Serial verb constructions in Tai Long Shan

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SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS IN TAI LONG SHAN

**SOH JYR MINN
SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES
2019**

SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS IN TAI LONG SHAN

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for
the Degree of Master of Arts

2019

Statement of Originality

I hereby certify that the work embodied in this thesis is the result of original research, is free of plagiarised materials, and has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other University or Institution.

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Acknowledgements

This is by far the most enjoyable section of this dissertation to write. It is also the part that I was looking forward to writing, as it meant that I have finally completed my paper. There are many people to thank, but I would like to first share a little bit of my journey because I believe it will help deliver my deep gratitude to those who have been a part of this.

Master's is, by far, one of the greatest undertakings in my life. I have never been this out of my league and so far out of my comfort zone. This entire journey has been incredibly humbling and refining, but excruciating at the same time. For the first time in my life, I experienced anxiety and had panic attacks because the pressures were far too overwhelming. I was afraid of disappointing those who believed in me and all of a sudden, the stakes were just too high. Coupled with my personal circumstances, my mental health was suffering and I lost all love for learning. It was as if my mind was shrouded with fog and I could no longer process my thoughts clearly. Writing became such a burden because I couldn't think, and therefore couldn't write. The frustration left me in tears before my laptop screen, as I tried somehow to make something out of nothing. Master's eventually became a burden to me. It was incredibly humbling to have reached rock bottom, because it was through experiencing all this that I realized how pompous I was in the past to have disregarded people's struggles with academic expectations and pressures and why their mental health suffered. It was extremely difficult for me to persevere to the end. If not for God, my friends, and my family, I would have given up. In fact, I have contemplated that many times. This is why the completion of this dissertation is such a miracle to me, because every step that took me here costed me a lot. It was through worship, prayer and reading the Word that my anxiety could be calmed and I felt strengthened again to continue. Still, battling with anxiety is a weary affair, and I find it an invaluable treasure that I am now able to empathize with those who struggle with their inadequacies, people's and their expectations and pressures, as well as anxiety.

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“Forget the former things; do not dwell on the past. See, I am doing a new thing! Now it springs up; do you not perceive it? I am making a way in the wilderness and streams in the wasteland.” Isaiah 43:18-19

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Summary

This dissertation provides a description and syntactic analysis of the Serial Verb Constructions (SVCs) in the Shan language, specifically the dialect of Tai Long Shan (TLS) that is spoken in the northern Shan State of Myanmar. Six chapters make up this paper, and the first chapter introduces the motivation for choosing to explore SVCs in Tai Long Shan, one of which is the lack of exploration of this language as compared to its sister languages. Other information about the Shan language and its speakers are also mentioned in this introductory chapter, and they include Shan's genetic affiliation with other Tai Kadai language, the dialectal situation of the Shan language and the heavy history of its people. Following that is a typological overview of Tai Long Shan that would help readers gain some understanding about the phonology and constituency of the language. The last portion of this chapter examines the assumptions made about SVCs before arriving at a definition for SVCs in Shan. The second chapter details the methods used for the entire data collection process for this research. There are two kinds of data collected—elicited and natural. Elicited data include The Pear Story after watching the video, and describing the content of video clips made for the exploration of event representation in languages by Miriam van Staden, Gunter Senft, N. J. Enfield, and Jürgen Bohnemeyer. Natural data include the narration of a folktale called The Frog and Crow Story and a conversation between two participants. In the third chapter, the various types of SVCs are investigated and discussed in detail, and tests for verbihood are also done to demonstrate the differences between verbs and elements that seem verbal. There are both symmetrical and asymmetrical SVCs found in Shan. It is found that four types of SVCs: Sequential SVCs, Transfer SVCs, Purposive SVCs and Reciprocal SVCS. Under Sequential SVCs are subtypes Accomplishment SVCs, Resultative SVCs, Motion SVCs, and Adversative SVCs. Under Transfer SVCs is the subtype Manner SVCs. There are two different forms of SVCs and they are nuclear serializations and core serializations. Nuclear serializations involve the sharing of all arguments while argument-sharing in core serializations is partial. The fourth chapter of this study examines the syntactic structure of SVCs in Shan using the layered structure of the clause (LSC) framework in Role and Reference Grammar (RRG). An overview of the framework is given so that readers will have some working knowledge of the mechanisms that make up the framework. Following that, the different juncture-nexus types of SVCs in Shan are represented with the layered structure of the clause analysis. There are five juncture-nexus types in Shan and they are nuclear subordination, nuclear cosubordination, nuclear coordination, core cosubordination and core coordination. Lastly, this chapter

ends by detailing the scope of negation for nuclear and core constructions. Grammaticalization is discussed in the fifth chapter, and it starts with an overview of this language phenomenon. The second part of this chapter discusses the grammaticalization paths of minor verbs *ma*⁴⁴ ‘come’ and *kwa*²¹ ‘go’ and how their directional senses extended into other contexts. The last part of this chapter includes the exploration of grammaticalized markers *la*⁴³ ‘get’ and *pan*²¹⁴ ‘give’. Finally, the conclusion makes up the sixth and last chapter of this dissertation with suggestions for future research.

1. Introduction

1.1 AIM AND MOTIVATION

This study explores the Serial Verb Constructions (SVCs) of the Shan language, specifically the dialect of Tai Long Shan (TLS) that is spoken in the northern Shan State of Myanmar. The majority of the Shan people reside in the Shan State of Myanmar, Sagaing, and in Dehong Prefecture and Xishuangbanna (Sipsongpanna สิบสองปันนา) Dai Autonomous Prefecture of Yunnan China. They can also be found in parts of northern Thailand, namely the Provinces of Mae Hong Son and Chiangrai (Edmondson & Solnit, 1997: 337; Brown, 1965: 88, 153). The linguistic situation of the Shan people is rather complex, with language varieties that can and cannot be varieties of Shan because of prolonged interaction with other languages spoken in neighbouring territories (refer to §1.2.2) This paper is only interested in the Shan language spoken in the Shan State of Myanmar.

The Shan language is a member of the Tai-Kadai family that has not received much attention compared to its counterparts. One of the possible reasons this language has fallen under the radar is due to the intense fighting between the Shan and the Burmese which started during the late 1940s and early 1950s (since Myanmar's independence), which has lasted for six decades and counting, making access to the Shan territories highly risky due to the unrest (Solomon, 2017; Grundy-Warr & Wong, 2002: 96). Because of the massive forced relocation of the Shan people due to the Tatmadaw's¹ strong-arm approaches in cracking down on Shan insurgents and gaining control of territories (Grundy-Warr & Wong, 2002: 101-108), accessibility to the Shan language was made challenging.

Perhaps due to the lack of accessibility to the language, little linguistic work has been done on Shan, with only a few notable publications, such as Edmondson (2008: 184-202), Edmondson and Solnit (1997: 337-359), and Cushing (1871). This thus sparked my interest in working with this language because there was so much to explore, and I was fortunate enough to find a group of Shan people who were residing in Singapore. It was a great

¹ Tatmadaw is the name of the armed forces of Myanmar.

² The term deplosivation is used in Edmondson (2008:199) to describe the process in which voiced plosives lose their quality of being a plosive and become a lateral or a nasal.

³ Hansell (1993: 201-202) defines coverb constructions to be serializations of verb(s) and

opportunity to know more about the language especially since there was greater accessibility to its speakers.

Documentation of the Shan language has left much to be desired. Cushing (1871)'s published grammar of Shan was the first comprehensive work ever done on the language. He started this documentation in the hope that others would build upon his work, but it has been nearly one and a half centuries since the language was left at that stage. It is unfortunate that his attempt at the documentation of the language largely included the Shan script, rendering the reader unable to decipher his work in its entirety without prior knowledge of the script. It is also very outdated, considering that it was collected over a century ago, which means that it is not representative of the speakers now. Language documentation in his time was also largely undeveloped, and so it might have made sense to him then to do it in the Shan script because there were no transcription systems that he could adopt to represent his data for better comprehension and clarity. He had no way to represent the tones of the language as the old Shan script had no tone markers, and each combination of consonant and vowel could have various meanings depending on the tone in which it was uttered (Cushing, 1871: 8). Only well-trained speakers or teachers could tease out the tonal differences. Hence, Cushing (1871: 8) could only describe in the English language how the tones sounded to him.

The Shan script is an abugida, where all letters have an inherent vowel /a/ (Cushing, 1871: 1-3; Ager, 2019). While the old Shan script lacked any tone marking, the modern Shan script which was developed in 1958 now marks tone explicitly, making it more accessible for speakers and learners (Moeng, 1995). Cushing (1871) also described and categorized the different aspects of Shan grammar using categories and classifications that were used for Indo-European languages. He looked at the Shan language using Indo-European lenses, which meant that there were likely inaccuracies in the description of the language. Nevertheless, it was a huge undertaking to have done the work he did, and that is very commendable. He had provided good insight into what the Shan language and people were like at that time, and this holds great value.

Edmondson and Solnit (1997: 337-359) and Edmondson (2008: 184-202) are more recent works on the Shan language. However, the focus of their exploration is on the tones, sound systems and sound changes of various varieties of Shan. Edmondson and Solnit (1997: 337-359) provide acoustic evidence of tonal pairs in southern, northern, Namkhan and Muse varieties of Shan. They use Gedney's (1972) system of Proto-Tai tones and initials to show the tonal split of each proto-Tai tone (explanation of Gedney's (1972) system of

Proto-Tai tones and initials will be provided in §1.3.1.3) and give tonal descriptions of each variety of Shan that they explored. It is an attempt to draw linguistic boundaries within Shan, separating the southern and northern varieties. They determine that southern Shan extended from Panglong to Mae Hong Son in northern Thailand while northern Shan includes Namkhan, Muse and Mangshi in Yunnan China. The area in between the southern and northern Shan varieties is considered a transitional area where there are influences from both varieties. This is helpful as they propose dialectal divisions based on linguistic evidence rather than geography, which gives a clearer picture of the differences in Shan varieties. However, therein lies the problem with the transition area between their northern and southern varieties. What then should the varieties that are found in this area be identified as? The division they propose is also made based only on tonal differences, and therefore such a division can only be regarded as superficial. Deeper work to explore the sound and lexical differences is needed for a more robust division.

Building upon that work, Edmondson (2008: 184-203) provides more tone charts on northern Shan, Khamti Shan and southern Shan to illustrate the number of tones in each of these varieties. It also describes sound changes across the different regions of Shan speakers, such as the deplosivation² of /ʔb/ and /ʔbl/ to /l/ or /m/, changing of /kh/ to /x/, fortition of /f/ to /ph/, secondary articulation that was lost, and changes in vowels. This paper provides rather extensive data on the sound systems of the various varieties of Shan and the data on sound change is quite comprehensive, which is very helpful for the understanding of tones, consonants, and vowel changes in the language. It allows the reader to compare the sound changes since they are all organized into tables, and groups that share similarities can be easily identified.

It makes sense that the recent works explore the sounds and tones of Shan first, since it is a tonal language and there is a need to understand the workings of the tones and sounds in the language in order to effectively transcribe more data. There were probably restraints on time and places that they were allowed access as well, which limited the work that could be done. However, as the recent works are only on the phonology of Shan, nothing much is known about the grammar of the language.

As mentioned above, the grammar of Shan is still largely unexplored, which brings me to the motivation of my exploration of SVCs in this paper. SVCs are

² The term deplosivation is used in Edmondson (2008:199) to describe the process in which voiced plosives lose their quality of being a plosive and become a lateral or a nasal.

characteristic of and widely found in Southeast Asian languages such as Tai-Kadai (Foley 1985:18 Aikhenvald, 2006:1; Bisang, 2009:793). Due to the isolating nature (little or no verbal morphology) of this family's languages, serial verbs are very common (Payne, 1997:307). Shan, being a member of the Tai-Kadai family, exhibits such a quality. As such, delving into a characteristic aspect of the language would provide insight into its grammar, which has remained relatively untouched over the years.

In order to analyze the SVCs of Shan, I have collected both natural and elicited data from three Tai Long Shan speakers who grew up in the northern Shan state of Myanmar and are currently residing in Singapore. They were from Lashio, Hsipaw (Thibaw) Township and Namtu. I recorded the Pear Story, a folktale and a conversation that was held between three speakers (one of them was not from northern Shan State and thus her portion of the conversation was excluded) talking about a dangerous situation that they were in. In addition to that, I elicited SVCs using the Staged Events stimulus provided by Miriam van Staden, Gunter Senft, N. J. Enfield, and Jürgen Bohnemeyer on the L&C Field Manuals and Stimulus Materials website (<http://fieldmanuals.mpi.nl/volumes/2001/staged-events/>) by the Language and Cognition Department of Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics.

