalizer declarative
- (5) *yô yî?-mâ? ve ̄-qhe mû-nɔ-ma ð-qhō lo qay ve*  
 Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 she dream nominalizer topicalizer sky above locative go nominalizer  
*lo* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 emphatic declarative
- (6) *yô ô kâ? gâ ve tê yân thâ , mû-mì ô-ve ð-qhɔ lo dâ?*  
 Pron N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N Det N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V<sub>adj</sub>  
 she there locative reach relativizer when country that in locative beautiful  
*jâ ve yê-ló tê šī thà? yô gâ mō*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron V<sub>v</sub> + V<sub>h</sub>  
 very relativizer big house one for round objects accusative she catch sight of  
*ve yò* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (7) *qhe-te-le yô qay le ô kâ? ð-pâ gâ ve tê yân thâ*  
 Conj Pron V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>univ</sub>  
 then she go suspensive there locative nearby reach relativizer the time that when  
 , *chɔ tê gâ thà? mō ve yò* .  
 N Q P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 people one person accusative see nominalizer declarative
- (8) *chɔ ô-ve thà? na-ni ve , “ chi-ve ̄-qhe a-šu ve yè*  
 N Det P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N  
 people that accusative ask nominalizer this one topicalizer whose house  
*le ,” tê? na-ni ve yò* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> QUOT V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 substantive qst embedded quote ask genitivizer declarative

- (9) *chɔ̃* *ô-ve* *qô?* *ve* , “ *chi* *tê* *yè* *ɔ̃-qhe* *nò ve*  
 N Det V P<sub>univ</sub> , Det Num N P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + **ve**  
 person that say nominalizer this one household topicalizer your  
*gâ?ni-cè* *yè* *phè?* *ve* *yò* ,” *tê?* *qô?*  
 N N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> , QUOT V  
 chicken caretaker household be sthg nominalizer declarative embedded quote say  
*pî* *ve* *yò* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative
- (10) *ɔ̃-nu* *nê* *kì* *qò?* *qay* *ve* *tê yân thâ* , *chi* *a-ké* *dà?*  
 N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Det N<sub>ext</sub> V<sub>adj</sub>  
 another place near locative V in turn go relativizer when this more than beautiful  
*jâ* *ve* *yè* *tê* *ɔ̃* *qò?* *mò* *ve* *yò* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 very relativizer house one for round objects V in turn see nominalizer declarative
- (11) *ô-ve* *thà?* *yô* *na-ni* *ve* *tê yân thâ* , “ *chi-ve* *ɔ̃-qhe* *nò ve*  
 Det P<sub>n</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Det P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + **ve**  
 that accusative she ask relativizer when this one topicalizer your  
*yâ-ni-cè* *yè* *phè?* *ve* *yò* ,” *tê?* *qô?*  
 N N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> QUOT V  
 baby-sitting servant house be sthg nominalizer declarative embedded quote say  
*pî* *ve* *yò* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative
- (12) “ *âa* , *ɲà ve* *ɔ̃-cè* *tê phā* *ve* *yè* *kà?* *chi tɔ-tɔ* *dà?*  
 Interj N<sub>poss</sub> + **ve** N Q P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> V<sub>adj</sub>  
 well! my servant pluralizer genitivizer house even to such a degree beautiful  
*ve* *ɔ̃-qhe* , *ɲà ve* *lè* *šālā-ma* *ló* *tê gâ* *phè?* *ve*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + **ve** P<sub>unf</sub> N B<sub>n</sub> Q V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer topicalizer mine topic tutoress sthg big one person be sthg nominalizer  
*pa-tɔ* , *ʃu* *a-ké* *dà?* *tù* *yò* *hé* ” *tê?*  
 P<sub>n</sub> Pron N<sub>ext</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> QUOT  
 because of others more than beautiful future declarative probably embedded quote  
*yô* *dô* *ve* *yò* .  
 Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 she think nominalizer declarative
- (13) *qhe-te-le* *tê* *tɔn* *qò?* *qay* *ve* *yò* .  
 Conj Num Cl<sub>f</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 so then one for lengths V finally go nominalizer declarative
- (14) *tê* *tɔn* *gâ* *thâ* *lò-qhò?* *é* *ɔ̃-qhɔ* *lo* *á-qhâ-yè*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N  
 one for lengths reach when narrow dry riverbed little one in locative ragweed hut  
*yî-yè* *te* *ā* *ve* , *chi hý* *tê* *mà* *thà?* *yô*  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>ext</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron  
 thatched house build perfective nominalizer very small one for things accusative she  
*gâ mò* *ve* *yò* .  
 vV + V<sub>h</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 catch sight of nominalizer declarative

- (15) *vên ô-ve lè dà? jâ ve yò* .  
 N Det P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 city that topic beautiful very nominalizer declarative
- (16) *yô chi-phâ thà? na-ni ve , “ vê chi dà?-dà? ve*  
 Pron N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N Det V<sub>redup</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 she this fellow accusative ask nominalizer city this very beautiful nominalizer  
*̄-qhe à-ma pa-tɔ yè chi híy ve ̄ , ca te*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Pron<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> vV V  
 topicalizer what? because of house only this big genitivizer topic go and do build  
*ve le ,” tɛ? na-ni ve tɛ yân thâ , “ chi*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> QUOT V P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>univ</sub> Det  
 nominalizer nominalizer embedded quote ask relativizer the time that when this  
*ve tɛ mâ ̄-qhe nò ve yè yò ,” tɛ?*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N P<sub>uf</sub> QUOT  
 genitivizer one for things topicalizer your house declarative embedded quote  
*šālā-ma ô-ve tɛ ġā à? qô? pî ve yò* .  
 N Det Q P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 tutoress that one person accusative say benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative
- (17) *tɛ pɔ? yô bə? jâ ve yò* .  
 Q Pron V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 immediately she angry very nominalizer declarative
- (18) “ *ɲà ve à-cè tɛ phā yè chi dà?-dà? cò ve* ,  
 N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N Q N Det V<sub>redup</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 my servant pluralizer household like this very beautiful have nominalizer  
*ɲà ve yè ̄-qhe chi qhe cɛ te ā lâ*  
 N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N P<sub>unf</sub> AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 my household topicalizer like this only build perfective benefactive (non-3p)  
*ve , à-thò?-ma pa-tɔ le ,” tɛ? na-ni ve*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> QUOT V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer what because of because of embedded quote ask nominalizer  
*yò* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (19) “ *nò fə ā lâ ve yù te t̄ā*  
 Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub>  
 you you perfective benefactive (non-3p) relativizer take and V sthg build perfective  
*ve yò* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (20) *chi ̄-qhe nò chi ma cɛ tí fə lâ ve*  
 Det P<sub>unf</sub> Pron NP<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> + P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 this one topicalizer you this much only only benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer  
*pa-tɔ chi cɛ tí ġa ve yò ,” tɛ? qô?*  
 P<sub>n</sub> Det P<sub>univ</sub> + P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> QUOT V  
 because of this only get nominalizer declarative embedded quote say  
*pî ve yò* .  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative



- (21) *yà?-ni* *ηà-hi* *Khrì?-yâ* *tê phā* *mì-gì* *ḍ-qhô* *lo* *chê* *thâ* *phu-ši-mâ-jè*  
 N<sub>time</sub> Pron N<sub>prop</sub> Q N N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Quasi-Elab  
 today we (pl) Christian pluralizer earth on locative live when wealth and goods  
*tê phā* *tâ* *šɔ-phô?* *tā* .  
 Q Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 pluralizer negative imperative accumulate durative
- (22) *pí-ve-phê?-ve qhe* , *ηà-hi* *mû-nɔ-ma* *ḍ-qhô* *lo* *dâ?* *ve* *yè*  
 Cl<sub>ext</sub> Pron N N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 best of one's ability we (pl) heaven (X'n) up there locative beautiful relativizer house  
*tê phā* *thâ?* *ηà-hi* *ḡa* *tù* , *mì-gì* *ḍ-qhô* *lo* *ηà-hi* *ḍ-bo* *cò*  
 Q P<sub>n</sub> Pron V P<sub>v-nom</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron N V  
 pluralizer accusative we (pl) get purposive earth on locative we (pl) merit have  
*ve* *ḍ-câ* *šɔ-phô?* *tā* *o* !  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 relativizer thing accumulate durative emphatic

### Translation

<Pastor Cà-bo>

1. Once upon a time there was a certain woman.
2. This person was a great Tutores<sup>1</sup> to the children of a noble family.<sup>2</sup>
3. She was the one who took care of the young nobles and who guided them [in the path of proper behavior].
4. Well, one day she had a dream.
5. What she dreamt was that she went up to heaven!
6. When she arrived there, in this [heavenly] country she saw a very beautiful big house.<sup>3</sup>
7. So she went on, and when she got near to it she saw a person.
8. She asked this person, “Whose house is this?”
9. The person said, “This is the house of your servant who takes care of the poultry.”
10. When she went to another place nearby, she saw a house that was even more beautiful.
11. When she asked about it, she was told “This is the house of your servant who takes care of your children.”
12. “Well, if the houses of all my servants are as beautiful as this, mine, since I am a great Tutores, must be even more beautiful,” she thought.
13. Then she went on a little further.
14. When she reached a certain point, she saw in a little dry riverbed a little tiny house thatched with ragweed.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *šālā* ‘teacher’ (ult. < Skt. *āchārya*), -*ma* ‘feminine suffix’. See DL:1175-6.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the family of a Shan princeling or *sawbwa*. *câ?-câw* (< Shan “lordly lineage”) is often used to mean ‘Christendom’. See DL:512.

<sup>3</sup> The use of the round-object classifier *ši* with ‘house’ is elevated style. *yè* ‘house’ is usually either ‘auto-classified’ (*yè tê yè* ‘one house’) or classified with the general classifier *mâ* (*yè tê mâ*).

<sup>4</sup> A ragweed hut is taken as the archetype of a miserable place to live.

15. That city was a beautiful one.

16. So she asked this fellow, “Since this is such a fine town, why would [anybody] go and build such a tiny house?”

17. When she asked this, he said to her, “This one is your house.”

18. She immediately got very angry.

19. “Why is it that all my servants have such beautiful houses, while the house built for me is only like this?”

she asked.

20. “We built it with what you sent to us.

21. “As for this [house], since you’ve sent us so little, that’s all you’ll get,” he said.

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22. Today, all we Christians while we are living on earth should not accumulate wealth and property.<sup>5</sup>

23. To the best of our ability, in order to attain beautiful houses in heaven, we should accumulate good deeds here on earth.

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<sup>5</sup>There was actually little danger of this in impoverished Lahu villages.

## 16.9 Thoughts for Lahu Christian youth

- (1) *chɔ tɛ ɡâ kwɛ̃ tɛ mà te ve dà? jâ*  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 person one for people stone pot one for things make nominalizer beautiful very  
*cê*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 quotative
- (2) " *à-thò?ma yù te ve le " tɛ? chɔ*  
 N<sub>intg</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> QUOT N  
 what take and V sthg make nominalizer substantive qst embedded quote person  
*tɛ ɡâ ca na-ni la ve*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 one for people go and do ask come to V nominalizer
- (3) *kwɛ̃-te-pā qô? pî ve : " há-pi thà? cî-é*  
 N<sub>dvb</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> N  
 pot-maker say benefactive (3p) nominalizer stone accusative small chisel  
*yù lɛ a-yé a-yé thɔ? ve pa-to*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> Adv Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 take in order to use suspensive slowly slowly carve (as wood) nominalizer because of  
*kwɛ̃ é dà? jâ ve tɛ mà ɡa ve "*  
 N M<sub>px</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 stone pot little beautiful very relativizer one for things get nominalizer
- (4) *hên yù tù , ɲà-hi yâ-é tɛ phā thɔ kwɛ̃-te-pā qha šū-šū ,*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> Pron N Q P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub> AE  
 study V lastingly purposive we (pl) young folk pluralizer also pot-maker just like  
*ni-ma nû-nê tã lɛ , nɔ-hi te chɛ ve kán tɛ phā*  
 N V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Q  
 heart humble durative suspensive you (pl) do continuous relativizer work pluralizer  
*thà? šu ɡa mɔ thā ni ša jâ ve ð-cà phɛ? la pî-ô?*  
 P<sub>n</sub> Pron vV V P<sub>univ</sub> V+V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N V+P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 accusative others get to see when good-looking very relativizer thing become optative
- (5) *ɲà-hi yâ-é ð-mō te ve ð-qhɔ lo Ğì-ša ve ð-mì?-ð-phôn*  
 Pron N N V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub>  
 we (pl) young folk group do relativizer in locative God genitivizer glory  
*thà? šu ɡa mɔ lɛ , Ğì-ša thà? šu chî-mu phɛ? tù*  
 P<sub>n</sub> Pron vV+V<sub>h</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub>  
 accusative others find suspensive God accusative others praise able to purposive  
*te ô? mē*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 do hortatory urging
- (6) *pà ve yò*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be completed nominalizer declarative

### Translation

1. A certain person [once] made a stone pot, and it was very beautiful.

2. "What did you use to make it with?" a certain person went and asked him.
3. The potter said, "Because I slowly and carefully carved the stone with a small chisel, I obtained a beautiful little pot."
4. What we should learn [from this] is that we young people, just like the potter, should also be calm and patient, so that when others see all the works which you have done, may they be very beautiful things!
5. Let us act so that when others get to see the glory of God in what our group of young people are doing, they will [also] praise God.
6. That's all.

## 16.10 The Widow and the Pharisees

- (1) *ηà ð-ví-ð-ni tê phā thà? mā lâ gâ ve*  
 Pron Elab<sub>n</sub> Q P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 my brethren pluralizer accusative teach benefactive (non-3p) desiderative relativizer  
*ð-lò chi lê , pɔ-ša-pā tê phā*  
 N Det P<sub>unf</sub> N Q  
 story this topic rich people pluralizer
- (2) *Ĝî-ša thà? tân ve ð-lɔn lɛ mē-chô-ma tê gâ*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N Q  
 God accusative make a religious offering relativizer matter and widow one person  
*Ĝî-ša thà? phu-tân tân ve ð-lɔn ηà-hi tê gɛ*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> N Pron Q  
 God accusative money offering make a religious offering relativizer about we (pl) together  
*dô-ni tù yò*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 consider future declarative
- (3) *Mākû? lì? kanán-ī ve tê chi nî kanán-é*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N N P<sub>univ</sub> Num N  
 male name book chapter (of the Bible) genitivizer twelve verse (of the Bible)  
*ô chi tê lɛ ô chi ô ð-qhɔ*  
 numeral plus classifier; quantity expression (equivalent to “Q”) (Num + Clf) P<sub>unf</sub> Num + Clf N<sub>time</sub>  
 forty-one and forty-four in  
*lo kâ? cò ve yò*  
 P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 locative also be there nominalizer declarative
- (4) *nî kâ tê kâ , Lúkâ? kanán-ī ve khò? kanán-é*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> Num N  
 second place male name chapter (of the Bible) genitivizer six verse (of the Bible)  
*šê? chi hí ð-qhɔ lo kâ? cò ve yò*  
 Num N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 thirty-eight in locative also be there nominalizer declarative
- (5) *lɛ šê? kâ tê kâ nî Kôlêthû? kanán-ī ve qô mà*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> Num N<sub>prop</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> Q  
 and third place two Corinthians chapter (of the Bible) genitivizer number nine  
*kanán-é khò? lɛ šî ð-qhɔ lo kâ? cò ve yò*  
 N Num P<sub>unf</sub> Num N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 verse (of the Bible) six and seven in locative also be there nominalizer declarative
- (6) *cân-lî? chi tê mà lè ð-ti cî-kî tê phā thà? cò*  
 N Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N Q P<sub>n</sub> V  
 book of the Bible this one for things topic place significance pluralizer accusative have  
*mâ ve yò*  
 V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 much nominalizer declarative
- (7) *chi thà? pa-tɔ phu tân ve ð-lɔn chi qha-dê? na tã šē*  
 NP OV P<sub>univ</sub> N Det AE V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 therefore offer money relativizer story this properly listen durative anticipated action

- (8) *Yēšû? mì-gè-qhō? chē ve tē yān thā , Yēlû?šālēn vên ð-qhō lo hā-gō jā*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N<sub>place</sub> N N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 Jesus on earth live relativizer when Jerusalem city in locative poor very  
*ve mē-chō-ma tē gā cò ve yò*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N Q V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 relativizer widow one person be there nominalizer declarative
- (9) *yō ve ð-phō šī tá ve mō pà*  
 N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 her husband die perfective nominalizer long (of time) V already
- (10) *yō gā-thē? gā ca cā ē te ve thō*  
 Pron Adv <sub>v</sub>V <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 she energetically have to seek to earn a living suspensive do nominalizer even though  
*yō gā-cā-gā-dō tū gā-vò?-gā-dē tū qhā-thā?-kà?*  
 Pron Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> AE  
 she get enough to eat and drink purposive have enough to wear purposive always  
*phu mâ lô? ē , gā mð?-jē chē ve*  
 N Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 money negative be enough because have to suffer from hunger continuous nominalizer  
*yò*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (11) *yā-mī chi tē gā lē , yō chi tō-tō hā jā ve thō*  
 N Det Q P<sub>unf</sub> Pron AE<sub>ext</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 woman this one person topic she to such a degree poor very nominalizer even though  
*yō Ğī-ša thā? mâ lān tā*  
 Pron N P<sub>n</sub> Adv V P<sub>v</sub>  
 she God accusative negative forget durative
- (12) *yō bon-yè qhā-dē? tāt? ē , yō thā? chī-mu ve*  
 Pron N AE V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 she church properly go up suspensive Him accusative praise nominalizer  
*ð-qhō? kà? tē ni le-le Ğī-ša gē bon qhā-dē? lô chē ve*  
 NP<sub>loc</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> N AE V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 besides that every day God to blessing properly ask for continuous nominalizer  
*yò*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (13) *tē ni thā mē-chō-ma ô-ve tē gā bon-yè-lón lo*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Det Q N P<sub>n</sub>  
 one for days when widow that one person great temple (in Jerusalem) locative  
*phu-tān ca-kə-ca-tān pī ve yò*  
 N Elab<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 money offering go to donate benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative

- (14) *yô phu-tân mâ-mâ tân pî mâ phê?*  
 Pron N V<sub>redup</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> Adv V<sub>v</sub>  
 she money offering very much donate benefactive (3p) negative able to
- (15) *yà?-qhâ yô qha cò ve phu qha-pà-è yô yù qay lè*  
 Conj Pron Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> N AE Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 however she all have relativizer money all she take V along suspensive  
*ca tân pî ve yò*  
 vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 go and do donate benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative
- (16) *yô bon-yè-lón gà la ve tê yân , pɔ-ša-pā*  
 Pron N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Q N  
 she great temple (in Jerusalem) reach come to V relativizer the time that rich people  
*tê phā phu-ta-qō qhɔ phu mâ-mâ kə chē ve thà?*  
 Q N<sub>dvb</sub> M<sub>px</sub> N V<sub>redup</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 pluralizer offering box into money very much put into continuous nominalizer accusative  
*gā mò lè ni-ma lù ve yò*  
 vV + V<sub>h</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>spec</sub> + V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 catch sight of because be upset nominalizer declarative
- (17) *qha šū-šū yô phu mâ-chwε tân pî gā*  
 AE Pron N AE V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 in just the same way she money a great deal donate benefactive (3p) desiderative  
*ve thô , yô pî tù mâ cò*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron V P<sub>v-nom</sub> Adv V  
 nominalizer even though she give purposive negative be there
- (18) *yô pè?-šā é nî mà cε tí cò ve yò*  
 Pron N M<sub>px</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> + P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 she coins sthg small two for things only have nominalizer declarative
- (19) *pè?-šā é ô-ve nî mà lè , tê pè? phû cε tí*  
 N M<sub>px</sub> Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> + P<sub>univ</sub>  
 coins sthg small those two for things topic one for trifling sums value only  
*cò ve yò*  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be there nominalizer declarative
- (20) *yâ-mî ô-ve phu-ta-qō qhɔ pè?-šā ô-ve nî mà kə ve*  
 N Det N<sub>dvb</sub> M<sub>px</sub> N Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 woman that offering box into coins those two for things put into relativizer  
*tê yân , Yēšû? gā mò ve yò*  
 Q N<sub>pers</sub> vV + V<sub>h</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 the time that Jesus catch sight of nominalizer declarative
- (21) *pɔ-ša-pā tê phā phu mâ-mâ tân pî*  
 N Q N V<sub>redup</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 rich people pluralizer money very much make a religious offering benefactive (3p)  
*chē ve thà? thô yô gā mò ve yò*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 continuous nominalizer accusative also He get to see nominalizer declarative

- (22) *qhe-te-le yô ve ò-là?-gô tê phā thà? yô qô? pî ve :*  
 Conj N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N Q P<sub>n</sub> Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 so His disciple pluralizer accusative He say benefactive (3p) nominalizer  
*" phu-tân-kə-kì lo , kə ve chw qha-pə-è a-ké*  
 N<sub>dvb</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N AE N<sub>ext</sub>  
 offering box locative contribute relativizer people all more than  
*hā-ve-gô-ve mē-chô-ma chi tê gā lè lá-le kə mâ*  
 Elab<sub>v</sub> N Det Q P<sub>unf</sub> AE V V<sub>v</sub>  
 poor and wretched widow this one person topic additionally contribute be much  
*ve yò ."*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (23) < *qa-mì-khō tê mà qa-mì pə ve qhò?-nó šālà? tê pō? yô*  
 N Num Cl<sub>f</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> M<sub>px</sub> N Q V  
 hymn one for things sing finish V'ing nominalizer after pastor again speak  
*qay ve >*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 continue V'ing nominalizer
- (24) *Yēšû? mì-gì-qhō? chē ve tê yān thā , Yēlû?šālēn vên ò-qhō lo , bon-yē-lón*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N<sub>place</sub> N N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N  
 Jesus on earth live relativizer when Jerusalem city in locative great temple  
*ò-qhō lo , mì-gì-qhō? phu-šī cò mâ jâ ve Phālīšē tê phā*  
 N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N N V V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>prop</sub> Q  
 inside locative in this world wealth have much very relativizer Pharisee pluralizer  
*le bon-jô-mô Phālīšē tê phā le pə-ša ve šathē tê phā*  
 P<sub>unf</sub> N N<sub>prop</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Q  
 and high priest Pharisee pluralizer and prosperous relativizer rich man pluralizer  
*mā-chwe Ğī-ša thà? tân chē ve yò .*  
 AE N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 a great deal God accusative donate progressive nominalizer declarative
- (25) *ô-ve ò-yān ò-qhō lo , hā-jâ-gô-jâ ve yā-mī-ma tê gā*  
 Det N N<sub>time</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Q  
 that time during locative wretched in the extreme relativizer woman one person  
*cò .*  
 V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be there affirmative
- (26) *yô lè ò-phô kà? šī pə ve thà? pa-tə , à-thò?-ma*  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>intg</sub>  
 she topic husband topicalizer die finish V'ing nominalizer because whatever  
*tê cə phu-šī mō-jè mâ qô? vè?-tù-qâ-tù mâ qô? , cā-tù-dò-tù mâ qô? ,*  
 Q N N Adv + V Elab<sub>n</sub> Adv + V Elab<sub>n</sub> Adv + V  
 one thing money property whether clothing whether food and drink whether  
*yô-qhā-yô ğā ca cā chē ve yò .*  
 AE vV vV V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 she herself have to seek to earn a living continuous nominalizer declarative
- (27) *qhe-te-le phu tân kī ò-qhō lo gā ve tê yān thā yô phu tân*  
 Conj N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Pron OV  
 so money offer locative area locative reach relativizer when she offer money



- tù      mǎ      cǝ      cê .  
P<sub>v-nom</sub>    Adv    V      P<sub>uf</sub>  
purposive negative be there quotative
- (28) Ğì-ša thà?      tân      gǎ      ve      yò .  
N    P<sub>n</sub>    V      P<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>    P<sub>uf</sub>  
god    accusative    make a religious offering    desiderative    nominalizer    declarative
- (29) yà?-qhǎ    phu tân      tù      mǎ      cǝ .  
Conj    OV      P<sub>v-nom</sub>    Adv    V  
however    offer money    purposive    negative    be there
- (30) šu      šathê      tê phǎ      bon-yê-lón    ǝ ,    mǔ-lò      tê phǎ  
Pron    N      Q      N      P<sub>n</sub>    N      Q  
others    rich man    pluralizer    great temple    to    horse-drawn wagon    pluralizer  
tân      la      ve      ,    phu-ta-qō    ð-qhǎ    lo      phu  
V      P<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>      N<sub>dvb</sub>    N<sub>loc</sub>    P<sub>n</sub>    N  
make a religious offering    come to V    nominalizer    offering box    inside    locative    money  
qha bǐ    qha bǐ    ñè    kǎ      chê      ve      thà?      yǎ-mǐ-mǎ    chi    tê ğǎ  
AE    AE    V    V<sub>v</sub>    V<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>    P<sub>n</sub>      N      Det    Q  
all full    all full    pour    V into    continuous    nominalizer    accusative    woman    this    one person  
ğǎ mǝ      ve .  
<sub>v</sub>V + V<sub>h</sub>    P<sub>univ</sub>  
encounter    nominalizer
- (31) yǝ      ğǎ      mǝ    ve      tê yǎn thǎ ,    yǝ      qhǎ-qhe    phê?      le .  
Pron    <sub>v</sub>V    V    P<sub>univ</sub>    NP<sub>time</sub>    Pron    N<sub>intg</sub>    V      P<sub>uf</sub>  
she    get to    see    relativizer    when    she    how?    be a certain way    substantive qst
- (32) ”    šu      lè      ,    Ğì-ša thà?      chi ma      ğǎ      tân    ve      yò .  
Pron    P<sub>unf</sub>    N    P<sub>n</sub>      NP<sub>ext</sub>    <sub>v</sub>V    V    P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>  
others    topic    God    accusative    this much    get to    offer    nominalizer    declarative
- (33) ñǎ    Ğì-ša thà?      tǝ?-chǐ    mǎ      ğǎ      tân .  
Pron    N    P<sub>n</sub>      Adv    Adv    <sub>v</sub>V    V  
I    God    accusative    nothing    negative    get to    offer
- (34) chi máy      cǝ tí      ğǎ      tân    ve      thà? pa-tǝ ,    ñǎ    ni-mǎ lù    jǎ ”.  
N<sub>ext</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub> + P<sub>univ</sub>    <sub>v</sub>V    V    P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>n</sub>      Pron    N<sub>spec</sub> + V    V<sub>v</sub>  
only this much    only      get to    offer    nominalizer    because    I    be upset    very
- (35) yǎ-mǐ-mǎ    chi    tê ğǎ      lè      chi qhe    dǝ      chê      ve      yò  
N      Det    Q      P<sub>unf</sub>    AE<sub>ext</sub>    V    V<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>  
woman    this    one person    topic    like this    think    continuous    nominalizer    declarative  
cê .  
P<sub>uf</sub>  
quotative
- (36) chi qhe    dǝ      chê      ve      ð-yǎn    ð-qhǎ    lo      ,    yǝ      yà?-tǝ      jǎ .  
AE<sub>ext</sub>    V    V<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>    N    N<sub>time</sub>    P<sub>n</sub>      Pron    V      V<sub>v</sub>  
like this    think    continuous    relativizer    time    during    locative    she    be embarrassed    very
- (37) phu-tân-kì    ð-qhǎ    lo      ca      kǎ      tù-ve      yǝ    dǝ    mǎ  
N<sub>dvb</sub>      N<sub>loc</sub>    P<sub>n</sub>      <sub>v</sub>V      V      P<sub>v-nom</sub>      Pron    V      Adv  
offering box    inside    locative    go and do    put into    purposive nominalizer    she    think    negative

- tô?*  
V<sub>v</sub>  
V to a conclusion
- (38) *phu-ta-qô ð-qhɔ lo ca kə tù dɔ mâ tô?*  
N<sub>dvb</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v-nom</sub> V Adv V<sub>v</sub>  
offering box inside locative go and do put into purposive think negative V to a conclusion
- (39) *šu mâ jâ ve , ð-hí ð-mān chê t̄a ve*  
Pron V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
others many very nominalizer thousand ten thousand be there durative nominalizer
- (40) *yô a-yé phu thà? fá və le phu-tân-kì*  
Pron Adv N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>dvb</sub>  
she slowly money accusative hide sthg transportatory motion suspensive offering box  
*ð-qhɔ lo ca kə ve yò*  
N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
inside locative go and do put into nominalizer declarative
- (41) *yô kə ve lê qhà-ma le*  
Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
she put into nominalizer topic how much? substantive qst
- (42) *nī pè? cɛ tí yò*  
Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> + P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
two for small coins only declarative
- (43) *nī pè? cɛ tí cò ve yò , yô ð-pon*  
Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> + P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> Pron N  
two for small coins only be there nominalizer declarative her for N's sake
- (44) *ô kà? kə tù*  
N<sub>sd</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v-nom</sub>  
there locative put into purposive
- (45) *chi qhe te chê ve thà? Yēšú? mi chê ve*  
AE<sub>ext</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
like this happen progressive nominalizer accusative Jesus sit progressive relativizer  
*tê yān thā ġa mð ve*  
NP<sub>time</sub> <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub>  
when get to see nominalizer
- (46) *qhe-te-le ð-là?-ğô tê phā thà? qô? pī ve , ” nò-hī*  
Conj N Q P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron  
so disciple pluralizer accusative say benefactive (3p) nominalizer you (pl)  
*nī ve tê yān thā , yà?-nī Ğī-ša thà? tân*  
V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N<sub>time</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V  
think over relativizer when today God accusative make a religious offering  
*ve phu chi ð-qhɔ lo kə mâ jâ ve cho*  
P<sub>univ</sub> N Det N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N  
relativizer money this amongst locative contribute V more very relativizer person

- tê gâ*      *lè*      ,      *a-šũ*      *le*      .  
 Q            P<sub>unf</sub>      Pron      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 one person    topic      whoever    substantive qst
- (47) *a-šũ*   *tê gâ*      *šũ*      *a-ké*      *kə*      *mâ*      *ve*      *le*      .”  
 Pron Q            Pron N<sub>ext</sub>      V      V<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 who one person others more than put into V more nominalizer substantive qst
- (48) *à-là?-gô*   *tê phā*      *qhà-qhe*   *qô?*   *le*      .  
 N      Q            N<sub>intg</sub>      V      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 disciple pluralizer how? say substantive qst
- (49) *à-là?-gô*   *tê phā*      *chi qhe*      *ni*      *chê*      *ve*      *yò*      .  
 N      Q            AE<sub>ext</sub>      V      V<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 disciple pluralizer like this consider continuous nominalizer declarative
- (50) *phu*      *qhà-ma*      *qhà-ma*      *yù la*      *le*      ,      *Ĝî-ša*   *ve*      *phu-tân-kì*  
 N      N<sub>ext</sub>      N<sub>ext</sub>      V + P<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>      ,      N      P<sub>univ</sub>      N<sub>dvb</sub>  
 money so very much so very much bring suspensive God genitivizer offering box  
*à-qhə*   *lo*      *kə*      *ve*      *chə*      *tê gâ*      *thà?*      *tí*      *ni*      *chê*  
 N<sub>loc</sub>   P<sub>n</sub>      V      P<sub>univ</sub>      N      Q      P<sub>n</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>      V      V<sub>v</sub>  
 inside locative put into relativizer person one person accusative only consider continuous  
*ve*  
 P<sub>univ</sub>  
 nominalizer
- (51) *à-là?-gô*   *tê phā*      *yô-hi*   *dô*      *ve*      *ô-ve*      *kə*      *mâ*      *jâ*      .  
 N      Q            Pron V      P<sub>univ</sub>      Det      V      V<sub>v</sub>      V<sub>v</sub>  
 disciple pluralizer they think nominalizer that one put into be much very
- (52) ” *yâ-mî-ma*   *chi*      *tê gâ*      *lè*      *à-thò?-ma*   *te*      *pè?-šā*   *é*      *nî*      *pè?*      *kà?*  
 N      Det Q            P<sub>unf</sub>      Adv<sub>interrog</sub>      N      M<sub>px</sub>      Num      Cl<sub>f</sub>      P<sub>unf</sub>  
 woman this one person topic why coins little two for small coins even  
*Ĝî-ša*   *thà?*      *ca*      *pî*      *ve*      *le*      .  
 N      P<sub>n</sub>      vV      V      P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 God accusative go and do give nominalizer substantive qst
- (53) *phu-tân-kì*   *à-qhə*   *lo*      *ca*      *kə*      *ve*      ?”  
 N<sub>dvb</sub>      N<sub>loc</sub>      P<sub>n</sub>      vV      V      P<sub>univ</sub>  
 offering box inside locative go and do put into nominalizer
- (54) *à-là?-gô*   *tê phā*      *chi qhe*      *dô*      *chê*      *ve*      .  
 N      Q            AE<sub>ext</sub>      V      V<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>  
 disciple pluralizer like this think continuous nominalizer
- (55) *Yēšû?*   *qhà-qhe*   *qô?*   *le*      .  
 N<sub>pers</sub>   N<sub>intg</sub>      V      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 Jesus how? say substantive qst
- (56) ” *nə-hi*      *chi qhe*      *dô*      *ve*      *yò*      *cê*      ” *Yēšû?*   *qô?*   *ve*      .  
 Pron      AE<sub>ext</sub>      V      P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>      N<sub>pers</sub>      V      P<sub>univ</sub>  
 you (pl) like this think nominalizer declarative quotative Jesus say nominalizer
- (57) ” *chə*      *chi*      *tê phā*      *kə*      *mâ*      *ve*      *yò*      .  
 N      Det Q            V      V<sub>v</sub>      P<sub>univ</sub>      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 people this pluralizer put into be much nominalizer declarative

- (58) *yâ-mî-ma chi tê gâ lê kə i ve yò* .  
 N Det Q P<sub>unf</sub> V+V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 woman this one person topic put in a little nominalizer declarative
- (59) *Ĝî-ša ð-pon kán te ve , Ĝî-ša thà? tân i ve*  
 N N N V P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 God for N's sake work do nominalizer God accusative offer only a little nominalizer  
*yò tê? nò-hi dš ve yò* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub> QUOT Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative embedded quote you (pl) think nominalizer declarative
- (60) *yà?-qhâ yâ-mî-ma chi tê gâ lê yô a-šà? hu tù ve*  
 Conj N Det Q P<sub>unf</sub> Pron OV P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 however woman this one person topic she earn a living purposive relativizer  
*ð-pon phu-ši mš-jè a-cí kà? mâ cò* .  
 N N N Adv P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
 for N's sake money possessions a little even negative be there
- (61) *nî pè? ce tí cò ve* .  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>+P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 two for small coins only be there nominalizer
- (62) *qha-pà-è yù la ε Ĝî-ša thà? tân ve yò* .  
 AE V+P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 everything bring suspensive God accusative offer nominalizer declarative
- (63) *chɔ chi qha-pà-è ð-qhò ĩ jâ ve , phu tân kə mâ*  
 N Det AE N V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> OV V V<sub>v</sub>  
 people these all above great very nominalizer offer money contribute V more  
*ve yâ-mî-ma chi tê gâ yò " tê? Yěšû? ð-là?-ğš*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N Det Q P<sub>uf</sub> QUOT N<sub>pers</sub> N  
 relativizer woman this one person declarative embedded quote Jesus disciple  
*tê phā thà? mā pī ve yò* .  
 Q P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 pluralizer accusative teach benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative
- (64) *chi-ve cí-kì qô? qo lê , nò-hi Hkì?-yâ tê phā ð-qhɔ lo , Ĝî-ša*  
 Det N P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N Q N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N  
 this meaning topicalizer topic you (pl) Christian pluralizer amongst locative God  
*thà? tân ve tê yân thā , " ñà a-cí ce tí cò*  
 P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Pron Adv P<sub>univ</sub>+P<sub>univ</sub> V  
 accusative make a religious offering relativizer when I a little only have  
*ve pa-tɔ Ĝî-ša thà? tân mâ phè? ", yà?-tɔ*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V Adv V<sub>v</sub> V  
 nominalizer because of God accusative offer negative able to be embarrassed  
*tù tê cə mâ cò* .  
 P<sub>v-nom</sub> Q Adv V  
 cause for V'ing one matter negative be relevant to
- (65) *ñà-hi ca ve gâ? ve gâ ve qha šū-šū Ĝî-ša*  
 Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> AE N  
 we (pl) seek nominalizer pursue nominalizer earn nominalizer in just the same way God

- thà?* *tân* *pî* *cô* *ve* *yò* .  
P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
accusative offer benefactive (3p) ought to nominalizer declarative
- (66) *ò-ví-ò-ni* *tê phā* *ò* , *ğā-pí-ğā-phê?* *ve* *qhe* *tê ġā le-le* *Ğî-ša*  
Elab<sub>n</sub> Q P<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>ext</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> N  
brethren pluralizer vocative to the best of one's ability nominalizer like everybody God  
*thà?* *tân* *pî* *ô?* .  
P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
accusative make a religious offering benefactive (3p) hortatory
- (67) *ò-lon qo* *nò ve* *ò-to* *cû-yî-mā-yî* *phu-ši-mô-jè* *và?-ğā?* *cê-cà*  
NP N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N Elab<sub>n</sub> Quasi-Elab N N  
the reason is your body knowledge money and property pigs and chickens livestock  
*qha-pà-è* *Ğî-ša* *ve* *mô* *phê?* *ve* *yò* .  
AE N P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
all God genitivizer thing be a certain way nominalizer declarative
- (68) *ğà ve* *ò-to* *ğà ve* *mô* *phê?* *ve* *mâ*  
N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N V P<sub>univ</sub> Adv  
my body my personal property be a certain way nominalizer negative  
*hê?* .  
V  
be the case
- (69) *qha-pà-è* *Ğî-ša* *ve* *mô* *phê?* *ve* *yò* .  
AE N P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
everything God genitivizer thing be a certain way nominalizer declarative
- (70) *chi thà? pa-tò* *Ğî-ša* *thà?* *tân* *pî* *cô*  
NP N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
therefore God accusative make a religious offering benefactive (3p) ought to  
*ve* *yò* .  
P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
nominalizer declarative
- (71) *chi thà? pa-tò* , *ğà-hi ve* *phu-ši* *thà?* *yê* *le* , *ô* *ò-bà-phô*  
NP N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>sd</sub> N<sub>loc</sub>  
therefore our money accusative spend (money) suspensive there outside  
*lo* *lôki-yâ* *tê phā* *thà?* *ca* *mā* *šê-phā*  
P<sub>n</sub> N Q P<sub>n</sub> vV V P<sub>v-nom</sub>  
locative non-Christians pluralizer accusative go and do preach to agentive nominalizer  
*tê phā* *thà?* *pî* *ve* *tê yân thâ* , *phu-ši* *chi* *Ğî-ša* *ò-pon* *kán* *te*  
Q P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N Det N N N V  
pluralizer accusative give relativizer when money this God for N's sake work do  
*chê* *ve* *thà?* *ğà-hi* *ğā* *ši* *ve* *yò* .  
V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
continuous nominalizer accusative we (pl) ought to know nominalizer declarative
- (72) *chi thà? pa-tò* *ò-ví-ò-ni* *Khrî?-yâ* *tê phā* *ò* , *tê ġā le-le* *Ğî-ša* *ve*  
NP Elab<sub>n</sub> N<sub>prop</sub> Q P<sub>n</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub>  
therefore brethren Christian pluralizer vocative everybody God genitivizer

<i>ḷ-pon</i>	<i>kán</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>tê cə</i>	, <i>qhà-thâ?-kâ?</i>	<i>ni-ma</i>	<i>qhɔ</i>	<i>kə</i>	<i>tā</i>
N	N	V	P <sub>univ</sub>	Q	AE	N	M <sub>prfx</sub>	V	P <sub>v</sub>
for N's sake	work	do	relativizer	one thing	always	heart	inside	put into	durative
<i>ò?</i>		<i>tê?</i>		<i>ḷ-ví-ḷ-ni</i>	<i>tê phā</i>	<i>thâ?</i>	<i>ḷ-ḡâ pî</i>		
P <sub>v</sub>		QUOT		Elab <sub>n</sub>	Q	P <sub>n</sub>	OV		
urging imperative		embedded quote		brethren	pluralizer	accusative	give strength to		
<i>lâ</i>		<i>ve</i>		<i>yò</i>	.				
P <sub>v</sub>		P <sub>univ</sub>		P <sub>uf</sub>					
benefactive (non-3p)		nominalizer		declarative					

## Translation

### 12

1. My brethren, the story I'd like to teach you and have us reflect upon together, is about a group of rich men who made offerings to God and of a certain widow who offered money to God.
2. This story which I would like to impart to you, my brothers, is to be found in Mark 12:41-44.<sup>1</sup>
3. A second passage is to be found in Luke 6:38.
4. And a third passage is contained in II Corinthians 9:6-7.
5. This book of the Bible<sup>2</sup> has many passages which are full of meaning.<sup>3</sup>
6. So please listen carefully to this story about offering money in the temple.
7. When Jesus was living on the earth, there was a certain very poor widow in the city of Jerusalem.
8. Her husband had died long before.
9. She had to seek her own living, and though she did her utmost, [her] money was never enough to gain her food and drink [or] to clothe and garb herself, so she would go hungry and suffer.
10. This woman, despite the fact that she was so wretched, had not forgotten God.
11. She would go up to the temple<sup>4</sup> as was fitting, and not only did she praise Him, but every day she would pray<sup>5</sup> fervently<sup>6</sup> to God.
12. One day this widow went to the great Temple to contribute and donate an offering of money.
13. For her offering she could not give a great deal of money, but she took all the money she did have and went to offer it to Him.
14. When she arrived at the Temple, she saw a group of rich men<sup>7</sup> putting great sums of money into the offering-box, and her heart was downcast.