All data collected will be used for the analysis presented in every chapter in this paper. This thesis consists of six chapters. The first chapter gives an introduction to this study, with the first portion providing the scope of this research, past works that have been done on the Shan language, the dialect situation, the history of the Shan people in the Shan State of Myanmar, and the urgent need to document this language. The second portion of the introductory chapter provides a typological overview of Tai Long Shan which includes its phonology, constituents and syntax (with an emphasis on verb complexes) since this paper is examining SVCs. The last portion of this chapter defines what SVCs are. The second chapter details the methods used in collecting data for this paper. Background information on the participants who provided all the data is also provided. The third chapter describes the types of SVCs found in TLS, where they are categorized according to their functions. Templates of both nuclear and core serializations found in Shan SVCs are also provided to show the different verb combinations. Tests for verbhood are also included in this chapter. The fourth chapter examines the syntactic structure of Tai Long Shan using the layered structure of the clause (LSC) analysis found in the Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) framework. Scope tests are also included in this chapter to show the scope of negation over nuclear and core junctures. The fifth chapter discusses grammaticalization of the frequently used motion verbs *ma*⁴⁴

‘come’ and *kwaa*²¹ ‘go’, as well as grammaticalized markers *laj*⁴³ ‘get’ and *pan*²¹⁴ ‘give’. The last chapter concludes this entire paper, giving observations of the SVCs found in Tai Long Shan, and providing future research areas to be explored.

1.2 BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON SHAN

1.2.1 GENETIC AFFILIATION

Shan belongs to the family of Tai-Kadai languages but it is more often known or identified as a Tai language. Along with Thai, Lao, Khamti and many others, Shan is under the Southwestern branch of Tai (Diller, 2008: 1).

Table 1.1 Shan and its place in the Tai-Kadai family

1.2.2 DIALECTS

Not all ethnically Shan people speak the Shan language, which brings us to the question: Which language varieties are considered to be dialects of Shan? While it is undisputed that most of the Shan who reside in Shan State of Myanmar speak the Shan language, the challenge is determining the varieties outside of this territory. Herein lies the complexity of the dialect situation of Shan.

Different scholars have drawn the lines differently with regards to the dialects that belong to Shan. Brown (1965: 88) divides the dialects of Shan into three main categories—Northern Shan, Southern Shan and Eastern Shan. Granted, he only considered this division to be for the Shan people who speak the Shan language in the Shan State of Myanmar. He also admitted that he had limited information. On the other hand, Cushing (1914: 6-7) groups Lue and Khun as dialects of Shan because of the similarities they share with Shan. What complicates things is that the dialects of Khun and Lue languages share many similarities with Shan and are intelligible with Shan (Hartmann 2009). It

appears that Kengtung Khun has almost assimilated into the Shan variety in Kengtung such that their tones are almost identical (Hartmann, 2009:268). There are also Lue dialects that have heavy Shan influences and therein lies the complication of whether they are to be subsumed under Shan or Lue, and where the lines should be drawn when it comes to determining dialects of such linguistic hotspots where multiple sister languages coexist in a geographical location. Edmondson (2008: 191) has also found that Khamti Shan is linguistically closely related to Burman Shan despite the differences in phonology, lexicon and orthography. In addition, Lue and Khun have their individual orthographies and they are similar to that of Shan as well (Hartmann, 2009: 258).

Another issue that arises is that the Shan identify themselves as Shan not so much by the language that they speak but by their practices. People are considered to be Shan if they are Theravada Buddhists and are rice paddy cultivators (Edmondson, 2008: 190). An example would be the Tai Leng and Tai Khamti. Due to the British annexation, the Tai Leng and Tai Khamti were separated from the main bulk of Shan in Myanmar. They are ethnically Shan, sharing the same culture and religion, but have a different language and script (Sai, 2009: 22). When my consultant, whose first language is TLS, was asked about the dialects of Shan, he considered Lue, Khun and Khamti to be dialects of Shan, but admitted that the Khamti language is one that he cannot understand. To him, anyone who is ethnically Shan also speaks the Shan language, but he is also aware of intelligibility differences and cites geography to be a reason for them. As such, therein runs the potential risk of Shan people identifying the language that they speak as the Shan language simply because they are ethnically Shan.

Having touched briefly on the issues concerning the dialect situation of Shan, it appears that determining its dialects would be a challenge. The scope of this paper does not allow for a deeper investigation of the Shan dialects, and it would definitely be a huge undertaking as there is great variation in the language due to their history of displacement, which will be elaborated in §1.2.3 below. For the moment, this paper is satisfied with the dialectal division within the Shan state of Myanmar that Brown (1965) proposed, and explores the Northern Shan dialect—it is mainly spoken in northern Shan State, though there are pockets of people who speak it in other parts of Shan State—whom the Shan call Tai Long. This corresponds with the name that they use to refer to themselves and their written script.

1.2.3 HISTORY

The majority of Shan can be found in Shan State and Sagaing in Myanmar, Dehong Prefecture and Xishuangbanna (Sipsongpanna สิบสองปันนา) Dai Autonomous Prefecture in Yunnan China, and in parts of northern Thailand, namely the provinces of Mae Hong Son and Chiang Rai (Edmondson & Solnit, 1997: 337; Brown, 1965: 88, 153). As many Shan have been displaced from their homes and are scattered all over, it is impossible to determine exactly where all of them are. The map that follows (Figure 1.1) is an estimate of the geographical areas in which the Shan people can be found.

Figure 1.1: Geographical locations where the Shan people reside

Shan is a language that carries with it the heavy history of its people. The Shan have suffered great losses in people and territory over the years and have relinquished independence reluctantly under the pressure of other dominant empires such as the Chinese, the Burmese, and the Kachin (Edmondson, 2008: 190; Grundy-Warr & Wong, 2002). Lacouperie (1885), in his book *The Cradle*

of the *Shan Race*, wrote about the scattering of the Shan over a vast area, resulting in an indeterminable number of communities becoming intermingled with different surrounding cultures and societies. The predicament of the Shan, particularly in Myanmar since the independence of Burma in 1948, is a result of protracted fighting between the Shan and the Burmese, which led to the heavy displacement of people from their villages, uprooting them from their homes, and forcefully moving them to different areas of the country or to neighbouring countries (Grundy-Warr & Wong, 2002). The map (Figure 1.2) below illustrates the extent of displacement in central Shan State, with the shaded area being the territories where people were uprooted from their homes.

Figure 1.2: Areas in central Shan state where people were forced to relocate (Grundy-Warr & Wong, 2002: 104)

From Figure 1.2, we can see that there was a significant area of Myanmar in which people were affected and displaced. Such displacement resulted in large numbers of people moving away and relocating to other communities, and if language morphs to fit its speakers, then it would not be surprising to find great variation between speakers of Shan. Creativity is derived from the freedom of language activity, but while speakers enjoy this freedom, they are also restricted by the traditions of their language (Lehmann, 1985), hence while the language they speak may not have undergone changes that are too vast, differences will emerge over time. As a result, the Shan language would have, and already has, great linguistic variation across its dialects.

The Shan people are avid Buddhists, so much so that their Shan identity is associated tightly with their religion. Edmondson (2008: 190) proposes that the Shan identify themselves as Shan not so much through their language but as being Theravada Buddhists and rice paddy cultivators. If their identity is closely associated with their religion and livelihood, then language is simply a means of communication and any language that allows them to communicate would suffice. Herein lies the fear—perhaps more for linguists—that the loss of their language may have little impact on them.

The need to document this language is growing in urgency due to the global trend of speakers of minority language communities relocating and moving to big cities in the search for better economic opportunities (Laikha, 2007). There is limited education provided in the Shan language, as the medium for teaching in public schools is the majority language, depending on the jurisdiction the territory is under. Many public schools no longer teach Shan, with only a handful of monasteries and Christian churches offering Shan classes (Hlaing, 2007: 165).

After speaking to a few Shan people in Singapore, I found out that the Shan learn to speak their language domestically while the males learn to read and write Shan in monasteries. It is mandatory for boys to attend monasteries when they are of a certain age and Buddhism is taught in the Shan language. As a result, the men have greater literacy in the Shan language as compared to the women. As Theravada Buddhism is an important part of their identity as Shan, all boys have to become novice monks before they can decide whether or not to pursue the path of a monk. They have also revealed that public schools are only taught in Burmese and so they had to learn the language in order to communicate with the teachers and students. All subjects were taught in Burmese except for rudimentary English classes that required them to learn to speak in English. Shan was used mainly at home or in their villages. In

addition, Young Shan people are increasingly losing interest in their language (Laikha, 2007; Hlaing, 2007:165), and may soon not even be able to communicate in Shan, or even identify themselves as Shan. With the combination of all factors mentioned above, it appears that the language is moving towards becoming obsolete in the years to come.

1.3 TYPOLOGICAL OVERVIEW OF TAI LONG SHAN

1.3.1 PHONOLOGY

1.3.1.1 Phonotactics

Shan is traditionally identified as a monosyllabic language, but compounding is also a part of their word formation. It is thus not strictly monosyllabic, though its words in utterances are more frequently monosyllables. The syllable structure of Shan allows for maximally four components. The canonical TLS syllable consists of an obligatory vowel and tone. The linear syllable structure of it is as follows:

$$(1) (C_1) (G_1) V_1 (V_2) (C_2)^T$$

where

C_1	=	/p, ph, t, th, c, k, kh, h, m, n, ɲ, ŋ, s, ts, l, r, j, w/
G_1	=	/j, w/
V_1	=	/i, ī, u, e, ə, o, æ, a, ɔ/
V_2	=	/a, e/
C_2	=	/p, t, k, m, n, ŋ, j, w/
T	=	any tone

The C_1 slot can be filled by all consonants. Likewise, the G_1 slot can be filled by all glides and the V_1 slot can be filled by all vowels. V_2 can only be filled by /a/ and /e/ and C_2 can only be filled by /p, t, k, m, n, ŋ, j, w/. When C_1 and G_1 are filled, V_1 can only be filled by /a, æ, e/ if G_1 is filled by /j/, and /e, a, ɔ/ if G_1 is filled by /w/. In cases where V_1 and V_2 are filled (whether or not C_1 and/or G_1 are filled), it is not necessary for C_2 to be filled.

V_1^T	/e ⁴⁴ /	‘HON.F.INF’
$V_1V_2^T$	/oe ⁴⁴ /	‘friend’
$C_1V_1^T$	/sə ⁴³ /	‘t-shirt’
$C_1V_1V_2^T$	/kaa ²¹⁴ laam ²¹⁴ /	‘crow’
$V_1V_2C_2^T$	/aəŋ ²¹ /	‘bucket;
$C_1V_1C_2^T$	/luk ⁴³ /	‘child’
$C_1G_1V_1^T$	/twe ⁴⁴ /	‘look’
$C_1V_1V_2C_2^T$	/laat ⁴³ /	‘talk’
$C_1G_1V_1C_2^T$	/ljaŋ ²¹⁴ /	‘red/bicycle’
$C_1G_1V_1V_2^T$	/kwaa ²¹ /	‘to go’

Table 1.2: Possible syllable types in TLS

1.3.1.2 Phonemes

TLS has eighteen consonant phonemes and ten monophthongal vowel phonemes. Table 1.3 and Table 1.4 below present the inventories.

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive					
<i>voiceless unaspirated</i>	p	t	c	k	h
<i>voiceless aspirated</i>	ph	th		kh	
Nasal	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
Fricative					
<i>unaspirated</i>		s			
<i>aspirated</i>					
Affricate		ts			
Approximant	w	l, ɭ	j		

Table 1.3: Consonant inventory of TLS

There are only voiceless non-nasal stops in the consonant inventory of TLS, which may be due to how difficult it is to maintain voicing during a stop. Ohala (1985: 194) presents two physiological conditions for voicing, which are that vocal cords must be lightly adducted and that there is no insufficiency in the air that flows past them. When producing a stop, air that flows past the glottis collects in the oral cavity, which causes oral pressure to approach subglottal pressure. As a result, the air that flows past the glottis decreases gradually, causing voicing to be absent. As long as one of the two conditions for voicing is not met, a stop will be voiceless. There is also only one voiceless fricative and one voiceless affricate, which Ohala (1985: 201) has a possible explanation to account for the lack of voicing. Voicing of fricatives require two seemingly contradictory conditions. One, oral pressure needs to be low in order to maintain voicing. Two, oral pressure needs to be high enough to cause a high velocity of air through the narrow channel created by producing the consonant. As a result, to meet both of these conditions can prove to be a challenge since they have to be done simultaneously.

	Front	Central	Back
High	i	ɨ	u
Mid	e	ə	o
Low	æ	a, aː	ɔ

Table 1.4: Vowel inventory of TLS

There are three degrees of vowel backness—front, central, and back—and three degrees of tongue height—high, mid, and low—for the vowels of TLS. There are three front unrounded vowels, one of each height, and four central unrounded vowels, one of each height except for the low tongue height that has two vowels. It also has three back rounded vowels, one of each height. Lastly, there is only vowel length distinction, for /a/.

1.3.1.3 Tones

Before illustrating the tones of Shan, there is a need to explain the motivation and use of Gedney's checklist (Gedney, 1972) to represent its tones. Proto-Tai is generally agreed to have had three tones, A, B and C, for unchecked syllables, and one tone, D, for checked syllables, which are undifferentiated by tones. D is then further divided according to the vowel length of the checked syllables, with DS representing checked syllables with a short vowel and DL representing checked syllables with a long vowel (Gedney, 1972: 196; Coupe, 2001: 3). Due to two waves of sound change that spread across Southeast Asia and China, tonal languages underwent splits in their tonal systems. The phonetic nature of the initial consonant of each syllable at that time affected the tone split, and in the Tai languages, each original tone split into two or more tones. Tone D of Proto-Tai underwent two different splits, one conditioned by the initial consonant of the syllables and the other conditioned by the vowel length of the syllables (Gedney, 1972:196; Coupe, 2001:3). The split in original tones resulted in the contrastive tones that we see in Tai languages today. As a result, Gedney (1972:202-203) compiled a list of test words and categorized them into twenty boxes according to their original tone and initial consonant such that any field linguist who wishes to determine the tones of any Tai language could do so without difficulty. Each box has three to four test words. However, as I found the number of words to be rather insufficient, I have collected and added words from Li (1977: 29-35) and Jackson et al. (2012: 130) to form a modified version of the checklist. Table 1.5 below is an illustration of the tones in TLS using Gedney's checklist.

Initials	A	B	C	DS	DL
Voiceless fricatives	214	21	43	44	21
Voiceless unaspirated stops					
Pre-glottalized stops					
Voiced sounds	44	43	52		43

Table 1.5: Tonal representation of TLS using Gedney's checklist

The categories listed on the left are those of Proto-Tai and not the modern language. As we can see above, there is a binary split in the original tonal

system depending on the voicing nature of the initial consonants. Using Chao tone letters to represent the pitch values (Chao, 1930), TLS has five distinct tones: low slightly falling then rising /214/, low slightly falling /21/, high slightly falling /43/, high level /44/, and high falling /52/. Unchecked syllables of TLS have all five tonal contrasts while checked syllables have four tonal contrasts.

1.3.2 *CONSTITUENCY AND SYNTAX*

Shan is an isolating language and its constructions have a topic-comment structure. The topic—something that is to be talked about—usually fronts the construction, and the comment—something that talks about the topic—follows after. There are four major form classes in Shan, and they are nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs.

1.3.2.1 **Noun/Noun complex**

The noun can be defined as an entity that can be modified by attributive verbs, attributive nouns, adjectives, numeral classifiers, possessor nouns, a relativizer, and demonstratives. A noun complex often functions as an argument and is headed by a noun with its modifiers following it. A template of a type of noun complex that is common in Shan is provided below.

[Noun] [Attri. Verb] [Attri. Noun] [Adj] [Number+Classifier] [Demonstrative]

An attributive verb can follow after the main noun to constrain the meaning expressed by that noun. For example, if the main noun is a person and the attributive verb is ‘drive’, the meaning is constrained to a person who drives, which is essentially ‘driver’. An attributive noun such as ‘car’, can follow after the attributive verb to further constrain the meaning to ‘car driver’. Next, an adjective can follow to provide a description of the car driver. The car driver could be pretty, tall or small. Number and classifier come next, but their positions are relative to the number of car drivers. If there is only one car driver, the number will follow the classifier. If there is more than one car driver, the number will precede the classifier. Demonstratives come last in a noun complex. Example (1) below demonstrates a noun complex where the number is one, while example (2) illustrates a noun complex where the number is greater than one. The noun complexes are in bold type.

- (1) *kam*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵² *mi*⁴⁴ *luk*⁴³ *ɔn*²¹ *tsaaj*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *nɪŋ*⁴³, ...
 ----now---- have **child** **small** **male** **CL:person** **one**
 ‘Now there is a small boy. ...’

[TEXT 1: The Pear Story. (11)]

- (2) *kon*⁴⁴ *tsaj*⁴⁴ *ɔn*²¹ *saam*²¹⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *tsə*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵², *jɔ*⁴³ *kam*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵²
person **male** **small** **three** **CL:person** **those** **that** at.this.time

*waaj*⁴⁴ *se*²¹⁴, *khaw*²¹⁴ *tse*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵² *aw*²¹⁴, *tswaj*⁴³ *man*⁴⁴ *aw*²¹⁴
 after and 3PL those that take help 3SG take

*taaj*²¹ *nə*²¹⁴ *nan*⁵² ...
 put.on on that

‘Those three boys, after that, the three of them take hold of the basket.

(They)

help him take (the basket) and put (it) on that (bicycle). ...’

[TEXT 1: The Pear Story. (22)]

1.3.2.2 Verb/Verb complex

Shan verbs are morphemes that denote actions, processes and states. They function as predicates and can take arguments. They can be negated and can occur with aspect and mood markers. The negation marker comes before the verb and the mood marker occurs before the negative marker. A continuous aspect marker precedes the verb while a perfective aspect marker follows it. Both aspect markers cannot occur together in a verb complex as they are semantically incompatible. An activity expressed by the verb/s cannot be completed and ongoing at the same time. A template of the verb complex in Shan is given below.

[Mood marker] [Negator] [Cont. aspect marker] [Verb/s] [Perfective aspect marker]

In the position where the verb is, multiple verbs may occur together. An example in Shan is given below.

- (3) *luk*⁴³ *ɔn*²¹ *tsaaj*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *nɪŋ*⁴³, *ma*⁴⁴ *naŋ*⁴³ *nə*²¹⁴ *taŋ*²¹
 child small male CL:person one **come** **sit** on chair
 ‘A boy comes and sits on a chair.’

[Text 3: MPI Stimulus, (51)]

Looking at the example above, the verb *ma*⁴⁴ ‘come’ expresses the motion of travel by the boy and the direction towards which the boy is moving. The verb

*naŋ*⁴³ ‘sit’ shows the next action of the boy, which was sitting. Hence, together, they convey the full act of the boy moving towards the chair and then sitting on it.

1.3.2.3 Adjectives/Adverbs

Adjectives modify nouns while adverbs modify verbs, and they follow the noun or verb that they are modifying. Adjectives and adverbs are often the same form in Shan, in that the same form can serve as either an adjective or an adverb, depending on whether a noun or a verb precedes it. They can also be reduplicated to express intensification or repetition.

1.4 DEFINING SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS

Exactly what constitutes a serial verb construction (SVC) is still a matter of debate. There exists a continuum of definitions for SVCs, with one end being the broadest and the other end being the narrowest. A generally given definition of SVCs is two or more verbs occurring in sequence, behaving like a single predicate and expressing a single event, sharing at least one argument, with no overt linking markers (Aikhenvald & Dixon, 2006: 1; Rose, 2009: 650; Tao, 2009: 210; Durie, 1997: 290). This definition accepts verbs that are dependent on the occurrence of other verbs, that is, verbs that express a grammatical meaning rather than a lexical meaning in the construction that they appear in. The tightest definition is provided by Haspelmath (2015: 2), who argues that an SVC is “a monoclausal construction consisting of multiple independent verbs with no element linking them and with no predicate-argument relation between the verbs”. He does not accept auxiliaries as they cannot occur on their own and are dependent on the occurrence of another verb. This means that verbs that express a grammatical meaning rather than their lexical meaning in a construction are not considered part of a SVC. What I find problematic with the generally given definition of SVCs is the notion of single predicate and single eventhood (which will be further elaborated below). As the narrower definition provided by Haspelmath (2015: 2) excludes constructions where one of the two verbs does not express its verbal meaning in the construction but rather its functional meaning, it may not be that beneficial for descriptive work in this paper though it may be helpful for comparative work. Including constructions where one of the two verbs express grammatical meaning allows us to identify the environment in which the verb functions as a grammatical marker rather than a lexical verb.

In an attempt to provide some solid ground for what an SVC is, Aikhenvald (2006) has provided a list of six criteria that define SVCs: single predication;

monoclausality; occurs within a single intonational contour; tense, aspect, mood, modality and polarity values are shared; single eventhood; and lastly, argument sharing. Of the six criteria, I disagree with single predication, single eventhood and the sharing of tense, aspect, mood, modality and polarity values. I will argue for their exclusion below. Before I address each criterion, I present a definition of SVCs which I believe to be useful for the Shan language. It is neither too broad nor too narrow and covers all the serial verb constructions of Shan so far.

A Shan serial verb construction is a monoclausal construction in which a series of two or more verbs (or verb phrases) with no intervening linking markers occur within a single intonation unit and share at least one argument.

1.4.1 SVC AS A SINGLE PREDICATE

What Aikhenvald (2006: 4) regards as a single predicate is unclear, though it seems that she takes it to be different from a complex predicate, which again is unclear. Baker & Harvey (2010: 13) and Foley (2010: 79) take complex predicate constructions to be SVCs, while Hansell (1993: 211), Tao (2010) and Francis & Matthews (2006) take coverb constructions³ to be SVCs. Haspelmath (2015: 16) also regards this criterion as unnecessary because one has to know exactly what a ‘predicate’ is, and what ‘act as’ a single predicate means. What seems to be crucial here is the property of monoclausality (which will be defined in §1.5 below), and not predication.

Before moving on, I would like to add that verb compounds are not regarded as SVCs. Verb compounds are V + V sequences that are bound together with such intimacy on the morphological level that they behave like lexemes (Zwicky, 1990: 9). His examples are reproduced below.

(1.1) Go see who’s at the door

(1.2) *Go away see who’s at the door.

(1.3) *Go quickly see who’s at the door.

(Perlmutter 1971: 95-7; as cited in Zwicky, 1990:9)

³ Hansell (1993: 201-202) defines coverb constructions to be serializations of verb(s) and coverb(s). They express different aspects of a situation described through the SVC. A coverb manifests characteristics of both verbs and prepositions. Some behave productively as a verb in certain environments while some have been completely grammaticalized into functional particles.

Verb compounds in Sri Lanka Malay are parsed as one phonological word (Nordhoff, 2012: 326), which means that intervention between the two components cannot happen because of how intimately they are linked.

(1.4)	<i>kasi-thaau</i>	Sri Lanka Malay
	give-know	(Nordhoff, 2012: 326)
	‘inform’	

Hansell (1993: 209) also separates verb compounds from serial verbs, arguing that in Mandarin Chinese, serial verbs in complement constructions occur sequentially while verb compounds express an event or action by two synonymous verbs, or where two different events take place in no specific order or almost simultaneously. His examples are reproduced in (1.5) to (1.8) below.

(1.5)	<i>jiàoxùn</i>	teach + train	‘to teach a lesson, to chide’
(1.6)	<i>mócā</i>	rub + rub	‘to rub’
(1.7)	<i>guīhuán</i>	return + return	‘to return’
(1.8)	<i>hǎnjiao</i>	yell + call	‘to yell’

1.4.2 MONOCLAUSALITY

The criterion of monoclausality distinguishes SVCs from multi-clausal structures and is one property where consensus is found among most scholars (Aikhenvald, 2006: 6; Bisang, 2009: 796; Durie, 1997: 291, Rose, 2009: 645; Tao, 2009: 210; Enfield, 2007: 522; Baker & Harvey, 2010). Before going further, what is a clause? Adopting the framework of Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin & LaPolla, 1997:17-81, 441-516), a clause consists of three syntactic layers—the nucleus, core and clause. The nucleus is made up of the predicate,⁴ which is a semantic unit. The core is made up of the nucleus and core arguments, while the clause as a whole is made up of the nucleus, core and periphery (what occupy the periphery are elements such as non-core arguments, temporal expressions, and outer locatives). A clause is not limited to just having a nucleus and a core. Multiple nuclei or cores can occur together. They are known as junctures, and can be taken as complex predicates.

Aikhenvald (2006: 6) also argues that biclausal coordinate constructions differ in meaning even when the same components as in an SVC are used. Her examples are reproduced below.

⁴ In RRG, a predicate is seen as a function over arguments, that is, it links arguments or is saying something about them.

- (1.9) *cùá* *cì* *ákw'* *di*.
 dog catch+HAB chicken eat
 'The dog eats (lit. catch-eat) a chicken.'

- (1.10) *cùá* *cì* *ákw'* *ò-di* *í*.
 dog catch+HAB chicken he-eat it
 'The dog catches a chicken and copulates with it.'
 (Anyi-Sanvi—Van Leynseele 1975: 191-2; as cited in Aikhenvald, 2006: 6)

1.4.3 SVC OCCURS WITHIN AN INTONATIONAL CONTOUR

Aikhenvald (2006: 7) posits that SVCs, being monoclausal, have all prosodic and intonational properties akin to a single clause. Intonational boundaries are often placed before or after clauses (Watson & Gibson, 2005: 280). All SVCs, specifically the predicate, occur within a single intonational contour but not all utterances that occur within a single intonational contour are SVCs. One thing is for certain, that if there are any prosodic breaks or pause markers between the verbal components of the construction, it is not an SVC. Bisang (2009: 797) argues that the use of intonational properties to define SVCs is unreliable, while Haspelmath (2015: 16) believes it to be an unnecessary criterion altogether. However, intonation is a useful aiding tool for identifying SVCs. For languages that do not employ overt conjunction, intonational boundaries help to discern multiple clauses that are conjoined by simple juxtaposition. An example from Papuan Malay is given below.

- (1.11) *Jadi pagi* *saya* *bangung,* *sa* *kasi* *makang* *anjing,* *sa*
 so morning 1SG wake.up 1SG give eat dog 1SG

pegang sa *pu* *parang,* *sa* *punya* *jubi,*
 hold 1SG POSS short.machete 1SG POSS bow.and.arrow

sa *tokiang* *pana,* *sa* *toki* *pana*
 1SG SPM-beat arrow 1SG beat arrow
 'So in the morning I got up, I fed the dogs, I took my short machete, my bow and arrow, I banged [SPM⁵] (my) arrows, I banged my arrows.'
 (Papuan Malay—Kluge, 2014: 614)

⁵ SPM: Speech mistake

The commas indicate pauses and these help to discern multiple clauses apart from the simple juxtaposition strategy used. In addition, Foley (2010: 97) observes that in Yimas, verbs in SVCs are spoken with roughly the same pitch except the last verb, which is spoken with a distinctive falling pitch to signal the end of an intonational phrase.