<sup>1</sup>Lit: "Mark big-number 12, small-number from 41 to 44."

<sup>2</sup>I.e., *Mark*.

<sup>3</sup>*ḷ-ti cí-kà* 'meaningful passages': *cí-kà* lit: "sticking place": 'meaning, interest, value, worth'.

<sup>4</sup>*bo-yè* lit: "merit-house; grace-house": in Christian villages used to mean 'church' or 'temple'; in animist villages it referred to a temple to G'uisha, a deity conceived to be far above the nature-spirits (*nê*). See DL:943, 1148-9. G'uisha (*ḡi-ša*) was reinterpreted as the God of the Bible by Christian missionaries. *bo-yè tâ? ve* lit: "go up to church": 'go to church'.

<sup>5</sup>*bo lò ve* lit: "beg for grace": 'pray'

<sup>6</sup>*qha-dè?* An all-purpose adverbial expression signifying 'action performed in the approved manner': "nicely, properly, as is fitting, very well, fervently, etc."

<sup>7</sup>*pə-ša-pa* lit: "those who are born easily." Cf. English *well-born*.

15. She wanted to offer lots of money just like them, but she didn't have anything to give.
  16. She only had two small coins.<sup>8</sup> Those two small coins were only worth a farthing apiece.<sup>9</sup>
  17. When the woman put the two small coins in the offering-box—into the offering-box—Jesus saw it.
  18. He also saw the group of rich men offering great sums of money.
  19. Then he said to his disciples:
  20. “More than all the people who have put [money] into the offering-box—this poor and wretched widow has put in the most of all.”
- [13/ Hymn. After the hymn is sung, the pastor continues: ]

**14**

21. When Jesus was living upon the earth, in the city of Jerusalem, in the great Temple, all the Pharisees who had much earthly wealth<sup>10</sup>, and all the High Priestly Pharisees, and all the rich people and tycoons<sup>11</sup> were offering great sums of money to God.
22. At this time there was a very poor and wretched woman.
23. Since her husband had died, she was obliged to earn her living all by herself: everything, whether it was her money and belongings, or her clothing, or her food and drink.
24. So when the moment for putting money into the offering-place came, she had nothing to offer.
25. She wanted to make an offering to God, but she had nothing to offer.
26. The other people, all the tycoons coming up [to the temple] in their horse-drawn wagons pouring money into the offering-box until it overflowed—this woman saw them.
27. When she saw this, how could she feel?
28. “These others can offer so very, very much to God. I cannot offer God anything.
29. “I can only give this tiny amount, and my heart is sore indeed.”
30. This is what the woman was thinking.
31. As she thought this she was filled with embarrassment.
32. She had no idea<sup>12</sup> how she could go and put anything into the offering-place.
33. She had no idea how she could go put anything into the offering-box.
34. There was a great throng there, thousands and tens of thousands of people.
35. Slowly she carried her money, hiding it [in her hand], and went to put it into the offering-place.
36. How much was it that she put in?

<sup>8</sup> pè?-šā < Burmese *pai'-hsaN* (WB *puik-cham*) < Bengali.' See DL:856.

<sup>9</sup> tē pè?. A pè? is 1/100 of a Burmese rupee.

<sup>10</sup> mī-gì qhō phu-ši cò mā: “had much gold and silver on the earth.”

<sup>11</sup> šathê ‘rich man; boss; tycoon’ < Shan < Burmese < Pali *sathi/sethi* < Skt. *shre(ṣṭha)* ‘most splendid; preeminent’. See #69 “Picking Tea” and DL:1157.

<sup>12</sup> dō ma tō?: “think not emerge”, i.e., be unable to think something through to a solution.

37. Only two farthings.
38. She only had two farthings. For herself. To put in there.
39. As Jesus was sitting there he saw what was going on.
40. Then he said to his disciples, “As far as you can see<sup>13</sup>, who is the single person who has contributed the very most money among all those who made offerings to God today?”
41. “Who has put in more than anybody else?”
42. What did the disciples say?
43. This is how the disciples saw things:
44. All the disciples had their attention fixed on a certain person who had taken an enormous amount of money and put it into God’s offering-box. They thought he had put in a tremendous amount.
45. “[But] what is that woman doing giving a couple of farthings to God – putting them into His offering-place?”
46. This is what the disciples were thinking.
47. What did Jesus say?
48. “So<sup>14</sup> that’s what you think,” he said.
49. “Those people put in a lot of money. That woman put in a little bit of money.
50. “As far as her working for God’s sake<sup>15</sup> goes, she has offered God very little: that’s what you all think.
51. “But this woman does not have the slightest bit of substance<sup>16</sup> to keep herself alive.
52. “She only had two farthings.
53. “She took everything she had and offered it to God.
54. “The one who is the greatest of all these people, the one who has put in the largest offering, is this woman”, thus did Jesus teach his disciples.
55. This means that among you Christians, when it is time to make an offering to God, there should be no embarrassment [such that you say to yourselves]: “I have so little that I cannot offer God anything.”
56. We ought to make offerings to God in accordance with our means.<sup>17</sup>
57. Oh, my brothers! Let everyone give to God to the best of his ability!
58. Because, you see, your body, your intelligence, your wealth and property, your pigs and chickens, your livestock, all of these things belong to God.
59. My body does not belong to me.
60. Everything belongs to God.

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<sup>13</sup>nò-hi ni ve tê yâ thâ: “while you are looking”.

<sup>14</sup>So’ translates the quotative final unrestricted particle cê: “you say that’s what you think”.

<sup>15</sup>gì-sa à-po ká te ve “to work for God’s sake.” An expression used by the Christian Lahu to mean ‘to give money in church.’

<sup>16</sup>phu-ši-mô-jè “wealth and property.”

<sup>17</sup>ca ve gâ? ve gâ ve qha-šu-šu: “just as we have earned through our seeking and pursuing”. See DL:433.



61. For this reason we should make offerings to God.
62. For this reason, when we spend our money, when we give it away on the outside <sup>18</sup> to those who go and preach to non-Christians<sup>19</sup>, we should make sure<sup>20</sup> that this money is doing God's work.
63. Therefore, my Christian brethren, may the doing of the Lord's work ever remain in our hearts.
64. This is how I encourage you all.

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<sup>18</sup>ḡ-bà-phô: i.e., outside our village.

<sup>19</sup>lô-kî-yâ: 'people in the present mortal world' (lô-kî < Shan < Pali < Skt. *loka* 'world'), i.e., 'gentiles' in the Jewish or Mormon sense.

<sup>20</sup>ḡa ši ve 'must know.'

## 16.11 I am the Way

- (1) *lî?-phu ġo tû ve Yôhâ kanân-ló tê chi khô? , kaná-é*  
 N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N N Num N  
 Bible read future nominalizer John chapter (of the Bible) sixteen verse (of the Bible)  
*nî chi šī - nî chi hí ô-qhō ġo tû yò*  
 Num Num Num Num Num N<sub>loc</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 twenty seven seven twenty eight in read future declarative
- (2) *Yôhâ 16 : 27-28*  
 N N  
 John John
- (3) " *ô-lon qo nò-hi ñà thà? hà? le ô-pa ġe lo ñà là*  
 NP Pron P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron V  
 the reason is you (pl) me accusative love suspensive father from locative I come  
*ve yò , têt? nò-hi yôn ve pa-tō*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> QUOT Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative embedded quote you (pl) believe nominalizer because of  
*ô-pa yô ô-to nò-hi thà? hà? ve yò*  
 N NP Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 father he himself you (pl) accusative love nominalizer declarative
- (4) *ñà lē ô-pa ġe lo tō? la le , mì-ġi-qhô? lo*  
 Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 I topic father from locative come out come to V suspensive on earth locative  
*gà la pà*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 reach come to V finish V'ing
- (5) *tê pô? mì-ġi chi ô-qhō lo ñà tō? qay le ô-pa ġe*  
 Q N Det N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 for a while earth this in locative I come out end up V'ing suspensive father to  
*qô? qô? e tû yò , têt? qô? pî*  
 vV V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> QUOT V V<sub>v</sub>  
 V again go home motion away future declarative embedded quote say benefactive (3p)  
*ve yò*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (6) *tê kâ Yôhân kanân-ló tê chi ô kanân-é khô? mà*  
 Num Cl<sub>f</sub> N N Num N Q  
 another for places John chapter (of the Bible) fourteen verse (of the Bible) number six  
*ô-qhō : " Yēšû? qô? ve : ñà lē yâ?-qo yò*  
 N<sub>loc</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>uf</sub>  
 inside Jesus say nominalizer I topic road declarative
- (7) *thê-ve-cô-ve tê câ kâ? , co-ha têt? ve tê câ kâ? phêt? ve*  
 Elab<sub>v</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 righteous one thing also soul be alive relativizer one thing also be nominalizer  
*yò*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative

- (8) *ηὰ θὰ? μά κύ πο , χῶ τέ γὰ κὰ? ἰ-πα γε γὰ*  
 Pron P<sub>n</sub> Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> N Q P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V  
 me accusative negative accept if person one person even father to reach  
*μά φῆ? .”*  
 Adv V<sub>v</sub>  
 negative able to
- (9) *τέ γε Ḡì-ša θὰ? χῆ-μυ πῖ ḡā* .  
 Q N P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 together God accusative praise benefactive (3p) hortatory (1p)
- (10) *ἡὰ? πῖ ḡha bí-bí cò ve ηὰ-ἠι ve ἰ-ἰῶ-μῶ Yēšū?*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> AE V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron P<sub>univ</sub> N N<sub>pers</sub>  
 love benefactive (3p) fully be there relativizer we (pl) genitivizer lord Jesus  
*ὀ , τέ νῖ πὰ τέ νῖ νὸ ηὰ-ἠι τέ γὰ le-le θὰ?*  
 P<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> B<sub>n</sub> Num Cl<sub>f</sub> Pron Pron NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 vocative one for days after each other one for days you us everybody accusative  
*ἡὰ? ἰὰ ve ἰ-ḡḡ lo νὸ a-ḡā? τέ? πῖ ve yò*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> Pron N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 love very relativizer during you life be alive benefactive (3p) nominalizer declarative
- (11) *a-ḡā? τέ? πῖ ve ἰ-ἰὰ ἰ-ḡḡ lo , ηὰ-ἠι lō ve phu-ḡi*  
 N V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N NP<sub>time</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> N  
 life be alive benefactive (3p) relativizer time during we (pl) need relativizer wealth  
*τέ φᾶ θὰ? ḡa φῆ? τὺ θῶ , νὸ ηὰ-ἠι τέ γὰ le-le θὰ?*  
 Q P<sub>n</sub> V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron Pron NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 pluralizer accusative earn able to purposive also you us everybody accusative  
*ἰ-ḡā-ἰ-ḡā πῖ la ve ἰ-ḡḡ lo , ηὰ-ἠι ca le ḡa πὰ* .  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>loc</sub> Pron V P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 strength give come to V relativizer while we (pl) seek suspensive get V completely
- (12) *ἰὰ?-νῖ χῖ τέ κῖ νὸ θὰ? χῆ-μυ ve ἰ-ἰὰ χῖ τέ νᾶλῖ? ἰ-ḡḡ lo θῶ ,*  
 N<sub>time</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N Det Num N NP<sub>time</sub> P<sub>unf</sub>  
 today this time you accusative praise relativizer time this one hour during also  
*νὸ ηὰ-ἠι θὰ? πῖ τᾶ ve phu-ḡi χῖ τέ φᾶ τέ γὰ*  
 Pron Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Det Q NP<sub>q</sub>  
 you us accusative give perfective relativizer money these pluralizer each person  
*a-cí yù le νὸ θὰ? ηὰ-ἠι πῖ ve yò* .  
 Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 a little take suspensive you accusative we (pl) give nominalizer declarative
- (13) *ηὰ-ἠι πῖ ve phu-ḡi lē má ve má ἡῆ? , ἰ ἰὰ*  
 Pron V P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Adv V V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 we (pl) give relativizer money topic much nominalizer negative be the case little very
- (14) *ἰὰ?-ḡḡ ἰ-ḡū-ḡi cò τᾶ ve χῶ-cò χῖ ma ve*  
 Conj N<sub>time</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N N<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 however in the past be there perfective relativizer mankind so many genitivizer

- ha-lè ve bo-khò thà?*      *gà kâ le* , *nò thà?*      *qò?*      *yōn la*  
 RC                      P<sub>n</sub>                      vV                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      Pron P<sub>n</sub>                      vV                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>  
 gospel                      accusative                      get to                      hear                      because                      you                      accusative                      V also                      believe                      come to V
- phè?*      *tù ve*                      *ò-pon* , *Yēšû?* *ve*                      *ò-me thà?*                      *cû*  
 V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      N                      N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>                      N                      P<sub>n</sub>                      V  
 able to                      future                      relativizer                      sake                      Jesus                      genitivizer                      name                      accusative                      put one's trust in
- le* , *ò-pa nò thà?*                      *à?*                      *lâ*                      *ve*  
 P<sub>unf</sub>                      N                      Pron P<sub>n</sub>                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>  
 suspensive                      father                      you                      accusative                      offer up to                      benefactive (non-3p)                      nominalizer
- yò* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (15) *amen* .  
 Interj  
 amen
- (16) *mì-gì chò-yâ*                      *tê gâ le-le ve*                      *Ĝi-ša nà-hi thà?*                      *hà?*      *lâ*  
 N                      N                      NP<sub>q</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      N                      Pron P<sub>n</sub>                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>  
 world                      human beings                      everybody                      genitivizer                      God                      us                      accusative                      love                      benefactive (non-3p)
- tù ve*                      *ò-pon nà-hi dô-lo tã*                      *ve*                      *yò* .  
 P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      N                      Pron V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 purposive                      relativizer                      sake                      we (pl)                      hope                      durative                      nominalizer                      declarative
- (17) *chi qhe nà-hi dô-lo ve*                      *chò phè?* *ve*                      *qo* , *nà-hi a-šû*  
 AE<sub>ext</sub>                      Pron                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      N                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      Pron                      Pron  
 like this                      we (pl)                      hope                      relativizer                      people                      be                      nominalizer                      if                      we (pl)                      whom
- tê gâ thà?*                      *gâ cû*                      *tù ve*                      *le* .  
 Q                      P<sub>n</sub>                      vV                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 one person                      accusative                      must                      put one's trust in                      future                      nominalizer                      substantive qst
- (18) *Yēšû?* *qô?* *ve*                      " *nà lè*      *ò-pa ge lo là ve*                      *yò* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub>                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      Pron P<sub>unf</sub>                      N                      P<sub>n</sub>                      P<sub>n</sub>                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 Jesus                      say                      nominalizer                      I                      topic                      father                      from                      locative                      come                      nominalizer                      declarative
- (19) *nà thà?*                      *nò-hi yō ve*                      *thà? pa-tò le*                      *ò-pa nò-hi thà?*  
 Pron P<sub>n</sub>                      Pron V                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>n</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      N                      Pron P<sub>n</sub>  
 me                      accusative                      you (pl)                      believe                      nominalizer                      because                      because                      father                      you (pl)                      accusative
- hà?* *ve*                      *yò* .  
 V                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 love                      nominalizer                      declarative
- (20) *ò-ví-ò-ni tê phā*      *ò* , *nà-hi mì-gì chò-yâ*                      *Ĝi-ša nà-hi thà?*                      *hà?*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub>                      Q                      P<sub>n</sub>                      Pron N                      N                      N                      Pron P<sub>n</sub>                      V  
 brethren                      pluralizer                      vocative                      us                      world                      human beings                      God                      us                      accusative                      love
- lâ*                      *pî*                      *gâ ve*                      *qo* , *Ĝi-ša nà-hi*  
 P<sub>v</sub>                      V<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>unf</sub>                      N                      Pron  
 benefactive (non-3p)                      benefactive (3p)                      desiderative                      nominalizer                      topic                      God                      our
- ò-po gu tã lâ*                      *ve*                      *ò-qhâ chi thà?*  
 N                      V                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>v</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      N                      Det P<sub>n</sub>  
 for N's sake                      prepare                      perfective                      benefactive (non-3p)                      relativizer                      path                      this                      accusative
- nà-hi tê gâ le-le ve*                      *gâ cû*                      *ve*                      *yò* .  
 Pron                      NP<sub>q</sub>                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      vV                      V                      P<sub>univ</sub>                      P<sub>uf</sub>  
 we (pl)                      everybody                      genitivizer                      ought to                      put one's trust in                      nominalizer                      declarative

- (21) *yô ñà-hi ò-po gu tã ve ò-qhã chi lè qhà-qhe*  
 Pron Pron N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Det P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>intg</sub>  
 He our for N's sake prepare perfective relativizer path this topic what kind?  
*ve le*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 genitivizer substantive qst
- (22) *Ğĩ-ša yô ve Yâ-phu Yēšũ? tē qô? ve , cho chi*  
 N N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N N<sub>pers</sub> QUOT V P<sub>univ</sub> N Det  
 God his precious son Jesus embedded quote call nominalizer person this  
*tē gâ lè mĩ-gĩ-qhō lo cho-yâ gē yô gâ la pà*  
 Q P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 one person topic on earth locative human beings with He reach come to V V already
- (23) *yô gâ la pà ve yò*  
 Pron V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 He arrive come to V definitely V nominalizer declarative
- (24) *chi thà? pa-tō lē ñà-hi cho-yâ tē gâ le-le ve Ğĩ-ša ve*  
 NP P<sub>univ</sub> Pron N NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub>  
 therefore because we (pl) human beings everybody genitivizer god genitivizer  
*mũ-mĩ thà? dō-lo ve cho phē? ve qo lē , yô thà?*  
 N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub>  
 country accusative hope relativizer people be nominalizer if topic Him accusative  
*ñà-hi ò-tē-ò-na gâ cū ve yò*  
 Pron Elab<sub>adv</sub> vV V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 we (pl) truly must put one's trust in nominalizer declarative
- (25) *Ğĩ-ša ve mũ-mĩ qay ve yà?-qō ñà-hi qhà-qhe te šĩ phē? tũ*  
 N P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> N Pron Cl<sub>nf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub>  
 God genitivizer country go relativizer way we (pl) how know able to future  
*le , qô? ve qo , mĩ-gĩ ò-qhō lo ñà-hi cho-yâ*  
 P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron N  
 substantive qst say nominalizer topic earth on locative we (pl) human beings  
*khũ-hó-khã chē-kĩ lē qhà-lo le qô? ve qo , chĩ-bà?*  
 N N<sub>dvb</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>time</sub>  
 king dwelling place topic where? substantive qst say nominalizer topic now  
*Thây-mũ-mĩ ò-qhō lo khũ-hó-khã chē-kĩ lē Kô-thē? yò*  
 N<sub>place</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N N<sub>dvb</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 Thailand in locative king dwelling place topic Bangkok declarative
- (26) *Kô-thē? ò-qhō lo qay ve yà?-qō lē qhà-lo ñà-hi gâ qay*  
 N<sub>place</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> Pron vV V  
 Bangkok to locative go relativizer road topic where? we (pl) must go  
*le qô? qo , Cē-mây à-mĩ-lò de kĩ phô lo , Nò-pa-tĩ?*  
 P<sub>uf</sub> V P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>place</sub> N M<sub>px</sub> P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>place</sub>  
 substantive qst say if Chiang Mai train station direction locative place name  
*thà? te-lē , Lânpân te-lē , Kô-thē? qay ve yà?-qō chi thà?*  
 P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>place</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>place</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N Det P<sub>n</sub>  
 accusative from Lampang from Bangkok go relativizer road this accusative  
*ñà-hi cho-yâ qay tũ ò-po khũ-hó-khã yà?-qō chi qhe ve*  
 Pron N V P<sub>v</sub> N N N AE<sub>ext</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 we (pl) human beings go purposive for N's sake king road like this genitivizer

- gu* *p̄* *tā* *ve* *yò* .  
<sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 arrange to V go through perfective nominalizer declarative
- (27) *yà?-qɔ* *chi* *thà?* *qay* *ve* *tê yân thâ* , *chɔ* *tê ġâ le-le* *ve*  
 N Det P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>time</sub> N NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 road this accusative go relativizer when people everybody genitivizer  
*khú-hɔ-khâ* *chê-kì* *ve* *vên thà?* *ġa m̀* *lɛ* , *yô ve* *yè*  
 N N<sub>dvb</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> <sub>v</sub>V + V<sub>h</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + **ve** N  
 king dwelling place genitivizer city accusative find suspensive his house  
*thà?* *hà-hi* *ġa m̀* *ve* ; *yô ð-to* *thà?* *hà-hi* *ġa* *š̄*  
 P<sub>n</sub> Pron <sub>v</sub>V + V<sub>h</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP P<sub>n</sub> Pron <sub>v</sub>V V  
 accusative we (pl) find nominalizer he himself accusative we (pl) get to know  
*ve* *yò* .  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (28) *chi ve* *qha s̄u-s̄u* *hà-hi* *m̀-gì* *chɔ-yâ* *Ġi-ša* *chê-kì* *m̄-m̀* *ð-lɔn*  
 Det AE Pron N N N N<sub>dvb</sub> N N<sub>dvb</sub> N N  
 this just like we (pl) world human beings God dwelling place country about  
*thà?* *hà-hi* *d̄* *ni* *lɛ* *lɔ* *chê* *ve* *chɔ* *dê-dê* *phè?*  
 P<sub>n</sub> Pron V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N N<sub>ext</sub>  
 accusative we (pl) think try and V suspensive wait for continuous relativizer people all  
*phè?* *ve* *yò* .  
 V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 be a certain way nominalizer declarative
- (29) *chi thà? pa-tɔ* *yô* *hà-hi* *ð-po* *gu* *tā* *lā* *ve*  
 NP Pron Pron N V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 therefore He our for N's sake prepare perfective benefactive (non-3p) relativizer  
*m̄-m̀* *ð-qhɔ* *lo* *lò?* *e* *ġâ* *ve* *chɔ* *dê-dê* *phè?*  
 N N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N N<sub>ext</sub> V  
 country inside locative enter motion away desiderative relativizer people all be  
*ve* *thà? pa-tɔ* *lɛ* , *yô* *p̄* *tā* *ve* *yà?-qɔ* *chi* *tê*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Det Num  
 nominalizer because because He give perfective relativizer path this one  
*cā?* *thà?* *hà-hi* *ġa* *qay* *ve* *yò* .  
 Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Pron <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 for long objects accusative we (pl) must go nominalizer declarative
- (30) *yà?-qɔ* *ô-ve* *lè* *qhà-qhe ve* *yà?-qɔ* *le* .  
 N Det P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + **ve** N P<sub>uf</sub>  
 road that topic what kind of? road substantive qst
- (31) *Yēšû?* *qô?* *ve* , *hà* *lè* *yà?-qɔ* *yò* .  
 N<sub>pers</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> Pron P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>uf</sub>  
 Jesus say nominalizer I topic way declarative
- (32) *thê-ve-cô-ve* *tê c̀* *kà?* , *co-ha* *tè?* *ve* *tê c̀* *kà?* *phè?* *ve*  
 Elab<sub>v</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> N V P<sub>univ</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub>  
 righteous one thing also soul be alive relativizer one thing also be nominalizer  
*yò* .  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative

- (33) *ηὰ θὰ? m̄ cū qo chɔ tē gā kà? ð-pa gɛ gà m̄*  
 Pron P<sub>n</sub> Adv V P<sub>unf</sub> N Q P<sub>unf</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V Adv  
 me accusative negative accept if person one person even father to reach negative  
*phê?*  
 V<sub>v</sub>  
 able to
- (34) *chi thà? pa-tɔ , ηὰ-hi chɔ-yâ tē gā le-le ve Yēšû? thà?*  
 NP Pron N NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 therefore we (pl) human beings everybody genitivizer Jesus accusative  
*cū tū , Yēšû? thà? yō tū m̄-m̄ dâ? jâ*  
 V P<sub>v</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> V<sub>redup</sub> V<sub>adj</sub> V<sub>v</sub>  
 put one's trust in future Jesus accusative believe future very much good very  
*ve yò*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 nominalizer declarative
- (35) *ð-ví-ð-ni tē phā ò , yà?-ni Ğì-ša ηὰ-hi ð-po gu t̄a*  
 Elab<sub>n</sub> Q P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>time</sub> N Pron N V P<sub>v</sub>  
 brethren pluralizer vocative today God our for N's sake prepare perfective  
*lâ ve yà?-qɔ ð-qhâ chi tē phā thà? ηὰ-hi tē gā le-le*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N N Det Q P<sub>n</sub> Pron NP<sub>q</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p) relativizer road path this pluralizer accusative we (pl) everybody  
*ve qha le qay thâ , ηὰ-hi ve khú-hó-khâ thà? ηὰ-hi m̄ tū*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> AE V P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>poss + ve</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> Pron V P<sub>v</sub>  
 genitivizer to the end go when our king accusative we (pl) see future  
*yò*  
 P<sub>uf</sub>  
 declarative
- (36) *chi thà? pa-tɔ ηὰ-hi a-šú-yô ve vên-bâ? thà? d̄s-phú? tū Ğì-ša yô*  
 NP Pron N<sub>poss + ve</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> N Pron  
 therefore we (pl) each person's sin accusative atone for purposive God He  
*ηὰ-hi thà? Yēšû? mì-gì ð-qhò lo pə lâ ve , le*  
 Pron P<sub>n</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> NP<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Conj  
 us accusative Jesus to the world locative send benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer and  
*Yēšû? ηὰ-hi thà? m̄ lâ ve qhâ-qhe qô? le*  
 N<sub>pers</sub> Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N<sub>intg</sub> V P<sub>uf</sub>  
 Jesus us accusative teach benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer how? say substantive qst  
*qô? qo , " n̄-hi mì-gì chɔ-yâ tē gā le-le ve vên-bâ? thà?*  
 V P<sub>unf</sub> Pron N N NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub>  
 say if you (pl) world human beings everybody genitivizer sin accusative  
*ḡa pòn tū , ηὰ mì-gì ð-qhò lo là pè ."*  
 vV V P<sub>v</sub> Pron NP<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub> V V<sub>v</sub>  
 get to save from purposive I to the world locative come definitely V
- (37) *qhe-te-le Ğì-ša n̄-hi tē gā le-le ve vên-bâ? thà? phê*  
 Conj N Pron NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> V  
 so God you (pl) everybody genitivizer sin accusative forgive  
*lâ ve ð-tē-ð-na , yô ve qhâ-ši phê?*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>adv</sub> N<sub>poss + ve</sub> M<sub>px</sub> V  
 benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer truly His following a path be possible

- |  |                |                   |                 |              |           |                  |   |                   |   |                 |               |                  |  |
|--|----------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------|------------------|---|-------------------|---|-----------------|---------------|------------------|--|
|  | <i>tù</i>      | <i>ve</i>         | <i>ḍ-pon</i>    | , ”          | <i>ḡà</i> | <i>lè</i>        | ” | <i>cê</i>         | , | ”               | <i>là?-ka</i> | <i>ḍ-qhô</i>     |  |
|  | P <sub>v</sub> | P <sub>univ</sub> | N               |              | Pron      | P <sub>unf</sub> |   | P <sub>uf</sub>   |   |                 | N             | N <sub>loc</sub> |  |
|  | purposive      | relativizer       | for N's sake    |              | I         | topic            |   | quotative         |   |                 | cross         | on top of        |  |
|  | <i>lo</i>      | <i>nḍ-hi</i>      | <i>qha-pḍ-è</i> | <i>ḍ-po</i>  | <i>ṣī</i> | <i>ā</i>         |   | <i>ve</i>         |   | <i>yò</i>       |               | .                |  |
|  | P <sub>n</sub> | Pron              | AE              | N            | V         | P <sub>v</sub>   |   | P <sub>univ</sub> |   | P <sub>uf</sub> |               |                  |  |
|  | locative       | you (pl)          | all             | for N's sake | die       | perfective       |   | nominalizer       |   | declarative     |               |                  |  |
- (38) *chi thà? pa-tṵ ḡà thà? qha-cū-qha-yō ve chṵ tē ḡā le-le*  
 NP Pron P<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N NP<sub>q</sub>  
 therefore me accusative all who trust and believe relativizer people everybody  
*ve vên-bâ? cī-yān tù qha-pḍ-è thà? ḍ-pa phē*  
 P<sub>univ</sub> N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> AE P<sub>n</sub> N V  
 genitivizer sin punish sthg that is cause for V'ing all accusative father forgive  
*pī lē , yṵ ve mē?-ḡū-ṣī lo thē-ve-cṵ-ve chṵ tē*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N P<sub>n</sub> Elab<sub>v</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub>  
 benefactive (3p) suspensive His presence of locative righteous people really V  
*Ḡī-ṣā nḍ-hi thà? ṣṵ tā lâ ve yò* .”  
 N Pron P<sub>n</sub> V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 God you (pl) accusative consider durative benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer declarative
- (39) *chi thà? pa-tṵ lē ḡà-hi tē ḡā le-le ve ha-lè-ha-qa chi-bḍ? ḡà-hi qay*  
 NP P<sub>univ</sub> Pron NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> Elab<sub>adv</sub> N<sub>time</sub> Pron V  
 therefore because we (pl) everybody genitivizer happily now we (pl) go  
*chē ve yà?-qṵ chi tē mà thà? tē ḡā thṵ-kà?*  
 V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Det Num Cl<sub>f</sub> P<sub>n</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub>  
 continuous relativizer road this one for things accusative one person even  
*qḍ?-phū?-qḍ?-hā? lē ḍ-kā-ḍ-nu ve yà?-qṵ tē phā thà? qḍ?*  
 Elab<sub>v</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N Q P<sub>n</sub> vV  
 turn around hastily suspensive other genitivizer road pluralizer accusative V instead  
*tō qay tù ve ḍ-cḍ thà? ḡà-hi*  
 V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N P<sub>n</sub> Pron  
 wander around end up V'ing sthg that is cause for V'ing relativizer thing accusative we (pl)  
*tā dṣ-ni* .  
 Adv V  
 negative imperative consider
- (40) *chi tē khi ḍ-vī-ḍ-ni tē phā thà? Ḡī-ṣā ve bo-khṵ chi qhe mā*  
 NP<sub>q</sub> Elab<sub>n</sub> Q P<sub>n</sub> N P<sub>univ</sub> N AE<sub>ext</sub> V  
 this time brethren pluralizer accusative God genitivizer holy words (X'n) like this teach  
*lā ve yò* .  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 benefactive (non-3p) nominalizer declarative
- (41) *ḡà-hi tē ḡā le-le ve ḍ-qhṵ lo tē? ve co-ha tē cḍ lè mâ cḍ* .  
 Pron NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>loc</sub> RC Q P<sub>unf</sub> Adv V  
 us everybody genitivizer among Holy Spirit (X'n) one thing topic negative be there
- (42) *chi thà? pa-tṵ chṵ-yā tē ḡā le-le ve co-ha tē? ve tē cḍ cḍ*  
 NP N NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> RC Q V  
 therefore human beings everybody genitivizer Holy Spirit (X'n) one thing be there  
*la tù ve ḍ-po , Ḡī-ṣā yṵ ve Yēšū? ḍ-qhṵ lo*  
 P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> N N N<sub>poss</sub> + ve N<sub>pers</sub> N<sub>loc</sub> P<sub>n</sub>  
 come to V purposive relativizer for N's sake God His Jesus into locative



- qha bî-bî pî tã ve yò* .  
 AE V P<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 fully give perfective nominalizer declarative
- (43) *chi thà? pa-tɔ ɛ yô nî kà tê kà ð-qhɔ lo qô? ve mì-gì chɔ-yâ tê phā*  
 Conj Pron NP<sub>q</sub> NP<sub>loc</sub> V P<sub>univ</sub> N N Q  
 therefore He another place in say nominalizer earth human beings pluralizer  
*ð-po a-šà? tē? tũ-ve lē Yēšú? lē chɔ-yâ*  
 N N V P<sub>v-nom</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N<sub>pers</sub> P<sub>unf</sub> N  
 for N's sake life be alive purposive nominalizer topic Jesus topic human beings  
*ð-po khò-mô phê? ve tē? qô? ve yò* .  
 N N V P<sub>univ</sub> QUOT V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 for N's sake manna (X'n) be nominalizer embedded quote say nominalizer declarative
- (44) *qhe-qo khò-mô chi thà? qha câ ve chɔ-hi tê gâ le-le ve*  
 Conj N Det P<sub>n</sub> Adv V P<sub>univ</sub> N NP<sub>q</sub> P<sub>univ</sub>  
 so manna (X'n) this accusative all eat relativizer people everybody genitivizer  
*lē tē pɔ? kà? mâ qô? mǎ? ve yò* .  
 P<sub>unf</sub> Q P<sub>unf</sub> Adv <sub>v</sub>V V P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 topic again even negative V again hungry nominalizer declarative
- (45) *qhe-qo nò-ŋà-hi chɔ-yâ phê? ve tê gâ le-le khò-mô chi thà?*  
 Conj Pron N V P<sub>univ</sub> NP<sub>q</sub> N Det P<sub>n</sub>  
 so all of us human beings be nominalizer everybody manna (X'n) this accusative  
*qha bû?-bû? câ cɔ ve yò* .  
 AE V V<sub>v</sub> P<sub>univ</sub> P<sub>uf</sub>  
 to utter satiety eat ought to nominalizer declarative

## Translation

1. What we shall read in the Bible, is in John 16:27-28:<sup>1</sup>
2. “For the Father himself loveth you, because ye have loved me, and have believed that I came out from God.
3. I came forth from the Father, and am come into the world:
4. again, I leave the world, and go to the Father,” he said.
5. Elsewhere in John 14:6:
6. “Jesus saith unto him, I am the way, the truth, and the life:
7. no man cometh unto the Father, but by me.”
8. Let us praise the Lord.
9. Oh, our lord Jesus, so full of love, day after day in thy great love thou givest us all life.
10. While we are alive, since thou givest all of us the strength and force to earn the money that we need—we seek and we find.
11. Today, now at this very hour when we praise Thee, out of all the wealth Thou hast given us, each person will take a little and we'll give it to Thee.
12. The money that we give is not much, it is very little.

<sup>1</sup>King James translation: The division between the sentences in Lahu is not the same as the verses in the King James Bible, naturally enough.

13. But since we have heard the Gospel<sup>2</sup> [like] so many people in the past, and since [we] have also come to believe in you, putting our trust<sup>3</sup> in Jesus' name, [we] offer it up to you the Father.

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14. We all, everybody in the world, hope that God will love us.

15. If indeed we are people who have those hopes<sup>4</sup>, in whom should we put our trust?

16. Jesus said, "I have come from the Father.

17. Since you believe in me, that Father loves you."

18. Oh my brethren, since God wants to love all of us peoples of the world, we all of us ought to put our trust in this path that God has prepared for us.

19. And what is that path that He has prepared for us?

20. God's precious Son<sup>5</sup> called Jesus, that person arrived to us in the world among us human beings.

21. He definitely arrived here.<sup>6</sup>

22. For this reason, if we humans are all people who hope for heaven<sup>7</sup>, we must truly believe in him.

23. How are we able to know what is the road that goes to Heaven? If we humans here on earth ask where the King lives, now in Thailand the place where the King lives is Bangkok.

24. If we ask where is the road that we must travel to go to Bangkok, the road that has been prepared for us by the King is from the railroad station in Chiang Mai, from Nawpatti<sup>8</sup>, through Lampang<sup>9</sup>, and going on to Bangkok.

25. When we go along that road, we {get to see/ find} the city where the King of us all lives, we get to see his house, we come to know him himself.

26. In the same way we humans on earth can all be people who seriously ponder God's heavenly home, and who wait expectantly for it.

27. For that reason, since we can all be people who want to enter the land that He has prepared for us, we must go along the road he has given us.

28. As for that road, what kind of road is it?

29. Jesus has said, "I am the Way,

30. the truth, and the life.

31. No man cometh unto the Father, but by me."

32. Therefore for all of us human beings, trusting in Jesus, believing in Jesus, is very good indeed.

33. O my brethren, today if we all go along to the very end of these paths which God has prepared for us, we will get to see our King.

34. Thus God sent Jesus to this world for us, in order to atone for all of our sins, and if we say how Jesus taught us this: "I have come into the world in order to save you people of the earth from your sins."

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<sup>2</sup>ha-lê ve bo-khâ: lit. "the happy blessed words."

<sup>3</sup>cû: 'put one's trust in'. See JAM 1989.

<sup>4</sup>Lit. "who hope this way."

<sup>5</sup>yâ-phu: this poetic word, perhaps meaning literally "white child/pure child", has a wide range of meanings, including 'human being; person; man; son.' It is also used as a humble first person pronoun for a man in love poetry.

<sup>6</sup>gà la pè, lit. "arrive" (gà), "hither" (la), "do completely/finish up" (pè).

<sup>7</sup>gî-sa mû-mi: 'heaven' (lit. "God's country").