1.4.4 TENSE, ASPECT, MOOD, MODALITY AND POLARITY VALUE ARE SHARED

Aikhenvald (2006: 8) posits that tense, aspect, mood, modality and polarity values are shared in SVCs simply by virtue of their monoclausality. She believes that this criterion distinguishes SVCs from multiclausal structures. This is, however, untrue. There are two kinds of serializations—nuclear and core serializations (Van Valin & LaPolla, 1997, Ch. 8). Nuclear operators can only be shared in nuclear serializations while core operators will be shared in nuclear serializations and can be shared in core serializations. Clausal operators, on the other hand, are shared across all components of a clause. Aspect markers, nuclear negation and directionals are nuclear operators while deontic modals are core operators. Epistemic modals, tense, mood and evidentials are clausal operators and therefore will be shared across all components of the clause, including the entire SVC.

I take two examples from Haspelmath (2015: 17) to illustrate how aspect, a nuclear operator, may not be shared in an SVC.

- (1.12) *A tá fáa páu túe.*
 3SG IMPF chop tree throw
 ‘He is felling a tree.’ (He is engaged in the activity of chopping)

- (1.13) *A fáa páu tá túe.*
 3SG chop tree IMPF throw
 ‘He is felling a tree.’ (The tree is falling)
 (Muysken & Veenstra 2006: 239; as cited in Haspelmath, 2015: 17)

Looking at the examples above, the aspect marker *tá* in Saramaccan can have scope either over the entire construction or only part of it. Example (1.12) is a nuclear serialization because *tá* has scope over the entire construction, while example (1.13) is a core serialization because *tá* only has scope over *túe*.

It is also untrue that polarity value is necessarily shared in an SVC. Foley (2010: 201) shows that when the middle verb of a three-verb SVC bears the

negative prefix, the first verb must remain positive in polarity. His example is reproduced below.

- (1.14) *namot i yor i anɡi-r ba-pika-r ba-irik-tap.*
 man a egg a get-R NEG-throw-R NEG-go.down-NEG
 ‘A man got an egg but didn’t throw it down.’

A negator can have scope over the entire SVC or part of it. Below is my example in Mandarin Chinese to illustrate that.

- (1.15) *wǒ meí tuō xié zǒu jìn fáng qù.*
 1SG NEG take.off shoe walk enter house go.
 ‘I did not take off my shoes and enter the house.’ **Or**
 ‘I did not take off my shoes entering the house.’

As illustrated in example (1.15) above, the scope of a negator can also be ambiguous. The negator *meí* can be interpreted as having scope either over the entire construction or only over the verb *tuō*, in which its scope has to be contextually retrieved.

1.4.5 SINGLE EVENTHOOD

Aikhenvald (2006: 10-12) and Bisang (2009: 802-806) believe that single eventhood is a crucial criterion for SVCs. Many scholars are also supportive of this (Durie, 1997: 291; Rose, 2009: 650; Enfield, 2007: 522), yet the concept of single eventhood as a characteristic of SVCs is unreliable. The concept is abstract and it involves both cultural factors and idiosyncrasies. Aikhenvald (2006: 10), Bisang (2009: 802), Pawley (1987: 330) and Bohnemeyer et al. (2007: 505) have all tried to define what a single event is, but much is left to be desired. Is it necessary to enforce the concept of single eventhood? While there are cultural factors at play whereby a series of verbs that describe a cultural happening is recognizable to all as one ‘event’, there is bias in interpretation in that it is also subjective to the persons themselves. The entire notion of eventhood is unnecessary for defining SVCs, because a single event or multiple events are expressed in an SVC. Two examples from Hansell (1993: 198-199) are reproduced below to show that an SVC does not necessarily express a single event.

- (1.16) *wǒ mǎi maó bǐ xié zì.*
 1SG buy writing.brush write characters
 ‘I’m buying a writing brush to write characters with.’
 (Li and Thompson, 1981: 367 as cited in Hansell, 1993: 199)

- (1.17) *tā chuān shàng le dàyī chūqù le.*
 2SG wear on PFV overcoat go.out PFV.
 ‘He put on his overcoat and went out.’
 (Hansell, 1993: 198)

In (1.16), the SVC juxtaposes two actions, or “events”, that are not necessarily simultaneous. Hansell (1993: 198-199) writes that while the purpose of buying the writing brush is to write characters, the buying of the writing brush and the writing of the characters can occur at completely different times and the writing of the characters can be unrealized as well and the sentence still stands true. It then becomes ambiguous if this entire construction is taken as a single “event” with two “sub-events” or two separate “events”. Likewise for (1.17), the putting on of the overcoat and going out are two separate actions that are not necessarily simultaneous and can be regarded as two separate “events” by the speaker.

Foley (2010: 82) argues that in Yimas, a Papuan language of New guinea, an act of pushing a canoe into the water is quite complex. It cannot be simplified as a single event because pushing a canoe into the water refers to ‘an actor causing a canoe to move linearly along the ground away from the high ground of the riverbank toward the lower level of the river itself, so that it descends down the edge of the riverbank and comes to float on the water of the river.’

Taking into account all the above examples, it is evident that SVCs do not necessarily express a single event. They can express multiple events as well. The notion of eventhood is unnecessary for SVCs, so, given how arbitrary this entire concept is, is it even necessary at all to try to define it?

1.4.6 ARGUMENT SHARING

SVCs typically share at least one argument and this is another criterion that has a large consensus among scholars (Aikhenvald, 2006: 12; Hansell, 1993: 197; Rose, 2009: 650; Bisang, 2009: 798; Jarkey, 2010: 110). Below are some examples from Mandarin Chinese and Hmong. Shared arguments are in bold type.

- (1.18) *wǒ mǎi maóbǐ xie zì.*
 1SG buy writing.brush write characters
 ‘I’m buying a writing brush to write characters with.’
 (Mandarin Chinese—Li and Thompson 1981: 367 as cited in Hansell, 1993: 199)

- (1.19) *wǒ qiú tā bāng wǒ máng.*
 1SG beg **him** help me busy.

‘I begged him to help me.’

(Mandarin Chinese—Hansell, 1993: 200)

- (1.20) *cov hmoob hla dej na.koom dim hauv*
 COLLCLF **Hmong** cross river Mekong escape inside
 nplog.teb mus thai.teb
 Laos go Thailand

‘The Hmong escaped from Laos to Thailand over the Mekong river.’

(Hmong—Jarkey, 2010: 116)

- (1.21) *lawv tua liab tuag*
 3PL shoot **monkey** die

‘They shot some monkeys dead.’

(Hmong—Jarkey, 2010: 118)

As seen from the examples above, SVCs share at least one argument, depending on whether they are nuclear serializations or core serializations. The sharing can occur in different environments. In (1.18) and (1.20), the actor argument is shared while in (1.19) and (1.21), the undergoer of V_1 is the shared argument that behaves as the actor of V_2 . The sharing of arguments is a natural result of an SVC’s ability to express complexity in a single clause without having to repeat the same arguments over multiple clauses. I believe it to be one of the many beautiful things of the language.

1.4.7 SUMMARY

As mentioned in detail above, the six criteria that Aikhenvald (2006) laid out to define SVCs do not all stand. First, single predication is unnecessary as a criterion in that regardless of whether an SVC is a complex predicate or simple predicate construction, it still occurs within one clause. This criterion also invites complexity because one has to know exactly what a ‘predicate’ is, and what ‘act as’ a single predicate mean. Second, single eventhood is also an unnecessary criterion. The entire concept is abstract, where cultural factors and idiosyncrasies come into play. The time of occurrence for each activity expressed in the individual verbs can be very far apart or not even happen at all, as shown in examples (1.16) and (1.17) for Mandarin Chinese. Regardless, SVCs can express a single event or multiple events and there is no need for this criterion to be definitional of what constitutes an SVC. Third, SVCs do not necessarily share tense, aspect, mood, modality and polarity values, as

demonstrated above in examples (1.12) to (1.15). There are two types of serializations—nuclear and core serializations. Depending on the type of serialization each SVC represents, different operators—tense, aspect, mood, modality—are shared. A polarity value may not be shared in an SVC as well.

The other three criteria—monoclausality, the predicate occurring within a single intonational unit and sharing at least one argument—are what defines an SVC. Monoclausality distinguishes SVCs from multi-clausal structures and is one property where consensus is found among most scholars. Intonation is also a useful aiding tool for identifying SVCs. For languages that do not employ overt conjunction, intonational boundaries help to discern multiple clauses that are conjoined by simple juxtaposition. While in some languages such as Mandarin Chinese and Shan where they have topic-comment structures and the topic of the clause can be set off in a separate intonation unit from the comment (where the predicate is), the predicate should and must occur within a single intonation unit in order for it to be considered an SVC. Lastly, sharing at least one argument is another property in which most scholars find consensus.

Having discussed in detail each criterion of SVC, I present once again a definition of an SVC that I believe can avoid the inconsistencies inherent to previously proposed definitions.

A serial verb construction is a monoclausal construction where a series of two or more verbs (or verb phrases) with no intervening linking markers occur within a single intonation unit and share at least one argument.

2. Methods

The entire data collection process for this project is described under this section. All data collected were utilized in the various analyses that make up the different chapters in this thesis.

2.1 PARTICIPANTS

A total of three native speakers of TLS participated in this study. Two of them acted as consultants⁶ during the course of this project and they were monks who were serving in Theravadan Buddhist monastery in Singapore. They provided and assisted in the interpreting and translation of the data collected throughout this project. All three participants are males and are in their thirties. They identified themselves as Shan and were fluent speakers of TLS, having spent their formative years speaking it.

Each native speaker is multilingual, because the environment in which each grew up rendered it necessary to speak languages other than their native tongue.

2.1.1 *BACKGROUND OF PARTICIPANTS*

2.1.1.1 **Consultant Su**

Su is a native speaker of TLS, and he was born and brought up in Lashio, which is in the northern part of Shan State of Myanmar. He is 37 years old (in 2017) and speaks four languages—Shan, Burmese, Thai and English, arranged according to the frequency of use of each language (the languages each speaks will be ordered in the same way from hereon). He can speak and write in TLS fluently, and has stayed in other cities besides the village he grew up in. He lived in Lashio for fifteen years before moving to Yangon, Myanmar, for ten years and then to Thailand for nine years. He then stayed in Singapore for two years and is currently in Sri Lanka pursuing a Master's degree in Buddhism. He was one of the monks serving in the monastery in Singapore.

2.1.1.2 **Consultant Va**

Va was born in Hsipaw (Thibaw) Township, in northern Shan State of Myanmar, and lived there for fourteen years before moving to Yangon, Myanmar, for ten years. He then moved to Sri Lanka for four years before

⁶ I make a distinction between consultants and participants as consultants are those who helped in the interpretation of the data collected (and who also participated in the recording of the data) while participants merely participated in the recording of the data.

returning to Hsipaw for a year and then to South Korea for a few months before settling in Singapore. He is 38 years old (in 2017) and speaks three languages fluently—Shan, Burmese and English. He is the main monk supervising the monastery in Singapore and is deeply respected. Monks in the Shan culture are highly revered and are considered the most educated people in their community. They are incredibly knowledgeable about their language as well, having greater exposure and higher use of the language since they read, write and speak in Shan frequently due to the nature of their vocation.

2.1.1.3 Participant Sa

Sa grew up in Namtu, in the northern part of Shan State of Myanmar and stayed there for most of his life before travelling to Yangon, Myanmar, to prepare to move to Singapore. He speaks three languages—Shan, Burmese and English. Learning English was part of the preparatory course he took in Yangon to be prepared for work and living in Singapore. He is a native speaker of TLS and members of his family communicate with one another only in TLS. He was taught to speak in TLS by his mother before learning to read and write it in the monastery when he was 9 years old. He is currently 33 years old (in 2017).

2.2 DATA COLLECTION

Tone elicitation was done using Gedney's modified checklist (Gedney, 1972) (refer to §1.3.1.3) during the first session in order to identify the tones in TLS. Next, I recorded a commentary on the Pear Story (Chafe, 1975) with Consultant Su, after which I recorded a conversation among Su, Sa and another participant Na. I have left out Na's portion of speech in my transcriptions as she was not from northern Shan State and had rather stark phonological differences in her utterances (further elaboration can be found in §2.2.2.2). I then elicited for SVCs using the Staged Events stimulus (Van Staden et al. 2001). I have also included a folktale—the Frog and Crow Story—that I recorded with Consultant Va in 2013 and have refined, with his help, the interpretations and translations done then as they had many inaccuracies.

All recordings were made in a quiet room in the monastery in Novena, with all its doors and windows closed, and all air-conditioning and fans switched off. While this may not be the most ideal place for recording, the recordings were clear and good enough for analysis and the environment was sufficiently quiet as well. The acoustic integrity of the recordings was therefore uncompromised.

Recordings were done at a sampling rate of 48kHz and bit depth of 24, with a Zoom H4Nex Handy Recorder and an Audio Technica AT831b Miniature

Cardioid Condenser Microphone. Praat was used to load the sound files and all transcriptions were done with a pencil and paper before they were interlinearized with Microsoft Word.

There was a clear communication of instructions with each meeting and all doubts were addressed before recording and working with the participants and consultants. English was used to communicate with consultants Su and Va and participant Sa.

Consultant Su helped with the interpreting and translating of the data collected from the Pear Story (Chafe, 1975) recording before he had to leave Singapore for Sri Lanka. Consultant Va then took over and assisted me with the interpreting and translating of the data collected from the Staged Events stimulus (Van Staden et al., 2001), the Frog and Crow story and the conversation between Su, Sa and Na. Below is a table that shows the data used for analyzing and describing SVCs in Shan. It also includes the duration of each item of data collected, the people who were involved in the recording, the consultant who helped in the interpretation of the data, and the number of pages of transcription for each data. While it would have been ideal to run the Staged Events Stimulus with all three participants, time constraints and availability of speakers only permitted it to be done with one speaker. Nonetheless, the results are valid and useful to analyzing SVCs in Shan.

Data	Duration	Participants	Consultant	Pages of transcription
Staged Events Stimulus	45min 38s	Va	Va	18
The Pear Story	6min 11s	Su	Su	10
The Frog and Crow Story	3min 24s	Va	Va	5
Conversation	16min 3s	Sa, Su	Va	33

Table 2.1: Collation of the different types of data

2.2.1 ELICITED DATA

2.2.1.1 Gedney's modified checklist

In order to effectively transcribe all the data elicited and recorded, there was a need to elicit the tones of TLS. As a result, Gedney's checklist (Gedney, 1972)

was perfect for this very purpose as it is a list of words organized into twenty boxes according to their tones and initials in the proto-language (refer to §1.3.1.3). There are four rows and five columns, where the rows represent the initials of the proto-Tai language and the columns represent the proto-Tai tones. As Gedney's original checklist has insufficient words, I used a modified version of it previously collated and combined by myself (Soh, 2014:18). The modified version is a list of 157 words as compared to the original that had 64 words. Words from Li (1977:29-35) and Jackson et al. (2012:130) were added to the original to build upon it.

2.2.1.2 Staged Events Stimulus

This stimulus was provided by Miriam van Staden, Gunter Senft, N. J. Enfield, and Jürgen Bohnemeyer on the L&C Field Manuals and Stimulus Materials website (<http://fieldmanuals.mpi.nl/volumes/2001/staged-events/>) by the Language and Cognition Department of Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics. It was created to explore how events were represented in language, particularly for event complexity, event typicality, and multi-verb constructions. However, as I was not testing for the same things that they had planned for their stimulus to test, I did not adhere to the instructions they provided on the usage of the materials. The video clips provided were useful for eliciting SVCs, as they were activity driven, which meant that verbs have to be used to describe the action taking place. I used all 86 video clips and they were short video clips whose duration ranged from 5 seconds to 78 seconds.

The 86 video clips were duplicated once such that there were two copies of each video clip. They were then added to a playlist and played on a VLC player for Consultant Va to watch. The original copy was first played to familiarize the participant with the content of the clip, after which the duplicated copy of the video clip was played. For example, video clip A would play and consultant Va would watch it to completion before I would pause the video player and read out the name of video clip A as a prompting to Consultant Va that the duplicated copy of video clip A would be played. He would then have to give a description of what he saw in the duplicated video clip as he watched it.

2.2.1.3 The Pear Story

This is a six-minute film provided by Wallace Chafe at <http://www.linguistics.ucsb.edu/faculty/chafe/pearfilm.htm> where there is a series of activities happening in the course of one man picking pears from a tree. This video was played once for consultant Su so that he may be

familiarized with the content of the video. When it was played the second time, consultant Su started narrating what was happening in the video.

2.2.2 *NATURAL DATA*

2.2.2.1 **The Frog and Crow Story**

Participant Va was asked to narrate a folktale from his village and he chose the Frog and Crow story. It depicts a story of a crow capturing a frog with the intention of killing it for food. The frog, however, was unfazed by the capture and went on to trick the crow into leaving it momentarily. The frog then seized the opportunity and escaped, and even when the crow begged for it to return, it did not.

As religion is deeply permeated in the culture of Shan, all folktales have the goal of communicating particular moral values to those who are listening.

2.2.2.2 **A conversation**

Consultant Su and Participant Sa, together with another participant, Na, were asked to hold a conversation with one another about a dangerous situation they were in. The conversation lasted for approximately 20 minutes, with all speakers highly engaged and animated throughout the conversation. However, Na's portion of the conversation, which coincidentally occupied the beginning of the recording, was removed. Therefore, the duration of the conversation recording that was interpreted and translated was 16 minutes and 3 seconds instead. The reason for this is because Na is not from northern Shan State, and instead from Taunggyi, the capital city of Shan State of Myanmar. Therefore, the TLS she speaks may differ from the one spoken in northern Shan State. When listening to the recording, I noticed some phonological differences between her utterances, and Su and Sa's utterances. She also had random intersperses of comments in between Participant Sa's sharing in the remaining of the conversation, which were not included in my transcriptions either.

3. Types of Serial Verb Constructions

A common categorization of SVCs is based on their symmetry in composition. All SVCs are believed to fall into two broad categories—symmetrical and asymmetrical SVCs (Aikhenvald, 2006:21). Asymmetrical constructions consist of a major or main lexical verb that expresses the activity or action and a minor verb that expresses a grammatical meaning that modifies the major verb. Symmetrical constructions, on the other hand, consist of only major verbs and the order of appearance of these verbs is usually representative of the temporal sequence of ‘events’ in reality. Shan has both symmetrical and asymmetrical constructions, and the minor verb supplements the major verb that precedes it. Sequential SVCs are the largest category of SVCs in Shan where there are four subtypes that include Accomplishment SVCs, Resultative SVCs, Motion SVCs and Adversative SVCs. Following Sequential SVCs are Transfer SVCs with the subtype Manner SVCs. Then there are Purposive SVCs and Reciprocal SVCs. All of these constructions will be described in detail in the sections to follow.

Before delving into the various types of SVCs in Shan, it is important to establish verbhood through a series of tests, and through them demonstrate the differences between major and minor verbs. These tests also help to differentiate between grammaticalized markers and verbs that share the same form.

3.1 VERBHOOD

The main difference between a major verb and a minor verb is dependency. Major verbs are independent verbs that can occur on their own, and they can be negated individually. Minor verbs, on the other hand, are dependent on the occurrence of an independent verb that precedes them. A minor verb cannot take negation on its own and forms a tight unit with the major verb that occurs before it, modifying/supplementing the major verb. Examples below will demonstrate the characteristics of major and minor verbs.

- (3.1) *pho*²¹ *kwaa*²¹ *phæw*²¹⁴ *him*⁴⁴ *jɔŋ*²¹⁴ *nam*⁵² *nan*⁵² *kɔ*⁴³,
 while **go** **arrive** near tank water that also
 ‘While (the crow) went and arrived at the water tank, ...’

[Text 2: Frog and Crow Story, (8)]

- (3.2) *pho*²¹ *am*²¹ *kwaa*²¹ *phæw*²¹⁴ *him*⁴⁴ *jɔŋ*²¹⁴ *nam*⁵² *nan*⁵² *kɔ*⁴³,
 while NEG go arrive near tank water that also
 ‘While (the crow) did not go and arrive at the water tank, ...’

- (3.3) *pho*²¹ *kwaa*²¹ *am*²¹ *phæw*²¹⁴ *him*⁴⁴ *jɔŋ*²¹⁴ *nam*⁵² *nan*⁵² *kɔ*⁴³,
 while go NEG arrive near tank water that also
 ‘While (the crow) went and did not arrive at the water tank, ...’

Examples (3.1) to (3.3) above are symmetrical SVCs with *kwaa*²¹ ‘go’ and *phæw*²¹⁴ ‘arrive’ being the major verbs in the construction. When the negative marker *am*²¹ occurs before *kwaa*²¹, the entire SVC is being negated, expressing that the crow did not go nor arrive at the water tank. This can be seen through example (3.2). The independence of the major verbs is demonstrated through example (3.3), where the negative marker *am*²¹ can occur before the major verb *phæw*²¹⁴ ‘arrive’, conveying the meaning of the crow going somewhere but did not arrive at the water tank.

- (3.4) *phək*²¹ *man*⁴⁴ *loŋ*⁴⁴ *ma*⁴⁴ *jaw*⁵² ...
 after 3SG descend come PFV
 ‘After he has descended, ...’

[Text 1: The Pear Story, (32)]

- (3.5) *phək*²¹ *man*⁴⁴ *am*²¹ *loŋ*⁴⁴ *ma*⁴⁴ *jaw*⁵² ...
 after 3SG NEG descend come PFV
 ‘After he had not descended, ...’

- (3.6) **phək*²¹ *man*⁴⁴ *loŋ*⁴⁴ *am*²¹ *ma*⁴⁴ *jaw*⁵² ...
 after 3SG descend NEG come PFV
 ‘After he descends and had not come (?), ...’

Having demonstrated verb independence of major verbs earlier, examples (3.4) to (3.6) are asymmetrical SVCs where the main verb is *loŋ*⁴⁴ ‘descend’ and the minor verb is *ma*⁴⁴ ‘come’. In example (3.5), we can see that the entire construction is negated when the negative marker *am*²¹ appears before *loŋ*⁴⁴ ‘descend’. However, in example (3.6), it is impossible to negate *ma*⁴⁴ ‘come’. In fact, nothing can come between *loŋ*⁴⁴ ‘descend’ and *ma*⁴⁴ ‘come’ as they form such a tight unit. The major verb *loŋ*⁴⁴ ‘descend’ expresses the man coming down from the ladder, while *ma*⁴⁴ ‘come’ conveys the deictic sense of this descension, in which its direction was towards the speaker. Therefore, instead of functioning as a major verb, *ma*⁴⁴ ‘come’ has more of a grammatical function, supplementing *loŋ*⁴⁴ ‘descend’ with a deictic sense.

Apart from differentiating between major and minor verbs, words such as *aw*²¹⁴ ‘take’ and *laɟ*⁴³ ‘get’ also frequently occur in SVCs. It became apparent that it was important to test for their verbhood, and to determine their functions in SVCs. Are they functioning as verbs or as grammatical markers or as minor verbs?

- (3.7) ... *aw*²¹⁴ *waan*²¹ *tok*⁴⁴ *kwaj*²¹⁴
 take dish drop break
 ‘... (he) causes the dish to drop and break.’

[Text 3: MPI Stimulus, (5)]

The construction above in example (3.7) is an Adversative SVC (refer to §3.2.6), it is tempting to take it simply as a core serialization where *aw*²¹⁴ ‘take’ functions as a major verb together with *tok*⁴⁴ ‘drop’ and *kwaj*²¹⁴ ‘break’. However, in an aspectual test done below, it is apparent that *aw*²¹⁴ ‘take’ in such constructions function as an object marker, similar to what Chappell (2006; 2013) observed of languages. In Sinitic languages, such constructions are regarded as disposal constructions. The canonical position of a direct object is after the transitive verb, but in the case where the direct object occurs in a non-canonical position, that is before the transitive verb, a marker is used to mark off the direct object (Chappell, 2006: 5). For a handful of languages, such a marker was grammaticalized from ‘take’ verbs, and it is preposed to the direct object (Chappell, 2013: 789). Additionally, in standard Mandarin, the marker can only prepose a referential direct object that is an affected patient semantically (Chappell, 1992a; Bisang, 1992; cited from Chappell, 2013: 787). This means that the patient must also undergo a change of state, and such a change of state is often expressed by resultative verbs that follow the direct object and/or prepositional locative phrases that follow after. It is thus unsurprising that ‘take’ also has a causative sense since it is used to mark an affected patient. Example (3.7) shows that the affected patient, which is the dish, has undergone a change in state.

- (3.8) ... **aw*²¹⁴ *jaw*⁵² *waan*²¹ *tok*⁴⁴ *kwaj*²¹⁴
 take PFV dish drop break
 ‘... (he) had (taken?) the dish to drop and break.’

From example (3.8) above, it is evident that *aw*²¹⁴ ‘take’ is unable to take an aspectual marker in such a construction. The entire construction does not make sense at all.

- (3.9) *aw*²¹⁴ *waan*²¹ *jaw*⁵² *se*²¹⁴ *aw*²¹⁴ *waan*²¹ *tok*⁴⁴ *kwaj*²¹⁴
take dish PFV and **take** dish drop break
 ‘(He) had taken a dish, and (he) caused the dish to drop and break.’

Example (3.9) shows how *aw*²¹⁴ ‘take’ is treated as a full verb only if it occurs in a separate clause expressing just the act of taking. Nevertheless, to express that the dish dropping and breaking is caused by the elided actor argument, the affected patient (in this case the dish) is marked off by the use of *aw*²¹⁴ ‘take’ preceding it. Therefore, in constructions like this, *aw*²¹⁴ ‘take’ acts as a direct object marker while also carrying a causative sense because it only marks off affected patients.

Having shown the function of *aw*²¹⁴ ‘take’ in Adversative constructions, the following tests are done on *laj*⁴³ ‘get’ to see if it is a modal marker, a major verb, or a minor verb in constructions that appear to be SVCs on the surface.

- (3.10) *man*⁴⁴ *tsaaj*⁴⁴ *am*²¹ *laj*⁴³ *khi*²¹ *hə*⁴⁴
 3SG male NEG **get** ride boat
 ‘He cannot ride the boat.’

- (3.11) *man*⁴⁴ *tsaaj*⁴⁴ *am*²¹ *laj*⁴³ *am*²¹ *khi*²¹ *hə*⁴⁴
 3SG male NEG **get** NEG ride boat
 ‘He cannot not ride the boat.’