<sup>8</sup>nò-pa-tî: an area of Chiang Mai near the train station.

<sup>9</sup>A city about 30 km south of Chiang Mai.

35. So then, in order for God to truly forgive all of your sins, so that you may follow on his path, he said, “I have died upon the Cross for the sake of you all.”
36. Therefore the Father will forgive all the punishable sins of everyone who trusts and believes in me, and when you are in His presence God will judge you to be virtuous and righteous.
37. So then, [among] all of us who are now happily going along this path, not even one of us must think of hastily turning around and going on any other paths.
38. I have now preached God’s holy words to all of you, my brethren.
39. Among all of us the living Holy Spirit<sup>10</sup> did not dwell.
40. Therefore, in order to have the Holy Spirit appear among us human beings, God poured<sup>11</sup> [its essence] into his Jesus.
41. Therefore He said in another place that by giving [eternal] life to all the people of the world, Jesus was *manna*<sup>12</sup> for human beings.
42. So whoever partakes of this manna will never be hungry again.
43. So all of us human beings ought to partake of this manna until we are utterly replete.

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<sup>10</sup>tè? ve co-ha (Left Relative Clause) or co-ha tè? ve (Right Relative Clause).

<sup>11</sup>qha-bí-bí pí tã ‘gave in plenitude’.

<sup>12</sup>khò-mô ~ khò-mû ‘cake, bread’ < Shan *khaw-mun*. The Christian sense of ‘manna’ was inadvertently omitted from DL 384.

I am the Way

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## Glossary

a	1. (P <sub>v</sub> ) intensitive, hortatory, vigorous action, try to, vigorous agreement; 2. (P <sub>uf</sub> ) emphatic
a lâ	(P <sub>v</sub> + P <sub>v</sub> ) vivid action
a ni	1. (P <sub>v</sub> + P <sub>v</sub> ) try to; 2. (P <sub>v</sub> + V <sub>v</sub> ) try to
a ni-ʔ	(P <sub>v</sub> + P <sub>v</sub> ) try to (imp.)
a te	(P <sub>v</sub> + V <sub>v</sub> ) try to
a-bê	(N) abeh plant
a-câ	(N) rice in the field (YL), paddy (YL)
a-cā	(N) curry dish (YL)
a-cí	(Adv) a little, please, just, more, at all, a little more, rather, quite, just/a little, too, just a few, almost
a-cí a-cí	(AE) little by little
a-cí kàʔ	(AE) not V at all
a-cí mâ	(AE) almost
a-cí qo	(AE) the fact is
a-cí-cí	(Adv) a little, only a little, even a little bit
a-cí-cí mâ hêʔ	(VP) in droves
a-dô	(N) headman (RL)
a-ğõ	(N) cabbage (YL)
a-ğõ-ca	(N) cabbage (YL)
a-ké	(N <sub>ext</sub> ) more than, rather than
A-kí	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) Aki
a-kí	(N) pitch pine, pine splinters
a-khòn	(N) permission, opportunity
a-la-ī	(Interj) woe is me!
a-la-la-ôʔ	(Interj) alas and alack!
a-lâ	1. (P <sub>v</sub> ) lively action; 2. (N) investment
A-lé	(N) Lahu group in S.Yunnan
a-lēʔ	(N) salt (YL)
a-līʔ	(N) another one (YL)
a-lô	(Interj) wow!
a-lō	(N) will
a-ló	(Adv) first
a-ló-pí	(Adv) first
a-mâʔ	(N) minister (government)
a-mâʔ-ló	(N) minister (government), high minister
A-mè	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name
a-mi-a	(Adv) now (YL)
a-mîʔ	(N) command
a-mòʔ	(N) trial (legal)

a-mò? te dà?	(OV) have a lawsuit
a-mò?-lón	(N) court trial
a-nà	(N) disease
a-ni	(N) younger brother
a-ni tê há	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) last night
a-pa	(N) father
a-pi	(N) grandmother, old woman
a-pi-qu	(N) grandmother
a-pí-né	(N) little child
a-pū	1. (N) father-in-law; 2. (Pron) I (father-in-law speaking)
a-qó-ló	(Adv) first
a-qó-pî	(Adv) first
a-šà?	(N) age, life
a-šà? hu	(OV) earn a living
a-šé-a	(N <sub>time</sub> ) just now (YL)
a-šî? kà?	(NP <sub>time</sub> ) recently
a-šu	(Pron) whoever, who, anybody, everybody, whose, whom
a-šu a-šu	(Pron) who all, everybody
a-šu kà?	(Pron) everybody, anybody, everybody/anybody
a-šu tê gâ thô	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) each and every person
a-šu thô	(Pron) anybody
a-šu ve	(N <sub>poss</sub> + ve) whose
a-šu yô-qhâ-yô	(Pron) each person by himself
a-šu-šu	(N <sub>intg</sub> ) who all
a-šu-yô	(Pron) one's own, each person, each one's, whoever, everyone, everybody's
a-šu-yô ve	(N <sub>poss</sub> + ve) each person's
a-šú	(N) tobacco (YL)
a-šwē-lo	(NP <sub>time</sub> ) once upon a time (YL)
a-šwē-lò	(NP <sub>time</sub> ) once upon a time (YL)
a-tê	(P <sub>v</sub> + P <sub>quot</sub> ) purposive, try to, intentive
a-tê?	(P <sub>v</sub> + P <sub>quot</sub> ) intentive, try to
a-thé-phi-šî	(N) ashy pumpkin
a-tho	(N <sub>intg</sub> ) what? (YL)
a-tho-ā?	(N <sub>intg</sub> ) what? (YL)
a-ví	(N) (your) elder brother
a-ví-a-ni	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) brothers and sisters, relatives, brethren, relatives/relations
a-ví-pā	(N) elder brother
a-ya	(Interj) aha!
a-yé	(Adv) slowly, quietly, in the future
a-yé-yé	(Adv) in the future, gradually, sometime, slowly, quietly, in a relaxed way, for the future, carefully
a-yɔ-ma	(N) kind of very tall straight tree
a-yɔ-qō	(N) hollow a-yɔ tree
a-?	(P <sub>v</sub> + P <sub>v</sub> ) hortatory, imperative
acôyà?	(N) government
acúyà?	(N) government

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Ahem	(Interj) clearing throat
alôo	(Interj) oh boy!, wow!, oh!, hey!, well, ouch!, dear me!
amen	(Interj) amen
amérika	(N <sub>place</sub> ) America
Anani	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) Ananias
ao44	(V) take (Shan)
ašóyà?	(N) government
á	(P <sub>v</sub> ) perfective, durative, durative/perfective, urging (Shan), neg. prob., counterfactual
á-bô?	(N) blanket
á-cè	(N) hawk, eagle
á-cè-gu	(N) crab
á-cè-lón	(N) eagle
á-ci-ku	(N) crab
á-chû	(N) thorns
á-chû-pu	(N) thornbush
á-du-tà	(N) stick
á-khe	(N) rope
á-lê?	(N) salt
á-mo-qō	(N) gourd
á-mo-qō-šī	(N) gourd
á-ni	(NP <sub>time</sub> ) yesterday
á-ni-qhò?	(NP <sub>time</sub> ) last year
á-pi-qā	(N) dove
á-po-qo	(N) field hut
á-pò?	(N) shirt, tunic
á-pɔ-qu	(N) banana
á-pô	(N) banana
á-pô-cè	(N) banana plant
á-pô-ğš	(N) banana tree creeper
á-pô-ğwê	(N) banana tree creeper
á-pô-ō	(N) young banana flower
á-pô-phà?	(N) banana leaf
á-pô-šī	(N) banana
á-phà?	(N) leaf, leaves
á-phè?	(N) chili peppers
á-phè?-cè	(N) pepper bush
á-qà?	(N) outside
á-qà?-á-ji	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) outside one's home
á-qà?-á-ki	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) a nearby place
á-qhâ-yè	(N) ragweed hut
á-qhɔ	(N) home
á-qhɔ-yè-qhɔ	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) one's own home
á-šī?	(N <sub>time</sub> ) previously, a while ago, recently, before/just now
á-šī?-ni	(N <sub>time</sub> ) a while ago, last
á-tà	(N) stick
á-thâ	(N) jew's-harp
á-thâ-á-yê	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) jew's-harp
á-thè?	(N) knife
á-thɔ	(N) heavy knife, machete, knives, knife

á-thɔ-qwè?	(N) curved bush-knife, crooked knife
Á-và	(Eth) Wa, Wa/Lawa
Á-và-yâ	(N) Wa/Lawa people, Wa people
á-yù?-co-mê	(N) eternal heavenly abode (RL)
á-yù?-co-pâ	(N) longevity, long life (RL)
á-yù?-ha-pâ	(N) endless life
á-yù?-kɔ-mô	(N) eternal heavenly pillar (RL)
áa	(Interj) cry to attract a spirit, cry to attract the attention of a spirit
álôo	(Interj) ouch!
â	(Adv) negative, not
â hê? o	(VP) definitely not the case, should not do, should not happen
â hê?-hê?	(VP) is definitely not
â tà	(V <sub>v</sub> ) tired of V'ing
â-à	(Interj) my goodness!
â-cô-pâ	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) loser
â-šwê-thâ	(NP <sub>time</sub> ) once upon a time (YL)
âa	(Interj) well!, oh!, hey!, oh, come now!, ah!, well then, er
âa-à-â	(Interj) oh dear!
âlô	(Interj) ah!
âlôo	(Interj) aw, come on!
âmphô	(N) district office (Thai)
ân	(V) be astonished
à	1. (P <sub>v</sub> ) asseverative; 2. (P <sub>n</sub> ) interrogative vocative
à-chɔ	(N) person (YL)
à-là	(Adv) approximately
à-là-qhe	(Adv) almost, about
à-lô	(N) will
à-ma	1. (Pron <sub>intg</sub> ) what?; 2. (N <sub>intg</sub> ) whatever
à-ma te	(Cl <sub>nf</sub> ) why
à-ma te lɛ	(Cl <sub>nf</sub> ) why
à-mī	(N) fire
à-mī thè?	(OV) start fire by friction
à-mī-ğə?	(N) embers
à-mī-ha	(N) flame
à-mī-há	(N <sub>time</sub> ) last night
à-mī-jì-è?	(N) spark
à-mī-jì?	(N) spark
à-mī-lò dɛ kì	(N) train station
à-mī-mê	(N) tinder
à-mī-šá	(N) hot air from a fire
à-mī-šī	(N) grenade, stick of dynamite
à-mò?	(N) court trial
à-mù	(Conj) otherwise, if worst comes to worst, some day, or else, lest, in a while, even though
à-mù tê khi	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) a short time from now
à-mù-khá	(N <sub>time</sub> ) this evening
à-mù?	(N) trial (legal)
à-pòn	(N) story



à-pō	(N) story
à-pù	(N) story
à-pū	(N) father-in-law, story, father-in-law (voc.)
à-pū-qu	(N) old man
à-še	(N <sub>time</sub> ) just now, previously
à-še thâ	(NP <sub>time</sub> ) just now
à-še-thâ	1. (NP <sub>time</sub> ) just now, recently/just now; 2. (Temp Nom) a while ago
à-šo thâ	(NP <sub>time</sub> ) in the recent past
à-šô thâ	(NP <sub>time</sub> ) a while ago
à-šwè	1. (NP <sub>time</sub> ) long ago; 2. (N <sub>time</sub> ) once upon a time
à-šwè è thâ	(NP <sub>time</sub> ) long time ago
à-šwè thâ	1. (AE) once upon a time, in olden times; 2. (NP <sub>time</sub> ) long time ago
à-šwè-è-thâ-è	(AE) once upon a time
à-tha	(N <sub>intg</sub> ) what
à-thò?-ma	(N <sub>intg</sub> ) what, whatever, what kind of, anything, any
à-thò?-ma à-thò?-ma	(N <sub>intg</sub> ) what kinds of things, whatever, some kind or other
à-thò?-ma te	(Adv <sub>interrog</sub> ) why
à-thò?-ma te le	(Cl <sub>nf</sub> ) why
à-thò?-ma thà? pa-tɔ	(NP) for what reason
à-thò?-mû-thò?-ma	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) miscellaneous things
à-thɔ-a	(Pron <sub>intg</sub> ) what
àa	(Interj) er
àa?	(Interj) damn it!
àlòo	(Interj) well
àm	(N) district office (Thai)
ā	(P <sub>v</sub> ) perfective, durative, durative/perfective
ā-a	(Interj) well!
Āndālē	(N) Andrew
Āy-šwē	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name
ā?	(P <sub>n</sub> ) accusative (YL)
à?	1. (P <sub>n</sub> ) accusative, object, causee; 2. (P <sub>v</sub> ) durative, perfective, object, durative/perfective; 3. (P <sub>uf</sub> ) emphatic final particle (Shan); 4. (V) offer up to
ã	(P <sub>n</sub> ) accusative (YL)
ba	(V) be bright
ba è	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) shining
ba è?	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) brightly
baun	(Interj) bang! (noise of gun)
bà	1. (V <sub>v</sub> ) away, over, V wastefully, V so it topples over; 2. (V) throw away, abandon, divorce, throw away/discard, get rid of, cast aside, be shady; 3. (M <sub>px</sub> ) the other side of
bà dà?	(V + V <sub>v</sub> ) divorce/get divorced, divorce
bà te	(V + V <sub>v</sub> ) discard permanently
bà-dà?-chê?-dà?	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) get divorced
bà-hê?	(V) divorce one's spouse

Glossary

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bà-né	(V) throw sthg so it sticks
bà?	1. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) baht; 2. (V) hack into lengths, cut into boards
bε	(V) thatch, cover
bε-?	(V <sub>imp</sub> ) thatch!
bè-bè kî-kî	(AE) all infected
bê	(V) chew, vie for
bə	(V) exorcise by scolding (RL)
bə-ğa-lè?-ğa-š̄-ğa	(Elab <sub>extd</sub> ) free by propitiatory scolding
bè?	1. (V <sub>adj</sub> ) angry; 2. (V) get angry
bè	(V) tempt
bè-ve-l̄-ve	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) temptation
bê?	(V) scoop out
bē?	(V) scoop out (YL)
bí è	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) swollen
bí è?	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) swollen
bî	1. (V) complete, fulfill, fill up, come to a boil (YL), be full of; 2. (V <sub>adj</sub> ) be full
bî-mâ	(V) be chock-full
bî-š̄é?	(V) full to overflowing
bì	(V) swim, come to a boil
bì-phu	(N) big fire
bî è	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) tangled, bushy
bî?	(V) push
bo	(N) grace (X'n), merit (Buddhist), favor, blessing
bo l̄	(OV) say grace, pray
bo te	(OV) repent
bo te ve qhe-lê	(Cl <sub>ext</sub> ) voluntarily
bo-kh̄	(N) holy words (X'n)
bo-lo-q̄	(N) gong
bo-yè	(N) church, temple
bo-yè-ló	(N) temple
bon	(N) blessing, grace (X'n), boon (animist)
bon l̄	(OV) pray
bon mā	(OV) preach
bon te	(OV) do to make merit, do out of kindness, do for charity
bon-ğa-š̄ín-ğa	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) gaining grace and graining blessing
bon-j̄-m̄	(N) high priest
bon-kán	(N) voluntary work
bon-mā-pā	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) disciple
bon-yâ	(N) Christian
bon-yè	(N) temple, church
bon-yè-lón	(N) great temple (in Jerusalem), great temple
bô è	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) burning brightly
bô?	(V) make a notch, keel over
bò	1. (V <sub>adj</sub> ) be lazy, depressing, depressed, be bored/depressed; 2. (V <sub>v</sub> ) be tired of, tired of/bored with, tired of V'ing
bó-š̄i	(N) ball
bô?	(V) shoot, blast (as with dynamite), fight, hunt

bôʔ yù	(V + P <sub>v</sub> ) invade
bôʔ-ğa-ša-ğa	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) easy to shoot and get
bôʔ-hêʔ	(V) shoot and hit
bôʔ-pē	(V) shoot to death
bú èʔ	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) swollen
bù	(V) make a sound, cry out (esp. of animals), cry out, crow
bûʔ	(V) harsh, get dizzy, be more than enough
bùʔ	(V) write, rot
bwé	(N) feast (Shan)
bwê	1. (N) room; 2. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for rooms
ca	1. (vV) go and do, seek to; 2. (V) look for, seek/look for, seek; 3. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) couple, for married couples; 4. (vV + V <sub>h</sub> ) come and V
ca ni-ʔ	(V + V <sub>v</sub> ) try to find
ca-chî-ca-ŋā	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) go to borrow
ca-kə-ca-tân	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) go to donate
ca-le-ğâʔ-le	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) be tardy in going hunting
ca-lí-pā	(N) blacksmith
ca-phûʔ-ca-t̄	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) go and seek by damming
ca-yàʔ-ca-te	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) come to make trouble
ca-ʔ	(V <sub>imp</sub> ) seek!
Caw-mā-nā	(N) princess
cá	1. (V) boil, connect; 2. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) generation, for groups
cá dàʔ	(V + P <sub>v</sub> ) relate
cá-bêʔ	(N) ladle
câ	1. (V) eat, celebrate, earn a living, succeed, profit from; 2. (V <sub>v</sub> ) V to eat, V for a living, V to earn money, get along by V'ing; 3. (N) rice in the field (YL)
câ kî	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) eating place
câ mâ dô mâ mè	(VP) eating and drinking are not tasty (poetic)
câ mε	(SV) paddy is ripe (YL)
câ-á-dò-á	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) having eaten and drunk
câ-ğì	(V) have abundance of food (RL)
câ-kî	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) eating place
câ-la-dò-la	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) come to eat and drink
câ-lu	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) food (poetic)
câ-mε	(N) tiger (YL)
câ-tìʔ-dò-tìʔ	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) eternal abundance of food and drink
câ-tù	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) food
câ-tù-dò-tù	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) food and drink
câ-ú-dò-ú	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) the best of food and drink
câ-ve-dò-ve	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) food and drink
câ-ʔ	(V <sub>imp</sub> ) eat!
cân	(V) hate
cân-lìʔ	(N) Bible, book of the Bible

cà	1. (N) rice, elephant (Shan), rice/paddy; 2. (V <sub>adj</sub> ) ferocious, clever, be diligent; 3. (V) flourish (of crops); 4. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for sections
Cà-bí	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) man's name
Cà-bî	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name
Cà-bo	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name
Cà-bù?	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name
cà-cè-cà-gō	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) rice stalk
cà-cí-yè	(N) granary
Cà-có	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name
Cà-gê	(N) male name
Cà-gâ?	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name
cà-gō	(N) rice straw
Cà-gū	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name
Cà-há	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name
Cà-he	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name
Cà-lâ	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name
Cà-lí	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name
Cà-lô	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name
Cà-má	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name
Cà-mò?	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name
Cà-mû	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name
Cà-mû-cà-pe	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name
Cà-nâ?	1. (N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name; 2. (N <sub>prop</sub> ) Blackie (animal's name)
cà-nâ?	(N) Blackie (name for a black dog)
cà-nô-ḥ	(N) cooked sticky rice
cà-nô-qha	(N) sticky rice
Cà-nû	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name
cà-pí-nê?	(N) starling, starling/wren babbler
cà-pū	(N) rice-stoop
Cà-phî	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name
Cà-phò?	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name
Cà-qā	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name
Cà-qé	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name
Cà-qu-ní	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name
Cà-quí-nê?	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) man's name
cà-qha	(N) hulled rice
cà-ṣi	(N) Yellow Guy (name for a yellow dog)
cà-ṣi	(N) unhusked rice, paddy
cà-ṣi-cà-qha	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) rice in general
cà-ṣí	(N) new rice
cà-ṣí-gi-ṣí	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) new rice and new water
cà-ṣí-ḥ	(N) New Rice Festival, new rice
cà-ṣí-thî	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name
Cà-và?	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name
Cà-vì	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) Serpo
Cà-ye	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name
càn	1. (N) elephant (Shan); 2. (V <sub>adj</sub> ) ferocious
càw-ī-càw-yō	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) great princes (Shan deities), Shan deity
càw-mò-càw-tû	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) great lords

càw-pâ?-càw-kē	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) Shan deity ("powerful cleansing leader")
cā	(V) feed, sprout, grow back
cā-cā	(V <sub>redup</sub> ) keep feeding
cā-?	(V <sub>imp</sub> ) feed!
cāw-fā	(N) prince (Shan)
câ?	1. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for long objects; 2. (V) have to do with
câ?-khe	(N) rope
câ?-mì	(V) be arrogant/conceited, arrogant
câ?	1. (V <sub>v</sub> ) very much, very; 2. (V) push; 3. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) kind, for kinds
câ?-kâ	(N) tape recorder
câ?-lá	(V) push into and roast
câ?-pò	(N) airplane
câ?-pò-kho	(N) airstrip
câ?-qhən	(N) machinery
cā	(V) eat (YL)
ce	1. (V) fall (from a height); 2. (V <sub>v</sub> ) V so it falls, V downwards with vigor, fall off, V so sthg goes down
ce-pə	(V) drop sthg down
ce-tē	(V) fall upon and squeeze
cé	(V) flee (YL), run (YL)
ce	1. (P <sub>univ</sub> ) just, only, up to, to the extent that, extensive/to the extent that; 2. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for pairs; 3. (V) intersect, build up a fire
ce tí	(P <sub>univ</sub> + P <sub>univ</sub> ) only, just, only/just
ce-ce	(P <sub>univ</sub> ) until
cé-qô?	(N) hoe
cè	1. (M <sub>prfx</sub> ) tree; 2. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for trees, for plants
cè mâ hê?	(VP) in great abundance
cê?-cê?	(Adv <sub>onomat</sub> ) snap!/crack!
cê	1. (P <sub>uf</sub> ) quotative; 2. (Num) seven
cê-cà	(N) livestock
Cê-dâw	(N <sub>place</sub> ) Chiang Dao
cê-hwè-cà-hwè	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) many domestic animals together
cê-lê	(N) scribe
Cê-mây	(N <sub>place</sub> ) Chiang Mai
cê-qā-cà-qā	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) domestic animals
cə	(Cl <sub>f</sub> ) thing, kind, for kinds, for things, for races
cə-càw	(N) nobility
cè	(N) servant
cè-ši-cè-no	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) yellow and green birds of prey
cè-yâ	(N) servant
cē	1. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) corner; 2. (M <sub>prfx</sub> ) corner
cē	(P <sub>uf</sub> ) quotative (YL)
cê?-cê?-cù?-cù?	(Quasi-Elab) all kinds of
ci	(V <sub>v</sub> ) causative (YL)
cí	1. (V) eat (Shan); 2. (Adv) please
cí-cí	(AE) a little
cí-cí-cí-cí	(AE) a tiny bit
cí-ğì	(N) spittle

cí-khî	(N) spittle/saliva
cí-qô?	(N) hoe
cî	(V) ride, straddle (a horse)
cì	(N) teeth, tooth/teeth
cì-khî	(N) site for a house
cì-mê-qhê	(N) particles stuck in tips of teeth
cì-qhò?	(NP <sub>time</sub> ) this year
cì-qhò?-tê-qhò?	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) this whole year
cī-yān	(V) punish
ci	1. (V <sub>v</sub> ) causative, let (permissive causative); 2. (V) kindle, send on an errand, order to do, light a fire, bid to do; 3. (N) market
ci lè?	(V + V <sub>v</sub> ) have smn work for one
ci-kā-pā	(N) prophet
ci-qhɔ	(N) market
ci-yā	(N) messenger, apostle (X'n)
ci-yā-li?	(N) Acts of the Apostles
cì	(Adv) not very
cì-à?	(V <sub>v</sub> ) very, very much
cí	1. (V <sub>v</sub> ) do so it sticks; 2. (V) be stuck to, put on (article affixed to body), install, be inherent in, affix to
cí-kì	(N) meaning, reason, usefulness, significance, advantage, ability
cí-qê?-pha	(N) plastic sheet
cî	(Adv) (not) very
cî-cì	(Adv) (not) very much, constantly
cî-é	(N) small chisel
cí?	1. (V <sub>adj</sub> ) sharp; 2. (V) pluck feathers, be fixed in a place
cī	(V) pierce through, prick
co	1. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) life, generation, for eras, era/period; 2. (B <sub>n</sub> ) life
co-co	(AE) forever
co-co-tāy-tāy	(AE) forever and ever
co-ha	(N) spirit, soul, holy object, eternal life
co-ha tèt? ve	(RC) Holy Spirit (X'n)
co-ha-phô	(N) spiritual life
co-mê-tì?	(N) eternal heavenly abode
co-tì?-ha-tì?	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) everlasting life
co-yì-ha-yì	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) long life
có	(P <sub>n</sub> ) locative (YL)
cô	(N <sub>sd</sub> ) over there, there, way over there
cô-câ	(V) strive, try hard
cô-pá	(N <sub>loc</sub> ) over there
cô-phô	(NP <sub>loc</sub> ) over there
cô-phô-ô-phô	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) on either side
cò	(N) bridge
cɔ	1. (V) follow a trail, go around, wind one's way; 2. (V <sub>v</sub> ) go around and V, V all around; 3. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for rounds
cɔ-cɔ	(V <sub>redup</sub> ) round and round

cò	(V) be there, have, be responsible for, be in accordance with, have an experience, depend on, be relevant to, be well-off
cò-cò	(V) be there
cò-ḡ-ḡ	(V) be there
còʔ	(N) waist (back), back (of body)
còʔ-cē-ni	(N) waist
còʔ-cí	(N) spine/backbone
còʔ-pē-ni	(N) waist
còʔ-qòʔ-ma	(N) hunchbacked woman
còʔ-qòʔ-pā	(N) hunchback
có	(V <sub>adj</sub> ) be thin
có-cí-có-cí	(AE) tingling
cô	1. (V <sub>v</sub> ) ought to, happen to; 2. (V) find favor with, be right, be in accordance with, happen to be, agree, boil to mush, be there (YL), like, fall to by chance, be harmonious with, be appropriate
cô e	(V + P <sub>v</sub> ) turn out a certain way
cô è	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) sticking up straight, perfectly
cô və	(V + P <sub>v</sub> ) fall in love with
cô-dàʔ-hḡ-dàʔ	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) be united
cô-lḡʔ è	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) perfectly
cô-šē-ma	(N) crocodile
cô-yè	(N) church
côn-yè	(N) church
cóʔ	(Cl <sub>f</sub> ) strip
cóʔ-cóʔ	(AE) repeatedly
cō-pū	(V) pour onto
cō-ʔ	(V <sub>imp</sub> ) set upright!
cú	(V) sink, blind
cú-šī	(N) breast (of woman)
cū	1. (V) rely on, put one's trust in, accept; 2. (B <sub>n</sub> ) group
cū-mō	(Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for groups of people
cū-yī	(N) knowledge, wisdom, intelligence
cū-yī te dàʔ	(OV) match wits with
cū-yī-mā-yī	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) knowledge
Cùn-phòʔ	(Eth) Jingpho
cùn-phòʔ	(Eth) Jingpho
cwe	1. (B <sub>n</sub> ) era; 2. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for generations, for eras, era/period, life
cwe	(V) help (Thai)
cha	1. (N) vagina; 2. (V) be at fault, shine
cha-šī	(N) vagina
châʔ	1. (Interj) let's go!; 2. (V) bear a grudge
châʔ	(V) to be dirty
che	(P <sub>univ</sub> ) nominalizer (YL)
che-má-qō	(N) mortar

chê	1. (V <sub>v</sub> ) continuous, progressive, keep on, continuous/progressive action/keep on; 2. (V) live, stay, live/dwell, be there, refrain from work, be here, dwell, exist, be in the village, hang around idly, be alive
chê bò	(V + V <sub>v</sub> ) tired of living
chê-chê	(V <sub>redup</sub> ) while still staying
chê-hā	(V) hard to live, feel sick, be in trouble/in distress
chê-hā-cò-hā	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) suffer from illness
chê-kì	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) dwelling place, place where one stays, houses
chê-lí-mi-lí	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) dwelling place (poetic)
chê-mā-cò-mā-ša	(Elab <sub>extd</sub> ) not be happy or prosperous
chê-ša	1. (V) healthy; 2. (V + V <sub>v</sub> ) well/healthy/free from care, free from care
chê-ša-cò-ša	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) be in good health, be free from cares
chê-?	(V <sub>imp</sub> ) stay!
chê? kà?	(Adv <sub>onomat</sub> ) sound of rustling leaves
chê	1. (V <sub>v</sub> ) progressive (YL); 2. (V) stay at (YL)
chê	(V <sub>adj</sub> ) pointed
chê è	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) sharpened to a point
chê è?	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) pursed (of a mouth), sharpened to a point
chən-è?-kán-kà?	(AE) go sprawling
chè	(V) be worth sthg, skillful, good for sthg, to be clever, succeed at, be all right, be fine
chê?	1. (V <sub>v</sub> ) completely finish, V so it breaks off; 2. (V) break, sever, break up, break/sever, break ties with
chê?-kà?	(AE) with a start
chê?-kú-lè?	(N) indentation
chê?	(V) bite, sting
chê?-cā	(V) bite into and eat, bit into and eat
chê?-chī	(V) bite into and lift up
chê?-nà	(V) hurt from an irritation
chê?-pē	(V) bite to death
chê?-phī	(N) chaff
chê?-phu	(N) white rice (highest quality)
chi	1. (Det) this, these, this matter, this/this one, this one, like this; 2. (Conj) you see, well; 3. (Num) ten (poetic); 4. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) ten
chi à? pa-tò	(NP) because of this
chi cò-cò	(NP <sub>loc</sub> ) around here
chi fi-fi	(NP <sub>ext</sub> ) just as far/about as far
chi hí-è	(NP <sub>ext</sub> ) very small
chi hi	(N <sub>ext</sub> ) too big, nice and big
chi hi chi hi	(NP <sub>ext</sub> ) great big
chi hi è	(N <sub>ext</sub> ) only this much
chi híy	(NP <sub>ext</sub> ) only this big, very small
chi ma	1. (NP <sub>ext</sub> ) this many, this much; 2. (N <sub>ext</sub> ) all of, all these, so many



chi ma-ma	1. (N <sub>ext</sub> ) this many, so many, this much; 2. (N <sub>ext</sub> ) that many; 3. (AE <sub>ext</sub> ) too many
chi má-è	(N <sub>ext</sub> ) such a tiny bit
chi máy	(N <sub>ext</sub> ) only this much, so small
chi mɔ-mɔ	(NP <sub>ext</sub> ) such a long time
chi mú è	(AE <sub>ext</sub> ) only this high
chi pa-tɔ	(NP) because of this
chi pa-tɔ le	(NP) because of this
chi qhe	1. (AE <sub>ext</sub> ) like this, such a; 2. (AE) like that
chi qhe ce	(N <sub>ext</sub> ) just this way, just that much
chi qhe te	(NP <sub>ext</sub> ) this way
chi ši	(NP <sub>ext</sub> ) this long/so long
chi ši-ši	(N <sub>ext</sub> ) this far/thus far
chi ši-è	1. (N <sub>ext</sub> ) the shortest one; 2. (NP <sub>ext</sub> ) such a short one
chi šié	(NP <sub>ext</sub> ) only this long
chi tê khi	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) this time, right now
chi tê pɔʔ	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) this time, right now, suddenly, on this occasion, next time
chi tɔ-tɔ	(AE <sub>ext</sub> ) to such a degree
chi thãʔ pa-tɔ	(NP) for this reason (YL)
chi thàʔ pa-tɔ	(NP) therefore, because of this
chi thàʔ pa-tɔ le	(Conj) therefore
chi ve	(Det) this, these, this thing, this guy, this one, these things, like this
chi-bèʔ	(N <sub>time</sub> ) now, immediately
chi-bèʔ ò-yâ	(NP <sub>time</sub> ) on this occasion
chi-bèʔ tê khi	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) at the present time
chi-bon-chi-ši	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) these boons
chi-co-qô-tây	(Quasi-Elab) for untold generations
chi-há	(N <sub>time</sub> ) tonight
chi-hi-cho-hu	(Quasi-Elab) too big
chi-ma	(NP <sub>ext</sub> ) this many
chi-nî	(Num) all of them
chi-phâ	(N) this guy, this fellow
chi-qwí	(AE) all swollen
chi-qhòʔ	(N <sub>time</sub> ) this year (RL)
chi-tɔ-chi-ná	(Elab <sub>adv</sub> ) so deeply
chi-thâ	(N <sub>time</sub> ) such a time
chi-ve	(Det) this, this thing, this/this thing, this one, like this, this matter, this guy, these things, these
chî	(V) lift up, hang sthg up, exalt, be hanging
chî-àʔ	(V) entrust with, devote
chî-bà	(V) cast away
chî-lâ-njâ-lâ	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) give on credit
chî-mu	(V) praise
chî-mu-khó	(N) hymn
chî-ni	(V) look upwards
chî-phê	(V) lift clear
chî-ši	(V) lift up and stick in
chî-tâʔ	(V) pick up and carry

chî-te	(V) set oneself upright
chî-tê	(V) throw down and stamp on
chî?	(V <sub>adj</sub> ) hot enough to burn (YL)
chî?	1. (V) get burned; 2. (V <sub>adj</sub> ) be hot
chî?-hê?	(V) scorch
chî	1. (N) barking-deer; 2. (V) smoke (tobacco) (YL)
chî-ke-ne	(N) barking deer
chî-pā-chî-ma	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) male and female barking deer
chî-pí-qwè?	(N) barking deer, barking deer/muntjac
chî-phu-qā	(N) barking deer buck
chî-qwè?	(N) barking deer
chî?	(V) tie, fasten
chî?-kô?	(V) tie together
chî?-pā	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) one who ties
chî?-tā?	(V) tie up and carry
chî	(V) wash
chî-phu	(V) wash white
chî-vè?	(V) wash in order to wear
chî?	(V) make into a ball, wad up, jam, crumple up
cho-hu	(N <sub>ext</sub> ) too big (RL)
chôo	(Interj) cry to incite dogs, cry used to incite dogs, wow
chò	(N <sub>sd</sub> ) here
chò è?	(NP <sub>loc</sub> ) right here (colloq.)
chò kà?	(N <sub>sd</sub> + P <sub>n</sub> ) here
chò-dô-ô-dô	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) vacillate
chò-ma-ô-ma	(Elab <sub>adv</sub> ) to whatever extent
chò-pá	(N <sub>loc</sub> ) this side
chò-pá-ô-pá	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) this way and that way
chò-qô?-ô-qô?	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) say this and that
chɔ	1. (N) people, person, person/people, human being, guy, citizen; 2. (V) chop down, slash at, follow along a path, cut, cross over, chop/chop off, chop off
chɔ ca šē-phâ	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) fisher of men
chɔ š̄	(OV) select people for a task
chɔ-bò	(N) lazybones
chɔ-bò-chɔ-phî	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) lazybones
chɔ-bò-pā	(N) lazy man
chɔ-bò-quí	(N) lazybones
chɔ-cà	(N) race, people, mankind
chɔ-châ?-chɔ-chî?	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) filthy swine!
chɔ-chɔ	(V <sub>redup</sub> ) keep hacking off
chɔ-dâ?	(N) good people
chɔ-dâ?-chɔ-kè	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) pure and holy people
chɔ-é	(N) humble folk
chɔ-ğû	(N) crazy guy/idiot
chɔ-ğû-chɔ-ğ̄?	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) crazy piece of trash
chɔ-ğû-pā	(N) lunatic
chɔ-ha-vâ-ha	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) human souls, human soul
chɔ-há	(N) young man, young lover
chɔ-há-pā	(N) unmarried young man

chɔ-hi	(N) people
chɔ-hwè-vâ-hwè	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) many people
chɔ-ī	(N) official, important person
chɔ-ī-chɔ-mu	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) important people
chɔ-kè	(N) pure people
chɔ-khô	(N) human speech, people's advice
chɔ-khô â hê?	(SV) ridiculous
chɔ-ló-ma	(N) giant
chɔ-lù	(N) wretch
chɔ-lù-kî	(N) wretch, bastard
chɔ-lù-pā	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) criminal
chɔ-mô	(N) ancestors, elders, old person, adult, old man, old folks, elder/older person
chɔ-mô-chɔ-ho	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) elders (Red Lahu), elders (RL)
chɔ-mô-chɔ-qú	(N) old codger
chɔ-mô-khô	(N) words of wisdom, ancient lore, proverb
chɔ-mô-ma	(N) mature woman
chɔ-mô-pā	(N) elders, old man, elder
chɔ-mô-qú	(N) old man
chɔ-nâ?	1. (N) black person; 2. (V) follow a trail (hunting)
chɔ-phi	(N) jackass
chɔ-phu	(N) white man, white people
chɔ-qā	(N) stupid person
chɔ-qā-pā	(N) stupid man
chɔ-qu-ni	(N) naked savage
chɔ-qhâ	(N) stock
chɔ-qhô	(N) thief
chɔ-qhô-chɔ-nâ?	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) thieves and bandits
chɔ-šā	(N) human flesh
chɔ-tì-chɔ-tô	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) childless person
chɔ-yâ	(N) human beings, human, people, ethnic group
chɔ-yâ-vâ-yâ	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) human beings
chò?	(V) suck
chò?-fî	(V) suck empty
chô	1. (M <sub>plx</sub> ) next to; 2. (N) friend
chu	(V <sub>adj</sub> ) fat
chwe	(B <sub>v</sub> ) very
chwē-kà?	(AE) splash!
Dāvî?	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) David
dā?	(P <sub>v</sub> ) mutual action (YL)
dâ?	1. (P <sub>v</sub> ) mutual action, mutual state; 2. (V <sub>adj</sub> ) good, beautiful, good-looking, fine, handsome; 3. (V <sub>v</sub> ) well
dâ? la	(V + P <sub>v</sub> ) improve
dâ?-chwe	(AE) quite well
dâ?-dâ?	1. (V <sub>redup</sub> ) very beautiful, very good, quite pretty; 2. (V <sub>adj</sub> ) very good
dâ?-kè	1. (V) holy; 2. (V <sub>adj</sub> ) pure
dâ?-kè-kè	(V <sub>adj</sub> ) most holy

dà?-la-kè-la	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) become clean
dê	1. (V) scold, quarrel, curse; 2. (N <sub>lim</sub> ) in vain; 3. (N <sub>ext</sub> ) all
dê-dà?-yà?-dà?	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) quarrel
dê-dê	(N <sub>ext</sub> ) all, all over
dê-lō	(V) give a good cursing to
dì	(Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for lumps
dìyêbà	(N) December
dî?-è-ô-è	(Elab <sub>adv</sub> ) with a blurry noise
do	(N) musical note
dô?	(V) pack into, get stuck, stuff into
dô?-pû	(V) pack up and carry
dɔ	1. (C <sub>r</sub> ) fit into; 2. (V) fit into
Dɔɔj Sù?thêep	(N <sub>place</sub> ) Doi Suthep
dò	(V) smoke (tobacco), drink, take (as liquid medicine)
dò-dò	(V <sub>redup</sub> ) smoke habitually
dò-lu	(N) beverages (poetic)
dô	(V) think, plan, think up, look forward to
dô â tɔ?	(VP) cannot figure out
dô è	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) teeming with
dô gî	(V + V <sub>v</sub> ) think frivolously
dô gâ	(V + V <sub>v</sub> ) get an idea
dô gâ pí	(VP) intelligent
dô pí	(V + V <sub>v</sub> ) smart
dô tɔ?	(V + V <sub>v</sub> ) have an idea, think up, conceive of
dô-chê?	(V) decide
dô-gâ	(V) think a certain way, have an opinion
dô-hâ	(V) worry, be sad, worrisome, grieve, miserable
dô-hâ-tù	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) sorrow
dô-khí	(V) worry
dô-lâ?	(V) take for granted
dô-lɔ	1. (V) hope; 2. (N) anticipate
dô-mi	(V) realize
dô-ná-lí?	(V) think deeply
dô-ni	(V) consider, think over carefully, get an idea, care about/have thought for
dô-nô	(V) be mindful of, repent, remember, realize, long for, think up, think highly of, miss (smn), commemorate
dô-phû?	(V) repent, atone for
dô-qhâ	(N) way of thinking, idea
dô-šī	(V) know what is right
dô-šī-dô-phû?	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) repent
dô-tì?-gâ-tì?	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) efficacious thoughts of a deity
dô-yè-gâ-yè	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) be steadfast
dô-yì-gâ-yì	1. (V) think deeply/take the long view, broad-minded; 2. (Elab <sub>v</sub> ) wise and intelligent
dô?	(V) hit, kill, strike, slaughter, fight, beat, thrash, strike/hit/beat, knock, forge, beat up
dô?-ca	(V) search vigorously
dô?-dô?	(V <sub>redup</sub> ) knock together

dôʔ-pē	(V) beat to death
dôʔ-pū	(V) sprinkle by striking
dôʔ-tē	(V) knock over and crush
dō	(V) think (YL)
dū	(V) dig, dig out
e	1. (P <sub>v</sub> ) motion away, V more and more, go on V'ing; 2. (N) mother; 3. (P <sub>unf</sub> ) even; 4. (P <sub>n</sub> ) also
e-ʔ	(P <sub>v</sub> + P <sub>v</sub> ) motion away (imp.)
ee	(Interj) right!, hey!
eeàʔ	(Interj) right!, yep
eeèʔ	(Interj) yep, yeah/yep
ε-è-ε	(P <sub>unf</sub> ) topicalizer
éeʔ	(Interj) sound to drive dogs away
εhεε	(Interj) ahem!
è	1. (P <sub>n</sub> ) only, just, only/just, even, also; 2. (P <sub>unf</sub> ) topicalizer; 3. (Prt) adverbializer; 4. (P <sub>uf</sub> ) interrogative (Shan)
è-qhè	(N) trickster, Trickster
èʔ	1. (P <sub>uf</sub> ) emphatic; 2. (P <sub>n</sub> ) only, contrastive interrogative, just, even, only/just; 3. (P <sub>unf</sub> ) topic, topicalizer; 4. (Prt) adverbializer
é	1. (M <sub>px</sub> ) little, little one, sthg small; 2. (Prt) adverbializer; 3. (P <sub>unf</sub> ) suspensive; 4. (N) little children, baby, child
é-phe	(N) chili peppers (YL)
êε	(Interj) well
ē-khân-pôʔ	(N <sub>prop</sub> ) male name
ēε	(Interj) well
êe	(Interj) yes, okay, yes/OK, hey!, well then, sure!, right!, hey, I see!
êfîšùʔ	(N) Ephesians
è	(P <sub>uf</sub> ) polite (Shan), polite particle (Shan)
ê	(P <sub>n</sub> ) vocative (Shan)
è	1. (P <sub>uf</sub> ) substantive qst, topicalizer, only; 2. (P <sub>unf</sub> ) even, even/also, also; 3. (P <sub>n</sub> ) also, topicalizer (Shan)
è-lâ	(Interj) okay?
èe	(Interj) yes, okay, yes/OK, er.../I mean..., er, well then, right!, hey, I see!
êʔ	(Interj) hey
èʔ	(P <sub>unf</sub> ) even, even/also
fá	(V) hide sthg
fá tá	(V + P <sub>v</sub> ) keep sthg hidden, hidden away
fá tá-ʔ	(V + P <sub>v</sub> ) hide it!
fá tā ve	(RC) sthg hidden/mystery
fây-khîʔ	(N) match (to strike fire)
fà	(V) keep in reserve
fâʔ	1. (N) rodents, squirrels; 2. (V) hand over
fâʔ-câ-ŋâʔ-câ	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) rodents and birds eat
fâʔ-côʔ	(N) squirrel-path (RL)

Glossary

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fâ?-chà?	(N) rat
fâ?-gà?	(N) striped squirrel
fâ?-ŋâ?	(N) rats and birds
fâ?-ṣ-ŋâ?-ṣ	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) food for rodents and birds
fâ?-pé	(N) brush-tailed porcupine
fâ?-pu	(N) porcupine
fâ?-pu-fâ?-pé	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) porcupines
fâ?-phî	(N) gopher
fâ?-šwε	(N) red-cheeked ground squirrel
fâ?-thô?	(N) squirrel
fe	(V <sub>adj</sub> ) wide
fə	1. (V <sub>v</sub> ) send; 2. (V) fling away
fî	(V) dry up
fîn	(N) opium
fî-kô?-ni	(N) orphan (both parents dead)
Fí-lâ-qō	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name
fî	(V) divide up
ga	1. (V) help; 2. (vV) help to
ga-cē-ga-ni-ga-šṣ	(Elab <sub>extd</sub> ) help to care for by propitiation
ga-gu-ga-šṣ	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) help to cure and propitiate
ga-gà?-ga-cē	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) help to prosper by driving away evil spirits
ga-gô-ga-cē-ga-lè?	(Elab <sub>extd</sub> ) help to bless and prosper by liberation
ga-gô-ga-cē-ga-šṣ	(Elab <sub>extd</sub> ) help to bless and prosper by propitiation
ga-gô-ga-šṣ-ga-bə	(Elab <sub>extd</sub> ) help to bless by scolding
ga-qāw-ga-šê?-ga-lè?	(Elab <sub>extd</sub> ) help to pray, teach, and liberate
ga-šṣ-ga-lè?	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) help to propitiate and free from
ga-šṣ-ga-lè?-ga-pə	(Elab <sub>extd</sub> ) help to propitiate, free from, and send away an evil spirit (RL)
gâ	1. (P <sub>v</sub> ) desiderative; 2. (V) reach (YL)
gà	1. (V) reach, arrive, succeed, meet up, come to pass, come in, make progress; 2. (V <sub>v</sub> ) manage to, able to V
gà-e	(V <sub>v</sub> ) reach the point of
gà-ò	(V + P <sub>v</sub> ) reached (already)
gà-tâ?	(N) upward slope
Gālilê	(N <sub>place</sub> ) Galilee
gâ?	(V <sub>v</sub> ) enlivener
gâ?-câ	(V) eke out a living
gâ?-hò	(V) sob bitterly
gâ?-hò-hò	(V <sub>redup</sub> ) weep constantly
gâ?-hú	(V) spread out for drying
gâ?-phô?	(V) scratch together into a pile
gâ?-phû?	(V) search by scrabbling
gâ?-šū	(N) rake
gâ?-te	(V) do in a desultory way
gε	(P <sub>n</sub> ) with, to, from, for, toward, to/toward, comitative
gè	1. (V <sub>v</sub> ) V suddenly; 2. (V) fast

gê	1. (V) stick into, feast on; 2. (N) spear; 3. (V <sub>v</sub> ) recent
gê-cú-pê?	(N) spear
gè?	1. (V) bite down hard, gnaw; 2. (N) net
gè?-hê?	(V) strike by biting
gè?-khô	(V) bite and break off
gè?-lò	(N) lead (n.)
gè?-phê	(V) grab with the mouth
gè?-e	(V <sub>v</sub> ) intensifier
gî	1. (V) visit, play around; 2. (V <sub>v</sub> ) V for fun, V for pleasure
gî tô	(V + V <sub>v</sub> ) wander around aimlessly, hang around aimlessly
go	(N) ramp into a house, ladder/ramp, ladder
gô	(V <sub>adj</sub> ) dried up
gò	(V) cool off
gò è	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) quiet, cold
gò-lê?	(AE) cool, calmly, at peace
gô-lâ?-ma	(N) rattan sp.
gô-ne	(N) rattan strip
gô-pî-gô-tâ?	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) rattan thicket
gô-tâ	(N) rattan stick
gu	1. (V) prepare, cure, treat medically, be cured, pay compensation, improve; 2. (V <sub>v</sub> ) improve by V'ing, arrange to V
gu-nay	(V) heal
gu-tâ-hên-tâ	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) prepared in advance
gú-pi	(N) wound-around fastener
gú-yê?	(N) mat
gû?	(V) bulldoze, butt against
gã	1. (V <sub>v</sub> ) get to, must, have to, ought to, manage to, must/be obliged to, experience V'ing, happen to; 2. (V) get, catch, succeed, attain, get something done, earn, reach a certain amount, reach, be possible, win, have available, acquire, score (in a game), accept; 3. (V <sub>v</sub> ) be able, manage to, get to, must, must (poetic)
gã câ kî	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) place to earn a living
gã cò	(V <sub>v</sub> + V <sub>h</sub> ) need
gã dà?	(V + P <sub>v</sub> ) get married
gã mò	(V <sub>v</sub> + V <sub>h</sub> ) find, catch sight of, encounter, stand the sight of
gã vò	(V + P <sub>v</sub> ) get away with
gã vî	(V <sub>v</sub> + V <sub>h</sub> ) cost (money)
gã-câ-gã-dò	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) get enough to eat and drink
gã-câ-gã-lê?	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) get to earn a living
gã-hã-gã-gô	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) must suffer
gã-lù-gã-sê?	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) become ruined
gã-mò?-gã-kâ?	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) suffer hunger and cold
gã-mò-gã-phû	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) get to see and meet
gã-pí-gã-phê?	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) to the best of one's ability
gã-te-gã-ga	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) did all they could to help

gā-tù	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) success
gā-vəʔ-gā-de	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) have enough to wear
gā	1. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for people, for humans; 2. (V) win, overcome, succeed, defeat; 3. (V <sub>v</sub> ) succeed, succeed in, manage to, succeed in/manage to; 4. (N) volunteer labor
gā va	(N <sub>spec</sub> + V) rely on another's strength
gā-pā	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) one who triumphs over
gā-thèʔ	(Adv) energetically, with all one's might, with all his might
gāʔ	(V) chase (YL)
gāʔ	1. (N) fowl, chicken, chickens, cock; 2. (V) drain off, scoop out
gāʔ-be	(V) scratch together
gāʔ-dò	(V) scratch for drinking water
gāʔ-dòʔ-vàʔ-dòʔ	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) slaughter chickens and pigs
gāʔ-é	(N) chick
gāʔ-khi	(N) chicken claw
gāʔ-khòʔ	(N) chicken coop
gāʔ-ni-cè	(N) chicken caretaker
gāʔ-pa	(N) shelter for jungle-chickens
gāʔ-phu	(N) cock
gāʔ-phu-qā	(N) rooster
gāʔ-qú-ni	(N) chicken without tail or breast feathers
gāʔ-šā	(N) chicken meat
gāʔ-tš-làʔ	(N) chicken wing
gāʔ-u-qú	(N) hen's eggshell
gāʔ-yé-é	(N) chick
gāʔ	1. (V) hunt, chase, follow, drive, hunt/drive into, hunt down, pursue; 2. (vV) chase sth and V
gāʔ chèʔ	(vV + V <sub>h</sub> ) chase to bite
gāʔ dòʔ	(vV + V <sub>h</sub> ) pursue with blows
gāʔ gò	(vV + V <sub>h</sub> ) chase and pull on
gāʔ-bòʔ	(V) chase by shooting
gāʔ-chí	(V) weave
gāʔ-chò	(V) stick to the trail of
gāʔ-chù	(V) incite to chase
gāʔ-dòʔ	(vV + V <sub>h</sub> ) pursue with blows
gāʔ-gī	(V) run chasing
gāʔ-há	(V) drive by shouting
gāʔ-mi	(V) catch, reach
gāʔ-mú-gāʔ-dòʔ	(V) drive game by beating the bushes
gāʔ-mú-gāʔ-kì	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) hunting ground
gāʔ-pā	(N) hunter
gāʔ-qò	(V) drive away
gāʔ-vā	(V) go after violently
gāʔ-yù	(V) chase to capture, chase away
gāʔ-yù dàʔ	(V + P <sub>v</sub> ) play tag
gā	(Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for people (YL)
gā-thēʔ	(Adv) diligently (YL)
gāʔ	(V) harvest, cut with sweeping motion



gî	(V) laugh (YL)
gì	1. (V) laugh, smile; 2. (N) river; 3. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for groups of people
gì-ci-phu	(N) Gì-ša's white servants
gì-gì	(V <sub>redup</sub> ) laughing
gì-ho	(N) hot water, Chinese tea
gì-kè	(N) pure water
gì-ma	(N) divine being (animist)
gì-mi	(N) downstream
gì-nê	(N) water spirit
gì-po	(N) pond, lake
gì-phû-twê?	(N) foamy place in a river
gì-phû-twê? kì	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) foamy place in a river
Gì-ša	(N) God, god
gì-ša	(N) gods
Gì-ša ve mû-mì	(N <sub>poss</sub> + ve) kingdom of God (X'n)
Gì-ša ve Tî-khô	(N <sub>poss</sub> + ve) prayer book/hymnal
Gì-ša ve tî-khô	(N <sub>poss</sub> + ve) words of God
Gì-ša-yâ	(N) Christian, godly person
gì-tì	(N) muddy water
gì-ú	(N) upstream
gì-yâ	(N) water creatures, divine object created by G'uisha
gì-yò	1. (V <sub>adj</sub> ) amusing; 2. (V) laugh at, funny
gì	(V) run
gì-pho	(V) run away
gì-qò?	(V) run back, run back home
gì-qò?	(V) run back
gô-pè	(N) belly
gò?-khe-câ?	(N) piece of string
gò?-pa	(N) wall
gò	(V) read, count
gò-te	(V) set it spinning
gò	1. (V <sub>v</sub> ) V vigorously, lively action, act violently, lively/violent action, violent action; 2. (V) pull, drag away, be prolonged, drag, pull/draw, draw, be dragged out
gò dà?	1. (V + P <sub>v</sub> ) argue, pull against each other; 2. (V + V <sub>v</sub> ) struggle with each other
gò-ghâ?	(V) insist that one is right
gò-tì	(V) restrain by force
gò è	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) round
gò	(N) belly
gò-cá	(N) cabbage, mustard greens
gò?	(V) hold onto, pick up, pick (as fruit), row, keep
gò? bà	(V + V <sub>v</sub> ) pick up and throw away
gò?-pû	(V) pick up and carry
gò?-tâ?	(V) pick up and carry
gû	1. (V <sub>adj</sub> ) crazy; 2. (B <sub>n</sub> ) in front of (poetic)
gû-šî	1. (N <sub>loc</sub> ) in front of/ahead of, in front of, ahead of, ahead; 2. (M <sub>prfx</sub> ) before
gû-tu-šî	(N) navel

ha	1. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) hundred, for hundreds; 2. (P <sub>v</sub> ) vigorous action, try to, intente, hortatory; 3. (P <sub>n</sub> ) accusative (YL), with/for (poetic); 4. (Interj) oh! (Red Lahu), oh! (RL); 5. (N) moon (poetic), field (YL)
ha ni	(P <sub>v</sub> + P <sub>v</sub> ) try to
ha-ca-ha-lay	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) embarrassing
ha-cà-ha-lây	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) embarrassing
ha-chi-qō	(N) wok
ha-ha-ha	(Interj) sound of laughter
ha-kə	(N) winnowing sieve
ha-khi	(N) tripod
ha-lâ	(P <sub>v</sub> ) lively action
ha-lê	(V <sub>adj</sub> ) happy, funny
ha-lê ve bo-khô	(RC) gospel
ha-lê ve bon-khô	(RC) gospel
ha-lê ve bon-khô-šín-khô	(RC) gospel
ha-lê-ha-qa	(Elab <sub>adv</sub> ) happily, cheerfully, in joy and gladness
ha-lê-pwê	(N) celebration
ha-lê-tù	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) joy
ha-ma	(N) winnowing tray
ha-pa	1. (N) month, moon; 2. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for months
ha-pa-ğô?	(N) moonlight
ha-pa-khi	(N) moonlight
ha-pa-phû	(N) monthly salary
ha-pa-ší	(N) next month, new moon
ha-qhò?	(N) century
ha-tē	(N) tongue
hay	(Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for Thai acres
há	1. (V) spend the night; 2. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for nights; 3. (M <sub>px</sub> ) night
há šà	(P <sub>v</sub> + P <sub>v</sub> ) intended action (YL)
Há-cú-pi	(N <sub>place</sub> ) stream near Huey Tat
há-jò?-le	(N) rocky ridge
há-mê?-ku	(N) rock
há-nê	(N) rock spirit
Há-ni	(N <sub>place</sub> ) Red Rock
há-pi	(N) stone, rocks, rock
há-pi-de	(N) rocky place
há-pi-há-mē	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) stones and rocks (RL)
há-pi-mō	(N) grindstone
há-pi-qā	(N) dove
há-pi-šī	(N) rock
há-phô	(N) rocky slope
há-phu	(N) white rock
há-qō	(N) cave
Há-tó-cē	(N) place name
háa	(Interj) ah!
háw	(Interj) cry to attract a spirit

hâ	1. (P <sub>uf</sub> ) yes/no question (Shan); 2. (N) mountain goat
Hâ-bô?-kì	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) Goat-Shoot
hâ-tó-pê?	(N) goat-antelope
hâin	(P <sub>uf</sub> ) yes/no question (Shan)
hâw	(Pron) I (Shan)
hà	(Interj) grunt of scorn
hà-ē	(Interj) what?
hày	(V <sub>adj</sub> ) vicious, bad
hā	1. (V <sub>adj</sub> ) difficult, poor, steep (of terrain), steep; 2. (V <sub>v</sub> ) difficult to V, difficult; 3. (V) suffer; 4. (N) trousers
hā-gā-gō-gā	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) experience suffering
hā-gō	(V <sub>adj</sub> ) poor
hā-jā-gō-jā	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) wretched in the extreme
hā-jā-tù?-jā	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) miserable and distressed
hā-kì	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) trouble
hā-pā-gō-pā	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) poor people
hā-pi	(N) belt
hā-pi-câ?	(N) belt
hā-qō	(N) waistband of trousers
hā-thō	1. (N) pants; 2. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for pants
hā-thō-ša-thō	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) through thick and thin
hā-ve-gō-ve	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) poor and wretched
hāy	(Interj) say what?
hā?	(P <sub>n</sub> ) accusative (YL)
hâ?	1. (Adv) quickly; 2. (V <sub>v</sub> ) dare; 3. (V) dare
hâ?-hâ?	(AE) quickly
hà?	1. (V) love, carry (Shan), welcome, care for lovingly, favor, accept; 2. (P <sub>n</sub> ) accusative
hà?-dà?-pên-dà?	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) love one another
hà?-hà?-pên-pên	(AE) lovingly
hà?-pê	(V) love
hà?-pên	(V) love
hà?-pên-khō	(N) words of love
hà?-qá	(V) take pity on
hà?-śá	(V) take care of, protect from
hà?-śá-lō	(V) look after carefully
hà?-yù	(V) welcome warmly
hā	1. (N) pal (YL), friend/pal (YL), pants (YL); 2. (P <sub>n</sub> ) accusative (YL)
hε	1. (N) swidden, swiddens, swidden/upland field; 2. (P <sub>v</sub> ) hortatory (YL); 3. (V <sub>adj</sub> ) hard
hε te	(OV) cultivate a swidden
hε-cà	(N) rice in the swidden
hε-chû-pí	(N) wild ginger
hε-gō	(N) old field
hε-gō-śā	(N) old field
hε-lwê?	(N) terraced field
hε-nû	(N) gaur, wild cattle
hε-ŋô	(N) swidden, mountain rice-field
hε-qhō?	(N) rice swidden

he-qhɔ	(N) to the fields
he-šã	(N) abandoned field
he-šã-pĩ	(N) abandoned rice-field
he-tã-ôʔ-he-tã-ôʔ	(AE) tough and chewy
he-vàʔ	(N) wild boar
he-vàʔ-pã	(N) wild boar (male)
he-vàʔ-šã	(N) wild boar meat
hêʔ	(Interj) take it!
hé	1. (P <sub>uf</sub> ) probably, maybe, maybe/possibly, possibly, dubitative; 2. (V) bathe
hé-gãʔ	(N) jungle chicken
hé-vàʔ-šã	(N) wild boar meat
hê	1. (V <sub>adj</sub> ) strong; 2. (V) prepare to shoot
hê-hê	(V <sub>redup</sub> ) loudly
hên	1. (V <sub>v</sub> ) V a lot; 2. (V <sub>adj</sub> ) strong
hêʔ	(V) scrape/rub against
hêʔ-dò	(V) swallow up
Hêʔ-pã	(N) Chinese, China
Hêʔ-pã-chɔ	(N) Chinese person
Hêʔ-pã-mû-mì	(N <sub>place</sub> ) China
Hêʔ-pã-ni	(N <sub>place</sub> ) communist China
hêʔ-pí-hêʔ-qhɔ	(N) deep woods
hêʔ-pí-qhɔ	(N) woods, wilderness/jungle, jungle, woods/forest, wildness
hē	(Interj) take it!
hē-hē-hē	(Interj) sound of laughter
hēɛ	(Interj) take it!
hê	(V) learn, study
hêe	(Interj) hey!
hên	(V) study, learn
hên-yù	(V) learn and take to heart
hè	(V <sub>adj</sub> ) tired, tiring
hó	(V) shout, make noise, bellow
hón	(N) house (Shan)
hô	(V <sub>adj</sub> ) enjoyable
hôə	(Interj) hey!
hôn	(V) like sthg
hôʔ	(V) get, want to get, marry, get married, take, strike, hit the mark, want to stay married, stay married, obtain, gain in marriage, record (as on tape), accept
hôʔ dàʔ	(V + P <sub>v</sub> ) marry, get married
hôʔ-hôʔ	(V <sub>redup</sub> ) married for a long time
hē	(V) tell a lie, deceive, lie/tell a falsehood, lie
hêʔ	(V) be the case, true
hêʔ-tè	(Adv) diligently
hí	1. (Num) eight; 2. (V) compete, rob, seize violently; 3. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for thousands, thousand
hí chi	(Num) eighty
hín	(Cl <sub>f</sub> ) thousand
hîn	(Interj) sound of laughter
hîʔ	(V) shake, move a muscle

hì?	1. (M <sub>px</sub> ) laws; 2. (N) duty
hi	1. (B <sub>n</sub> ) pluralizer; 2. (V) agree, get along together; 3. (N <sub>ext</sub> ) as big as
hi è	(NP <sub>ext</sub> ) as big as
Hkì?-yâ	(N) Christian
hó	(Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for kinds
hó-nâ	(N) paddy field (Tai)
hó-ší	(N) rice-mill
hó-tì?	(N) all-hearing ear
hó-tì?-ka-tì?	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) all-hearing ear of truth
hó-tì?-ta-tì?	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) supernatural powers
hòo	(Interj) ah!
hò?	(V) shut
hò? khán	(Q) sixty baht (Tai)
hò? mon	(Q) six o'clock (Tai)
hò?-tò?	(V) engulfed by fire
hɔ	1. (N) elephant; 2. (P <sub>n</sub> ) emphatic locative; 3. (V <sub>adj</sub> ) hot; 4. (V) be the case (YL), smear with
hɔ-câ?	(N) elephant-chain
hɔ-cì	(N) tusk (of elephant)
hɔ-hí-hɔ-hí	(Adv <sub>onomat</sub> ) giggling
hɔ-khi-ha	(N) elephant's footprint
hɔ-khò?	(N) elephant corral
hɔ-lo	(P <sub>n</sub> ) over there
hɔ-pa-nû-pa	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) elephant and cattle grazing grounds
hɔ-phu-hɔ-mô	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) in-laws
hɔ-phû-pê-phû	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) boat fare
hɔ-qhâ	(N) elephant tracks
hɔ-šâ	(N) elephant meat
hò	(V) weep, weep/cry
hò-hò	(V <sub>redup</sub> ) weeping a lot
hó	1. (M <sub>px</sub> ) under, below, upon (poetic), lower part; 2. (V) tend grazing animals
hó-khâ	(N) king
hó-khân	(N) king
hó-khân yâ-mî	(N) princess
hó-khân-ma	(N) princess
hó-qhâ?	(N) man, men
hó-qhâ?-pâ	(N) man, men
hó-qhâ?-yâ	(N) men
hó-šê-phâ	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) herdsman
hón	(V) smell good
hò	1. (V) sell; 2. (V <sub>adj</sub> ) heavy; 3. (M <sub>px</sub> ) weight
hòo	(Interj) aha!
hò?	(V) wrap around, wind one's way, burst out
hò?-hò?	(V <sub>redup</sub> ) keep winding
hò?-thî?	(V) wrap together
hò?-vâ	(V) mix together and eat
hō	(V) agree, harmonize with, fit in, cooperate
hséi-po'-lei?	(N) cheroot-like smoking article
hséi-pyîn-lei?	(N) cheroot
hu	(V) raise, support, raise/nourish/rear, nourish

hú	(V) hang sthg up
hú-câ?-kân	(V + P <sub>v</sub> ) be acquainted (Tai)
hwê?	(N) fly larvae
hwē-tī	(V) tether
Hwè-cà-táy	(N <sub>place</sub> ) Hwecatai
Hwè-tà?	(N <sub>place</sub> ) Huey Tat
Hwè-tû	(N <sub>place</sub> ) Hweitu
hwē	(V) wither
i	1. (V <sub>adj</sub> ) little, younger, young, unimportant; 2. (V) heed (poetic); 3. (V <sub>v</sub> ) only a little
i-hě	(Pron) they (YL)
i-šá	(N <sub>intg</sub> ) what kind of (Shan)
í-kâ?	(N) water
í-kâ? lwê	(N <sub>spec</sub> + V) swim
í-kâ? tū	(N <sub>spec</sub> + V) baptize
í-kâ?-dē	(N) bamboo water-tube
í-kâ?-gì	(N) river
í-kâ?-lò	(N) stream, river/stream
í-kâ?-mù?	(N) water weeds
í-mò?-qō	(N) gourd
í-mû	(N) horse, horses
í-mû-lò	(N) horse cart
í-mû-qō	(N) pickling tub
í-mû-yê-é	(N) foal
í-šī	(N) fruit
í-šī-cè	(N) fruit tree
í-šī-kho	(N) fruit orchard
í-šī-mì	(N) fruit orchard
í-thì?	(N) knife (RL)
Íšyâ?	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) Isaiah
ít niŋ	(AE) a little bit (Shan)
î	(Det) this (YL)
î-î-î	(Adv <sub>onomat</sub> ) whinny
ì-khâ-pa	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) I-kha's father
i-yâ-i-yâ	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) old and young
ī	1. (V <sub>adj</sub> ) great, big, important, older, senior, steep (of a slope), large, high (of body of wa- ter), grow great, big/large; 2. (V <sub>v</sub> ) V a lot; 3. (V) grow up
ī-ī	(V <sub>redup</sub> ) great big
ī-jâ-mâ-jâ	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) very much indeed
ī-kâ?-ī-lē	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) as long as it's big
ī-kì	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) important place
ī-la-mu-la	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) progress/advance in life, progress, ad- vance in life, grow and mature
ī-ló	(N) great big thing
ī-lón	(N) great big thing
ī-pā-mu-pā	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) high and mighty one
ī-qay-mu-qay	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) prosper
ī-šē-mu-šē-phâ	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) important person
ī-ve-mu-ve	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) haughty and arrogant

jâ	1. (V <sub>v</sub> ) very, very much, most; 2. (V <sub>adj</sub> ) plenty, excessive, plenty big, too much, big; 3. (M <sub>px</sub> ) edge
jà	(V) eat (Akha speaker)
Jâpân	1. (Eth) Japanese; 2. (N <sub>place</sub> ) Japan
jâ?	(V) spy on, sneak up on, sneak, do stealthily
jâ?-bô?	(V) shoot from ambush
jâ?-ni	(V) steal a look at
jâ?-câ-è	(N) edible shoots of acacia-like bush
jã	(V <sub>v</sub> ) very (YL)
jè	(V) advise, talk over, discuss, decide
jè dà?	(V + P <sub>v</sub> ) discuss
jè-dâ?-jè-ni	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) talk things over
jè-lâ-tho-lâ	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) give words of advice
jê	(V) wait, suffer, stop to rest, stop
jê-jê	(V <sub>redup</sub> ) restrain oneself
jè	(N) debt
jè?	(N) earth, soil
jè?-møy	(N) dust
jè?-mù?-qhu	(N) earthen pot
jè?-nê?	(N) mud
ji	(V) clear by a second burning, prepare for
ji-ba	(N) liquor (Akha)
jî	(V) bless with (RL), bless with good things (RL)
jî?	(V) move
jì	(N) liquor
jî	(V) dwell (poetic), dwell/sojourn (poetic)
jî?	(V) itch
jɔ	1. (P <sub>v</sub> ) experiential, do usually; 2. (V) dodge/avoid
jò?	(V) thresh, whip
Jô-mô	(N) Lord, lord, Jesus/the Lord (X'n)
jô-mô	(N) lord, expert, authority, officials, master/lord, master
jô-mô-kán	(N) government work
jû	(V) walk
jû-fî	(N) walking stick
jû?	(V) stick into
ka	(V) arrange marriage
ka-ti?	(N) promise
ka-ti?-šá-câ?	(N) covenant (X'n)
kaná-é	(N) verse (of the Bible)
kanán-ī	(N) chapter (of the Bible)
kanán-é	(N) verse (of the Bible)
kanán-ī	(N) chapter (of the Bible)
kanán-ló	(N) chapter (of the Bible)
kay	(V) go (YL)
ká	(N) work
ká-hô?	(Cl <sub>r</sub> ) for storage baskets (bamboo)
kán	(N) work, job

kán tân	(N <sub>spec</sub> + V) free from work/be at leisure, be free from work
kâ	(V) hear, listen
kâ-law	(N) story
kâ-pâ?	(N) power
kâ-phû	(N) listening fee
Kâlâ-phu	1. (N <sub>prop</sub> ) Caucasian/Western, Caucasian; 2. (N) Westerner, white people
Kâlâ-phu-khô	(N <sub>prop</sub> ) English language
kâw	(V) have fun, enjoy oneself
kà	(Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for places, for aspects, for matters
kà sê-phâ	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) assistant
kà-pâ?	(N) prediction
kâw-phu-nû	(N) old and young (RL)
kây	(V <sub>adj</sub> ) diligent
kâ	1. (M <sub>px</sub> ) space between; 2. (V) space out at intervals
kâ-kwê-yê	(N) self-defense group
kâfi	(N) coffee
kâi	(V <sub>adj</sub> ) satiated
kâlâ-û?	(N) camel
kânân	(N) senior headman/kamnan, senior headman
kâphî-cè	(N) coffee plant
kâphî-mì	(N) coffee field
kây-khâ-ti?	(N) Eternal Golden Fowl
kâ?	1. (V <sub>adj</sub> ) cold; 2. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for small packets
kâ?-ku	(N) sthg abnormal
kâ?-khâ?-ŋâ?	(N) alphabet/the ABC's
kâ?-nà-qâ	(N) chills and fever/malaria, chills and fever
kâ?-yân	(N) cold season
kâ?	1. (P <sub>unf</sub> ) also, even, topicalizer, although, even if, no matter what; 2. (P <sub>n</sub> ) locative; 3. (N <sub>sd</sub> ) here
kâ?-kâ?	(N <sub>loc</sub> ) right here
ke	(V) stick into (YL)
kɛ	(N) mountain (YL)
kê	(V <sub>adj</sub> ) old (of people)
kê-dâ?	(V <sub>adj</sub> ) clear
kê-kê	(V <sub>redup</sub> ) very clean
kê-lê ê	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) sparkling clean
Kê-ma-lón	(N <sub>place</sub> ) place name
Kê-pa-tâw?	(N <sub>place</sub> ) Kehpatau
kê-ê-ê	(Interj) cry of frustration, come on!
kê?-sî	(N) thatch-sticks
kə	1. (V <sub>v</sub> ) V into, contribute by V'ing, V thoroughly, insert by V'ing, complicate a situation, V towards, V to store; 2. (V) put into, contribute, record (as on tape), insert, put up money, fall into, apply to, have inside, pay (as a fine), contribute money
kə i	(V + V <sub>v</sub> ) put in a little
kə-chî?	(V) put in and wad up
kə-pā	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) contributor



kə-te	(V) lay sthg before smn
kə-thē	(V) add sthg extra
kə-vân	(V) insert vigorously
kə-ʔ	(V <sub>imp</sub> ) put in!
kə	1. (V) shift position; 2. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) half
kə-kə	(V <sub>redup</sub> ) move away/shift position
kə-tà	(N) safety fence
kən	1. (N) half; 2. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) half
kəʔ	(V) responsible for
kā	(Cl <sub>f</sub> ) half
kān	1. (V <sub>v</sub> ) worthy of V'ing; 2. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) half; 3. (V) worthy of/suitable for
kí	(V) eat (Shan)
kílô	1. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) kilogram; 2. (N) scale (for weighing)
kì	1. (V <sub>adj</sub> ) busy; 2. (V <sub>v</sub> ) be busy V'ing
kì	(P <sub>v-nom</sub> ) locative, way to V, reason to V, way of V'ing, point of action
kî	(V) rot
kī	(N) sweat, itchy black sap
kī-cê	(N) tree with irritating black sap
kī-ni	(N) sweat
Klê-thôʔ	(N) Gold Flake (brand name)
Klê-thôʔ-lón	(N) big Gold Flake, Gold Flake cigarette (large)
ko	1. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) hour (Tai); 2. (V) fence off
ko-mon	(Cl <sub>f</sub> ) hour (Tai)
ko-pa-mâyʔ	(N) forestry department
kô	(N) veranda (poetic)
kô-cá	(N) veranda
Kô-thêʔ	(N <sub>place</sub> ) Bangkok
kô-mē	(N) veranda (YL)
kô-mô	(N) pillar symbolizing eternal life
kôn-pêʔ	(N) muzzle-loading rifle
kôʔ	(Conj) still (Shan)
kó-fây	(N) lantern
Kóló	(N) Northern Thai
Kóló-khó	(N) Northern Thai language
Kóló-ma	(N) Northern Thai woman
Kóló-mì-gì	(N <sub>place</sub> ) Northern Thailand
Kóló-pā	(N) Northern Thai man
Kóló-yâ	(N) Northern Thai people
Kô-né	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name (YL), male name
Kô-ŋó	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name (YL), male name
kô-ŋwêʔ	(N) mattock
Kólēthúʔ	(N <sub>prop</sub> ) Corinthians
kôʔ	1. (V) be afraid, scary, get frightened; 2. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for bunches of bananas; 3. (N) saddle
kôʔ-fây	(N) lamp
kō	(V) stack up
kōmīti	(N) committee
kōmīti á-qhɔ	(N) committee room
kōʔ	1. (V) return home; 2. (V) V in turn (YL)
kru-gâʔ	(Adv <sub>onomat</sub> ) cry of the kru-gâʔ bird

Glossary

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ku	(Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for pairs (Thai)
ku-kò-ku-khò	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) each and every household (RL)
kú	(V) say (YL), talk (YL), mean (YL), be called (YL)
kú dā?	(V + P <sub>v</sub> ) quarrel (YL)
kú-châ	(N <sub>prop</sub> ) communist
kù	(V) call, invite, summon, call out, crow, shout, announce
kù-là	(V) invite to come
kù-phò	(V) call together
kù-phòn	(V) call together
kwân	(V) rule over
kwè	(N) stone pot
kwè-te-pā	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) pot-maker
kwê	(B <sub>n</sub> ) however (Shan)
Kwè	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name
kha	1. (V) criticize; 2. (P <sub>v</sub> ) vigorous action (YL)
kha-gâ	(N <sub>ext</sub> ) until (YL)
khá	(V) get stuck
khá-ce	(N) arrow
khán	(V) get stuck
Khán-pā	(Eth) Jingpho
khàw	(N) cooked rice (Shan)
khàw-mô	(N) cake
khā	(V) cross over, divide
khān	1. (V) swear, endure, withstand, insult, cross over; 2. (V <sub>v</sub> ) bear to V
khān-šì	(V) sacrifice one's life
khān-yù	(V) receive sth significant
khâ?	1. (N) crossbow; 2. (V) scoop out, scoop up, scoop out/fish out, fish around for, chop up (felled logs)
khâ? kə	(V + V <sub>v</sub> ) stick into to fish out sth
khâ?-khâ?	(V <sub>redup</sub> ) while chopping up, keep scooping up
khâ?-khò?	(V) scoop up and munch
khâ?-nâ?	(N) crossbows and guns
khâ?-tú	(V) chop wood to burn
khe	(Adv) thus (YL)
khe-te-le	(Conj) so then (YL), now then (YL)
khe-te-nó	(Conj) well then (YL)
khe	(Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for animals, for motor vehicles, for finger-breadths
khe-pù-lô?	(N) termite hill
khê	(V) less bad
Khê-kí	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name
khê-nâ?-qō	(N) mortar (small)
khên	(V) less bad
khê?	(N) wedding feast
khê? câ	(OV) have a feast
khê?-khê?	(Adv <sub>onomat</sub> ) crackling
khè	1. (V) go (vivid), go along; 2. (vV) go and V; 3. (V <sub>v</sub> ) go and V

khə-ʔ	(V <sub>imp</sub> ) let's go!, let's go!/come on!
khəʔ	(V) difficult, suffer, burdensome, be tired of
khə	(Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for kinds
Khè-mèwʔ	(Eth) Hmong/Miao, Hmong
Khè-mèwʔ-yâ	(N) Hmong people
khi	(N) shit (Shan)
khí	(V) worry
khî	(N) physical appearance
Khîšâmâʔ	(N) Christmas
khi-tùʔ	(N) leprosy
khi-tùʔ-cho	(N) leper
Khìʔ	(N <sub>prop</sub> ) Christ
khiʔ	(V) ride (horse, vehicle), ride
Khìʔ-yâ	(N <sub>prop</sub> ) Christian
khi	1. (N) leg, feet, tracks, foot/leg; 2. (V <sub>adj</sub> ) delicious; 3. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for times, a while
khi-cí	(N) knee
khi-cí-qu	(N) knee
khi-còʔ-qòʔ-pā	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) person with a crooked leg and back
khi-cu-ni	(AE) on tiptoes
khi-cu-ni te	(Adv + V) walk on tiptoes
khi-gô	(N) whole leg
khi-gô-qòʔ	(N) whole leg
khi-gô-qwèʔ	(N) shank (of meat)
khi-hó-làʔ-hó	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) under feet and hands (of a deity)
khi-lù-pā	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) cripple
khi-ma-pō	(N) big toe
khi-mêʔ-šī	(N) ankle bone
khi-mê-làʔ-mê	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) body dirt
khi-nɔ-cé	(N) little toe
khi-nɔ-dàʔ	(N) fourth toe
khi-nɔ-jī	(N) middle toe
khi-nɔ-yì	(N) second toe
khi-ŋē-cwi	(N) heel
khi-pē-qu	(N) calf of leg
khi-pē-qwi	(N) calf of leg
khi-qòʔ	(N) leg from thigh to toes
khi-qòʔ-pā	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) cripple
khi-qhɔ-làʔ-qhɔ	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) within the feet and hands
khi-šɛ	(N) foot, feet
khi-šɛ-làʔ-šɛ	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) hands and feet
khi-šɛ-qwèʔ	(N) leg (from knee down)
khi-šē-qú	(N) toenail
khi-tɔ-qɔ	(N) sole
khi-le-ŋâ-le	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) being disrespectful
khí-nôʔ	(N) shoes
khí-nûʔ	(N) shoes/sandals
khí-nûʔ-câʔ	(N) shoelaces
khí-pī	(N) bottom part
khí-šêʔ	(N) socks
khí-thòʔ-qō	(N) leggings
khí-yī	(N) deer (great sambhur)