Examples (3.10) and (3.11) above show how *laj*⁴³ ‘get’ and *khi*²¹ ‘ride’ can each take negation in a construction to convey a double negative in an utterance. This shows how they do not form a tight unit, unlike asymmetrical constructions where the minor verb and major verb both form a tight unit where nothing can come between them. This rules out *laj*⁴³ ‘get’ being a minor verb. Such a double negative strategy is also possible for modal markers such as *tsaaj*⁴³ ‘can’, which seem to suggest that *laj*⁴³ ‘get’ could be a modal marker.

- (3.12) *man*⁴⁴ *tsaaj*⁴⁴ *te*²¹⁴ *laj*⁴³ *hɔ*⁴³ *nə*²¹⁴ *taaj*⁴⁴ *ha*⁵²
 3SG male IRR get drive on road INT
 ‘Did he get to drive on the road?’

*hɔ*⁴³
 drive
 ‘Yes.’

Another way to test if *laj*⁴³ ‘get’ is functioning as a verb is through polar questions. Apart from answering polar questions with *ə*⁴³ ‘yes’ or *am*²¹ ‘NEG’, one can repeat the verb/s in the question to answer yes. In this case, example

(3.12) demonstrates that *hɔ*⁴³ ‘drive’ is used to answer ‘yes’ to the polar question posed. It is not possible to use *laj*⁴³ ‘get’ on its own or *laj*⁴³ *hɔ*⁴³ ‘get to drive’ to answer the question. This thus shows that *laj*⁴³ ‘get’ functions as a modal marker in such constructions.

With the tests for verbhood completed in this section, the sections that follow will detail the various types of SVCs found in the Shan language.

3.2 SEQUENTIAL SVCs

Sequential SVCs are the most common in the Shan language and the order of appearance of verbs is iconic, as they represent the temporal sequence of activities in reality. They express the unfolding of ‘events’ temporally, sometimes down to minute details. In a happening such as a car accident where the rider flew off his bike and landed on a car, sequential SVCs allow a detailed description of the rider flying off the bike, the direction and motion in which he flew, the goal towards which he is headed, and his head hitting the front of the car, all of which is captured in the sequence of a few verbs (refer to example (3.17) in §3.2.2.1). Templates of the basic forms of SVCs are also given below.

3.2.1 SYMMETRICAL SEQUENTIAL CONSTRUCTIONS

As mentioned earlier, symmetrical constructions only have main verbs and a number of these verbs can occur adjacent to each other. In order for a construction to be a symmetrical SVC, at least two main verbs must be occurring in sequence. There are two forms of symmetrical sequential SVC—nuclear serialization and core serialization—and the difference between them is the sharing of arguments. In nuclear serializations, all the arguments are shared while in core serializations, only one argument is shared.

3.2.1.1 Nuclear serialization of a symmetrical sequential SVC

The basic form of a nuclear serialization of a symmetrical sequential SVC is:

$$(NC_1) V_1 V_2 (V_3) (V_4) (V_5) (X) (NC_2)$$

It appears that Shan allows maximally a series of five main verbs occurring adjacent to each other in a nuclear serialization of a symmetrical sequential construction. Such an observation is, of course, limited to the finite data I have collected. NC stands for Noun Complex and NC₁ is the slot where the actor argument occupies while NC₂ is an undergoer argument slot. X is the slot the locative markers occupy. Some of the components of the template shown above are bracketed because their occupancies are optional. If the verbs in the

construction are intransitive, then NC₂ will not be filled, which explains why the occupancy of NC₂ is optional. In utterances where the actor argument was used consistently in previous utterances and/or could be retrieved contextually, it suffices to have two main verbs and the undergoer argument occurring together. Another instance where the actor argument need not be mentioned is an utterance where the actor argument was already mentioned in the first clause. Hence the subsequent clauses of the same utterance need not have an actor argument explicitly stated if they all share the same actor argument. An example is given below.

- (3.13) *khin*⁴⁴ *khin*⁴³ *khu*⁴³ *laaj*²¹⁴, ...
return ascend -----ladder-----
 ‘(He) returned to ascending the ladder.’

[Text 1: The Pear Story, (7)]

In example (3.13) above, the slot for the actor argument is left empty because there is no need to explicitly state who the actor is, as the actor argument has been the same throughout the past utterances. It is a man who was plucking pears from a tree and filling up baskets with those pears.

The following are examples of nuclear serializations of symmetrical sequential constructions found in the Shan language. They are in big brackets and the main verbs are in bold type.

- (3.14) ...

<i>kwaa</i> ²¹	<i>tsuk</i> ⁴⁴	<i>him</i> ⁴⁴	<i>nam</i> ⁵²	<i>mɔ</i> ²¹	<i>nan</i> ⁵²
go	stand	near	water	hole	that
-----well-----					

‘(It) goes and stands near that well.’

[Text 2: The Frog and Crow Story, (9)]

Example (3.14) above is an instance of a nuclear serialization and it describes a crow that went to stand near a well. To give some context to the clause above, a crow caught a frog and fearfully took it from a water tank to a well because of the frog’s taunting, and then it stood near the well. This is a simple and classic example of a nuclear serialization in a symmetrical sequential construction. Two main verbs, *kwaa*²¹ ‘go’ and *tsuk*⁴⁴ ‘stand’ occur adjacent to each other and were uttered in sequence within the same intonation unit to represent the temporal unfolding of the act of the crow travelling to the well and then standing near it. The negative marker *am*²¹ can also occur between both verbs to show their independence as main verbs. The first main verb, *kwaa*²¹ ‘go’, describes the motion of the crow travelling to the well while the second main verb, *tsuk*⁴⁴ ‘stand’, describes the act of crow after it has reached the well.

Figure 3.1: Praat graph of intonational contour of example (3.14)

Figure 3.1 above is a Praat graph showing how the SVC in example (3.14) is spoken within one intonation unit.

- (3.15) $\left[\begin{array}{ccccccc} aa\dot{a}^{43} & k\dot{o}^{52} & nan^{52}, & khin^{44} & luk^{52} & kwaa^{21} & na\eta^{43} & len^{43} \\ \text{HON.M.INF} & \text{CL:person} & \text{that} & \text{return} & \text{get.up} & \text{go} & \text{sit} & \text{play} \end{array} \right]$
 ‘That guy gets up, and goes and sits with that uncle, ...’
- $\left[\begin{array}{ccc} k\dot{o}^{52}, & lu\eta^{44} & nan^{52} \end{array} \right] \dots$
 CL:person uncle that] ...

[Text 3: MPI Stimulus, (38)]

Example (3.15) above showcases a very rich and descriptive use of sequential SVCs to illustrate movement. There are five main verbs in this construction and, characteristically of sequential SVCs, they are arranged in an order that reflects the unfolding of the happening temporally. This is a prime example of a construction where the main verb slots are filled maximally. With a verb like *kwaa*²¹ ‘go’ in the construction, it is imperative to test if it is a minor or major verb. As it is possible to place the negative marker before *kwaa*²¹ ‘go’, it shows that *kwaa*²¹ ‘go’ is not functioning as a minor verb since it does not form a tight unit with another major verb in the construction and it can also take negation. To give some context to the utterance above, this was one of the few utterances made after the participant watched a video of a man cutting branches, bringing them to a woman who was cooking and then getting up to accompany an older man who walked into the scene, and sits beside him. She then scooped the food she cooked into two plates and brought them to the two men sitting behind her. It was assumed that they were friends. The first main verb, *khin*⁴⁴ ‘return’, marks the start of the man travelling back to the older man, who in this utterance was referred to as an uncle, to sit beside him and accompany him. Usually with the use of *khin*⁴⁴ ‘return’, there is an assumed point of origin in order for something or someone to return to it. In this case, it is interesting to note that the assumed point of origin for this utterance is the three friends. This

is interesting because each person was introduced separately in the video, in that they were not together before they went on to do their individual activities. They were doing their individual activities before they came together.

The second main verb, *luk*⁵² ‘get up’, describes the man, having to make his return to the older man, getting up from his squatting position. The third main verb *kwaa*²¹ ‘go’ expresses the guy’s moving towards the older man and away from the speaker. In the video, the original position of the man was one that was in front of the older man. Hence, in his moving towards the older man, he had to walk to the back. To the person watching the video, the man was moving away from him. The fourth main verb, *naŋ*⁴³ ‘sit’, describes the man sitting down onto the log next to the older man after he has walked to him. The last main verb, *len*⁴³ ‘play’, is used to mean doing leisure activities to keep someone company such as chatting, which was what happened in the video. It really is one of the beautiful things of the language that such details, even though they may be minute, could be captured within one clause.

Figure 3.2: Praat graph of intonational contour of example (3.15)

Figure 3.2 above shows that the verb series in example (3.15) occur within one intonation unit and there are no pauses between them.

3.2.1.2 Core serialization of a symmetrical sequential SVC

The basic form of a core serialization, on the other hand, is:

$$(NC_1) V_1 (V_2) (V_3) NC_2 V_4 (V_5) (V_6) (X) NC_3$$

Similar to nuclear serialization, NC_1 need not be occupied if the shared actor argument has been used consistently in previous utterances or the clause before the utterance. NC_2 and NC_3 are argument slots and they can be new introductions in the discourse. X is occupied by locative markers. As mentioned above, bracketed components are not compulsory.

The following are examples of core serializations in symmetrical Sequential constructions found in the Shan language. They are in big brackets and main verbs are in bold type.

- (3.16) $\left[\begin{array}{ccccccc} phɔŋ^{44} & jaam^{44} & mə^{43} & man^{44} & \textbf{khin}^{44} & \textbf{khin}^{43} & khu^{43} \quad laaj^{214} \\ \text{while} & \text{period} & \text{time} & \text{3SG} & \textbf{return} & \textbf{ascend} & \text{-----ladder-----} \end{array} \right.$
- $\begin{array}{ccccccc} kʷaa^{21} & \textbf{khin}^{44} & nan^{52} & naj^{214} & mi^{44}, & kon^{44} & tsaaʃ^{44} \quad kɔ^{52} \\ \textbf{go} & \textbf{return} & \text{that} & \text{this.TOP} & \text{have} & \text{person} & \text{male} \\ \text{CL:person} & & & & & & \end{array}$
- $\left. \begin{array}{c} niŋ^{43} \\ \text{one} \end{array} \right] \dots$

‘While he ascends the ladder to return to the tree, there is a man.’

[Text 1: The Pear Story, (8)]

The SVC in example (3.16) is in a dependent clause, and a majority of dependent clauses in Shan end with *naj*²¹⁴ (unless a contrastive marker is used in its place), which in this case behaves as a dependent marker. It describes a man who returns to ascend a ladder to return to the spot in the tree he was originally at when he was plucking pears from the tree. Core serialization is one strategy in SVCs that allows constructions to host more than two arguments within one clause without complicating the structure of these constructions. It is a productive strategy found in Shan and other similar languages such as Lao. Core serializations of sequential SVCs usually involve one actor argument and two undergoer arguments, and only the actor argument is shared. In the case of the example above, the “event” could be broken down into two parts—one where the man returns to where his ladder was and then climbs it, and the other where he is climbing, and is moving away from the speaker and returning to his original spot in the tree where he was plucking the pears. In this example, however, there are both nuclear and core serializations—two nuclear serializations occurred within one core serialization. That is, the two cores involved in the core serialization each have nuclear serializations as their predicates. In the first nuclear serialization, the main verbs *khin*⁴⁴ ‘return’ and *khin*⁴³ ‘ascend’ are arranged to reflect the temporal unfolding of the act of returning to ascend the ladder. Their independence was tested with negation. Both verbs do not form a tight unit and a negative marker can occur between them. The man first makes his return to the ladder, and then climbs it. The first part involves the actor argument, which is the man but was expressed pronominally, and the theme argument *khu*⁴³ *laaj*²¹⁴, which is the ladder. The

two main verbs occurring adjacent to each other and sharing the same arguments reveal the first nuclear serialization within the core serialization of this entire SVC. In the second nuclear serialization, the main verbs *kwaa*²¹ ‘go’ and *khin*⁴⁴ ‘return’ are also arranged in an order that reflects the temporal order of the happening, and both share the same arguments. Likewise, the negative marker can occur between these two verbs, showing their status as main verbs. The man, in his climbing of the ladder, was moving away from the speaker, after which he returned to his original spot in the tree where he was plucking the pears. The second part thus involves the same actor argument, which is the man, and the goal argument *nan*⁵², which is a demonstrative pronoun referring to the tree. This is a brilliant example of how the Shan language manages to incorporate multiple strategies such as nuclear serializations and core serializations, and keep them all within one clause.

Figure 3.3: Praat graph of intonational contour of example (3.16)

The graph above shows that the entire core serialization of example (3.16) is within one intonation unit. The space between the pitch contours are actually the aspiration of /kh/ in major verbs *khin*⁴⁴ ‘return’, *khin*⁴³ ‘ascend’ and *khu*⁴³ in *khu*⁴³ *laaj*²¹⁴ ‘ladder’.

3.2.2 ASYMMETRICAL SEQUENTIAL SVCs

Asymmetrical constructions have both main and minor verbs occurring adjacent to each other. There must, however, be at least one main verb and one minor verb occurring in sequence for a construction to be an asymmetrical sequential SVC. The minor verb supplements the major verb that precedes it, and both verbs form one tight unit. Main verbs function lexically while minor verbs function grammatically. There are two forms of asymmetrical sequential SVCs, and they are nuclear serialization and core serialization. The difference between them is the number of participants involved in the construction. Nuclear serialization involves only two participants while core serialization allows for more than two participants.