Khí-yī-kwì	(N <sub>place</sub> ) Hognose Deer
khí-yī-kwì	(N) hog-nosed deer
Khí-yī-qō	(N <sub>place</sub> ) Deer Hollow
khî	(V) get back
kho	1. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for gardens; 2. (N) garden
khô	(V) shatter
khô-bá	1. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for halves; 2. (M <sub>px</sub> ) slab
khô?	(V) munch
khō	1. (N) horns; 2. (M <sub>px</sub> ) inside (YL)
khò-mô	(N) manna (X'n)
khò-nú	(N) cake
khò?	1. (Num) six; 2. (V) mix, mingle with
khò? chi	(Num) sixty
khò? chi ñâ	(Num) sixty-five
khò? mà	(Q) number six
khò?-dô?	(V) mix by beating
khò?-ni	(N <sub>time</sub> ) Saturday
khó	1. (V) beg; 2. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) measure of weight
khó-khó	(AE) staggering
khó-lú-khó-tân	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) offering
khô	1. (N) advice, word, sound, probable reason why, language, words, sound/noise, good sense, empty words; 2. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for words, for matters
khô-nó	(N <sub>time</sub> ) after (YL)
khô?	1. (N) coop; 2. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for coops
khô? chi khô?	(Num) sixty-six
khō	(N) top (for spinning)
khō-šî	(N) top (for spinning)
khō-tú	(N) stick for spinning top
khō?	(V) mix (YL)
Khrî?-yâ	(N <sub>prop</sub> ) Christian
khú-hó-khâ	(N) king
Khú-mô	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name
khún	(N) officials
khún-hó-khân	(N) king
khún-ī-khún-i	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) major and minor officials
khún-lón-khún-ī	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) great officials
khún-yâ-mî	(N) princess
khwé	(V) jealous
khwê	(Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for halves
khyn	(V) go up/climb (Shan), climb (Shan)
la	1. (P <sub>v</sub> ) come to V, motion towards, become/come to V, become, nearly V; 2. (N) la (music)
la-?	(P <sub>v</sub> + P <sub>v</sub> ) motion toward (imperative)
laj	( <sub>v</sub> V) get to (Shan)
lá	(V) roast in a bamboo tube
lá-qō	(N) saddlebag
lá-?	(V <sub>imp</sub> ) roast in bamboo tube!
láj-láj	(AE) only

láy	(Num) several
láy-cè	(Q) several kinds, everything, all kinds of, various things
láy-cè-láy-yā	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) all kinds of things
láy-cè-láy-yān	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) all kinds of things
lâ	1. (P <sub>v</sub> ) benefactive (non-3p); 2. (P <sub>uf</sub> ) yes/no question; 3. (N) tiger, tigers; 4. (V) come (YL)
lâ-a	(P <sub>uf</sub> ) yes/no question, interrogative
lâ-cà-ší	(N) lion
lâ-chî-gì-po	(N) lake
lâ-chî-gì-pū	(N) shore of lake
lâ-gì	(N) tiger skin
lâ-khî	(N) tiger footprint
lâ-lâ	(P <sub>v</sub> ) benefactive (dubitative)
lâ-o	(P <sub>uf</sub> ) yes/no question
lâ-phî	(N) tiger's den
lâ-phî	(N) plow
lâ-qhâ-pi	(N) tiger
lâ-?	(P <sub>v</sub> ) benefactive (imperative)
Lâhū	(N) Lahu, Lahu boy, Lahu girl (poetic)
Lâhū ní	(Eth) Red Lahu
Lâhū-khō	(N) Lahu language
Lâhū-ma	(N) Lahu girl
Lâhū-nâ?	(Eth) Black Lahu
Lâhū-nâ?-khō	(N) Black Lahu language
Lâhū-nâ?-pā	(N) Black Lahu man
Lâhū-ní	(Eth) Red Lahu
Lâhū-ší	(Eth) Yellow Lahu
Lâhū-ší-khō	(N) Yellow Lahu language
Lâhū-ší-pā	(N) Yellow Lahu man
Lâhū-yâ	(N) Lahu people
Lânpân	(N <sub>place</sub> ) Lampang
lâthâ-ví	(N) airplane
lâthâbâ	(N) government
lâthâbân	(N) government
lâthâví-kho	(N) airstrip
là	1. (V) come; 2. (N) tea; 3. (V <sub>v</sub> ) come to V, succeed in, come V'ing; 4. (P <sub>uf</sub> ) y/n question (YL)
là-câ-là-dō	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) come to eat and drink
là-cê	(N) tea plant
là-kho	(N) tea plantation
là-lí	(N <sub>loc</sub> ) here (poetic)
là-mì	(N) tea plantation
là-pô?	(N) mouthful of tea
là-?	(V <sub>imp</sub> ) come!
làn	(Cl <sub>f</sub> ) million
lâ?-lō	(V) guarantee
lâ?-nō-cé	(N) little finger
lâ?-nō-dâ?	(N) ring finger
là?	(N) hand, hands
là?-cí	(N) wrist
là?-chî?-pi	(N) fist

là?-ğō	(N) forearm, arm
là?-há	(Adv) immediately
là?-ka	(N) cross
là?-ma-pō	(N) thumb
là?-mē	(N) left hand
là?-mē-cwi	(N) elbow
là?-mē-pá	(N) left hand side
là?-mē	(N) handmade thing, handwriting
là?-nō	(N) finger
là?-nō-cí	(N) knuckle
là?-nō-jī	(N) middle finger
là?-ŋē-cwi	(N) elbow
là?-pē-ni	(N) armpit (RL)
là?-pè?	(N) ring
là?-qá	1. (N) arm's length; 2. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for shoulder areas
là?-qá-hó	(N) underarm/arm pit
là?-qá-pi	(N) shoulder
là?-qō	(N) wrist, forearm
là?-qō cá	(OV) shake hands
là?-qō cá dà?	(OV) join hands in marriage
là?-qō tō?	(OV) join hands in marriage
là?-ša	(N) right hand
là?-ša-ğī	(N) right-hand fork of a stream
là?-še	(N) hand, hands
là?-še hó	(N <sub>spec</sub> + V) heavy-handed
là?-šō	(N) gift
là?-tō-qō	(N) palm of hand
lā	(N) tiger (YL)
Lāhū	(Eth) Lahu (YL)
Lāhū-ná	(Eth) Black Lahu (YL)
Lāhū-nā?	(Eth) Black Lahu (YL)
Lāhū-ši	(Eth) Yellow Lahu (YL)
Lāhū-ši-khō	(N) Yellow Lahu language
le	(P <sub>uf</sub> ) substantive qst
le-le	(B <sub>n</sub> ) every, each
le	1. (P <sub>unf</sub> ) suspensive, and, or; 2. (P <sub>univ</sub> ) because; 3. (Conj) and, but, and so, but then, also; 4. (V) be too late, get worn out, be the end
le-â	(Conj) however, because, and so
le-ā	(P <sub>uf</sub> ) yes/no question, interrogative
le-ē	(P <sub>unf</sub> ) suspensive
le-ē-ε	(P <sub>unf</sub> ) suspensive
le-ğē?	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name
le-hé	(P <sub>uf</sub> ) probably, possibly, possible/probable
le-lâ	(P <sub>uf</sub> ) yes/no question, interrogative
le-le	(M <sub>prx</sub> ) very last one, limit/extreme point/end
le-nā	(P <sub>uf</sub> ) indirect question marker, wonderment, doubt/wonderment
le-ō	1. (P <sub>unf</sub> ) suspensive, causal, topic; 2. (Conj) fur- thermore
le-qō?	(P <sub>unf</sub> ) suspensive
le-šū?	(V) be the very latest/be the very last

lè	1. (P <sub>unf</sub> ) topic; 2. (V <sub>adj</sub> ) happy; 3. (V) warm one-self
lè-ē-é	(P <sub>unf</sub> ) topic
lè-ē-é-ε	(P <sub>unf</sub> ) topic
lè-qǝʔ-ǎí	(N) roadside (RL)
lèʔ	1. (V <sub>v</sub> ) do for eating, do for a living; 2. (V) eat, snack on, lick, smoke (tobacco)
lèʔ-šǝ	(N) bracelet (RL)
lé	1. (V) feed to, feed (person or animal); 2. (P <sub>uf</sub> ) probably
lé-tú-qā	(N) flute (transverse)
lêʔ	(V <sub>adj</sub> ) clever, clever/shrewd/cunning
lê	(P <sub>uf</sub> ) request for assent, emphatic prt.
lə	(P <sub>uf</sub> ) affirmative (RL)
lə-kíʔ	(N) brick
lǎ	1. (V) be left over, be special, be more than enough, have extra, fail to heed; 2. (P <sub>unf</sub> ) indirect question (RL)
lǎ-le	(AE) additionally, exceedingly
lǎ	(V) forget
lǎn	(V) forget
lǎʔ	(V) choose, pick out
lǎʔ-hǎʔ	(V) choose a spouse
lǎʔ-yù	(V) choose, pick out, choose/select
lē	(V) play around
lē-gǎ	(V) play
lē-gǎ kǐ	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) game
lē-gǎ-tù	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) game
lêʔ è	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) smooth
lêʔ-kǎn	(V) slip and fall
lèʔ	1. (P <sub>uf</sub> ) emphatic; 2. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for rolled objects; 3. (V) free from (poetic)
lí-lə	(N) saw
Lǎí	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name
Lǎ-šǎ-yǎ	(N) Lisu people
Lǎšǎ	(Eth) Lisu
lǎʔ	(Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for liters
lǎʔ	(N) writing, letter (epistle), book
lǎʔ bùʔ	(OV) write sthg down
lǎʔ ǎ-mə	(N) grade (year in school)
lǎʔ-də	(N) scroll
lǎʔ-he-kwǎn	(N) hymn, song
lǎʔ-hê-kwǎn	(N) hymn
lǎʔ-khǎ	(N) hymn
lǎʔ-phu	(N) Bible, book of the Bible
lo	(P <sub>n</sub> ) locative
lǎ	(B <sub>n</sub> ) sthg big, sthg great, senior, important, eldest
lǎ-lǎʔ	(V <sub>v</sub> ) really
lǎn	(B <sub>n</sub> ) sthg big, sthg great, important, senior
lǎ	(V) glide along

Glossary

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lò	1. (P <sub>v</sub> ) urging, imperative; 2. (P <sub>n</sub> ) locative (YL); 3. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for fathoms
lō	(V) need
lò?	1. (V) enter, record (on tape); 2. (V <sub>v</sub> ) V into
lò?-chè?	(V) enter and bite
lò?-thî?	(V) wrap up by rolling
lɔ	1. (P <sub>uf</sub> ) emphatic declarative, emphatic; 2. (V) wait for, wait, lie in wait (as for game), lie in wait; 3. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for matters, for opinions, for things; 4. (M <sub>px</sub> ) situation; 5. (P <sub>n</sub> ) emphatic locative (RL)
lɔ-câ	(V) wait to be fed
lɔ-hî	(V) function as intended (poetic)
lɔ-ká	(N) river (YL)
lɔ-ᵛᵛ	(P <sub>uf</sub> ) emphatic
lɔ-qa	1. (N) fork in stream; 2. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for forks in a stream
lɔ-qo	(P <sub>unf</sub> ) emphatic conditional
lɔ-qô?-qo	(P <sub>unf</sub> ) emphatic conditional
lɔ-tā	(V) wait to be established
lɔ-?	(V <sub>imp</sub> ) wait!
lɔn	(Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for matters, for things
lò	1. (V) ask for, request, beg for, pray, slip, request/ask for, pray for; 2. (V <sub>v</sub> ) ask to V; 3. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for streams/streams, for streams; 4. (N) valley
lò câ	(V <sub>v</sub> + V <sub>h</sub> ) ask for sthg to eat
lò-câ-lò-lè?	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) beg for food
lò-câ-qa-hâ-câ	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) beg and beseech for food
lò-cò?-nê?	(N) narrow valley
lò-chi-lò-ma	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) all these rivers
lò-kā-há-kā	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) among the streams and rocks
lò-khó	(V) beg for sthg
lò-lè?-lò-câ	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) beg for food
lò-nê	(N) river spirit
lò-qá	(N) river, river valley, river/stream
lò-qá-ce	(N) fork in river
lò-qá-qō	(N) river-bed
lò-qá-qa-hô	(N <sub>loc</sub> ) high ground near a river
lò-qá-qa-hò?	(N) dry river bed
lò-qá-qa-hᵛ	(N) river valley
lò-qò?	(N) twisting river
lò-qa-hâ-qō	(N) ravine
lò-qa-hò?	(N) narrow dry riverbed, ravine/gully/gulch
lò?	1. (V) be enough; 2. (V <sub>v</sub> ) enough to V; 3. (P <sub>uf</sub> ) polite (Shan)
lò? è?	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) enough to, sufficiently/enough to
lò?-lò?	(V <sub>v</sub> ) enough to V, plenty to V
lò?-ᵛᵛ	(V <sub>v</sub> ) enough to/sufficient to
lò-bo-phà?	(N) lotus leaf
lò-bo-vê?	(N) lotus flower
lò-ni-yâ	(N) when the moon shines



l̄s-kà-tù	(N) musket
l̄s-pū	(N) old man, husband, old fellow, my old man, grandfather, fellow
l̄s-pū-mô	(N) old grandpa
L̄co pūla	(N) Lawjo the postman
l̄kī	(N) pagans, pagan
l̄kī-yâ	(N) pagans, non-Christians, heathen
l̄phà?	(N) selfishness, greed
l̄?	(V) be blighted
l̄	(P <sub>v</sub> ) durative (YL)
l̄	(N) mule
l̄lī	(N) motor vehicle
l̄lī šē-phâ	(N) bus driver
l̄lī-phû	(N) bus fare
l̄?	(V) smoke (Shan)
l̄	(V) flow
l̄ kə	(V + V <sub>v</sub> ) flow into
l̄-qu	(N) spoon (esp. curved Chinese type)
l̄-qu-pī	(N) ladle
L̄ukà?	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name
l̄	(V) be destroyed, ruin, break down, break, sad, ruined/be destroyed, die, be damaged
l̄-kī	(V) wretched
l̄-l̄	(V <sub>redup</sub> ) ruin
l̄-qay-šē?-qay	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) utterly ruined, destroy utterly
l̄-tù-šē?-tù	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) cause ruin
l̄?	(V) smoke (Shan)
lw̄	(Cl <sub>f</sub> ) hundred (Thai)
lw̄?	(V <sub>v</sub> ) enough to V
lw̄	(V) swim
m	(Interj) murmur of sympathy, hmm
ma	1. (P <sub>uf</sub> ) exclamatory; 2. (N <sub>sd</sub> ) down there (YL); 3. (N <sub>ext</sub> ) as much as, as many as; 4. (Adv) negative (Shan); 5. (M <sub>px</sub> ) girl/woman, girl
mai55	(P <sub>uf</sub> ) y/n question (Shan)
Man	(N <sub>place</sub> ) Burma
Man-chə	(N <sub>prop</sub> ) Burmese person
Man-mì-ğī	(N <sub>place</sub> ) Burma/Myanmar
Man-mû-mì	(N <sub>place</sub> ) Burma, Burma/Myanmar
Man-yâ	(N) Burmese people
Mathe	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) Matthew
má	(N) son-in-law
má-he-pī	(N) bush with bitter green berries
má-kwī-pu	(N) bushy gray creeper
má-lù-má-chà?	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) son-in-law who's good for nothing
má-mo-cû-ni	(N) red cotton thread for tying (RL)
má-tê-má-na	(N) son-in-law who's true
máy	(V) make a mark
máy-mo-cû-phu	(N) white cotton thread for tying (RL)

mâ	1. (Adv) negative; 2. (V <sub>adj</sub> ) many, much, be a lot, more, fickle; 3. (V <sub>v</sub> ) be many, be much, V more, V a lot, do much, V greatly; 4. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for things (YL)
mâ dà?	(Adv + V) bad, not pretty
mâ dà?-dà? è	(AE) in spite of being ugly
mâ hê?	(Adv + V) not be the case, not be so, not be good
mâ hê? lâ	(VP) is it not so?
mâ hê? le	(Cl <sub>nf</sub> ) or else
mâ hê? o	(VP) definitely not the case, nothing to be done
mâ hê? qo	(Cl <sub>nf</sub> ) unless, otherwise/or else, otherwise, if not, or else, or, in other words, except for, but
mâ hê?-hê? è	(AE) wrongly
mâ hê?-hê? è?	(AE) wrongly
mâ kù-kù le	(Cl <sub>nf</sub> ) without being invited
mâ mâ	(Adv + V) not many, not much
mâ mɔ-mɔ	(AE) soon, before long
mâ mɔ-mɔ qo	(Cl <sub>nf</sub> ) soon
mâ qô?	(Adv + V) whether, does not matter
mâ sĩ è?	(AE) maybe
mâ sĩ tê co	(VP) until death
mâ sĩ tê cwe	(VP) until death
mâ sù?	(Adv + V) endless
mâ tà	(Adv + V) be sick and tired of
mâ tà-ò	(V <sub>v</sub> ) tired of V'ing
mâ ti-ti le	(Cl <sub>nf</sub> ) without planting
mâ-cè?	(AE) in great abundance
mâ-cô-mâ-hõ	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) disunited, disunited/uncooperative
mâ-cô-mâ-hõn	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) disunited
mâ-chî-mâ-bà	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) not abandon
mâ-chwe	(AE) a great deal, rather a lot, quite a bit
mâ-chwe-chwe	(AE) quite a large amount
mâ-dà?-mâ-kè	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) impure
mâ-dà?-mâ-na	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) evil
mâ-dê-mâ-yà?	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) not scold or rebuke
mâ-mâ	(V <sub>redup</sub> ) very much, very many
mâ-mâ-mâ-gì	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) few in number
mâ-mâ-mâ-ī	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) few in number
mâ-nà-mâ-gò	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) healthy and free from suffering
mâ-phâ?-mâ-gî	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) stay together, not separate
mâ-sõ-mâ-má	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) unlucky in hunting
mâ-sõ-mâ-câ?	(Elab <sub>adv</sub> ) in a disrespectful way/insultingly
mâ-thê-mâ-cô	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) dishonest, dishonest/hypocritical
mâ-yɔ	(P <sub>v</sub> ) don't
mà	(Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for things, general classifier, for people (informal), for points (in a game), for people (poetic), for people (impolite)
màj	(N) tree (Shan), new (Shan)
mày-cù-pí	(N) magnolia sp.

mā	1. (V) teach, show, point out, advise, show how to, preach to, decide a matter; 2. (V <sub>v</sub> ) indicate by V'ing, show by V'ing, teach to V, instruct by V'ing, show how to V; 3. (V <sub>adj</sub> ) hard
mā šē-phā	(N <sub>div</sub> ) teacher
mā-hā-šê?-hā	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) stubborn
mā-pî-šê?-pî	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) teach and instruct
māhā	(N) great thing
Mākû?	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name
mâ?	(V) flirt, court
mà?	(N) war
mà?-cā	(V) provide food for, provide food for/feed
mà?-chu-šī	(N) hog-plum
mà?-hí-kwi	(N) fired clay pipe
mà?-tê?-nâ?	(N) muzzle-loader
mà?-tèw	(N) gambling
mā	(Adv) negative (YL)
meε55	(N) wife (Shan)
mε	1. (V) have a name, recognize as, mistake for sthg else, ripen, give a name to; 2. (V <sub>adj</sub> ) ripe, be ready to eat, be cooked; 3. (P <sub>n</sub> ) contrastive topicalizer
mε dà?	(V + P <sub>v</sub> ) agree
mε-cā-lā	(N) centipede
Mε-cò?	(N <sub>place</sub> ) Meh-tcaw
mε-lè	(N) madam (Shan)
Mε-mê-nwè	(N <sub>place</sub> ) X'n Lahu village near Farng
mε-thāw	(N) old woman (resp.)
Mε-thà?-lây	(N <sub>place</sub> ) Metalai
Mε-tho-mô	(N <sub>place</sub> ) Mehthawmaw
mè	(V <sub>adj</sub> ) taste good, delicious, sweet
mè-cú-šé	(N) tree with hard wood
mè-ē-ε	(P <sub>uf</sub> ) emphatic
mè-mè	(V <sub>adj</sub> ) delicious
mè-pò-ku	(N) dried meh-paw bamboo
mè-šā-de	(N) grove of meh-sha bamboo
mè-šā-dè	(N) tube of meh-sha bamboo
mè-šā-pu	(N) clump of meh-sha bamboo
mè?-gù	(N) mud-hole, mud
mé	1. (V) disappear, disappear/vanish, get lost, change; 2. (Adv) negative (YL)
mé-mé	(N) pussycat (baby-talk)
mé-ni-gô	(N) rattan (sticky sp.)
mé-nú?	(N) scissors
Mélè	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) female name
Mélè-pa	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) Mary's father
mê	(V) plow (action of an animal)
mê-chô-ma	(N) widow
Mê-thā-lây	(N <sub>place</sub> ) stream and Thai village near Huay-Tat
mê?	1. (N) eye; 2. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) hundred grams
mê? cú	(N <sub>spec</sub> + V) blind
mê? khê	(N <sub>spec</sub> + V) have one's eyes dazzled

mêʔ-ce	(N) space between the eyes
mêʔ-ce-kā	(N) space between the eyes
mêʔ-cú-pā	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) blind man
mêʔ-gǎ-lwê	(N) fireflies, firefly
mêʔ-gǎʔ	(N) mirror/glass
mêʔ-gǔ-šī	(N) presence of
mêʔ-mu	(N) eyelash
mêʔ-phû	(N) face
mêʔ-phû tō dàʔ	(S + VP) be face to face
mêʔ-quí-lú èʔ	(AE) with puffy eyes
mêʔ-quí-mu	(N) eyebrow
mêʔ-šī	(N) eye, eyes
mē	(P <sub>uf</sub> ) emphatic, urging, persuasive, persuasive/urging
mē-mi	(M <sub>prfx</sub> ) downstream
mē-pō-de	(N) meh-paw tree grove
mē-tu	(N) tail
Mē-thàʔ-lāy	(N <sub>place</sub> ) Metalai
mēε	(P <sub>uf</sub> ) emphatic
Mé-cwèʔ	(N <sub>place</sub> ) Me-jwe
məʔ	(V) hungry
məʔ-jê	(V) suffer from hunger, starve
məʔ-kə	(N) star
məʔ-kə-šī	(N) star
məʔ-šī	(V) starve to death
má	(V) fine smn, levy a fine
má-àʔ	(Adv) fast
má-má àʔ	(AE) for a long time
má-yêʔ	(V) shrivelled up
mâ	1. (N) country, mouth, lips, lip, city; 2. (M <sub>prfx</sub> ) edge
mâ-bon-mâ-šī	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) land of the blessed (animist heaven)
Mâ-fá	(N <sub>place</sub> ) Farnng
mâ-gì	(N) lip
Mâ-hé	(N <sub>place</sub> ) Northern Thai village
Mâ-khō	(N <sub>place</sub> ) N. Thai and Karen village
mâ-lə-šō-khō	(N) lovers' conversation (poetic)
mâ-nó	(N) north country, north country/upcountry
mâ-pī-mâ-šā	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) ancient town
mâ-phí-mû-mì	(N) spirit land
mâ-qhə-cho	(N) townsfolk
Mâ-šé	(N <sub>place</sub> ) Jewel City
Mâ-šén	(N) Jewel City
Mâ-šā	(Eth) Lahu (Shan)
mân	1. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for towns, for regions; 2. (N) town
mâʔ	(V) blow, be acquainted with
mā	(N) yam
mi	1. (N) mi (music); 2. (C <sub>r</sub> ) catch, succeed in doing; 3. (V) catch
mí-cho	1. (N) shoulder bag; 2. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for shoulder bags
mí-jòʔ	(N) flint
mī	1. (V) be there (Shan); 2. (M <sub>prfx</sub> ) wife

mî-a	(N) wife
mî-hu-yâ-hu	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) support wife and children
mî-ma	(M <sub>prfx</sub> ) wife
mî-yâ	(N) wife and children
mì	(N) land, earth/ground/soil, ground, cultivated field
mì-cè	(N) cassia
mì-châ	(N) ground
mì-gì	1. (N) earth, land, country, earth/land, world; 2. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for countries
mì-gì jô-mô	(N) government officials
mì-gì ò-qhô	(NP <sub>loc</sub> ) to the world
mì-gì ò-qhô?	(NP <sub>loc</sub> ) on earth
mì-gì-chô-yâ	(N) human beings on earth
mì-gì-qhô	1. (N) in this world; 2. (N <sub>loc</sub> ) on earth
mì-gì-qhô?	1. (N <sub>loc</sub> ) on earth; 2. (N) in this world
Mì-gâ-tù	(N <sub>place</sub> ) place name
mì-khî	(N) fertilizer
mì-nâ?-ma	(N) earth (poetic)
mì-tò?-qô	(N) hole in the ground
mî	(V) sit, take a break
mî-câ	(V) sit and eat
mî-kî	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) seat
mî-qhô	(N) stool
mî-?	(V) sit (imperative)
mì	1. (V) cultivate, cultivate crops, cultivate crops/till the soil, imbibe the essence; 2. (V <sub>v</sub> ) used to V, V habitually
mì câ	(V + V <sub>v</sub> ) cultivate for a living, earn a living from the soil
mì šē-phâ	(N) farm laborer
mì-câ-kî	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) land to cultivate
mì-câ-vâ-câ	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) cultivate the land for a living, cultivate the land
mì-le-vâ-le	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) tardy in cultivating one's fields
mì-lô	(N) agriculture, agricultural matters/crop growing
mì-ší-vâ-ší	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) first fruits
mì-ti-vâ-ti	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) place to grow crops
mì-tô?	(V) cultivate successfully
mì-tô?-vâ-tô?	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) first fruits emerge
mì-ú-vâ-ú	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) first fruits
mó	(V) scorch
mô	(N <sub>sd</sub> ) down there
mô	(Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for groups
mô	1. (V <sub>adj</sub> ) long (of time), take a long time; 2. (V <sub>v</sub> ) long time V'ing; 3. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for grades (in school)
mô-chwe	(Adv) for a long time, rather a long time
môtkâ	(N) cars
mò	1. (V) see, find, watch, pay attention to; 2. (V <sub>v</sub> ) see or hear of, witness the action of

mò dà?	(V + P <sub>v</sub> ) meet each other, see each other, meet/see each other
mò-dà?-phû-dà?	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) meet each other
mò-ya-ló	(N) big pipe (for smoking)
mò-ya-ŋô?	(N) curved pipe
mò?	(N) monkey, monkeys
mò?-mû-mò?-šā	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) monkey meat or something
mò?-nâ?	(N) gibbon
mò?-ní-qwē	(N) rhesus macaque
mò?-qɔ	(N) mouth, beak (of bird)
mò?-qɔ-ló	(N) big mouth
mò?-qhu	(N) pots
mò?-qhu te šē-phâ	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) potter
mò?-qhu-bá	(N) potsherd
mò?-qhu-bá-le	(N) potsherd
mò?-šā	(N) monkey meat
Mó	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name
mó	(N) fortune-teller, expert, sir, master
mó-khì-mó-tó-lô?	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) miserable fortune-teller
mó-pā	(N) fortune teller, spirit doctor
mô	1. (N) personal property, belongings, thing, supplies, belonging, things, possession, wares; 2. (V <sub>adj</sub> ) old (of living things); 3. (V) see (YL), pay attention to (YL)
mô chí	(OV) wash clothes
mô-chî-pā	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) laundryman
mô-chî-šē-phâ	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) laundryman
mô-jè	(N) property, possessions
mô-ši	(V) die of old age
mô-yê-qhən	(N) tools and utensils
mô?	(N) cannon
mō	(V) aim at, grind up
mu	(V <sub>adj</sub> ) high (objects), high, important
mú-dɔ	(M <sub>pfx</sub> ) stump
mû	(N) heavens, sky, country (poetic)
mû phò?	(SV) get dark, night falls
mû phò? tê khàw-vân	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) evening
mû phò? thâ	(Cl <sub>nr</sub> ) when night falls
mû qha phò?	(AE) until it gets dark
mû thî	(SV) dawn comes, day breaks
mû-cha	(N) sunlight, sunshine
mû-cha-yâ	(N) hot season
mû-cha-yân	(N) hot season
mû-gô-mì-chô?	(Quasi-Elab) desert
mû-hɔ	(N) breeze
Mû-lò	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name
mû-lò	(N) horse-drawn wagon
mû-lò?-qɔ	(N <sub>time</sub> ) afternoon
mû-mê-mì-mê	(N <sub>place</sub> ) Land of Meh
mû-mì	1. (N) country, land, world; 2. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for countries
mû-mì-ma-mì	(N) heavenly land (RL)

mû-nê	(N) sky spirit
mû-ni	(N) sun
mû-ni ò-yâ	(N) hot season
mû-ni-qè	(N) west
mû-ni-qè-phô	(N) west
mû-ni-tô?-phô	(N) east
mû-nɔ	(N) heaven
mû-nɔ-ma	(N) heavens/the blue sky, heaven (X'n), sky, heavens
mû-nɔ-ma ci-yâ	(N) angel
mû-phân-mì-phân	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) create heaven and earth
mû-phe	(N) top part, up above, upwards, upper regions, the air, sky
mû-phə?-há	(N) during the night
mû-śś	(N <sub>time</sub> ) morning
mû-śś tê khàw-vân	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) morning
mû-śś-nà?	(N <sub>time</sub> ) early morning
mû-thê?-nê	(N) lightning spirit
mû-yè	(N) rain
mû-yè khi-yân	(N) beginning of the rainy season
mû-yè-yân	(N) rainy season
mù	(N) mushroom
mù-ní-gwe	(N) mushroom sp. with red cap
mù-śĩ	(N) mushroom
mù?	1. (V) weed, turn upside down, thatch a roof; 2. (N) weeds
mù?-qhu	(N) pot
mù?-qhu te pā	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) potter
mũ-qɔ-cí	(N <sub>time</sub> ) high noon (YL)
mũ-śś	(N) morning (YL)
m̐	(Adv) negative (Shan)
m̐	(Interj) murmur of assent
m̐	(Interj) murmur of assent, mmhm, hm
m̐-êe	(Interj) hey there!
na	1. (V) listen, heed, ask, obey, get better, hear about, hear, ask for a date; 2. (M <sub>px</sub> ) up there, above and in front of, upper part; 3. (V <sub>v</sub> ) good to V
na ša-ša	(V + V <sub>v</sub> ) sound beautiful
Na-bè	(N) River Ping
Na-dà?	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) female name
na-e	(V) get better
na-hê?	(V) ask for in marriage
Na-lí	(N <sub>place</sub> ) village name
Na-nâ?	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) female animal name
na-nâ?	(N) Black Girl (name for female black dog)
na-ni	(V) ask
na-ŋó	(V) ask (YL)
Na-phî	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) female name
Na-phu	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) female name
na-śi	(N) Goldie (name for yellow female dog)

Glossary

Na-ši	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) female name
Na-ší	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) female name
Na-thí	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) female name
na-yù	(V) take to heart, take advice
na-ʔ	(V <sub>imp</sub> ) listen!
nanbàʔ	(N) number
naŋ	(V) sit (Shan)
nay	(V) get better
ná	1. (V <sub>adj</sub> ) deep, overgrown, thick (of plants); 2. (P <sub>uf</sub> ) wonderment, emphatic persuasion; 3. (V <sub>v</sub> ) V selfishly
ná-ghâ-ná-bì	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) densely overgrown
námam	(N) water (Thai)
nâ	(V) alight on
Nâ-ghày	(N <sub>place</sub> ) place name
Nâ-ghày-lò	(N) stream through Nâ-ghày, Nâ-ghày valley
nây-ma	(N) princess
nà	(V) hurt, be ill, sick, hurt/ache/be sore
nà-hêʔ-nà-jɔ	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) omens of illness and illness-causing spirits
nà-jê	(V) suffer pain
nà-jê-jê	(V <sub>redup</sub> ) keep suffering
Nà-kúʔ-ğì	(N <sub>place</sub> ) River Kok
nà-khò	(N) voice of illness
nà-la-gò-la	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) get sick
Nà-lí	(N <sub>place</sub> ) place name
nà-mâ	(N) perfume
nà-phêʔ	1. (V) ill with malaria, catch a fever; 2. (N) malaria
nà-phèʔ	(N) condiment (fish sauce, offal)
nà-ghâ	(N) path of illness
Nà-ší	(N <sub>place</sub> ) river name
nà-ve-gò-ve	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) sick and wretched, ill
nā	1. (P <sub>uf</sub> ) indirect question marker, wonderment, doubt/wonderment, whether, doubt, could well happen; 2. (V <sub>v</sub> ) very (Shan); 3. (N) forehead
nā-kú-qá	(Adv <sub>onomat</sub> ) jewsharp twanging during courting
nā-kú-qá-nā-kú-qō-lòʔ	(Adv <sub>onomat</sub> ) jewsharp twanging during courting
nā-khē-qu	(N) shin
nā-mâ	(N) gasoline
nā-mân-hó	(N) perfume
nā-pɔ	(N) ear
nā-qā-pi	(N) forehead
nā-qú-cè	(N) banyan
nā-ghò	(N) nose
nā-ghò-ghɔ	(N) nostril
nābàʔ	(N) rank, number
nāliʔ	1. (N) watch, time, hour; 2. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) o'clock, for hours
Nāšalêʔ	(N <sub>place</sub> ) Nazareth



nâ?	1. (V) lie in wait, step on, get black; 2. (N) guns, gun, rifle, gunshot, gun/rifle; 3. (M <sub>prfx</sub> ) black
nâ? è	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) dark colored
nâ? lè	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) black
nâ?-chî	(N) medicine, medicine/drug
nâ?-chî šālâ?-gōn	(N) medical doctor
nâ?-chî-yè	(N) hospital
nâ?-gi	(V) stumble
nâ?-hò?	1. (V) pitch dark; 2. (N) hell
nâ?-khô	(V) break by stepping on
nâ?-lé?	(V) slip
nâ?-pē	(V) trample to death
nâ?-pu	(V) step on and make roll
nâ?-šî	(N) bullet
nâ?-tà-ce	(N) double-barreled shotgun
nâ?-tó	(AE) jet black
nâ?-tó è	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) black
nâ?-tó-nâ?-khò?	(Elab <sub>adv</sub> ) black as coal/pitch black
nà?	(V) bless with
Nà?-kô?	(N <sub>place</sub> ) River Kok
nà?-śá	(AE) early in the morning (ca. 6:00)
nà?-ú	(N) conversation
nà?-wē-šî	(N) candy/sweets, candy
nā	(N <sub>sd</sub> ) up there (YL)
ne	1. (Pron) you (used to a girl in love poetry), I (used by girl in love poetry); 2. (N) woman (poetic), woman/maiden/lass (poetic)
ne-co-yâ-co	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) lives of womenfolk and menfolk
ne-cò-ne-ğû	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) maiden (poetic)
ne-khî-ne-jò	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) baby stirring in the womb
né-na	(V) get angry (YL)
ne-vì-ne-lò?	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) woman's troubles
ne?21	(Prt) or (Shan)
nè	1. (P <sub>uf</sub> ) probably; 2. (Pron) our (colloq.); 3. (P <sub>n</sub> ) topicalizer (Shan)
nè-á	(Pron) the two of us, we, we two, us, our (dual)
nè-há	(Pron) the two of us
nè-lē	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) low
nè-má	(Pron) we two, both of us
nè-ṣ	(P <sub>uf</sub> ) suppositional, probably
nè?	(P <sub>n</sub> ) topicalizer (Shan)
né	1. (P <sub>unf</sub> ) even, also, even though; 2. (V) get stuck onto, plaster sthg on, smeared with
né-hi	(Pron) we
né-ṣ	(Conj) even that way
né-qhò?	(N <sub>time</sub> ) next year
nê?	1. (V <sub>adj</sub> ) wet; 2. (V) moisten; 3. (N) net (for ball game)
nê?-kà? qay	(Adv + V) smashed to pieces/pulverized
nê	1. (N) spirit (animist); 2. (V <sub>adj</sub> ) near
nê è	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) near
nê-cò-pā	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) person possessed by a spirit

nê-hày	(N) Satan (X'n)
nê-jô-mô	(N) master spirit
nê-kì	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) nearby place
nê-phê?-šɛ-phê?	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) turn into a spirit
nè	(N) meat (Shan)
nè	(Pron) you (pl)
nē	(P <sub>uf</sub> ) emphatic
ni	1. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for days; 2. (V) look at, pay attention to, check on, watch, look around, visit, think over, keep watch, think over/consult, look out for, gawk at idly, consider, look after, inspect, consult, blush, be concerned about, arrange for; 3. (V <sub>v</sub> ) try and V, V and see; 4. (M <sub>px</sub> ) day, younger sibling
ni è?	(VP) you see
ni ša	(V + V <sub>v</sub> ) good-looking, fun to see, look nice
ni-câ	(V) consider what there is to eat
ni-dâ?-ga-dâ?	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) care for and help each other
ni-hě	(Pron) we (YL)
ni-kû	(N) rib
ni-lô	(V) look after carefully
ni-ma	(N) heart, character
ni-ma cò	(N <sub>spec</sub> + V) be interested in sthg
ni-ma cô	(N <sub>spec</sub> + V) be to one's liking, like sthg
ni-ma hā	(N <sub>spec</sub> + V) sad, miss with sadness, worried, upset, plaintive
ni-ma ĩ	(N <sub>spec</sub> + V) arrogant
ni-ma lù	(N <sub>spec</sub> + V) be upset, be depressing
ni-ma mâ	(N <sub>spec</sub> + V) fickle
ni-ma tê šĩ tí tã	(OV) be united in feeling
ni-ma-ĩ-ni-ma-mu	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) arrogant
ni-ma-qa-pi	(N) chest/breast, heart
ni-ma-šĩ	(N) heart
ni-mò	(V) observe
ni-pî-ga-pî	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) look after
ni-qhâ	(N) viewpoint/opinion, opinion
ni-qhâ mâ šĩ	(N <sub>spec</sub> + V) dissatisfied
ni-qhâ qha šĩ è	(N <sub>spec</sub> + V) until one is satisfied
ni-qhâ šĩ	(N <sub>spec</sub> + V) satisfied
ni-?	(V <sub>imp</sub> ) look!, consider!
ní	1. (B <sub>n</sub> ) red; 2. (V) press, scoop up
ní è	1. (AE) red; 2. (AE <sub>stat</sub> ) red, bald
ní è?	(AE) red
ní-ní	(AE) bright red
ní-ní è?	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) bright red
ní-šĩ	(B <sub>n</sub> ) red and yellow
ní-šĩ-šĩ	(AE) sparkling red and yellow
ní-yù	(V) grab
nĩ	(Num) two, second, both
nĩ cò tê cò	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) second thing
nĩ chi	(Num) twenty
nĩ chi nã	(Num) twenty-five

nî chi ô	(Num) twenty-four
nî chi tê	(Num) twenty-one
nî ġâ	(Q) two people
nî ġâ tê ġâ	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) second person
nî kâ tê kâ	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) another place, second place
nî lôn tê lôn	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) the second matter
nî mō	(Q) two groups
nî pô? tê pô?	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) second time
nî qhò? tê qhò?	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) second year
nî-šê? chi	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) twenty or thirty
nì	(Pron) we (RL), our, you (pl), us
nì-hi	(Pron) we (pl), our, us
nì-má	(Pron) our
nī	(N) penis
nī qé	(OV) retract one's foreskin
nī-ó-qō	(N) glans penis
nī-qhê?	(N) penis
nî?khô	(N) hill tribe resettlement center
nĩ	(Num) two (YL)
nô	1. (N <sub>sd</sub> ) up there, up; 2. (N <sub>sd</sub> + P <sub>n</sub> ) up here
nô ve	(N <sub>poss</sub> + ve) the one up there
nò	(N) my dear
Nòvêbà-ha-pa	(N <sub>time</sub> ) November
nô?-tī	(V) pinch tightly
nò	1. (Pron) you, your, you say; 2. (Interj) you see
nò ve	(N <sub>poss</sub> + ve) your, yours, Your
nò-cê-nò-cà	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) your livestock
nò-hi	(Pron) you (pl), your (pl), you guys
nò-hi ve	(N <sub>poss</sub> + ve) your (pl)
nò-hi-qhâ-nò-hi	(AE) by yourselves
nò-hí-mà	(Pron) you (dual)
nò-hí-nè	(Pron) you (dual)
nò-hí-nè ve	(N <sub>poss</sub> + ve) your (dual)
nò-mā-nò-šó	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) you teach and instruct
nò-mí-nò-yâ	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) your wife and children
nò-ŋà-hi	(Pron) all of us
nò-pa-nò-e	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) your father and mother
Nò-pa-tí?	(N <sub>place</sub> ) place name
nò-qhâ-nò	(AE) by yourself
nò-tâ-nò-qay	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) where you crave to go
nò?	(V) grow sthg on oneself, bear (as fruit), bear (as fruit or flower)
nó	(N <sub>time</sub> ) after (YL)
nó è	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) green
nó-po	(N) lake
nó-ti?-nó-šé	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) precious eternal lake
nô	1. (V) be aware of, remember, wake up, realize, be alert, awaken; 2. (Pron) you (YL)
nô?-qhê	(N) smelly beans, fermented soybeans, bean with a strong odor
nô?-šĩ	(N) bean
nō	(Pron) you (YL)

nō	1. (V) wake smn up; 2. (N) gourd-flute
nu	(M <sub>prfx</sub> ) place over there
nū	1. (N) cattle, ox, cow, oxen, cattle/bovine; 2. (V <sub>adj</sub> ) weak
nū-cú-gì	(N) cow's milk
nū-é	(N) calf (bovine)
nū-khō?	(N) cattle shed
nū-lò	(N) ox cart
nū-nè	(V <sub>adj</sub> ) humble
nū-pa	(N) cattle-tending hut
nū-pa-ho-pa	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) grazing ground for cattle and elephants
nù	(V) stink, have a smell, sniff, smell
nù-qhâ	(V) have a bitter stench
nù-ū-u	(V) stink
nū	(N) sesame
nū?	(V) shave, pinch
nū? chē?	(V + V <sub>v</sub> ) snip apart
năj	(Pron <sub>intg</sub> ) where? (Shan)
ŋay	(V <sub>adj</sub> ) be easy
ŋá	(V) open wide
ŋá-ni	(V) open wide
ŋán-kà?	(AE) wide open
ŋâ	1. (Num) five, fifthly; 2. (N) fish; 3. (V) work for hire
ŋâ chi	(Num) fifty
ŋâ gâ tê gâ	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) the fifth person
ŋâ mà	(Q) number five
ŋâ-ca-šē-phâ	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) fisherman
ŋâ-hē	(Pron) we (YL)
ŋâ-hu-qò?	(N) small edible fish with big mouth
ŋâ-ni	(N) Friday
ŋâ-šâ	(N) fish as food
ŋâ-the-qō	(N) huge basket for trapping fish
ŋà	(Pron) I, my, me, for me
ŋà ò-to	(Pron) by myself, I myself, myself/by myself
ŋà tê gâ	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) I myself
ŋà ve	(N <sub>poss</sub> + ve) mine, my
ŋà-hi	(Pron) we (pl), our, us
ŋà-hi qhâ ñà-hi	(AE) all by ourselves
ŋà-hi ve	(N <sub>poss</sub> + ve) our
ŋà-hi-qhâ-ñà-hi	(AE) all by ourselves
ŋà-hí-mà	(Pron) we two, the two of us
ŋà-hí-nè	(Pron) the two of us, we two/the two of us, us two
ŋà-pū-ñà-pi	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) my grandparents
ŋà-qhâ-ñà	1. (Pron) all by myself; 2. (AE) to myself
ŋā	(V) lend
ŋā-?	(V <sub>imp</sub> ) lend!
ŋâ?	(N) bird
ŋâ?-chu	(N) bird fat
ŋâ?-hē	(N) bird that tells lies
ŋâ?-lù-ñâ?-kî	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) wretched rotten bird