3.2.2.1 Nuclear serialization of an asymmetrical sequential SVC

The basic form of a nuclear serialization of an asymmetrical sequential SVC is:

$$(NC_1) (V_{N1}) V_1 V_{M1} (V_{N2}) (X) NC_2$$

Minor verbs must occur after main verbs, and the minor verb that follows the main verb will modify that verb. V_M stands for Minor Verb while V stands for Main Verb. X is the slot where locative markers occupy. Slots with the round brackets indicate that their occupancies are optional while slots with the square brackets indicate that either one of the slots must be filled. V_{N1} and V_{N2} are slots where major verbs or major and minor verb units can occur. As explained earlier in §3.2.1.1, NC_1 need not be filled if the actor argument can be retrieved and understood contextually.

The following are examples of nuclear serializations of asymmetrical sequential constructions found in the Shan language. They are in big brackets and verbs are in bold type.

- (3.17) ... $\left[\begin{array}{cccccc} kon^{44} & an^{214} & ju^{21} & phaa^{21}lan^{214} & man^{44} & naj^{52} \\ \text{person} & \text{REL} & \text{stay} & \text{side back} & \text{3SG} & \text{this} \\ & & & \text{-----behind-----} & & \end{array} \right.$
- $\left[\begin{array}{cccccc} kon^{44} & an^{214} & ju^{21} & phaa^{21}lan^{214} & man^{44} & naj^{52} \end{array} \right]_R \text{min}^{214}$
 person REL stay side back 3SG this **fly**
 -----behind-----
- $\left[\begin{array}{ccccc} kwaa^{21} & phat^{52} & saj^{21} & ho^{214} & ka^{44} \end{array} \right] he^{214}, \left[\begin{array}{cc} jaat^{21} & khit^{44} \\ \text{go} & \text{hit} & \text{put} & \text{head} & \text{car} \end{array} \right] \text{and} \left[\begin{array}{cc} \text{separate} & \text{toss} \end{array} \right]$
- $\left[\begin{array}{ccccc} tok^{44} & ma^{44} & taaj^{214} & kwaa^{21} & kam^{44} \end{array} \right] lew^{214}$
drop come die go -immediately-

‘... The person who was behind him flew off and hit the front of the car, and then (he) separated (from the car), tossed, and dropped (on the road) and died immediately.’

[Text 4: Text conversation, (163)]

Example (3.17) above showcases a very rich and descriptive use of sequential SVCs to illustrate or even dramatize an “event”. The utterance presented above has two asymmetrical sequential SVCs. I will first discuss the first construction. There are three main verbs in this construction and, characteristically of sequential SVCs, the verbs are arranged in an order that reflects the unfolding

of the happening temporally. To give some context to the utterance above, it was a conversation that participant Sa was having with two other participants and he was describing a road tragedy that happened right before him while he was travelling home from Hsenwi. There were two riders on a motorcycle who were trying to overtake a long truck on a two-way expressway. The long truck, however, refused to reduce its speed to allow the motorcyclist to overtake it. In a bid to overtake the truck nonetheless, the motorcyclist accelerated even more, which resulted in a horrible crash with a small car that was coming from the opposite direction. This led to the utterance presented in example (3.17) above, which details the state of one of the riders of the motorcycle. The entire construction details the back rider's path of travel with a goal, which was the front of the car. The first main verb *min*²¹⁴ 'fly' describes the first stage of the happening where the back rider flew off his seat. What follows is the minor verb, *kwaa*²¹ 'go', which conveys direction of which the man flew, which was away from the speaker. Both *min*²¹⁴ 'fly' and *kwaa*²¹ 'go' form one tight unit and the negative marker *am*²¹ cannot occur before *kwaa*²¹ 'go'. The second major verb is *phat*⁵² 'hit', which captures the end of that trajectory where the man came into an impactful contact with the front of the small car. The third major verb *saj*²¹ 'put' conveys the result of that hit, which was that the man was 'put', in that moment, at the head of the car. This series of verbs share the actor argument, which is the man, and the goal argument, which is the front of the car.

The second SVC of the utterance above is a continuation of what happened after the man hit against the front of the car. The construction details the resulting 'event' of this man's impactful hit against the front of the car. The rider first separated from the car, which was expressed by the major verb *jaat*²¹ 'separate'. It describes what happened in that split second after the man had hit against the front of the car, which was his physical body separating from the car after that impact. The second main verb, *khit*⁴⁴ 'toss', describes the man being hurled after his body hit against the car. The impact of his contact with the car caused his body to be tossed off the car, and he then dropped to the ground, which the third main verb, *tok*⁴⁴ 'drop', captures. The minor verb, *ma*⁴⁴ 'come', follows *tok*⁴⁴ 'drop' to convey the direction in which the drop happened, which was towards the speaker. The major verb *taaj*²¹⁴ 'die' conveys the end of this man's life, and the minor verb *kwaa*²¹ 'go' follows it to express the man's change in state from living to dead.

3.2.2.2 Core serialization of an asymmetrical sequential SVC

The basic form of a core serialization of an asymmetrical sequential SVC is:

$$(\text{NC}_1) (\text{V}_{\text{N1}}) \text{V}_1 [\text{V}_{\text{M1}}] (\text{NC}_2) (\text{V}_{\text{N2}}) \text{V}_2 [\text{V}_{\text{M2}}] (\text{X}) \text{NC}_3$$

‘road’. As mentioned earlier in §3.2.1.2, the actor argument is shared in core serializations of Sequential constructions.

3.2.3 ACCOMPLISHMENT SVCs

One of the subtypes of Sequential SVCs is Accomplishment SVCs. These are constructions that express happenings that last for a period of time and have a definite end. There are only nuclear serializations for this construction and there must contain a verb with an accomplishment sense in the series of verbs to mark the end of the ‘event’. Accomplishment SVCs are also sequential in nature since they convey the start of an ‘event’ to its end. The order of verbs thus naturally reflects the temporal order in reality.

- (3.19) $\left[\begin{array}{ccccccc} \text{pho}^{21} & \text{kwa}^{21} & \text{phæw}^{214} & \text{him}^{44} & \text{jɔŋ}^{214} & \text{nam}^{52} & \text{nan}^{52} & \text{kɔ}^{43}, \\ \text{while} & \text{go} & \text{arrive} & \text{near} & \text{tank} & \text{water} & \text{that} & \text{also} \end{array} \right]$
- $\begin{array}{ccccccc} \text{aaj}^{43} & & \text{khet}^{21} & \text{nan}^{52} & \text{kɔ}^{43}, & \text{khin}^{44} & \text{kho}^{214} & \text{thæŋ}^{43} \\ \text{HON.M.INF} & & \text{frog} & \text{that} & \text{also} & \text{return} & \text{laugh} & \text{again} \end{array}$
- ‘As (they) arrived near that water tank, that frog laughed again.

[Text 2: The Frog and Crow Story, (8)]

- (3.20) $\begin{array}{ccccccc} \text{ka}^{44} & \text{kɔ}^{21} & \text{ɔn}^{21} & \text{nan}^{52}, & \text{kwa}^{21} & \text{tsu}^{44} & \text{ja}^{44} \\ \text{car} & \text{plastic} & \text{small} & \text{that} & \text{go} & \text{forward} & \text{meet} \end{array}$
- $\begin{array}{ccccccc} \text{pɔt}^{44} & \text{maj}^{52} & \text{se}^{214} & \text{ta}^{52} & \text{kɔ}^{43}, & \text{khin}^{44} & \text{pon}^{52} & \text{kwa}^{21} \\ \text{short} & \text{wood} & \text{-----but-----} & & \text{also} & \text{return} & \text{pass.by} & \text{go} \\ \text{--short.piece.of.wood--} & & & & & & & \end{array}$
- $\text{se}^{214}, \left[\begin{array}{cccccc} \text{khin}^{44} & \text{nɔt}^{43} & \text{thiŋ}^{214} & \text{ma}^{44} & \text{ti}^{43} & \text{kaw}^{21} \\ \text{and} & \text{return} & \text{reach} & \text{arrive} & \text{come} & \text{place} & \text{old} \end{array} \right]$
- ‘That small plastic car goes forward and meets the short piece of wood, but (it) returns and goes past (the ramp), and then (it) arrives at the original place.

[Text 3: MPI Stimulus, (27)]

The set of examples given above involve verbs with an ‘arrive’ meaning to express accomplishment of an ‘event’ in the SVC. Example (3.19) is a straightforward and simpler example of an Accomplishment SVC in the Shan language. It is a symmetrical construction with two main verbs, *kwa*²¹ ‘go’ and *phæw*²¹⁴ ‘arrive’. The independence of both verbs was tested earlier in §3.1. To give some context to the utterance in example (3.19), a crow caught a frog in its beak, but because of the frog’s taunting, it flew the frog to a water tank instead.

In the SVC, the crow first moved towards the water tank, which was expressed by the major verb *kwaa*²¹ ‘go’, and then it arrived, which was expressed by the major verb *phæw*²¹⁴ ‘arrive’. *Phæw*²¹⁴ ‘arrive’ marks the end of the crow’s travelling, which happened over a duration of which we do not know.

Example (3.20) is an utterance that describes the path a plastic car took when it left its original place before coming back to it again. The SVC in this utterance describes its return after it has passed the ramp. The first major verb in the construction is *khin*⁴⁴ ‘return’, which describes the car returning to where it first started. The next two major verbs *not*⁴³ ‘reach’ and *thij*²¹⁴ ‘arrive’ have an accomplishment sense, which marks the end of this return as the plastic car was back to its starting point. *ma*⁴⁴ ‘come’ in this construction is not a minor verb but rather a completive aspect marker (refer to example (5.3) in §5).

3.2.4 RESULTATIVE SVCs

Resultative SVCs are another subtype of Sequential SVCs. They are constructions that involve one verb expressing an act that results in the ‘event’ captured by the next verb. Only nuclear serializations are found in this subtype and they are naturally sequential in nature since the resulting ‘event’ can only happen after the prior act has been carried out.

Example (3.21) below is an example of such a construction. Relevant verbs are in bold type.

- (3.21) [*maak*²¹ *lom*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵², *ma*⁴⁴ *tum*⁵² *ja*⁴⁴,
 [CL:round air that **come** **deliberately.collide** **meet**
 -----ball-----

*pɔt*⁴⁴ *maj*⁵²]
 short wood]
 -short.piece.of.wood-
 ‘That ball collided into the short block of wood.’

[Text 3: MPI Stimulus, (10)]

To provide some context for the SVC above in example (3.21), the video that elicited this utterance showed a ball being deliberately pushed by someone towards a block of wood. The person was not shown in the video, but it was obvious that someone manipulated the ball outside the screen. The first main verb *ma*⁴⁴ ‘come’ shows the motion of the ball towards the block of wood and the direction in which it was moving, which was towards the speaker since the ball only entered the screen when it was pushed. The independence of *ma*⁴⁴ ‘come’ is also demonstrated by the negative marker being able to occur before

*tum*⁵² ‘deliberately collide’. The second main verb *tum*⁵² ‘deliberately collide’ conveys the ball colliding into the short block. The collision wasn’t an accident but a “calculated” move by someone. The third verb *na*⁴⁴ ‘meet’ expresses the result of this collision, which was that the ball and the short block of wood “met”.

- (3.22) *sə*⁴³ *ljan*²¹⁴ *lə*⁴³ *sə*⁴³ *səm*²¹, *him*²¹⁴
 shirt red and shirt blue compete
- maak*²¹ *nan*²¹⁴ *kan*²¹⁴, *sə*⁴³ [*ljan*²¹⁴ *pit*⁵²
 CL:round soccer.ball.material each.other and [red kick
- na*⁴⁴ *sə*⁴³ *səm*²¹]
 meet shirt blue]
- ‘A red shirt (guy) and blue shirt (guy) compete for the soccer ball with each other, and the red shirt (guy) kicked the blue shirt (guy).’

[Text 3: MPI Stimulus, (62)]

Example (3.22) above is another example of a Resultative SVC that involves the verb *na*⁴⁴ ‘meet’. The video that was shown to elicit this utterance was a snippet of a soccer match. The guy in the red shirt and blue shirt were competing for the ball at a distance and as the player in red stretched out to reach for the ball, he accidentally kicked the player in blue. That kick had both the players’ bodies in contact with each other. The main verb *pit*⁵² ‘kick’ expresses that kick that resulted in both the players “meeting”.

- (3.23) *kha*²¹⁴ *səŋ*²¹⁴ *kə*⁵², *ma*⁴⁴ *nan*⁴³, *ti*⁴³ *phən*²¹⁴ *nan*⁵²
 3PL.DUAL two CL:person come sit at table that
- se*²¹⁴, [*naan*⁴⁴ *jiŋ*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵², *aw*²¹⁴ *nam*⁵² *tsem*⁴⁴ *hi*⁴³
 and [female female that take water sweet pour
- woman-----
- saj*²¹ *naj*⁴⁴ *waan*²¹]
 put inside dish]

‘Two of them come and sit at that table, and that woman takes the sweet water

and pours (it) in a cup.