ηâʔ-phi	(N) bird's nest
ηâʔ-u	(N) bird's egg
ηε	(V) lean against
ηè	(V) pour
ηē	(V) pour
ηē-pū	(V) pour into
ηɔ-ηɔ	(Adv) nearly/almost, nearly
ηʒ	1. (V) stick to, look intently, look at (YL), be smeared with; 2. (V <sub>v</sub> ) try V'ing
ηʒ è	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) sticking up at an angle
ηʒʔ-è-thê-è	(Elab <sub>adv</sub> ) all stiff and straight
ηwê	(V) look at (YL)
o	1. (P <sub>uf</sub> ) emphatic; 2. (P <sub>n</sub> ) locative (YL), vocative (YL); 3. (N <sub>sd</sub> + P <sub>n</sub> ) there (YL)
o-he	(P <sub>v</sub> ) hortatory
ó-qō	(N) head, top part, nose/engine (of an airplane), engine of airplane
ó-qō-šĩ	(N) head, nose (of an airplane)
ô	1. (N <sub>sd</sub> ) over there, that, there, those, that one, distant point in the future, there/over there, that same one; 2. (N <sub>sd</sub> + P <sub>n</sub> ) that same one
ô ma	(NP <sub>ext</sub> ) all these
ô ɔ̄	(NP <sub>loc</sub> ) someplace, over there
ô qhe	(NP <sub>ext</sub> ) like that
ô tê pʒʔ	(NP <sub>time</sub> ) that time
ô-o	(N <sub>sd</sub> ) over there
ô-pá	(N <sub>loc</sub> ) that side
ô-phâ	(N) that guy
ô-thâ	(N <sub>time</sub> ) in the past, that time, then, a certain time in the future, then/once/formerly, once
ô-thâ tê ni	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) once in the past, long since
ô-ve	1. (Det) that, those, that one, that thing; 2. (Pron) them
ôo	1. (Interj) oh!, cry to attract a spirit's attention, cry to attract a spirit, wow!, okay, hey!, I see!; 2. (N <sub>sd</sub> ) way over there
ôo-ò-ô	(Interj) my goodness!
ôo-ō	(Interj) oh!
ò	1. (P <sub>v</sub> ) completed action, already, change of state, would be, anymore, if only (counterfactual); 2. (P <sub>n</sub> ) vocative, emphatic topicalizer (YL); 3. (P <sub>uf</sub> ) affirmative (poetic), affirmative (YL)
ō	(B <sub>n</sub> ) young one/young thing
ôʔ	(P <sub>v</sub> ) hortatory, urging imperative
òʔ	1. (P <sub>v</sub> ) urging imperative, hortatory, imperative; 2. (P <sub>n</sub> ) vocative
õ	(N <sub>sd</sub> + P <sub>n</sub> ) over there (YL)
ɔ	1. (P <sub>uf</sub> ) affirmative, exclamatory, mildly exclamatory; 2. (P <sub>n</sub> ) topicalizer
ɔ-kó-lɔ	(AE) first (YL)

ɔ-ló-pê	(N <sub>time</sub> ) beginning
ɔ-qó-pê	(N <sub>time</sub> ) first
ɔén	(Onomat) cry of the buffalo
ɔɔ	(Interj) ah, aha!
̀̀-̀̀-̀̀	(N <sub>loc</sub> ) out of bounds
̀̀-̀̀-̀̀-̀̀-̀̀	(N <sub>loc</sub> ) outside
̀̀-̀̀-̀̀-̀̀-̀̀-̀̀	(N <sub>loc</sub> ) outside, elsewhere
̀̀-̀̀-̀̀-̀̀-̀̀-̀̀-̀̀	(N) steep slope
̀̀-̀̀-̀̀	(N) advantage, good luck, favor, value, usefulness, merit, grace (X'n)
̀̀-̀̀-̀̀ ̄ jâ	(S + VP) many thanks, be very worthy of thanks
̀̀-̀̀-̀̀ tã	(OV) give thanks to
̀̀-̀̀-̀̀-̀̀-̀̀-̀̀	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) great blessing
̀̀-̀̀-̀̀-̀̀	(N) grace (X'n), value, good luck, advantage/usefulness/good luck, usefulness, obligation, merit, favor
̀̀-̀̀-̀̀	(N) sprout, shoot (of plant)
̀̀-̀̀-̀̀?	(N) muscle
̀̀-̀̀-̀̀?	(N) machinery
̀̀-̀̀-̀̀	(N) pair, even number
̀̀-̀̀-̀̀ ̀̀-̀̀-̀̀	(N) in pairs
̀̀-̀̀-̀̀	(N) plant, tree
̀̀-̀̀-̀̀	1. (N) thing, kind, things, subject; 2. (Elab <sub>n</sub> ) things
̀̀-̀̀-̀̀	(N) servant
̀̀-̀̀-̀̀	(N) tusk
̀̀-̀̀-̀̀	(N) raw thing
̀̀-̀̀-̀̀ ̀̀-̀̀-̀̀	(N <sub>loc</sub> ) around and around
̀̀-̀̀-̀̀-̀̀-̀̀	(N) marrow
̀̀-̀̀-̀̀-̀̀-̀̀	(N) clitoris
̀̀-̀̀-̀̀	1. (Det) that thing, this thing, this place; 2. (N) this, this one, these things; 3. (Interj) look here!
̀̀-̀̀-̀̀	(N) friend
̀̀-̀̀-̀̀ te	(OV) be friends
̀̀-̀̀-̀̀-̀̀-̀̀-̀̀?	1. (Elab <sub>n</sub> ) friends and neighbors; 2. (Elab <sub>adv</sub> ) in a neighborly way
̀̀-̀̀-̀̀	(N) fat (n.)
̀̀-̀̀-̀̀	(N) barrel of a gun
̀̀-̀̀-̀̀-̀̀-̀̀	(N) bulging part of a tree-trunk
̀̀-̀̀-̀̀	(N) mother
̀̀-̀̀-̀̀-̀̀-̀̀-̀̀	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) mother and father
̀̀-̀̀-̀̀-̀̀-̀̀-̀̀	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) mother and child
̀̀-̀̀-̀̀-̀̀-̀̀-̀̀	(N) stomach
̀̀-̀̀-̀̀?	(N) stripes, pattern/stripe
̀̀-̀̀-̀̀-̀̀-̀̀	(N) skin
̀̀-̀̀-̀̀-̀̀-̀̀	(N) sthg dried out
̀̀-̀̀-̀̀	(N) strength, effort
̀̀-̀̀-̀̀ nã?-chî	(N) stimulant
̀̀-̀̀-̀̀ pí	(OV) give strength to
̀̀-̀̀-̀̀ yù tî?	(OV) exert effort
̀̀-̀̀-̀̀-̀̀-̀̀	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) strength, vital force

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̀-ğâ-phû	(N) wages
̀-ğê?	(N) light, rays of light
̀-ğê?-yâ	(N) people of light
̀-ğî	(N) liquid
̀-ğî-mi	(N) downstream
̀-ğî-ú	(N) upstream
̀-ğû-šî	1. (N <sub>time</sub> ) in the future, before, onwards, in the past; 2. (N <sub>loc</sub> ) forward, in front of, to the front, onward, further on
̀-ğû-šî phô	(N <sub>time</sub> ) in the future
̀-ğû-šî thâ	(N <sub>time</sub> ) in advance, first
̀-ğû-šî-phô	(N <sub>time</sub> ) in the future
̀-ğù-tê?	(N) intestine
̀-ha	(N) picture, flames, soul, shape, photograph, image, hundred
̀-ha-ku	(N) soul
̀-ha-phu	(N) Holy Spirit
̀-han khâ?	(OV) draw lots
̀-hâ-bè	(N) miserable wretch
̀-hê?	(N) omen
̀-hí	(N) thousand
̀-hó	(N) leader, boss
̀-hó-̀-ńá	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) leader
̀-hò?-̀-ńa	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) images and pictures
̀-ńó	1. (N <sub>loc</sub> ) under, lower part, down there, below, downward, south; 2. (N) less, inferior one
̀-ńó-ńó	(N) very inferior one
̀-ńó-pá	(N <sub>loc</sub> ) lower side
̀-ńwē	(N) grandchild
̀-ńâ	(N) outside area
̀-ńô-mô	(N) lord
̀-ńā	(N) between, middle/place between/interval, middle, interval, besides
̀-ńā-̀-ńe	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) all over
̀-ńā-̀-ńu	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) other, elsewhere
̀-ńâ?-̀-ńu	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) elsewhere
̀-ńe	(N) inner part
̀-ńí	(N) cloven hoof
̀-ńí te	(OV) be all dressed up
̀-ńi	(N) gall-bladder
̀-ńò	(N) poison
̀-ńu-câ?	(N) muscle
̀-ńwi	(N) dried up thing
̀-ńhè?	(N) burnt spot
̀-ńhè?-ńu	(AE) all burnt up
̀-ńhî-qò?	(N) legs
̀-ńhî-ńi	(N <sub>time</sub> ) beginning
̀-ńhî-ńî	(N) first, the beginning, bottom part
̀-ńhî	(N) fertilizer, fertility
̀-ńhó	(N) horn
̀-ńhô	(N) sound, words, voice, news
̀-ńâ-šî	(N) kidney

à-làʔ-ğô	(N) disciple
à-le	(N) end
à-le-ma	(N) the youngest daughter
à-le-mê	(N) the youngest one, the last one, end
à-le-mê thâ	(NP <sub>time</sub> ) finally
à-ló	(N) remains, leftover, extra one, extra amount
à-lî	(N) custom, rule, opinion, doctrine, customs, custom/tradition
à-lî-à-khô	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) precepts
à-lî-à-lôn	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) traditions, custom/ritual
à-lî-à-qa	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) rules and regulations
à-lî-à-qhâ	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) custom, laws and customs, conduct
à-lî-à-sín	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) customs and traditions
à-ló	(N) senior
à-ló-ma	(N) great big thing
à-lo	(N) matter, about, story, matter/affair/thing, subject, situation
à-lo qo	(NP) the reason is
à-lo qôʔ qo	(Cl <sub>nr</sub> ) the thing is, the reason is
à-lôn	(N) matter, about, story, situation, thing, matter/affair/thing
à-lôn qo	(NP) the reason is, the thing is/the reason is, the thing is
à-lôn qôʔ qo	(Cl <sub>nr</sub> ) the thing is, the reason is
à-lóʔ	(N) terrace
à-lóʔ à-lóʔ	(N) terraces
à-lwêʔ	(N) terrace
à-ma	(N) female
à-ma-pê	(N) female (of certain animals), female
à-ma-qêʔ	(N) female animal
à-má	(N) son-in-law
à-má-pā	(N) son-in-law
à-me	(N) name, title
à-mê-pò-ku	(N) dried meh-paw bamboo
à-mêʔ	(N) letter (of writing)
à-mē-mi	(N) lower part, downstream
à-məy	(N) powder
à-mê	(N) tip
à-mê-à-mê	(Elab <sub>adv</sub> ) gradually
à-mēn	(N) ten thousand
à-mi	(N) downstream part
à-mí-a	(N) wife
à-mí-ma	(N) wife
à-mí-à-yâ	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) wife and children
à-miʔ-à-phôn	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) blessings, glory
à-mō	(N) group, community
à-mō-à-cú	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) multitude
à-mòʔ	(N) sthg suitable
à-mu	(N) hair, fur
à-mùʔ-ká-ku	(N) bone
à-mùʔ-ku	(N) bone
à-na	(N <sub>loc</sub> ) upper part, above, up there, in front of



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̀̀- <i>na-pá</i>	(N <sub>loc</sub> ) upper side
̀̀- <i>na-phô</i>	(N <sub>loc</sub> ) north, upward, upper limit
̀̀- <i>ne-pa</i>	(N) gristle
̀̀- <i>nê</i>	(N) spirit
̀̀- <i>ni</i>	(N) younger sibling, day
̀̀- <i>ni-ma</i>	(N) younger sister
̀̀- <i>ni-̀̀-há</i>	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) days and nights
̀̀- <i>ni-pā</i>	(N) younger brother
̀̀- <i>nu</i>	(N) another place, seedpod
̀̀- <i>nu-pá</i>	(N) another place
̀̀- <i>nù-ma</i>	(N) younger sister
̀̀- <i>pa</i>	(N) father, forefathers, father's
̀̀- <i>pa-̀̀-e</i>	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) parents, ancestors
̀̀- <i>pá</i>	(N <sub>loc</sub> ) side
̀̀- <i>pâ</i>	(N <sub>loc</sub> ) nearby
̀̀- <i>pâ-nê</i>	(N <sub>loc</sub> ) nearby
̀̀- <i>pâ-̀̀-ki</i>	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) nearby
̀̀- <i>pâ-pâ</i>	(N <sub>loc</sub> ) nearby, place nearby
̀̀- <i>pā</i>	(N) male, menfolk, husband
̀̀- <i>pā-̀̀-mî-ma</i>	(Elab <sub>extd</sub> ) husband and wife
̀̀- <i>pā-ší</i>	(N) new husband
̀̀- <i>pê?-nê?</i>	(N) flat thing
̀̀- <i>pi</i>	(N) grandmother
̀̀- <i>pi-ma</i>	(N) old lady, grandmother
̀̀- <i>pì</i>	(N) sthg spit-roasted
̀̀- <i>pī</i>	(N) old thing
̀̀- <i>pì-tâ?</i>	(N) thicket
̀̀- <i>po</i>	(N) for N's sake, sake/behalf, behalf, sake
̀̀- <i>pon</i>	(N) for N's sake, sake, towards, in order to, sake/behalf
̀̀- <i>pu</i>	(N) clump (e.g., of vegetation)
̀̀- <i>pun</i>	(N) share
̀̀- <i>pū</i>	(N) father-in-law, guy/fellow, guy
̀̀- <i>phâ?-̀̀-ló</i>	(Elab) second helpings
̀̀- <i>phà?</i>	(N) leaf
̀̀- <i>phí-ó</i>	(N) complexion/color
̀̀- <i>phi</i>	(N) nest
̀̀- <i>phô?</i>	(N) pile
̀̀- <i>phô</i>	(N) husband, direction, area
̀̀- <i>phô-̀̀-mî</i>	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) husband and wife
̀̀- <i>phu-qā</i>	(N) cock
̀̀- <i>phû</i>	(N) price, value, stakes in a wager, money, monetary compensation, cost, wages
̀̀- <i>qá</i>	(N) branch
̀̀- <i>qá-pe</i>	(N) crotch of a tree
̀̀- <i>qō</i>	(N) hole
̀̀- <i>qo-ji</i>	(N) center, middle
̀̀- <i>qò?-̀̀-le</i>	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) all over, all around
̀̀- <i>qó-ji</i>	(N) center, middle
̀̀- <i>qô-lê</i>	(N) empty thing
̀̀- <i>qō-̀̀-lō</i>	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) sideways
̀̀- <i>qu-ni</i>	(N) sthg naked

ò-qhâ	(N) way/path, path
ò-qhâ-lón	(N) place with many animal tracks
ò-qhâ-ò-lí	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) customs and practices
ò-qhâ-ò-lo	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) ways and means
ò-qhâ-qhâ	(N) spots
ò-qhâ-šì	(N) one's trail, trail, footsteps, tracks, tracking
ò-qhè?	(N) ridge, foothold
ò-qhê	(N) excrement
ò-qhə	(N) tradition, way of life, materials
ò-qhô	1. (N) above, besides; 2. (N <sub>loc</sub> ) on top of, upon, on, up there
ò-qhô-mə	(N) mouth (of an opening)
ò-qhô?	1. (N) above, besides; 2. (N <sub>loc</sub> ) on top of, upon
ò-qhô? kà?	(NP <sub>loc</sub> ) besides that
ò-qhə	1. (N <sub>loc</sub> ) inside, within, amongst, in, into, inside/interior, amongst/amidst/within, to, through, inasmuch as, from inside; 2. (N <sub>time</sub> ) in, during, while, while/during; 3. (N) hole, in-nards, area; 4. (N <sub>lim</sub> ) with
ò-qhə lo	1. (NP <sub>time</sub> ) during; 2. (NP <sub>loc</sub> ) while, in, among
ò-qhò?-nó	1. (N <sub>time</sub> ) afterwards, after, in the future, later than/afterwards; 2. (N <sub>loc</sub> ) behind; 3. (N) back-side
ò-šá	(N) soot
ò-šā	(N) meat, flesh
ò-šā-dó	(N) muscle
ò-šə	(N) headman's portion of killed game
ò-šē-ma	(N) female body
ò-šē-phā	(N) owner, performer of an action
ò-šì	(N) grains, fruit, bullet
ò-šì-é	(N) buckshot
ò-šì-ò-nu	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) seeds and panicles
ò-šì-kwî	(N) dead plant
ò-ší	1. (N) new thing, another one, next one; 2. (Adv) at first
ò-ší tē pò? è	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) next time
ò-ší-a-ló	(Quasi-Elab) in the beginning
ò-šī	(N) blood
ò-šī-ò-šā	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) physical life, good health
ò-šī-ò-šā-phô	(Elab <sub>extd</sub> ) physical aspect, material aspect
ò-ta	(N) successors
ò-ta-ta-lwê?	(N) stripes
ò-tà?	(N) boundary line
ò-tà?-pê	(N) apprentice
ò-tè	(N) truth, in truth
ò-tè-ò-na	(Elab <sub>adv</sub> ) truly, really
ò-tè-tè	1. (AE) true; 2. (M <sub>prfx</sub> ) real one
ò-tê	(N) paddy-field dike
ò-ti	(N) place
ò-to	(N) body, self/oneself, form
ò-to-ò-khî	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) one's physical appearance
ò-tə	(Cl <sub>r</sub> ) for sections

̀-̀-̀	(N) plain
̀-̀-̀n	(N) plain
̀-̀-̀	(N) plain, flat place, bottom
̀-̀-̀hà?	(N <sub>loc</sub> ) surface, top part
̀-̀-̀hà?-pá	(N <sub>loc</sub> ) on top of
̀-̀-̀hà?-phô	(N) upper surface
̀-̀-̀u	(N) egg
̀-̀-̀u-phâ	(N) older brother
̀-̀-̀ú	1. (N) upper part; 2. (M <sub>px</sub> ) upstream
̀-̀-̀vê?	(N) flower
̀-̀-̀ví-ma	(N) elder sister
̀-̀-̀ví-ma-ló	(N) eldest sister
̀-̀-̀ví-ni	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) my brethren
̀-̀-̀ví-̀-̀ni	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) brethren, brothers and sisters, relatives, older and younger brothers, my brethren
̀-̀-̀ví-pā	(N) elder brother, eldest brother
̀-̀-̀yâ	(N) time, children, sons, son, child
̀-̀-̀yâ-é	(N) baby
̀-̀-̀yâ-mî	(N) daughter
̀-̀-̀yâ-mî-é	(N) youngest daughter
̀-̀-̀yâ-̀-̀dù	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) descendants
̀-̀-̀yâ-pā	(N) son, sons
̀-̀-̀yân	(N) time
̀-̀-̀yân thâ	(NP <sub>time</sub> ) while there's still time, in time, for a time
̀-̀-̀yê-é	(N) young of an animal
̀-̀-̀yè	(N) seedling
̀̀̀	(Interj) affirmative, I see, you see, well, okay, hmm
́	(V) bend off, bend something
́-bà	(V) trample
́-chê?-nó-chê?	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) bend and get knocked over
́-ló	(N <sub>time</sub> ) first
́-qā	(N) buffalo
́-qā-khɔ	(N) buffalo horn
́-qā-ma-pā	(N) female buffalo
́-qā-qhê	(N) buffalo dung
́-the	(V + V <sub>v</sub> ) break by bending
́n	(V) bend something, bend off
́	(Num) four
́ chi	(Num) forty
́ chi ́	(Num + Clf) forty-four
́ chi tê	(Num + Clf) forty-one
́ gâ te gâ	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) fourth person
́ gâ tê gâ	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) the fourth person
́-khá-nɔ	(N <sub>time</sub> ) after (YL)
́-sê-phâ	(N) owner
́-yâ	(N) time (YL)
́n	(Num) fourthly
́̀̀	(Interj) oh!, mm, uh-huh
́̀̀-́̀̀	(Interj) ah, me!
́̀̀bà	(N <sub>time</sub> ) October

ḡ	1. (P <sub>unf</sub> ) topic; 2. (P <sub>n</sub> ) locative, from, to; 3. (N) food, cooked rice, meal, cooked rice/food
ḡ-chî	(N) curry, food, food with rice
ḡ-kâ?	(N) cold rice
ḡ-khe	(P <sub>n</sub> ) topicalizer (YL)
ḡ-phu-mã	(N) fine white rice (YL)
ḡ-qhe	(P <sub>unf</sub> ) topicalizer
ḡ-qhe le	(P <sub>unf</sub> ) topicalizer
ḡ-ṣi	(P <sub>n</sub> ) locative
ḡ-ṣí	(N) new rice
ḡ-tú-chî?	(N) rice-ball
ḡ-thî?	(N) rice packet
pa	1. (V) trade, switch around, trade off, change; 2. (M <sub>px</sub> ) father
pa-dâ-qō	(N) snakehead murrel
pa-fá	(N) turtle (soft-shelled)
Pa-hô?	(N <sub>place</sub> ) village name
pa-kè-pa-câ?	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) sucker sp.
Pa-lón	(N <sub>place</sub> ) village name
pa-lû?	(N) catfish
Pa-mà?	(N <sub>place</sub> ) village name
pa-mô	(N) carp sp.
pa-mô-pa-kâ?	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) canned carp
pa-ná-tō	(N) edible black fish
Pa-ṣú	(N <sub>place</sub> ) village name
pa-tō	(P <sub>n</sub> ) because of, because
Pa-yé-ṣú	(N <sub>place</sub> ) village name
pa-yè	(N) eel
paj	1. (V) go (Thai); 2. (V <sub>v</sub> ) more than (Thai)
paj-tá?-na-pô?	(VP) go scoop up water (Thai)
pantây	(N) rabbit
patây	(N) rabbit
pá	1. (M <sub>px</sub> ) side, area, part, one of a pair; 2. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for sides, for aspects
pá-cè?	(N) locust
pá-nû	(N) dung beetle, dung beetle/scarab
pá-phô	(M <sub>px</sub> ) area
pá-thû	(N) dried salted fish
páp	(Onomat) sound of swatting a ball
pâ	(M <sub>px</sub> ) nearby place, nearby place/vicinity
pâ-cî?-mu	(N) beard
pâ-nê	1. (M <sub>px</sub> ) near; 2. (P <sub>v</sub> ) almost/nearly, nearly
pâ-nê è?	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) emaciated
pâj	(V) go (Shan)
Pà-ta-lâ-pô?	(N <sub>place</sub> ) place name (made up)
Pà-ta-nà-pô?	(N <sub>place</sub> ) place name (made up)
pā	1. (P <sub>v-nom</sub> ) agentive nominalizer; 2. (M <sub>px</sub> ) male
pā-chû-qô?	(N) spiny toad
pā-e	(V) fall over
Pā-é	(N) male name

pā-té-nê?	(N) frog
pālê?-yâ	(N) policeman
pāu	(V <sub>adj</sub> ) empty (Shan)
pāw	(N) coconut
pâ?	1. (P <sub>v</sub> ) lively emphasis; 2. (V) fall apart, collapse
pâ?-sô	(AE) trickling copiously
pà?	(V) copulate, screw (rough slang for 'go')
pà?-cí	(N) big hunk
pā	(N <sub>loc</sub> ) other side of (YL)
Petu	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) Peter
pé	(Adv <sub>onomat</sub> ) cry of barking deer
pe	(V <sub>adj</sub> ) plentiful, numerous
pé ê?	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) sticking up
pe-cí-kā	(N) parakeet (YL)
pe-chì?	(V) tie up with cloth
pè	(V) divide up, share, share/divide up, split up (as a village)
pè-cā	(V) share and give to eat
pè-lò?-thi-lò?	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) enough to divide up and enjoy
pè-pî-tân-pî	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) share with and offer
pè-ši	(B <sub>n</sub> ) sideways
pè-?	(V <sub>imp</sub> ) divide!
pè?	(Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for small coins, for trifling sums, for small Burmese coins
pè? ši? páj	(Num) more than eighty (Thai)
pè?-sā	(N) coins
pé-â?	(N <sub>sd</sub> ) over there (colloq.)
pê	1. (V <sub>adj</sub> ) enough; 2. (V) measure against each other; 3. (N) raft, bees, bee
pê-gì	(N) honey
pê-gù-li	(N) bumblebee's nest
pê-há	(N) honeycomb, bees in a honeycomb
pê-há-phô?	(N) beehive
pê-lù-pê-kî	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) wretched foul bee
pê-ma	(N) honeybee
pê-mâ-cê?	(N) tiny bee-like insect
pê-nó-dì	(N) honeycomb
pê-ši	(N) taro
pê-tú-khê-tú	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) kindle beeswax candles
pê-tú-pā	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) animist
pê-vê?-khê-vê?	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) beautiful beeswax candles and vessels
pē	(B <sub>v</sub> ) to death
pē-cí-qā	(N) parakeet
pē-pâ	(N) net bird-trap
pē-śá	(N) bank (of body of water)
pē	1. (V <sub>v</sub> ) finish V'ing (YL); 2. (V) finish (YL), discharge (gun, arrow)
pə	1. (V <sub>v</sub> ) send smn to V, send V'ing, set into vigorous motion; 2. (V) send, launch at, expel, send off, send away, fling away
pən	(V) differ, depend on

pè	1. (V <sub>v</sub> ) finish V'ing, V completely, V already, use up, exhaustively V, definitely V, use up/exhaust; 2. (V) finish, be completed, use up, spend, come to an end, pay, finish/be completed, spend (time), elapse, be exhausted, be all gone; 3. (B <sub>n</sub> ) after, after each other; 4. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for mouthfuls of words, for mouthfuls
pè la	(V + V <sub>v</sub> ) past
pè là	(V + V <sub>v</sub> ) have happened
pè-è	(Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for mouthfuls
pè-le	(Conj) thereupon, then/thereupon/thereafter, besides, thereafter, then
pè-lâ?	(N) plenty of
pè-ò	(V + P <sub>v</sub> ) it's all done
pè?-mā	(N) caterpillar
pê	(Conj) and (Shan)
pê-le	(Conj) in any case
pê?	(V) chop up fine
pē	1. (N) evening star, morning star; 2. (V) rule over (poetic)
pē-tâ?	(N) morning star
pê?	(Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for pieces of land, for slices
pè?	1. (V) give, split open, grant; 2. (V <sub>v</sub> ) allow to V
pi	(M <sub>prx</sub> ) grandmother
pí	(Adv <sub>onomat</sub> ) cry of barking deer
pí-bo-lo	(N) locust
pí-gô?-ní	(N) red ants, red ant (small, with mild sting)
pítalêi?	(N) gun of "Italian" type
pî	1. (V <sub>v</sub> ) benefactive (3p), causative, optative, allow to V; 2. (V) give, pay, pay for
Pî-chô	(Eth) Shan
Pî-chô mì-gì	(N) Shan State
Pî-chô-khô	(N) Shan language
Pî-chô-mû-mì	(N <sub>place</sub> ) Shan State
Pî-chô-yâ	(N) Shan people
pî-lò	(P <sub>v</sub> ) causative (formal)
pî-ô?	(P <sub>v</sub> ) optative, hortatory
pî-?	1. (V <sub>v</sub> ) benefactive (imperative), 3p benefaction (imperative); 2. (V <sub>imp</sub> ) give
pì	1. (V) roast on a spit, come loose; 2. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for roasts on a spit
pì-?	(V + P <sub>v</sub> ) spit-roast! (imp.)
pinyà	(N) education
pinyà-cû-yī	(N) education
pî?	(Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for basketsful, basketful
pì	(V) incline the head
pì-ca	(N) pair of (divine) chickens (animist)
pí	1. (V <sub>v</sub> ) able to V, prone to V, good at V'ing, V habitually; 2. (V) good at, able; 3. (N) insect, insects, evening (poetic)
pí-à	(V + P <sub>v</sub> ) warning marker, lest
pí-cá-qô	(N) helicopter

pí-dà?	(N) auspicious evening (poetic)
pí-ma	(N) fly (insect)
pí-ma-u	(N) fly eggs
pí-šǐ?-pí-nâ?	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) insects (in general)
pí-ve-phê?-ve qhe	(Cl <sub>ext</sub> ) best of one's ability
pī-kâ?	(N) comb
po	(M <sub>px</sub> ) sake
pò	1. (V) fly, elapse, overlook, get sthg over with, be saved; 2. (C <sub>r</sub> ) be saved from
pò la	(V + P <sub>v</sub> ) in the past
pò là thâ	(NP <sub>time</sub> ) recently
pò-mò?-pò-šê	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) go beyond what is appropriate
pò-ná	(N) bat (animal)
pòn	(V) save from, exceed, be safe, forgive/overlook
pòn-lá	(V) disobey
pòn-pòn	(Adv <sub>onomat</sub> ) bang! (gunshot)
pòthô	(Interj) for God's sake!, wow!, goodness me!, good grief!, gee!, my God!, hey!
Pōmū	(N <sub>place</sub> ) village name
pô?	1. (V) explode; 2. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for songs
pɔ	(V) give birth, born, be in labor, arise/come to be (poetic), give birth to
pɔ-kà-pā	(N) traders
pɔ-lè	(N) sir (Shan)
pɔ-ša	(V <sub>adj</sub> ) prosperous/well-off, prosperous
pɔ-ša-pā	(N) rich people
pɔ?	(P <sub>uf</sub> ) emphatic
pô	(P <sub>unf</sub> ) even
pô-yì dà?	(SV) spic-and-span
Pólù?	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) Paul
pôn	(V) mix
pô?	1. (V) jump; 2. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for times, for chances
pô?-nâ?	(V) jump on top of
pô?-phɔ	(V) flee by jumping, jump to safety
pô?-phû?	(V) turn and jump
pô?-tu	(V) jump to one's feet
pô?	(V) jump (YL)
pō	1. (V) go through, penetrate/go through; 2. (P <sub>unf</sub> ) emphatic topicalizer; 3. (P <sub>uf</sub> ) emphatic
pō-nê?	(M <sub>px</sub> ) a sticky mess
pu	1. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for shares, for portions; 2. (V) roll down/tumble down, roll down; 3. (M <sub>px</sub> ) bush
pu è	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) bulging
pu-lí-khō-lí	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) idiotic faces
pun	1. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for shares; 2. (M <sub>px</sub> ) sake
pú	(N) stomach (Shan)
pú-ğǔ?	(N) ant
pû	1. (V) carry on the back, bear (v.), owe, be carried on; 2. (vV) carry in order to V
pû kə	(V + V <sub>v</sub> ) carry and put into for storage
pû tâ?	(V + V <sub>v</sub> ) carry up

pû-cho	(N) sugarcane
pû-cho-cè	(N) sugarcane plant
pû-nây-ló	(N) forefathers, forefathers/ancestors
pû-šē-phā	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) carrier
pù-dì	(N) fleshy part of thigh
pù-lú-qā	(N) butterfly
Pù-pî	(N <sub>place</sub> ) river name
Pù-pɔ	(N <sub>place</sub> ) place name
pù-te-qu	(N) thighs/lap
pū	1. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for paddy-mounds, for river banks; 2. (V) cause to carry, squirt, smear onto, pour onto; 3. (N) riverbank, policeman (Shan)
pū-cō	(N) sexton
pū-cōn	(N) sexton
pū-kē	(N) headman (Shan)
pū-mōn	(N) senior headman (4th rank) (Shan)
Pū-phā	1. (N <sub>prop</sub> ) gatekeeper of the land of the dead; 2. (N <sub>pers</sub> ) gatekeeper of the shore of heaven
pū-phā-ša-phā	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) gatekeeper at the shore of heaven
pū-šé	(N) senior headman (3rd rank) (Shan)
pwê	(N) celebration, celebration/festival
pwê-ha-lè	(N) happy festival, Christmas
pwê?	(Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for songs
pyò	(V <sub>adj</sub> ) carefree
pyō	(V <sub>adj</sub> ) pleasant, carefree
pha-dɔ	(N) bolt of cloth/roll of cloth, bolt of cloth
phá	(V) hide sthg
phá-cè?	(N) handkerchief, towel
Phá-dé	(N <sub>place</sub> ) rocky area near Huay Tat
Phá-pù-cón	(N <sub>place</sub> ) village name
phā	(N) buddy, fellow, guy
phā-kā-ne-kā	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) husbands and wives (poetic)
phā-kū-ma-kū	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) game-sharing customs of the men and women
phā-lí-ma-lí	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) men's and women's customs
phā-qā	(N) space between the legs
phān	(Cl <sub>f</sub> ) thousand (Thai)
phây-khì?	(N) match (to strike fire)
phà-kā	(N) mosquito net, cloth partition
phà-pá	(N) big axe (Thai)
phālō	(Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for furlongs
phā	(V) create, command (as a deity)
Phālīšê	(N <sub>prop</sub> ) Pharisee
phān	(V) create
phān te	(V + V <sub>v</sub> ) create for future use
phā?	1. (V) separate, butcher (carcass), split up, separate/come apart; 2. (M <sub>prfx</sub> ) odd, more than; 3. (N) curry (Shan)
phā? tō?	(V + V <sub>v</sub> ) take apart
phā?-dà?-gî-dà?	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) break up, break off a relationship, become estranged
phā?-dà?-pè-dà?	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) split up



phâʔ-phôʔ	(V) cut up and pile together
phâʔ-tôʔ	(V) butcher (a carcass)
phàʔ	1. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for certain flat objects; 2. (M <sub>px</sub> ) leaf
phàʔ-tà-phàʔ-mē	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) leaves (RL)
phàʔ-tō-mô	(N) old Buddhist monk
phàʔ-tū-ló	(N) senior monk
phàʔ-tū-mô	(N) old Buddhist monk, monk (old, Buddhist)
phe	1. (V) tie, arrest; 2. (V <sub>adj</sub> ) spicy, hot (food)
phe-chî	(V) hang up by ropes
phe-chîʔ	(V) tie up firmly
phe-hú	(V) hang up to dry
phe-ka	(V) establish/ordain/organize
phe-kôʔ	(V) tie together
phe-qō	(N) basket for storing paddy (huge)
phe-te	(V) tether (animal)
phe-tī	(V) tether
phe-tú	(V) tie to and set alight
phêʔ	1. (V <sub>v</sub> ) able to, be a certain way, permitted to; 2. (V) be a certain way, able to, be sthg, become, be possible, be, exist, be (a certain way)/be sthg, be as it should, come to pass, happen, be acceptable
phêʔ la	1. (V + P <sub>v</sub> ) become, come to pass, become/get to be; 2. (V + V <sub>v</sub> ) survive
phêʔ tōʔ	(V + V <sub>v</sub> ) arise from
phêʔ-dàʔ	(V <sub>adj</sub> ) useful, fertile
phêʔ-phêʔ	(V <sub>redup</sub> ) still be able
phêʔ-qhwê	(N) edible fern sp.
phê	1. (V <sub>v</sub> ) launch violent action, launch vigorous action; 2. (V) forgive, set free, release, let loose, take one's leave, break up (as a meeting), set upon violently, release (as a net), launch, fire off (weapon), catch with a bell-net, cast (as a net), bring forth
phê ce	(V + V <sub>v</sub> ) let fall
phê-pə	(V) send off to do, let go
phē	(V) take off (as trousers) (YL)
phəʔ	(V) unwrap, get dark
phô	(V) fan to cool off, fan (as a fire)
phôn kàʔ	(Adv <sub>onomat</sub> ) right smack
phəʔ	(V) pick, catch a fever
phəʔ-má-šī	(N) pumpkin
phēʔ	(V) pick (as fruit or vegetable) (YL)
phēʔ-dô	(V) thrash around
phèʔ	(V) expel liquid from mouth
phèʔ-pū	(V) spray onto
phi	(V) splash around
phí-tan-ŋwe	(N) monster with one eye (in jungle)
Phîlîpîʔ	(N <sub>prop</sub> ) Epistle to the Philippians
phì êʔ	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) misshapen
phì-êʔ-ğí-êʔ	(Elab <sub>adv</sub> ) sleek and shiny

phì-ê?-lê?-ê?	(Elab <sub>adv</sub> ) flat and smooth/sleek, flat and smooth
phĩ?	1. (V <sub>v</sub> ) offend by V'ing; 2. (V) be guilty
phĩ	(N) dog (YL)
phĩ	1. (M <sub>prfx</sub> ) nest; 2. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for nests; 3. (V) un-tie/unfasten, make a nest
phĩ ê	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) gray, forlorn, cloudy
phĩ-phĩ	(V <sub>redup</sub> ) very gray
phĩ	1. (N) dog, dogs; 2. (V) decay
phĩ-ğũ-lũ	(N) rabid dog
phĩ-há-le	(N) cow-sage
phĩ-qhê-là?-nɔ	(N) forefinger
phĩ-še	(N) flea
phô?	1. (V) pile up, gather together, get together, collect for use; 2. (vV) join forces to do, do in a group, do all together, do one after the other; 3. (M <sub>prfx</sub> ) heap; 4. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for piles
phô?-ló	(N) big pile
phô?	(V) swell up
phô?-tu	(N) pith-root shoot
phɔ	(V) run away, flee, escape, open up, turn on (light, radio, machine), flee/escape, open, open/open up
phɔ-qò?	(V) flee home
phɔ-qò?	(V) run away
phɔ-và?	(V) run and hide
phɔ-?	(V <sub>imp</sub> ) flee!
phò	(V) meet
phòn	(V) meet
phò	1. (M <sub>prfx</sub> ) direction, side, aspect, way, general area/dimension; 2. (V) hack away undergrowth, clear land, weed; 3. (N) side, alternative; 4. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for sides, for directions, for aspects of a situation
phò-pē	(V) get rid of by slashing
phò-phò	(V <sub>redup</sub> ) hack undergrowth repeatedly, clear land
phu	1. (N) money, silver, wealth; 2. (V) turn white, white; 3. (M <sub>prfx</sub> ) white
phu ca	(OV) earn money
phu pè	(OV) spend money
phu tân	(OV) offer money
phu-go	(N) silver ladder
phu-jĩ	(N) silver jewelry
phu-pĩ	(N) silver coins
phu-ši	(N) money, silver and gold, wealth, wealth/silver and gold, cash money
phu-ši-mô-jè	(Quasi-Elab) wealth and goods, money and property
phu-ta-qō	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) offering box
phu-tân	(N) money offering
phu-tân-kə-kì	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) offering box

phu-tân-kì	(N <sub>div</sub> ) offering box
phú è	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) white
phú-è?-yò-è?	(Elab <sub>adv</sub> ) sparkling white
phû	1. (M <sub>prfx</sub> ) cost, price, value; 2. (V) meet, bloated (as with intestinal gas), float; 3. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for bee's nests
phû-mê?	(N) face (jocular)
phûdê-hó	(N) perfumed powder
phû?	(V) reverse, reverse direction, turn around, turn inside out, look for, twist around, turn away, turn around/twist
phû?-pu	(V) roll over
phû?-qhò?	(V) turn around and come back
phû?-t̄	(V) turned to face sthg
phwê	(Interj) phooey!
qa	(V) sing
qa-ā-ay	(V) go
qa-chè?	(V) bite violently
qa-jê	(V) speak in song (poetic)
qa-mì	1. (V) sing; 2. (N) song (poetic), singing
qa-mì-khō	(N) song, song/chant/hymn, hymn
qay	1. (V) go, go a certain way, leave a place, continue, turn out, move, walk, go through, go at; 2. (V <sub>v</sub> ) continue V'ing, end up V'ing, go off to V, V away, V along, go and V, become more and more V, V away from
qay-qay	(V <sub>redup</sub> ) going and going
qay-?	(V <sub>imp</sub> ) go!, go off and do!
qá	1. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for branches; 2. (V) branch out, blocked/stuck, be stuck, be still connected; 3. (M <sub>prfx</sub> ) branch
qá-chû-cè	(N) coral tree
qá-lè?	(N) branch
qá-ši	(V) choke to death/suffocate
qáw-qáw	(Onomat) woof-woof! (big dog barking)
qáy	1. (Onomat) woof!/arf! (small dog); 2. (Interj) woof!
qâ-cà?	(Interj) serves you right!
qā	1. (V) dig (esp. with mattock); 2. (N) dance (traditional)
qā è?	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) drooping
qā-lè?	(N) saddleback, high plateau
qā-ni	(N) huge tree sp.
qā-ni-ši?	(N) tree sp. (very large; used in ship building)
qā-pâ?	(V) undermine by digging
qā-qhê?	1. (V) dance; 2. (N) dancing
Qā-thû-yì	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name (with teasing prefix)
qāw	(V) tell, tell/narrate/recite
qāw-dà?-qhay-dà?	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) tell and recount
qâ?	(V) graze (of cattle, sheep)
qê	1. (V) set (of a heavenly body); 2. (V <sub>adj</sub> ) wide

qè?-qè?-lè-lè	(AE) all red and raw
qé	(V) fish out, pick out of
qé è?	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) strange
qé-ni	(V) look over carefully
qê?	(V) take off (clothing)
qo	(P <sub>unf</sub> ) if, when, topic, even if
qo-kà?	(P <sub>unf</sub> ) even if
qo-qò?	(P <sub>uf</sub> ) emphatic topic
qó-qó	(Adv <sub>onomat</sub> ) thump! thump!
qô	(V) pass sthg upwards
qô-thà?	(P <sub>n</sub> ) accusative (RL)
qò	1. (V) defecate, send; 2. (V <sub>v</sub> ) V away, V back
qō	(V) gaping (of a hole), cover (RL)
qô?	(V) say, call, mean, speak, tell, discuss, talk, call/name as, mean/have a meaning
qô? dà?	1. (V + P <sub>v</sub> ) quarrel; 2. (V + V <sub>v</sub> ) speak to one another
qô? gâ	(V + P <sub>v</sub> ) mean
qô? gî	(V + V <sub>v</sub> ) talk aimlessly, tease
qô? mā	(V + V <sub>v</sub> ) explain
qô? pî-?	(V + V <sub>v</sub> ) tell (imperative to 3rd person)
qô? qo	(P <sub>unf</sub> ) topicalizer, topicalizer/as for, if, as for, so-called
qô? ve tê cā	(RC) those who are called
qô?-a	(P <sub>uf</sub> ) emphatic
qô?-dà?-yɔ-dà?	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) arguing and squabbling
qô?-è?	(P <sub>uf</sub> ) emphatic
qô?-ê?	(P <sub>uf</sub> ) emphatic
qô?-kù	(V) call out loudly
qô?-khô	(N) words of advice/what one says, words of advice
qô?-lè?	(P <sub>uf</sub> ) emphatic
qô?-ma	(P <sub>uf</sub> ) emphatic
qô?-na	(V) ask
qô?-ɔ	(P <sub>uf</sub> ) emphatic
qô?-ɔ̄	(P <sub>uf</sub> ) emphatic
qô?-pî-a	(P <sub>uf</sub> ) emphatic
qô?-pî-?	1. (V + V <sub>v</sub> ) tell (imperative to 3rd person); 2. (P <sub>uf</sub> ) emphatic
qô?-qo	(P <sub>unf</sub> ) topicalizer, topicalizer/as for
qô?-qo-pò?	(P <sub>unf</sub> ) topicalizer (lively)
qô?-qô?	(V <sub>redup</sub> ) keep saying
qô?-qwe	(P <sub>unf</sub> ) topicalizer
qô?-qha	(P <sub>uf</sub> ) emphatic
qô?-qha-pâ?	(P <sub>uf</sub> ) emphatic
qô?-và	(P <sub>uf</sub> ) emphatic
qô?-ve	1. (P <sub>uf</sub> ) it is said; 2. (P <sub>n</sub> ) topicalizer, the so-called
qô?-ve-ɔ̄	(P <sub>uf</sub> ) emphatic
qô?-yà?-yɔ-yà?	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) complain about
qô?-yò-a	(P <sub>uf</sub> ) emphatic
qô?-yò-è?	(P <sub>uf</sub> ) emphatic

qò?	(V) go home, return home, go home/return home
qɔ-jɔ	(N) throne
Qò-né	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name
Qò-ŋó	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name
qò?	1. (vV) V again, go on to V, V also, keep on V'ing, V in turn, V back, V back (to starting point), V finally, still V, V instead, V in addition, V for a change, still V a certain way, V in return, V in reprisal, V further, V after doing sthg else; 2. (V) return, come back, crooked, come back/go back; 3. (Conj) then, on the other hand, on the one hand, also; 4. (V <sub>adj</sub> ) dishonest, circuitous, bent; 5. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for bends
qò? è	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) crooked
qò? è?	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) curled up, crooked, coiled up, bent
qò? lè?	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) stooping down
qò?-phû?-qò?-hâ?	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) turn around hastily
qó-ló	(N <sub>time</sub> ) first
qô	1. (V) cultivate, hoe up, till the soil, prepare land for building, hoe away, cultivate/till the land; 2. (Num) nine
qô chi qô	(Num) ninety-nine
qô mà	(Q) number nine
qô-co-qô-vā	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) for all eternity
qô-gâ?	(V) loosen earth with a hoe
qô-qô	(V <sub>redup</sub> ) preparing land
qô	(N) neck
qô-cí	(N) neck joint
qô-gô	(N) whole neck (front and back)
qô-pē	(N) neck
qú	(V) wind around, touch lightly
qú-lu-qwè?	(N) barbed goad
qha	1. (Adv) all, completely, very; 2. (P <sub>v</sub> ) vivid action, violent action
qha bí	(AE) all full, completely, plenty, abundantly
qha bí è?	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) chock-full
qha bí-bí	(AE) fully
qha bú? è	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) to satiety
qha bú?-bú?	(AE) to utter satiety
qha cō è	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) just right
qha cō-cō	(AE) quite well, fairly
qha chê?	(AE) until it breaks
qha gà è	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) until one gets there
qha ga è	(AE) as far as
qha hê-hê	(AE) as strongly as possible
qha hō è	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) perfectly fitted together
qha jê	(AE) with all one's might
qha kâ è	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) so that one hears
qha le	(AE) up to, to the end
qha nê?	(AE) until it's all wet
qha ni	(AE) until it's figured out

qha šū	(AE) in the same way, the same, equally
qha šū è	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) fairly
qha šū-šū	(AE) just like, in just the same way
qha šwí	(AE) in the same way, the same, equally
qha-bî-qha-šê?	(Elab <sub>adv</sub> ) full to overflowing
qha-cî	(N) fireplace
qha-cî-cô?	(N) fireplace props
qha-cî-pè	(N) fireplace
qha-cî-tê-ki	(N) area below fireplace
qha-cî-tê-na	(N) area above fireplace
qha-cû-qha-yō	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) all who trust and believe
qha-cwê	(AE) rather
qha-dê?	(AE) properly, carefully, properly/in the right way, in the right way, nicely, fine and dandy, really, clearly
qha-dê? qô? qo	(Cl <sub>nf</sub> ) in fact
qha-dê?-dê?	(AE) in exactly the right way, properly, very well, exactly, really, perfectly
qha-gà	1. (N <sub>time</sub> ) until, as far as; 2. (N <sub>ext</sub> ) up to (a place)
qha-lâ	(P <sub>v</sub> ) lively action
qha-le-5	(P <sub>v</sub> ) lively suspensive
qha-pá	(P <sub>v</sub> ) intensifying particle
qha-pâ?	(P <sub>v</sub> ) intensifying particle, with a loud sound
qha-pâ?-a	(P <sub>v</sub> ) intensifying particle
qha-pè	(AE) everything, all
qha-pè-è	1. (AE) all, everybody, everything, all/everything, all together, completely, in all; 2. (N <sub>ext</sub> ) everything
qha-pè-è-pè-è	(AE) everything, everybody, all/everything, all
qha-pè-pè-è	(AE) everything, completely, all/everything
qha-pî	(P <sub>v</sub> ) vivid or violent action
qha-šū	(AE) the same
qha-?	(P <sub>v</sub> + P <sub>v</sub> ) vivid action (imperative), lively/violent action (imperative), lively action (imperative)
qhay	(V) tell a story
qhá-jū	(N) basket
qhá-jū-lu	(N) basket with headstrap, carrying basket
qhá-pū	(N) basket
qhá-pū-lu	(N) basket, deep carrying-basket with head-strap
qhá-pū-qhá-lu	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) baskets
qháy	(V) revile
qhâ	1. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for ways, for directions, for points at issue; 2. (N) way of thinking, way, path; 3. (V <sub>adj</sub> ) skillful, hardworking; 4. (M <sub>px</sub> ) spot where; 5. (V) cry out
qhâ-šî	(M <sub>px</sub> ) along, trail, following a path, tracks/trail, following, example
qhà	1. (N <sub>intg</sub> ) whichever, what kind of?; 2. (Interj) syllable used to attract the spirits
qhà-gâ-chi-gâ	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) every last person

qhà-lo	(N <sub>intg</sub> ) where?
qhà-ma	1. (N <sub>intg</sub> ) how much?; 2. (N <sub>ext</sub> ) however much, so very much, how many?, (not) very much; 3. (AE) so much, no matter how, how very much!
qhà-ma qhà-ma	(AE <sub>ext</sub> ) as many as there are
qhà-ma-ma	(AE <sub>ext</sub> ) very much, very much/a lot
qhà-ma-ô-ma	(Elab <sub>adv</sub> ) (not) so much
qhà-mə	(AE) for a long time
qhà-mə-mə	1. (N <sub>intg</sub> ) how long?; 2. (AE) for a long time
qhà-mu-chi-mu	(Elab <sub>adv</sub> ) as high as possible
qhà-nî	(Num) how many?, so many, however many
qhà-pé	(Interj) where is it?
qhà-qhe	1. (N <sub>intg</sub> ) how?, what kind?, whatever, where?, what kind of ?, no matter how; 2. (Adv) however, somehow
qhà-qhe cɛ	(NP <sub>ext</sub> ) as much as possible
qhà-qhe cɛ-cɛ	(AE) how very much
qhà-qhe kà?	(AE) in any way
qhà-qhe phè? thô	(Cl <sub>nf</sub> ) in any case
qhà-qhe te	(Cl <sub>nf</sub> ) how, somehow or other, however
qhà-qhe te kà?	(Cl <sub>nf</sub> ) whatever one does
qhà-qhe te lɛ	(Cl <sub>nf</sub> ) how, how come?, somehow or other
qhà-qhe te qo	(Cl <sub>nf</sub> ) in any case
qhà-qhe te thô	(Cl <sub>nf</sub> ) in any case, anyway
qhà-qhe ve	(N <sub>poss</sub> + ve) what kind of?
qhà-qhe ve kà?	(N <sub>poss</sub> + ve) however
qhà-šî	(N <sub>intg</sub> ) how big an area?
qhà-šî-šî	(AE) for a long time
qhà-to-chi-to	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) everybody
qhà-thâ?	(N <sub>intg</sub> ) when?
qhà-thâ? tê ni	1. (NP <sub>q</sub> ) someday; 2. (NP <sub>intg</sub> ) on what day?
qhà-thâ? tê yân	1. (NP <sub>q</sub> ) at any time; 2. (NP <sub>intg</sub> ) when?
qhà-thâ?-kà?	(AE) always, for a very long time
qhàn-kà?	(Adv <sub>onomat</sub> ) with a splash
qhâ?	1. (N) village; 2. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for villages; 3. (V <sub>adj</sub> ) priceless, expensive
qhâ?-cá-mô	(N) jujube
qhâ?-cá-šî	(N) wild gooseberry
qhâ?-cí?-lò-cí?	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) village site
qhâ?-chə	(N) villager
qhâ?-jâ	(N) village outskirts
qhâ?-lɛ	(N) assistant headman
qhâ?-phû	(N) village fine
qhâ?-qô?-qhâ?-lɛ	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) the whole village
qhâ?-qó-ji	(N) middle of a village
qhâ?-qhə	(N) village (as a unity)
qhâ?-šɛ	(N) headman, headmen
qhâ?-šɛ-ma	(N) headman's wife
qhâ?-šɛ-pâ	(N) headman
qhâ?-yâ	(N) villager
qhâ?-yâ-lò-yâ	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) villagers

qhà?-jâ-qhâ?-ji	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) perimeter of village
qhe	1. (N <sub>ext</sub> ) like, about, topicalizer, like/such a, such a(n), such things, such, approximately; 2. (Adv) like this, thus, just like that, this way; 3. (Conj) so, so/thus, then; 4. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for short whiles, for strokes, for gunshots
qhe lè	(AE) like that
qhe pa-tɔ	(Conj) for this reason
qhe qo lè	(Conj) in that case
qhe te ve 5	(Cl <sub>nf</sub> ) so then
qhe tɔ-tɔ	(N <sub>ext</sub> ) something like that, to that extent
qhe thô kâ?	(Conj) however
qhe-cà-cà	(AE) so much, anything
qhe-cɛ	1. (AE) only, only/just/just like this, just, that's all, so very, only this much, as much as, about/approximately/more or less, about; 2. (N <sub>ext</sub> ) as much as
qhe-cɛ ve yò	(NP <sub>ext</sub> ) it's just like that
qhe-cɛ yò	1. (NP <sub>ext</sub> ) it's just like that; 2. (N <sub>ext</sub> ) it doesn't matter
qhe-cɛ yò-è?	1. (NP <sub>ext</sub> ) that's all; 2. (N <sub>ext</sub> ) it doesn't matter
qhe-cɛ-cɛ	(AE) so very, to the extent that, so very many
qhe-cɔ-cɔ	(AE) to this extent
qhe-kâ?	1. (Conj) but, even so, but/however, so; 2. (AE) like this
qhe-lɛ	(P <sub>unf</sub> ) topic
qhe-lɛ-5	(Conj) then/after that
qhe-lê	1. (N <sub>ext</sub> ) like, simply, arbitrarily; 2. (Adv) on the spot, in vain, idly, for no reason
qhe-ma-ma	(N <sub>ext</sub> ) about as much, a good number of
qhe-5	(Conj) in that case, topicalizer, so then
qhe-qo	1. (Conj) so, then, well then, if so, so/then/if so, if that's the way it is, so then, well, even so, that is to say, in that case; 2. (P <sub>unf</sub> ) if, if only, since it is the case that, when, even if, because
qhe-te	(Conj) well then, so, right then, thereupon, then
qhe-te-lɛ	(Conj) so, then, so then, after that, well then, thereupon, thereupon/then/after that, meanwhile
qhe-te-qo	(Conj) in that case, so, well then, then
qhe-te-qo è	(Conj) even after this
qhe-tí	1. (AE) just like this; 2. (Conj) just
qhe-tɔ-tɔ	1. (N <sub>ext</sub> ) to that extent; 2. (NP <sub>ext</sub> ) like this/to this extent
qhe-thâ	(N <sub>time</sub> ) such a time
qhe-thô	(Conj) however
qhe	1. (P <sub>v</sub> ) to excess, all the time; 2. (V <sub>adj</sub> ) be harmful
qhè?	1. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for tiers of thatch; 2. (V) strip off, chip off
qhê	1. (N) feces; 2. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for farts



qhê hō?	(SV) have diarrhea
qhê ò	(OV) defecate
qhê qò	(OV) defecate
qhê tē?	(N <sub>spec</sub> + V) fart
qhê-mâ	(N) turd
qhê-qò-yè	(N) latrine
qhê-qhɔ	(N) anus, buttocks, tail (of an airplane), rear end, back part
qhê-qhɔ cê è	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) head over heels
qhê-qhɔ cê è?	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) head over heels
qhê-tû	(N) tail (of a plane), anus
qhən	(Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for halves, for instruments/tools
qhê?	(V) dance
qho	(V) draw water
qho-dò	(V) scoop out to drink
qhô	1. (N <sub>loc</sub> ) above, up there, on top of, on, upon, above/up there, throughout, more than, in return for; 2. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for arm-lengths; 3. (M <sub>px</sub> ) superior to
qhô?	1. (N <sub>loc</sub> ) on top of, upon, up there, more than, above, throughout, on; 2. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for foldable objects; 3. (M <sub>px</sub> ) over
qhò?	(Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for fields
qhɔ	1. (M <sub>px</sub> ) in, inside, into, within, inside/interior, from inside; 2. (N) mountain, hill; 3. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for mountains, for certain hollow objects
qhɔ lo	(N + P <sub>n</sub> ) in this connection
qhɔ-bà	(N) other side of a mountain
qhɔ-cu	(N) peak
qhɔ-cu-ni	(N) hill, peak
qhɔ-cû-kû-cû	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) precipitous cliffs
qhɔ-chi-qhɔ-ma	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) all these mountains
qhɔ-gô-lô	(N) mountain ridge
qhɔ-ji	(N) hilltop
qhɔ-kā-lò-kā	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) among the hills and streams
qhɔ-ke-le	(N) mountain without vegetation
qhɔ-mê?-šī	(N) sticky white berry
qhɔ-mē	(N) foothill
qhɔ-mô	(N) foothill
qhɔ-nê	(N) hill spirit
qhɔ-phô	(N <sub>loc</sub> ) in the mountains/hills
qhɔ-phô-lò-phô	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) in the mountains and the valleys
qhɔ-qhô	(N) in the mountains, the mountains/the hills
qhɔ-qhô-lò-qhô	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) the mountains/the hills, the mountains
qhɔ-qhô-lò-qhô-yâ	(Elab <sub>extd</sub> ) hill-folk
qhɔ-qhô-yâ	(N) hill-folk
qhɔ-qhô?	(N) in the mountains
qhɔ-qhô?-lò-qhô?	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) in the mountains, the mountains, mountains and valleys
qhɔ-qhô?-lò-qhô?-yâ	(Elab <sub>extd</sub> ) hill-folk
qhɔ-qhô?-yâ	(N) hill-folk

qhɔ-ú	(N) mountain top
qhò	1. (N <sub>intg</sub> ) where?, which?, wherever, whichever; 2. (N <sub>loc</sub> ) there
qhò kà?	(NP <sub>intg</sub> ) where?, wherever
qhò kà? qhò kà?	(NP <sub>intg</sub> ) wherever
qhò ma è	(NP <sub>ext</sub> ) as much as
qhò ve	(N <sub>poss</sub> + ve) which?
qhò-ğâ-chi-ğâ	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) every last person
qhò-lo kà?	(NP <sub>loc</sub> ) everywhere
qhò-lî	1. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) basketful; 2. (N) basket
qhò-nî	(Num) how many?
qhò-pé	(Interj) where is it?
qhò-phô	(N <sub>intg</sub> ) whereabouts
qhò-qhe	(N <sub>intg</sub> ) where?, how?, which?, no matter how, wherever, however, whichever, whatever
qhò-qhe kà?	(NP <sub>intg</sub> ) wherever
qhò-qhe te	(Cl <sub>inf</sub> ) how, however
qhò-qhe thô	(NP <sub>intg</sub> ) anyway
qhò-qhe-qhà-qhe	(N <sub>intg</sub> ) what kind?
qhò-thâ?-kà?	(AE) always
qhò-thô	(N) either party, both parties (RL)
qhò?	1. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for years; 2. (V) answer, get back, take back, give back; 3. (V <sub>v</sub> ) V back, do back; 4. (N) New Year's, year
qhò? câ	(OV) celebrate New Year's
qhò? chê	(N <sub>spec</sub> + V) take time off for New Year's
qhò?-lá	(N) ashes
qhò?-nó	1. (M <sub>px</sub> ) after, afterwards, from now on, after/next, the last one, later on, behind; 2. (N <sub>loc</sub> ) back (to starting point)
qhò?-nó è	(NP <sub>time</sub> ) afterwards
qhò?-nó qo	(NP <sub>time</sub> ) afterwards, in the future
qhò?-nó-pá	(N) backwards
qhò?-pè?	(V) give back (an object)
qhò?-qhɔ	(N) throat
qhò?-sí	(N) New Year's
qhò?-sí-ni	(N) New Year's day
qhò	1. (V) steal, spread with, spread out; 2. (vV) V secretly, V sneakily; 3. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for long objects
qhò hò?	(vV + V <sub>h</sub> ) get by stealing
qhò yù	(vV + V <sub>h</sub> ) get by stealing
qhò-pā	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) thief
qhò-pi	(N) ridgepole
qhò-ši	(V) steal and make off with
qhò?	(V) cover one's head
qhu	(Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for pipefuls
re	(N) re (music)
Sá-ci-è	(N <sub>place</sub> ) Shajieh (Chinese village)
sɔ	(N) sol (music)

ša	1. (V <sub>v</sub> ) easy to V/pleasant to V, easy to V, pleasant to V; 2. (V <sub>adj</sub> ) easy, pleasant, contented, easy/pleasant/fun; 3. (V) complain about
ša kî	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) good points
ša tú	(OV) burn incense in worship
ša-dà?	(V) happy
ša-gû	(N) midday
ša-gû-5	(N) midday meal
ša-ma	(N) maize, corn/maize
ša-ma-mì	(N) cornfield
ša-ma-qú	(N) corn husk
ša-phà?	(B <sub>n</sub> ) all kinds of
šaháy	(N) friend (Shan), buddy (Shan), pal, friend/buddy/pal (Shan)
Šaphila	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) Sapphira
šaphô	(N) desire, wish, willingness
šatâ	(N) money
šatân	1. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) satang (Thai coin); 2. (N) money
šatî?	(N) warning
šathê	(N) rich man, Big Boss
šathê-ló	(N) big boss
šathê-lón	(N) big boss
šá	1. (V) pick (as fruit), pluck/pick (as fruit), break off a piece; 2. (Pron) anything (Shan); 3. (N) breath
šá è	1. (NP <sub>intg</sub> ) what? (Shan), what kind of? (Shan); 2. (AE <sub>stat</sub> ) noisily but indistinctly, making noise
šá è?	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) copiously (intensifying)
šá mì	(OV) imbibe the essence
šá-dî?-šá-dî?	(AE) noisily but indistinctly
šá-è-dî?-è	(Elab <sub>adv</sub> ) noisily
šá-hò?	(N) idols
šá-hò?-šá-ná	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) spirits (animist)
šá-khî?	(N) oath, testimony
šá-khî? khān	(OV) take an oath
šá-lâ-yè	(N) cotton storage building
šá-qhâ?	(N) huge basin
Šá-to-dō	(N <sub>place</sub> ) village name
šán	(Pron) anything (Shan)
šán-phò?	(N) kind of firearm (?)
šáná	(N) government office
šáná-yè	(N) official building
šáw	(Num) twenty (Shan)
šān	(Num) three (Thai)
šā	1. (P <sub>v</sub> ) intentional (1p), hortatory (1p), first; 2. (N) animals, meat, animal, animal/game animal, game animal, flesh
šā-bô?-kî	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) hunting place
šā-bô?-pā	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) hunter, hunters
šā-gî	(N) animal-skin
šā-gà?-pā	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) game-drivers, hunter
šā-khî	(N) animal tracks

šā-mó	(N) expert hunter
šā-mû-šā-ca-gà?	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) go hunting or something
šā-nū-šā-qá	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) children and siblings' children (RL)
šā-pe-ŋâ-pe	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) have plenty of game and fish
šā-pê?	(N) hunk of meat
šā-pun	(N) portion of meat
šā-qō	(N) headman's portion of killed game
šā-qhâ	(N) animal tracks/trail, animal tracks
šā-še	(N) special portion of large killed game
šā-va	(N) animal trap
šālā	(N) pastor, teacher
šālā-ma	(N) tutoress
šālà?	(N) pastor
šālà?-gōn	(N) doctor
Šātān	(N <sub>prop</sub> ) Satan
šāy	(V) pay compensation
šá?	(V) lose tenderness (of tea-plant), roughen
šà?	(V) prepare for use (as a muzzle-loading gun)
še	(N) louse, lice
šé	(V) pay compensation
še	1. (V) lead, drag along; 2. (Num) three
šé-lây	(V) treasure sthg, fear to lose sthg, covet, begrudge
še-qò?	(V) lead back home
Šê-khà	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name
Šê-khàw	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name
šê-ši	(N) sand
šê?	(Num) three, thirdly
šê? chi	(Q) thirty
šê? chi hí	(Num) thirty-eight
šê? chi ŋâ	(Num) thirty-five
šê? gâ	(Q) three people
šê? gâ tê gâ	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) the third person
šê? kâ tê kâ	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) third place
šê? khán	(Q) thirty (esp. money)
šê? ló tê ló	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) the third opinion, the third matter
šē	1. (Num) three; 2. (V) smear onto, smear/spread onto
šē-ni	(N <sub>time</sub> ) Wednesday
šē-phâ	1. (P <sub>v-nom</sub> ) agentive nominalizer, one who V's; 2. (M <sub>pfx</sub> ) owner
šēn	(N) symbol
šē	1. (P <sub>v</sub> ) yet, regrettably, still, first, right away, anticipated action, right away/on the spot; 2. (V) unpleasantly
šē-ṽ	(P <sub>v</sub> ) still, already
šê?	(V) scatter about
ši	1. (V) turn yellow, carry in the hand, stick into, remove inedible parts, be fit into; 2. (N) gold
ši-co	(N) golden life (RL)
ši-go	(N) golden ladder
ši-jî	(N) gold jewelry

śí	1. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for weeks; 2. (B <sub>n</sub> ) yellow; 3. (N <sub>time</sub> ) week, Sunday (X'n); 4. (M <sub>px</sub> ) boon, advantage (animist); 5. (V) thirsty
śí è	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) yellow
śí è?	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) yellow
śí pè ní ni	(NP <sub>time</sub> ) Tuesday
śí-ğè?	(N) charcoal
śí-ğwé	(N) church conference
śí-ni	(N) Sunday
śí-pè	(N <sub>time</sub> ) weekend
śí-pè-ní-ni	(N <sub>time</sub> ) Tuesday
śí-pè-šē-ni	(N <sub>time</sub> ) Wednesday
śí-pè-tê-ni	(N <sub>time</sub> ) Monday
śí-phu-tàw	(N) gray-haired venerables
śí-yòn	(N) hospital
śíkalè?	(N) cigarette
Śímōn	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name
śì	(V) know (YL)
śì cē	(Q) square
śì	1. (V) know, understand, lead along, summon, be sure of, realize, sharpen, take sthg along; 2. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for round objects
śì dà?	(V + P <sub>v</sub> ) go along together
śì la	(V + P <sub>v</sub> ) realize
śì pí	(V + V <sub>v</sub> ) be intelligent/be expert, be expert at
śì qò	(V + V <sub>v</sub> ) see off
śì və	(V + P <sub>v</sub> ) take smn along, accompany/lead along, carry along
śì?	(V) wipe clean, wipe
śì?-cê?	(Num) seventeen (Thai)
śì?-hò?	(Num) sixteen (Thai)
śì	1. (V) die, get numb, break down (as a ma- chine), stop, persist in sin (X'n), go out (fire or light), be dead, be agreed on; 2. (N <sub>ext</sub> ) place, neighborhood, up to (a place)
śì è	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) plenty
śì pí	(V + V <sub>v</sub> ) cause smn's death
śì-e-la-yò	(VP) so much you could die, awfully much
śì-e-yò	(VP) awfully much
śì-hê?-nà-hê?	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) omens of death and illness
śì-hê?-śì-jò	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) omens of death and death-dealing spir- its
śì-jò-nà-jò	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) evil spirits of death and illness
śì-khò	(N) voice of death
śì-la-o	(VP) to death
śì-mâ	(N) land of the dead
śì-qhâ	(N) path of death
śì-śì è	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) really
śì-śì tèt-tèt kà?	(Cl <sub>nf</sub> ) whether alive or dead
śí	(V) twist
śí-bù-de	(N) grassy ground
śí-nâ?	(V) twist one's ankle

Glossary

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šǐ-phê	(V) go along (slang)
šǐ-té-ku	(N) big log (YL)
šǐ-vê?	(N) flowers
šǐ è	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) noisily
šǐ?	(N) tree, wood, firewood, log
šǐ? è	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) loudly
šǐ?-bá	(N) wooden board
šǐ?-cè	(N) tree
šǐ?-cè ó-qō	(N) treetop
šǐ?-cí-ku	(N) knots of roots
šǐ?-cí-pī	(N) base of a tree
šǐ?-cí-qu	(N) piece of wood, hunks of wood
šǐ?-hô?	(N) trees and shrubs
šǐ?-kù-pī	(N) old dried-up log
šǐ?-mú-dɔ	(N) stump of tree
šǐ?-mú-qu	(N) stump of tree
šǐ?-né	(N) tree spirit
šǐ?-pi-ku	(N) logs, log
šǐ?-pu	(N) clump of suckers
šǐ?-qá	(N) branch of tree
šǐ?-qá-ku	(N) dried-up branch
šǐ?-qō	(N) hollow tree
šǐ?-tà	(N) stick
šǐ?-tà-du	(N) stick
šǐ?-the	(N) log
šǐ?-vê?	(N) flower, flower on a tree
šī	(Num) seven
šī chi	(Q) seventy
šī nāli?	(Q) seven o'clock
šo-câ?	(N) chain
šo-câ?-kî-câ?	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) chains of iron and brass
šo-kû	(N) bicycle
šo-lá-hô?	(N) iron helmet
šo-mô?-kî-mô?	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) cannons of iron and brass
šo-qò?-lè?	(N) pitchfork (of evil spirit)
šô	1. (V) waste, fail; 2. (N) sol (note of musical scale)
šôn	(V) waste
šó?	(V) stroke, rub onto, wipe away, rub off, feel around, drive away by magic
šó? gî	(V + V <sub>v</sub> ) stroke lovingly
šó?-be	(V) cover exposed part with clothing
šó?	(V) return to one's abode (RL)
šɔ	(V) guard, keep watch over, lay claim to, guard/keep watch over
šɔ-lè?	(V) lick vigorously
šɔ-lɔ	(V) keep watch over
šɔ-phô?	(V) accumulate
šɔ-šǐ?	(V) tidy up
šɔ	1. (N <sub>time</sub> ) tomorrow, the next day; 2. (V) teach, instruct
šɔ-nà?	(N <sub>time</sub> ) tomorrow morning, the next morning

šó-ṽ	(N <sub>time</sub> ) tomorrow
šó-ṽ-nâ?	(N <sub>time</sub> ) early tomorrow morning (YL)
šó-pṽ	(N <sub>time</sub> ) tomorrow, next day
šó-pṽ-nà?	(N <sub>time</sub> ) tomorrow morning
šó-pṽ-šó-ni	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) sometime soon
šó-phā	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name
šó-phà?-ni	(N <sub>time</sub> ) some day soon
šólù?	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name (Jingpho)
šô	(N) sol (note of musical scale)
šô-phà?-ma-phà?	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) leaves of trees
šô-ši-šô-nṽ	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) yellow and green trees (poetic)
šô-tì?-ma-tì?	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) tree of eternal life (animist)
šô?	(V) cut off
šô?-tì?	(N) tree of life (animist)
šṽ	1. (P <sub>v</sub> ) still, durative, still/durative, already; 2. (V) calculate, propitiate a spirit (RL), consider, channel (as water), select, install, collect, figure out, choose; 3. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for mornings (YL)
šṽ kə	(V + V <sub>v</sub> ) chip in (money)
šṽ ni	(V + V <sub>v</sub> ) think over
šṽ-ga-bə-gə	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) scold away evil spirits
šṽ-ga-bə-gə-tā-gə	(Elab <sub>extd</sub> ) drive away evil spirits with sharp words
šu	(Pron) others, they, others', somebody else's, their, somebody, other people, she, them, he (the boss), the other guy, someone else (remote 3p), somebody's, non-Lahu, him, her, foreign, a person
šu lo šū	(OV) be the same as others, be equal to others
šu ò-bà-phô	(NP <sub>loc</sub> ) behind people's backs
šu ve	(N <sub>poss</sub> + ve) somebody else's
šu-cè-šu-phû?	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) a slave and thrall to others
šu-chṽ	(N) people subordinate to others
šu-khṽ	(N) foreign language
šu-khṽ-šu-šá	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) others' languages and customs
šu-lí-šu-qa	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) others' customs
šu-qô?-šu-gṽ	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) others speak mockingly
šú	1. (N) tobacco, cigar; 2. (Pron) your (Shan), you (Shan)
šú ò-é	(N) little tobacco
šú-dò-pā	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) smoker
šú-kê?lê?	(N) cigarette
šú-lè?	(N) cigar, cigarette, cheroot, cigar/cheroot
šú-qhu	(N) pipe
šú-qhu-dò-pā	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) pipe smoker
šú-qhu-qhṽ	(N) bowl of a pipe
šú-qhu-šē-phā	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) pipe owner
šú-tṽ-pā	(N) Christian Lahu
šú-tṽn-pā	(N) Christian Lahu
šú-yè	(N) tobacco seedling
šúk	(V) cooked
šū	(V) be the same as

šū-qō	(N) scallion
šù?-kə	(V) cause to shift position by magic
šù?-šà?	(V) be annoying, be a bother
šwè-ŋâ-šwè-khâ	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) silver and gold pennants
šwî?	1. (N <sub>lim</sub> ) the most; 2. (V) drive away by magic, be the best
ta-láy	(Num) many
ta-tì?	(N) all-seeing eye
Tamakên	(N <sub>place</sub> ) place name
Tatôn	(N <sub>place</sub> ) town in N. Thailand
tá	(P <sub>v</sub> ) perfective, durative, negative probability, durative/perfective
tá-pô?	(Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for rucksacks
ták	(V) scoop up (Thai)
tát	(Onomat) sound of swatting a ball
táw-ma-šǐ	(N) plentiful fruit of the tao-ma tree
tâ	1. (Adv) negative imperative, don't!; 2. (V) make a religious offering
tâ-hâ-tâ-ğǝ pè?	(Elab <sub>v</sub> + V) do not make us suffer
tâ-kà	(N) trade/business
tâ-kâ-pâ	(N) trader, traders
tâ-khî	(N <sub>time</sub> ) all night long
tâ-le	(Adv) negative imperative, don't!
tâ-ló-tâ-láy	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) the whole community
tâ-lù-tâ-šé?	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) do not cause ruin!
tâ-vâ	(N <sub>time</sub> ) all day, for a long time
tân	1. (V) make a religious offering, offer, donate, have spare time; 2. (V <sub>v</sub> ) (not) have time to, have time to V
tân-hé?-tân-câ?	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) accomplishments
tân-kâ	(N) trade
tân-kâ-pâ	1. (N) traders, trader; 2. (N <sub>dvb</sub> ) merchants, traders
tân-kì	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) offering
tân-khîn	(N <sub>time</sub> ) at night, all night long
tân-tù	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) offering
tân-vân	(N <sub>time</sub> ) all day
tà	1. (P <sub>v</sub> ) negative probability; 2. (V) begin to V; 3. (V) want to separate, begin, start, separate from, be enough, afford to; 4. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for sticks
tâ-ò	(V <sub>v</sub> ) be high time to V
tàn	1. (V) begin to V; 2. (V) start, begin, fight with, compete, blame, bet, begin/start, accuse
tàn-?	(V <sub>imp</sub> ) bet!
tàw-quí	(N) turtle
tā	1. (P <sub>v</sub> ) perfective, durative, durative/perfective; 2. (V) establish, ordain, place/put, place, put, set up, set before smn, put on trial, litigate, do seriously, believe, appoint (to a position)
tā-ī-tā-mu	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) respect



tā-nā	(Adv) really
tā-nò?	(N) police
tā-qhâ	(N) way of believing
tā-tā	(V <sub>redup</sub> ) keep arguing (in court)
tā-wūn	(N) responsibility
tāy	(V <sub>v</sub> ) really Vadj
tâ?	1. (V) go up, climb up, carry on shoulder, climb, come up, decide a legal case; 2. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for days of the waxing moon; 3. (V <sub>v</sub> ) V upwards; 4. (V <sub>imp</sub> ) decide!
tâ?-cî	(V) climb in and ride
tâ?-chê?	(V) resolve a problem
tâ?-tâ?	(V <sub>redup</sub> ) keep going up
tâ?-í	(Adv) quietly, calmly, settled down
tâ?-nò?	(N) policeman, police
tā	(V) climb (YL)
te	1. (V) do, make, cultivate, build, act as, be a certain way, work, perform (as a song), happen, cook (as food), celebrate, treat a certain way, deal with, be occupied with, convene (as a meeting), worship (animist), slaughter, provide, charge for, behave towards, work on, perform (a religious service), do the slaughtering, do for a living, commit (as a sin), behave, act; 2. (V) do and, make sthg and V with it, cause to V; 3. (V + V <sub>h</sub> ) make sthg to V
te câ	(V + V <sub>v</sub> ) do for a living, cultivate for a living, make for a living, earn a living
te câ kî	(N <sub>div</sub> ) a place to cultivate
te dâ?	1. (V + P <sub>v</sub> ) squabble, have a contest; 2. (V + V <sub>v</sub> ) fight over
te la	(V + P <sub>v</sub> ) become
te lâ	(V + P <sub>v</sub> ) treat (non-3p), treat well
te phê	(V + V <sub>h</sub> ) launch/set off
te qay	(V + V <sub>v</sub> ) carry on doing
te te	1. (V + V <sub>h</sub> ) provide; 2. (V + V <sub>v</sub> ) leave sthg in a certain state, do so it stays the same
te tô	(V + V <sub>v</sub> ) walk around
te tî?	(V + V <sub>v</sub> ) develop, turn out a certain way, put forth
te yâ?	1. (V + V <sub>h</sub> ) do sthg wrong, do damage, cause offense, be wronged; 2. (V + V <sub>v</sub> ) be in the wrong
te-câ	(V) cook, cook/make sthg to eat
te-câ-mì-câ	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) earn a living from the land
te-câ-pā	(N <sub>div</sub> ) cultivator
te-câ-?	(V <sub>imp</sub> ) cook!
te-câ-te-tō	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) give food and drink
te-là	(V) come to pass
te-le	1. (P <sub>unf</sub> ) from, causal; 2. (Conj) after that, then, so then, so, thereupon
te-lù-te-šê?	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) cause ruin

te-pòn-te-lá	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) violate proper conduct
te-qo	1. (P <sub>unf</sub> ) because, if; 2. (Conj) then
te-qhâ	(N) way of doing
te-šì-le	(P <sub>unf</sub> ) from
te-te	(V <sub>redup</sub> ) keep on doing, keep on working
te-thāy-te-gî	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) split up (as married couple)
te-ʔ	(V <sub>imp</sub> ) do!, build!
tɛ	1. (V) put down, arrange for, trap (animal), set up, put onto, put on the fire, leave sthg where it is, establish, lay a trap, observe (a custom), leave for, lay down, allot; 2. (V <sub>v</sub> ) set aside to V, V so it stays put, V and put down, V permanently, keep on V'ing
tè	1. (P <sub>univ</sub> ) really V, emphatic topicalizer; 2. (QUOT) embedded quote; 3. (M <sub>px</sub> ) sthg real
tè-tè	1. (P <sub>univ</sub> ) really, emphatic topic; 2. (M <sub>px</sub> ) a real one, real
tèʔ	1. (QUOT) embedded quote; 2. (V) fart
té-ku	(N) big log (YL)
tê	(QUOT) quotative (YL)
têʔ	(V) measure, take into consideration, compare
têʔ-têʔ	1. (Adv <sub>onomat</sub> ) scratch! scratch!; 2. (Onomat) crackle (of flames)
tē	(V) trap (YL)
tē-qo	(N) log (YL)
tê	(Num) one, another, each, the first, the whole, the same, the other, some
tê ca	(Q) one couple
tê cê	1. (Q) one tree; 2. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for plants
tê cê-cê	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) a few trees, a few plants
tê cê	(Q) one thing, situation, the type, another thing, one matter, one kind, each kind, any kind, same thing, one thing/a thing, anything
tê cê le-le	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) every kind, every thing
tê cê-cê	1. (NP <sub>q</sub> ) any kind; 2. (Q) everything
tê co pè tê cá	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) from time immemorial
tê cú	(Q) one group
tê cú kâʔ	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) handful of people
tê chi	(Num) ten
tê chi hí	(Num) eighteen
tê chi kílô-lô	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) about ten kilograms
tê chi khòʔ	(Num) sixteen
tê chi nî	(Num) twelve
tê chi nâ	(Num) fifteen
tê chi ô	(Num) fourteen
tê chi qô	(Num) nineteen
tê chi šêʔ	(Num) thirteen
tê chi šī	(Num) seventeen
tê chi tê	(Num) eleven
tê ge	(Q) together, together with
tê gâ	1. (Q) one person, another person, the other one, somebody; 2. (NP <sub>q</sub> ) each person

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tê gâ le-le	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) everybody
tê gâ pè tê gâ	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) one person after another
tê gâ tê gâ	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) one person each, utterly alone, both people
tê gâ tê mà	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) one per person, each person one thing
tê gâ tê pô?	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) one person at a time
tê gâ tí	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) all by oneself
tê gâ-gâ	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) someone or other, some people
tê gâ-gâ tí	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) all by oneself
tê gâ	(Q) pluralizer, things
tê gô?	(Q) one household, one family
tê ha-pa-pa	(Q <sub>time</sub> ) about one month
tê hó	(Q) one kind
tê kà	(Q) another place
tê kà le-le	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) every place, everywhere
tê kà tí	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) in the same place, only one place
tê kà-kà	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) in some places
tê kâ?	(Q) one packet
tê khán	(Q) ten rupees
tê khê-khê	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) a big bowlful
tê khi	(Q) for a while, a while, now, very soon, temporarily/for a while, sometimes, a certain time, at the same time, again
tê khi qo	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) in a short while
tê khi tí	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) all of a sudden
tê khi-khi	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) sometimes/on occasion
tê khô	(Q) half
tê le ñâ	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) from one to five
tê mà pè tê mà	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) one after the other
tê mà tê mà	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) both people (informal)
tê măn-măn	(Q) about ten thousand
tê mō	(Q) one group, as a group
tê mú pè tít? ò-na	(NP) in the northeast (poetic)
tê mú pā-qè ma hó	(NP) in the southwest (poetic)
tê mú pā-tít? ò-na	(NP) in the northeast (poetic)
tê nâ?	(NP <sub>time</sub> ) early, in good time
tê nâ? sá è	(NP <sub>time</sub> ) rather early in the morning
tê nâ?-nâ?	(NP <sub>time</sub> ) very early morning
tê ni è tê ni è	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) every single day
tê ni le-le	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) every day
tê ni pu tê ni	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) a day's worth at a time
tê ni tê ni	(AE) every day
tê pa	(Q) group, some
tê pa-pa	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) some
tê pô?	1. (Q) again, once, now, immediately, next time, once more, sometimes, one time, for once, for a while, that time, suddenly, some time, once/one time, by now, at a different time; 2. (NP <sub>q</sub> ) this time, then
tê pô? kâ?	(NP <sub>time</sub> ) even once
tê pô? le-le	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) every time

tê pɔ̃? lè	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) this time, right now, right away, there-upon, suddenly, now, right then, again
tê pɔ̃? pə̀ tê pɔ̃?	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) time after time
tê pɔ̃? tê pɔ̃?	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) each and every time, again and again
tê pɔ̃? tí	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) all of a sudden, at the same time, right away, immediately, right now, only one chance, only once
tê pɔ̃? thā	(NP <sub>time</sub> ) once, once upon a time, this time, previously
tê pɔ̃?-pɔ̃?	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) sometimes, once in a while
tê phā	(Q) pluralizer, the whole group, some, all of, a group of, all kinds of
tê phā-phā	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) some (of)
tê qhā? le-le	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) every village
tê qhā?-qhā?	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) the whole village
tê qhe tí	1. (NP <sub>q</sub> ) suddenly, suddenly/all at once; 2. (AE) right away
tê qhò	(Q) one household, one section of a village
tê qhə̀ bà	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) the hill after next
tê qhò?	(Q) one year
tê qhò? le-le	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) every year
tê qhò? ní qhò?	(AE) one or two years
tê qhò? qha yì	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) the whole first year, all year long
tê qhò? tê qhò?	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) year after year
tê qhò?-qhò?	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) some years, year after year
tê ší-ší	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) about one week
tê šš	(Q) one morning
tê yā	(Q) when
tê yān	(Q) the time that, when
tê yān thā	(NP <sub>time</sub> ) when
tê-cə̀-há	(AE) suddenly
tê-ğā-phā	(N) a certain fellow
tê-ğā-tê-bon	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) a blessing for each person
tê-ğā-tê-ší	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) a boon for each person
tê-há tê-há	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) every evening
tê-khi tê-khi	(AE) again and again
tê-khi-tê-yān	(Elab <sub>adv</sub> ) from time to time, for a short time
tê-mō-tê-cú	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) the whole group, our whole group
tê-nà?-tê-ší?	(Elab <sub>adv</sub> ) in plenty of time
tê-ni-tā-vān	(Quasi-Elab) all the livelong day
tê-ni-tān-vān	(Quasi-Elab) all the livelong day
tê-ni-tê-há	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) night and day
tê-ní ġā	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) one or two people
tê-phā	(Q) pluralizer
tê-qhā?-tê-lò	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) the whole village
tê-qhò?-ú	(N <sub>time</sub> ) beginning of the year
tê-yè-tê-qa	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) whole household
tō	(P <sub>v</sub> ) urgent request (N. Thai)
tē	(V) pound down, grind up, crush, force to V
tē-pē	(V) be crushed to death
tē-?	(V <sub>imp</sub> ) crush!
tē	(Num) one (YL), another (YL)

tê ge	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) together (YL)
tê khi	(Q) for a while (YL)
tê-khi-tê-thã	(Elab <sub>adv</sub> ) after a while (YL)
tè?	(V) be alive
tè? ve co-ha	(RC) Holy Spirit (X'n)
tè?-chí	(Adv) nothing, in the slightest
tè?-chí è	(AE) nothing at all
tè?-chí mâ hê?	(VP) never mind
ti	1. (V) plant, stick into firmly, be attached to; 2. (N) ti (music)
ti-mi	(N) paddy field (irrigated), paddy field, rice-field
ti-mi-tê	(N) dike around paddy field
tí	(P <sub>univ</sub> ) only, just, as for, exactly
tí qo	(P <sub>univ</sub> ) topicalizer, as for, topicalizer/as for
tî	(V) slaughter, kill
tî šê-phâ	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) slaughterer
tî-pē	(V) murder, kill
tī	(N) guitar
tî?	(V) be at bay (of hunted animal)
to	1. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for bodies; 2. (M <sub>px</sub> ) body; 3. (N) plain/flat area
to-nû-to-šâ?	1. (Elab <sub>n</sub> ) animals and creatures; 2. (N) animals
tó-lâ?	(N) beam (of house roof)
tó-lâ?	(N) roof beam
tô	1. (V <sub>v</sub> ) V aimlessly, go around V'ing, V for fun; 2. (V) wander around, walk along, go around, roam around
tô-lâ-tô-qay	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) wander back and forth, go back and forth
tô-pâ	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) wanderer
tô-lâ?-qú	(N) wing
tô?	(V) lay atop each other, scoop up in both hands
tò?	(V) burn, catch fire, burn/be on fire, light a fire, be on fire
tò?-hên	(V) burn strongly
tɔ	1. (V) give to smoke, give to drink, be a match for; 2. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for sections, for stages (in an activity); 3. (M <sub>px</sub> ) section
tɔ-tɔ	(M <sub>px</sub> ) degree
tɔ-tɔ tí	(AE) to that extent
tɔn	1. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for lengths, for stages (in an activity), for stages (in a journey); 2. (M <sub>px</sub> ) section
tɔn-né	(Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for sections of long objects
tò è	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) flat
tò lē	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) squarely
Tò-kɔ	(Eth) Akha
Tò-kɔ-yâ	(N) Akha people
tò-tò-nô?	(M <sub>px</sub> ) step-like formation
tòn	(Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for plains
tó-cú	(V) sew up tight
tó-kɔ-cè	(N) palm tree sp.

tó-kə-šĩ	(N) fruit of the tawkaw palm
tô	(N) words, word/speech, word
tô ā	(V + P <sub>v</sub> ) have remembered
tô chĩ?	(N <sub>spec</sub> + V) be at a loss for words
tô phá e	(OV) speak in riddles, speak in riddles/speak with hidden meanings
tô šā	(N <sub>spec</sub> + V) whisper
tô thè?	1. (OV) predict the future; 2. (RC) predict the future
tô yə hā	(N <sub>spec</sub> + V) stubborn
tô-jè-pā	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) adviser
tô-khô	(N) words, words/speech, message, speech, language
tôn	(V) remember
tô?	1. (V) come out, appear, offer, cut off, come up, cut (with knife/machete), contribute, cut up, cut down, come from, sprout (of plants), pull out, get out, cut, come out/come from, be over (of a holiday), arise; 2. (V <sub>v</sub> ) V out, V to a conclusion, V outwards, V out/V outwards
tô?-chê?	(V) sever/cut through, cut through, cut off from
tô?-nê?	(V) chop small
tô?-nô?	(M <sub>prfx</sub> ) ridge
tô?-ô-də	(V) swing from
tô?-qá	(V) cut partially through
tô-ge	(AE) together (YL)
tô	1. (V) dam a stream, be flushed out (of game), be visible, separate off, pit against, demarcate, block off from view, be blocked off; 2. (V <sub>adj</sub> ) flat; 3. (M <sub>prfx</sub> ) buttocks
tô è	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) flat
tô-chĩ	(V) obstruct
tô-ha-pa	(N) full moon (poetic)
tô-?	(V <sub>imp</sub> ) dam (the stream)!
tu	1. (V) get up from sleep, stand up, set out from, rise up; 2. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for saplings
tú	(V) burn sthg, burn off, set sthg on fire
tú-tân	(V) make a burnt offering
tû	1. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) basketful, for basketsful, land measure (many rai); 2. (V) discharge (a projectile); 3. (Adv) for free
tû è?	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) bulging
tû-tû	(Cl <sub>f</sub> ) about a basketful
tù	1. (P <sub>v</sub> ) future, purposive, irrealis, purposive/intentive, counterfactual conditional; 2. (P <sub>v-nom</sub> ) purposive, cause for V'ing, sthg that is cause for V'ing, sthg that is used for V'ing, sthg to V
tù-ve	(P <sub>v-nom</sub> ) purposive nominalizer
tū	(V) bury (in the ground), sink, baptize (X'n)
tū-phu	(N) grave/tomb
tù?	(V) suffer

tù?-cāw-tù?-qhô	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) much trouble (RL)
tù?-chê-khān-chê	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) suffer continuously
tù?-khā	(V) suffer
tù?-khān	(V) suffer
tí-qhâ?-šī	(N) silver button
tha	(V) slap, clap (hands)
tha-ŋâ	(V) work for hire
tha-pē	(V) slap to death
tha-phî	(N) split bamboo slats
tháy	(V) plow, pay compensation (RL), pay a fine (RL)
Tháy-láy	(N <sub>place</sub> ) place name
thâ	1. (P <sub>univ</sub> ) when, time; 2. (Temp Nom) the time when; 3. (V) tolerate, strum with the fingers; 4. (N) hired work
thâ-kâ?	(V) work full time
thân	(V) have respect for
Thây	(N) Thai
Thây mì-gì	(N <sub>place</sub> ) Thailand
Thây-cho	(N) Thai people, Thai person
Thây-jô-mô	(N) Thai official
thây-khô-mû-khô	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) Thai language or something
Thây-mì-gì	(N <sub>place</sub> ) Thailand
Thây-mû-mì	(N <sub>place</sub> ) Thailand
Thā-yâ-qwē	(N <sub>place</sub> ) village name
thāy	(V) save smn, change (as clothes), change
thāy-qhò?	(V) redeem
thāy-qhò?-pā	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) redeemer (X'n)
thā?	1. (P <sub>n</sub> ) accusative (YL); 2. (M <sub>prfx</sub> ) on top of
thà?	(P <sub>n</sub> ) accusative, causee
thà? pa-tə	(P <sub>n</sub> ) because
thā	1. (M <sub>prfx</sub> ) on top of (YL); 2. (P <sub>univ</sub> ) when (YL), time when (YL)
the	1. (V) get broken, break off, break; 2. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for hunks of wood
the-đu	(N) woman's sarong, skirt
the-qō	(N) huge basket for storing paddy
thè?	(Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for Burmese rupees, kyat
thê	(V <sub>adj</sub> ) straight, upright
thê ê	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) uprightly, upright, strictly, straight, honestly
thê ê?	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) uprightly
thê lè	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) strictly
thê lē	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) straight
thê-ve-cô-ve	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) righteous, righteous/virtuous
thên-kâ?	(AE) straight
thōn-lón	(N) great forest
thōn-mân	(N) forested wilderness
thê?	(V) kick, strum
thê?-pē	(V) kick to death
thè?	(V) scrape, shave off, predict the future
thè?-ni	(V) look into the future

thi-chí	(V) tie up (YL)
thî	(V) be dawn/be daybreak, be dawn
thì-nì	(N) number one (Thai)
thì-śá	(N) number three (Thai)
thì-śś	(N) number two (Thai)
thī	1. (V) jab; 2. (N) storage rack
thī-ηê-thī-khâ	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) silver and gold altar
thî?	1. (V) wrap and tie up, make a bundle of; 2. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for packages
tho	(V) tell
tho-gâ-tho-ni	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) what you wish to say (poetic)
tho-lâ-pê?-lâ	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) tell for your benefit
tho-pōn	(V) admit/confess
thô	(P <sub>unf</sub> ) also
thôo	(Interj) wow!, gee!, for God's sake!, whew!, oh boy!, my God!, hey!, hey wait!, Lord Buddha!
thò?-ma	(N <sub>intg</sub> ) what
tho	1. (V) set (a trap), cock (a weapon), make a hole in, pierce, aim (a weapon); 2. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for pierced bundles; 3. (V <sub>adj</sub> ) clever, skillful
thô	1. (P <sub>unf</sub> ) also, even, even though, even if, whether; 2. (V) touch; 3. (Conj) anyway
thô-cè	(N) pitch pine
thô-dí-cè	(N) pine tree sp.
thô-dí-śi	(N) pine-nut
thô-kâ?	(P <sub>unf</sub> ) also, even, even if
thô-qò?	(P <sub>unf</sub> ) no matter whether, even though, even if, also
thô?	(V) prod, bore (as a hole), peck at (as a bird), hook onto, strike with curved object, prod with curved object, carve (as wood), bite (of a snake)
thô?-hô?	(V) hook onto sthg
thô?-phâ?	(V) tear down
thô	1. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for times (YL); 2. (P <sub>unf</sub> ) as far as (YL)
thô	1. (V) take a photo; 2. (N) prison
thô-qwè?	(N) mattock
thōn	(N) prison
thu	1. (V) clear land, chop down, clear land for cultivation, chop down (as large trees), clear away, chop away at; 2. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) handspan
thu pā-e	(V + V <sub>v</sub> ) chop so it falls
thû	(Num) two (English)
Thû-śwè	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name
Thû-yì	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name
thù-khá-śi	(N) sugar pea
thwī	(V) brush
u	(V) lay an egg
ú	1. (M <sub>pfx</sub> ) head, upstream; 2. (P <sub>n</sub> ) locative (poetic)
ú-cī	(N) hat
ú-chò	(Interj) go get 'em!



ú-gê	(N) pillow
ú-khè?	(N) carrying basket with a headstrap
ú-khè? cí	(OV) apply elbow grease
ú-nâ?	(N) youngsters
ú-ní	(N) turban
ú-pā-mā	(N) for example
ú-pā-mā te qo	(Cl <sub>nf</sub> ) for example
ú-pō	(V) rule over
ú-pōn	(V) control
ú-phu	(N) elders
ú-phu-kāw-phu-nū	(Elab <sub>extd</sub> ) white haired elders and young people
û-ní	(N) turban, towel
va-la	(AE) vacillate
va-tê	(N) falling-log trap
vâ	1. (V) go at it, go for it, act in a lively way, eat enthusiastically, go for enthusiastically, tell vigorously, smash into, shoot with abandon, beat up; 2. (N) bamboo
vâ-cè	(N) bamboo plant
vâ-cí-qu	(N) clump of bamboo roots
vâ-dé-qō	(N) bamboo tube
vâ-ku	(N) dried bamboo
vâ-lé-qô?	(N) bamboo sheath
vâ-mú-qu	(N) stump of bamboo
vâ-ne	(N) bamboo split, bamboo split (for fastening)
vâ-pu	(N) clump of bamboo
vâ-qhê	(N) scraps of bamboo
vâ-?	(V <sub>imp</sub> ) go ahead and do it!
vân	(V) go for it, eat enthusiastically, go at it, dispute, go for enthusiastically
vây	(V <sub>adj</sub> ) quick, be fast/quick, be fast
vây-chwε	(Adv) quickly
và	1. (P <sub>uf</sub> ) emphatic; 2. (N) man (YL)
vân-nâ	(N <sub>place</sub> ) place name
vā?	(N) pig (YL)
vā?-phī	(N) chaff (YL)
và?	1. (N) pig; 2. (V) hide (oneself)
và?-dô?-gâ?-dô?	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) slaughter pigs and chickens
và?-é	(N) piglet
và?-é-qwè?	(N) yoke for pigs
và?-gâ?	(N) pigs and chickens
và?-gù-tê?	(N) pig intestines
và?-hu-gâ?-hu	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) raise pigs and chickens
và?-khô?	(N) pigsty
và?-lâ-gō	(N) hornbill
và?-ma-qê?	(N) sow
và?-ma-qu	(N) sow
và?-pā	(N) male pig
và?-pā-và?-ma	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) male and female pigs
và?-qhō-qhō	(N) pig innards
và?-šā	(N) pork, pig-flesh

Glossary

vàʔ-šā-chu	(N) pork fat
vàʔ-yê-é	(N) piglet
ve	(P <sub>univ</sub> ) nominalizer, relativizer, genitivizer
ve-5	(P <sub>uf</sub> ) emphatic, emphatic nominalizer
ve	(V) stake out a claim, set out (YL)
ve-ʔ	(V <sub>imp</sub> ) lay claim to!
vè	(P <sub>v</sub> ) become (YL)
vê	(N) city, town
və	(P <sub>v</sub> ) transportatory motion, figurative motion
vê-bá	(N) sin
vê-bâʔ	(N) sin, offense
və-ʔ	(P <sub>v</sub> ) away (imperative)
vên	(N) town, city, town/city
vên-bá	(N) offense
vên-bâʔ	(N) sin
vên-bâʔ-yâ	(N) sinner
Vên-khē	(N <sub>place</sub> ) village name
Vên-làʔ	(N <sub>place</sub> ) town name
Vên-pā-máy	(N <sub>place</sub> ) town name
və	(P <sub>v</sub> ) hortatory, imperative
vəʔ	(V) wear
vəʔ-de	(V) wear/put on clothes/get dressed, put on (clothes)
vəʔ-qâ	(N) clothes
vəʔ-tù-qâ-tù	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) clothing
vè	(N) dhole
vè-càʔ-vè-cí	(Elab <sub>adv</sub> ) sloppily/confusedly
vêʔ	(V) bloom
vi	(V) dry out
ví	(M <sub>prfx</sub> ) older sibling
vī	(V <sub>v</sub> ) benefactive (3p) (YL)
vì	1. (V) buy; 2. (N) snake, load; 3. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for sheaves
vì-cā	(V) buy in order to feed
vì-fâʔ	(V) buy and hand over to
vì-ff	(V) buy in order to clothe
vì-ló	(N) big snake
vì-nɔ	(N) green pit viper
vì-vì-vì	(Adv <sub>onomat</sub> ) bzz-bzz (bees)
vì-yâ	(N) race of snakes
vî	(V <sub>adj</sub> ) far
vî-kì	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) distant place
wá	(V <sub>adj</sub> ) sweet (Shan)
wân	(Num) one (English)
ya-fin	(N) opium
ya-fin-mì	(N) opium field
ya-phī	(N) opium
ya-phī-mì	(N) opium field (RL)
yauʔ53	(P <sub>v</sub> ) already (Shan)
yá	(V) move

yâ	1. (P <sub>uf</sub> ) emphatic; 2. (N) child, son, children, guys, people, kids, human being, young people, young man/lover, young man, person; 3. (M <sub>px</sub> ) time, season; 4. (Pron) your (masc., poetic), me (masc., poetic); 5. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for periods of time
yâ hu	(OV) be pregnant
yâ ye	(N <sub>spec</sub> + V) bear children easily
yâ-cí-yâ-ηè? te	(Elab <sub>adv</sub> + V) saddled with whining children
yâ-co-dù-co	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) descendants
yâ-cò-ši	(N) orphan, half-orphan
yâ-cò	(N) lover
yâ-cò-yâ-ğû	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) young man/swain/lover (poetic)
yâ-cù-ši	(N) orphan, half-orphan
yâ-cwe	(N) children's generation
yâ-cwe-dù-cwe	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) posterity/descendants, descendants
yâ-é	(N) small child, kids, young folk, baby, little children, children
yâ-kā-dù-kā	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) descendants
yâ-mî	(N) daughter, girl, woman, women, girls
yâ-mî-é	(N) little girl, little daughter
yâ-mî-há	(N) unmarried young woman, girl, marriageable girl, maiden/virgin
yâ-mî-ló	(N) eldest daughter
yâ-mî-ma	(N) woman, women, daughter
yâ-mî-qè?	(N) woman, women
yâ-mî-qè? qhâ yâ-mî-qè?	(NP) women all by themselves
yâ-nè	(N) young men, young man, guys, unmarried young men
yâ-ni-cè	(N) baby-sitting servant
yâ-o	(P <sub>uf</sub> ) emphatic
Yâ-pā	(N) boy
yâ-pā	(N) sons, boy, son
Yâ-pā-é	1. (N <sub>pers</sub> ) man's name, little son; 2. (N) male name
yâ-pā-é	(N) little son
yâ-pû-yâ-qa	(Elab <sub>adv</sub> ) with kids on one's hands
Yâ-phu	(N) Son of God (X'n), precious son
Yâ-phu Yēšû?	(N <sub>prop</sub> ) Jesus the Son of God
Yâ-phu Yēšû? Khî?	(N <sub>prop</sub> ) Jesus Christ the Son of God
Yâ-phu-tî?	(N) Son of God (X'n)
yâ-qè?-ku	(N) pipsqueak
yâ-qhâ-yâ	(N) the child by itself
yân	1. (M <sub>px</sub> ) time; 2. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for periods of time, for periods of time/for seasons
Yân-cho	(Eth) Karen
Yân-khō-mû-khō	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) Karen language or something
Yân-qê?-lê?	(N) Karen (pejorative)
yâ-ò	1. (V) yeah!, be true; 2. (Interj) yes!, yes!/yeah!/yep!, that's right!
yâ-pî	(VP) never mind!
yâ-pî-ô?	(VP) the hell with it!, never mind!

yà-pî-ʔ	(VP) never mind!
yā-phī	(N) opium
yān	(Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for ways, for kinds
yâʔ	(V) scoop up
yàʔ	1. (V) come down, land (of plane), descend, go down, do harm to, be at fault, quarrel, break up (church service), get off (a vehicle); 2. (V <sub>v</sub> ) V downwards, V the wrong way; 3. (P <sub>v</sub> ) brusque imperative
yàʔ dàʔ	(V + P <sub>v</sub> ) quarrel with each other, offend each other
yàʔ-dàʔ-dê-dàʔ	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) quarrel and scold
yàʔ-dàʔ-jîʔ-dàʔ	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) quarrel and bicker
yàʔ-jâ-phîʔ-jâ	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) wrong one another severely
yàʔ-ni	(N <sub>time</sub> ) today
yàʔ-pí	(N <sub>time</sub> ) tonight, this evening
yàʔ-pí-há	(N <sub>time</sub> ) this evening, tonight/this evening
yàʔ-qɔ	(N) road, way, path
yàʔ-qɔ tɔ	(OV) walk along
yàʔ-qɔ-cɛ	(N) fork in road
yàʔ-qɔ-há-qá	(N) wayside
yàʔ-qɔ-hó	(N) lower part of road
yàʔ-qɔ-na	(N) upper part of a road, part of a road already passed
yàʔ-qɔ-phî	(N) roadside
yàʔ-qɔ-qá	(N) one's route
yàʔ-qɔ-qhâ	(N) path/road
yàʔ-qhâ	(Conj) however, but, but/however, on the other hand
yàʔ-qhâ kàʔ	(Conj) however
yàʔ-qhâ thô	(Conj) however
yàʔ-ʂɛ	(Adv) just now, quite recently/a short time ago
yàʔ-ʂîʔ-ni	(Adv) a while ago
yàʔ-ʂɔ	(N <sub>time</sub> ) this morning
yàʔ-tɔ	(V) be embarrassed, be ashamed, shameful
yàʔ-yàʔ	(V <sub>redup</sub> ) keep going down
yā	(Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for time (YL)
yè	1. (N) house, household, bear (animal), home; 2. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for households, for houses
yè-bo	(N) house spirit, tranquillity in the home
yè-bo-qa-bo	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) guardian spirit of the home
yè-ca-qa-ca	(Elab <sub>v</sub> ) try to set up a household
yè-dɔ	(N) housepost
yè-gì-qú	(N) bearskin
yè-kêʔ	(N) bamboo roof-sticks
yè-khí-dɔ	(N) house-post, house-pillar/housepost
yè-ló	(N) big house
yè-ma	(N) home (poetic)
yè-ma ô cē	(NP <sub>q</sub> ) the four corners of the house (poetic)
yè-mí	(N) door
yè-mí-tɔ	(N) bear (animal)
yè-mí-twèʔ	(N) bear (animal)

yè-mí-twē	(N) bear (animal)
yè-qòʔ-yè-le	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) all over the house
yè-qhɔ-qa-qhɔ	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) inside the house
yè-śí	(N) new house
yè-vêʔ-qa-vêʔ	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) flower of hearth and home
yè-yâ-qa-yâ	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) household members
yê	(V) use, observe a custom, observe, spend (money), make use of, follow a rule
yê-he	(N) high swidden
Yê-nâ-gǐ	(N <sub>place</sub> ) river name
yê-qhɔ	(N) high mountains/upper reaches of hills, high mountains
yê-khā	(V) suffer patiently
yê-khān	(V) patient/long-suffering, patient
yân-khān	(V) patient, patient/long-suffering
yè	1. (V <sub>adj</sub> ) strong, stable, faithful/steadfast/loyal; 2. (V) sprout; 3. (Cl <sub>f</sub> ) for seedlings
Yēlúʔśālēn	(N <sub>place</sub> ) Jerusalem
Yēśúʔ	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) Jesus
Yēśúʔ-Khiʔ	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) Jesus Christ
yì-hě	(Pron) they (YL)
yì	(V <sub>adj</sub> ) be long
yì-chwe è	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) for a very long time
yìʔ	(V) sleep, lie down, lie around, cohabit with, be prone
yìʔ e	(V + P <sub>v</sub> ) fall asleep
yìʔ mâ mi mâ śa	(VP) sleeping and sitting are not pleasant (poetic)
yìʔ-kì	(N <sub>dvb</sub> ) sleeping place, bedroom
yìʔ-lôʔ	(V) sleep deeply
yìʔ-mâʔ	(V) dream
yìʔ-mâʔ-yìʔ-mo	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) nightmares
yìʔ-mè	(V) enjoy one's sleep
yìʔ-mí qa	(N <sub>spec</sub> + V) be asleep
yìʔ-pā	(V) fall flat
yìʔ-tùʔ-mi-hā	(Quasi-Elab) unable to find a comfortable position
yî	1. (N) thatch-grass, grass; 2. (V) go around
yî èʔ	(AE <sub>stat</sub> ) spinning out of control
yî-vêʔ	(N) overhang of thatch
yî-vì	(N) load of thatch-grass
yî-yè	(N) thatched house
yî-yè-vâ-yè	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) house of thatch and bamboo
yîʔ	1. (V) be angry, be angry/furious; 2. (vV) V vigorously
yo-ò-o	(P <sub>uf</sub> ) declarative
yô	(P <sub>uf</sub> ) declarative (YL), affirmative/declarative (YL)
Yôhàn	(N) John
yò	1. (P <sub>uf</sub> ) declarative; 2. (Interj) yes!, that's right!, yes!/that's right!; 3. (V) be true
yò-a	(P <sub>uf</sub> ) emphatic declarative

yò-a-qô?-qo	(P <sub>unf</sub> ) topicalizer (in religious poetry)
yò-a-?	(P <sub>uf</sub> ) emphatic declarative
yò-è?	(P <sub>uf</sub> ) emphatic declarative
yò-lê-qô?-qo	(P <sub>unf</sub> ) topicalizer (poetic)
yò-lò-lê-qô?-qo	(P <sub>unf</sub> ) topicalizer (poetic), topicalizer (frequent in animist religious poetry)
yò-qo	1. (P <sub>uf</sub> ) emphatic declarative; 2. (P <sub>unf</sub> ) emphatic conditional
yò-qô?-qo	(P <sub>unf</sub> ) topicalizer (poetic)
yō	(V) believe
yōn	(V) believe
yōn ve	(nominalizing verb particle (V <sub>PV-nom</sub> )) faith
yōn-qhâ	(N) belief
yɔ	(V) speak, catch in a trap, speak/talk, say
yɔ-khê	(N) spoken words
yɔ-?	(V <sub>imp</sub> ) speak!
yê	(N) sheep
yê	1. (Pron) he, she, him, his, they, her, he/him/his, He, it, Him, His, them, its, somebody, He/Him/His (God/Jesus); 2. (V) decrease
yê ò-to	(NP) he himself, to himself, she herself
yê ve	(N <sub>poss</sub> + ve) his, her, His, its
yê-hi	(Pron) they, them, their, they/them/their
yê-hi ve	(N <sub>poss</sub> + ve) their
yê-hi-qhâ-yê-hi	(Pron) they by themselves
yê-hí-mà	(Pron) they (dual), them (dual)
yê-hí-nε ve	(Pron) their (dual)
yê-hí-nè	(Pron) they (dual), them (dual)
yê-mî-yê-yâ	(Elab <sub>n</sub> ) his wife and children
yê-ní-mà	(Pron) both of them, the two of them
yê-ŋà-hí-nè	(Pron) he and I both
yê-phê-yê	(AE) by himself
yê-qhâ-yê	(AE) he himself, by himself/by herself, she herself, by themselves, automatically, all by oneself, all by himself
yê-qhâ-yê-hi	(Pron) they by themselves
Yêdân-gî	(N <sub>place</sub> ) River Jordan
Yêdân-gî-ma	(N <sub>place</sub> ) River Jordan
Yêhâ	(N) John
yêŋ	(V) beg (Shan), decrease
yê?	(V <sub>adj</sub> ) damned (Shan)
yê?-ya	(V) respect
yê-hi	(Pron) they (YL)
yú	(V) be in a place (Shan)
Yûdâ?	(N <sub>pers</sub> ) male name
yù	1. (V) take, take hold of, bring to be used, take in order to use, keep, fetch, take away, pick up, keep on, handle, deduct; 2. (V) take and V sthg; 3. (V <sub>v</sub> ) V lastingly, V to get sthg, durative (Shan), V to good effect
yù bà	(V + V <sub>v</sub> ) remove

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yù ce	( <sub>v</sub> V + V <sub>h</sub> ) dismiss
yù khá	( <sub>v</sub> V + V <sub>h</sub> ) block up
yù la	(V + P <sub>v</sub> ) bring
yù la-ʔ	(V + P <sub>v</sub> ) bring! (imperative)
yù pī	( <sub>v</sub> V + V <sub>h</sub> ) pick up and give to
yù phê	(V + V <sub>v</sub> ) take sthg and strike with it
yù qay	(V + V <sub>v</sub> ) bring to
yù qô	( <sub>v</sub> V + V <sub>h</sub> ) hand up to
yù qò	( <sub>v</sub> V + V <sub>h</sub> ) deliver
yù tîʔ	(V + V <sub>v</sub> ) release, exert
yù və	(V + P <sub>v</sub> ) hand over to
yù yàʔ	( <sub>v</sub> V + V <sub>h</sub> ) bring smn down
yù-qòʔ	(V) take back home
yù-tī	(V) hold fast to
Yūnān-mû-mì	(N <sub>place</sub> ) Yunnan Province
zāʔ-kə	(N) road (YL)
zāʔ-ni	(Adv) today (YL)
zī	(V) go around (YL)
zīʔ	(V) sleep (YL)
zō	(Pron) they (YL), him (YL), 3p (YL)
zō-hě	(Pron) they (YL)
zō-hī-ma	(Pron) the two of them (YL)
ʔééʔ	(Interj) noise of deer
ʔêeʔ	(Interj) cry to incite hunting dog





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