[Text 3: MPI Stimulus (76)]

In example (3.23), the pouring of the sweet water is expressed by the first main verb *hi*⁴³ ‘pour’, which resulted in the sweet water being “put” in the cup. The negative marker *am*²¹ can occur before *saj*²¹ ‘put’ to mean that while the sweet

water was being poured, it wasn't placed in the cup, but was perhaps spilled or 'put' elsewhere. This shows that both verbs are independent and are therefore major verbs.

3.2.5 MOTION SVCs

One more subtype of Sequential SVCs are Motion SVCs. This type of construction expresses the travelling of an entity along a directed path. There are only nuclear serializations in such constructions, and *kwa^{a21}* 'go' or *ma^{a44}* 'come' are very frequently found as minor verbs. Motion SVCs are also sequential in nature because they describe a path of travel from one place to another. Generally, the sequence of verbs will have to represent the temporal order of this travel in reality.

- (3.24) $\left[\begin{array}{cccccc} kaa^{44} & k\phi^{21} & s\phi m^{21} & \phi n^{21} & nan^{52} & khin^{43} & kwa^{21} & ti^{43} \\ \text{car} & \text{plastic} & \text{blue} & \text{small} & \text{that} & \text{ascend} & \text{go} & \text{at} \end{array} \right.$
- $\left. \begin{array}{ccccc} taan^{44}, & an^{214} & khaw^{214} & het^{44} & waj^{52} \\ \text{road} & \text{REL} & \text{3PL} & \text{do} & \text{keep} \end{array} \right]$

'That small blue plastic car goes up the road that they made.'

[Text 3: MPI Stimulus, (56)]

- (3.25) $\begin{array}{cc} haw^{44} & khi^{21} \\ \text{1PL} & \text{ride} \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{ccccc} haw^{44} & \phi k^{21} & kwa^{21}, & [\phi k^{21} & kwa^{21}]_R & kaan^{214} \\ \text{1PL} & \text{go.out} & \text{go} & \text{go.out} & \text{go} & \text{middle} \end{array} \right.$
- $\left. \begin{array}{ccccccc} kham^{43} & se^{214} & kwa^{21} & kin^{214} & khaw^{43} & ti^{43} & [ti^{43}]_R & an^{214} \\ \text{night} & \text{and} & \text{go} & \text{eat} & \text{rice} & \text{at} & \text{at} & \text{REL} \end{array} \right]$

$\begin{array}{ccccc} p\phi n^{43} & li^{43} & ka^{44} & nan^{52} & jaw^{52} & he^{214} \\ \text{others} & \text{rest} & \text{car} & \text{that} & \text{PFV} & \text{and} \end{array}$

'We rode (the car). We left at night and went to eat at where others rested their cars.'

[Text 4: Conversation, (32)]

- (3.26) ... $\left[\begin{array}{ccccccc} kaa^{214} & lam^{214} & kɔ^{43}, & khin^{44}, & \textbf{min}^{214} & \textbf{kwa}^{21} & tsu^{44}, \\ & \text{black} & \text{also} & \text{return} & \textbf{fly} & \textbf{go} & \text{toward} \\ & \text{-----crow-----} & & & & & \end{array} \right]$
- $\left[\begin{array}{ccccc} ti^{43} & kaw^{21} & man^{44} & nan^{52} & jaw^{52} \\ \text{at} & \text{old} & \text{3SG} & \text{that} & \text{PFV} \end{array} \right]$
- ‘...The crow also flew back to his old place.’

[Text 2: The Frog and Crow Story, (15)]

Examples (3.24), (3.25) and (3.26), are the most basic forms of asymmetrical Motion SVCs in that they have one major verb and one minor verb, with the minor verb being *kwa*²¹ ‘go’. In all these examples, the negative marker cannot occur between the verbs, which shows their tightness as one unit. In example (3.24), the main verb *khin*⁴³ ‘ascend’ conveys the motion of this path, which is moving upwards along the road. The minor verb *kwa*²¹ ‘go’ modifies the major verb *khin*⁴³ ‘ascend’ to express the direction in which the ascension was made, which was away from the speaker. The core argument is the blue plastic car while the oblique argument is the road. In example (3.25), the motion of leaving was captured by the main verb *ɔk*²¹ ‘go out’. In the same way, the minor verb *kwa*²¹ ‘go’ supplements the major verb *ɔk*²¹ ‘go out’ to express the direction in which the travel was made with reference to the speaker.

- (3.27) $\left[\begin{array}{ccccccc} khet^{21} & kɔ^{43} & [tok^{44}]_{SM} & wæn^{214} & tok^{44} & \textbf{kwa}^{21} & naʃ^{44} \\ \text{frog} & \text{also} & \text{drop} & \textbf{jump} & \textbf{drop} & \textbf{go} & \text{inside} \\ & & & & & & \end{array} \right]$
- $\left[\begin{array}{cccc} nam^{52} & mɔ^{21}, & nan^{52} & jaw^{52} \\ \text{water} & \text{hole} & \text{that} & \text{PFV} \end{array} \right]$
- well-----
- ‘The frog jumped into that well.’

[Text 2: The Frog and Crow Story, (13)]

Example (3.27) is similar to the three examples given above where the minor verb is *kwa*²¹ ‘go’. The first main verb *wæn*²¹⁴ ‘jump’ expresses the volitional movement of the frog at the start of this journey where it jumped in order to go into the well. The next main verb *tok*⁴⁴ ‘drop’ conveys the next stage of this travel where the frog dropped into the well after having jumped into it. The minor verb *kwa*²¹ ‘go’ modifies *tok*⁴⁴ ‘drop’ to express the direction in which the drop was done, which was away from the original place it was at.

(3.28) $\left[\begin{array}{ccccccc} ka^{44} & kɔ^{21} & sɔm^{21} & ɔn^{21} & nan^{52}, & khaw^{43} & kwaa^{21} & tsɔm^{44} \\ \text{car} & \text{plastic} & \text{blue} & \text{small} & \text{that} & \text{enter} & \text{go} & \text{follow} \end{array} \right]$

$\left[\begin{array}{ccccccc} hɔj^{44} & man^{44}, & an^{214} & khaw^{214} & kaj^{43} & waj^{52} & nan^{52} \\ \text{line} & \text{3SG} & \text{REL} & \text{3PL} & \text{cover} & \text{keep} & \text{that} \end{array} \right]$

‘That small blue plastic car enters and follows its (the tunnel’s) line that they covered.’

[Text 3: MPI Stimulus, (32)]

Example (3.28) above has the minor verb *kwaa*²¹ ‘go’ modifying the major verb *khaw*⁴³ ‘enter’ to convey the direction in which the entering of the tunnel was made, which was away from the speaker. Likewise, both *khaw*⁴³ ‘enter’ and *kwaa*²¹ ‘go’ form one tight unit, with the negative marker *am*²¹ not being able to occur before *kwaa*²¹ ‘go’. The second main verb, *tsɔm*⁴⁴ ‘follow’, speaks of the car travelling strictly along the path covered up to form the tunnel and not elsewhere.

3.2.6 ADVERSATIVE SVCs

Adversative SVCs are another subtype of Sequential SVCs. These constructions in Shan express the resulting negative ‘event’ caused by an entity to another. There are two types of Adversative constructions—1. The causer causes or “manipulates” the causee to undergo some undesirable change, and 2. The causer causes or “manipulates” the causee to do something undesirable. Only nuclear serializations are found in Adversative SVCs. It was mentioned earlier in §3.1 that in such constructions, *aw*²¹⁴ ‘take’ is a direct object marker that marks off the affected patient instead of a full verb. As *aw*²¹⁴ ‘take’ as a verb has a manipulation sense whereby an object is manipulated to be transferred to another location (Enfield, 2007: 368), it seems very plausible for that sense of manipulation to be extended beyond transference to causation. Additionally, Chappell (2006: 7) observes that in Standard Mandarin, ‘take’ has a causative sense when it occurs in a subtype of disposal constructions where the position of the intransitive subject is the same as the marked direct object. This is similar to the first type of Adversative SVCs where the causer causes the causee to undergo some undesirable change.

(3.29) *naaŋ*⁴⁴ *jiŋ*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *niŋ*⁴³, *jip*⁴⁴ *waan*²¹ *se*²¹⁴ *paɪ*⁵²
 female female CL:person one hold dish and wait
 ----woman----

*waj*⁵², *kon*⁴⁴ *tɕaaj*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *niŋ*⁴³, *ma*⁴⁴ *pha*²¹ *ja*⁴⁴
 keep person male CL:person one come collide meet

*he*²¹⁴, [*aw*²¹⁴ *waan*²¹ *tok*⁴⁴ *kwaj*²¹⁴]
 and [take dish drop break]

‘A woman holds a plate and waits. A man comes and collides (into her),
 and (he) causes the plate to drop and break.’

[Text 3: MPI Stimulus, (5)]

Example (3.29) above is the first type of Adversative construction. The causer caused the causee to undergo some form of undesirable change. As mentioned earlier, *aw*²¹⁴ ‘take’ conveys a causative sense and it marks off the affected patient, in which this case is the causee argument. In the construction above, the causer, which is elided, is the man who collided into the woman, and the causee is the plate. The resulting ‘event’ that happened is conveyed by the verbs *tok*⁴⁴ ‘drop’ and *kwaj*²¹⁴ ‘break’, which expresses the negative consequence the causee experienced and the change it underwent. The plate was dropped and then it broke.

- (3.30) ... *man*⁴⁴ *lim*⁴⁴ *twe*⁴⁴ *sap*⁵² *pin*⁴⁴ *man*⁴⁴ *ə*⁴³
 3SG forget look ----bicycle---- 3SG yes
- phək*² *man*⁴⁴ *lim*⁴⁴ *twe*⁴⁴ *sap*⁵² *pin*⁴⁴ *man*⁴⁴ *jaw*⁵²
 after 3SG forget look -----bicycle----- 3SG PFV
- kɔ*⁴³, *kam*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵² *aw*²¹⁴ *sap*⁵² *pin*⁴⁴, [*aw*²¹⁴ *ho*²¹⁴
 also -----now----- take ----bicycle---- [take head
- sap*⁵² *pin*⁴⁴ *kwaa*²¹ *lɔ*²¹ *ja*⁴⁴, *maak*²¹ *hin*²¹⁴ *he*²¹⁴
 ----bicycle----- go collide meet CL:round] and
 -----stone-----
- kam*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵² *aw*²¹⁴ *man*⁴⁴ *lom*⁵² *pjæt*⁴³ *ə*⁴³
 -----now----- take 3SG fall.down throw.away yes
- kam*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵²
 -----now-----

‘... He forgot to look at his bicycle. After he forgot to look at his bicycle, (he) now takes the bicycle. He causes the front of his bicycle to collide into a stone. And now he falls down.’

[Text 1: The Pear Story, (18)]

Example (3.30) is the second type of Adversative construction where the causer caused the causee to do something undesirable. Just like the previous construction above, the causative sense is expressed by the object marker *aw*²¹⁴ ‘take’. The causer, who is elided in the construction, is the boy who forgot to look at his bicycle while he was cycling. The causee is the front of the bicycle. The causer has done something to the causee that led to the ‘event’ described by the three major verbs of the construction where the causee collided into a stone. The causee first moved in the direction away from the speaker, which was captured by the main verb *kwaa*²¹ ‘go’. Then, it collides into the stone, which is evident by the use of *lɔ*²¹ ‘collide’. The collision resulted in the bicycle and the stone “meeting”, hence the use of *ja*⁴⁴ ‘meet’.

3.3 TRANSFER SVCs

Transfer SVCs are constructions that express an act of transfer of an object from one place to another. There are only core serializations of such constructions and they are also sequential in nature. Enfield (2007: 365), in his grammar of Lao, categorized such constructions found in Lao as three-place

constructions, where a series of multiple verbs allow for a three-participant construction. He has also categorized the constructions into two main categories—handle-dispatch constructions and despatch-dispatch constructions (Enfield 2007: 368). Handling verbs are verbs of manipulation where one has to manipulate an object in order to put it at a place or give it to someone. Handling verbs typically have meanings such as ‘take’ (most common in Shan), ‘grab’, and ‘lift’. Dispatch verbs are verbs of transference where there is a goal where an object is placed. Typical dispatch verbs have meanings such as ‘give’ and ‘put’, both of which are very common in the Shan language as well. Dispatch verbs are also three-participant verbs, as they require an actor, an object, and a goal in order for their meanings to be fully expressed.

The basic pattern of Transfer SVCs is given as a template below.

$$(NC_1) V_1 (NC_2) V_2 (X) NC_3$$

NC₁ need not be occupied if the shared actor argument can be identified contextually. NC₂ and NC₃ are argument slots and they can be new introductions into the discourse. NC₂ need not be filled if the undergoer argument can be contextually understood and was mentioned in the clause before the utterance. X is occupied by locative markers. Since Transfer SVCs are sequential in nature, the maximal combination of verbs has already been shown in the core serialization templates for Sequential SVCs and thus need not be repeated here (refer to §3.2.1.2). Components whose occurrence is optional are in brackets.

The following are various examples of Transfer SVCs found in the Shan language. They are in big brackets and the relevant verbs are in bold type.

- (3.31) $\left[\begin{array}{ccccccc} kon^{44} & tsaaj^{44} & t\ddot{i}^{44} & maan^{21} & ta^{214} & k\omega^{52} & ni\eta^{43}, \text{ } aw^{214} \\ \text{person} & \text{male} & \text{wear} & \text{glass} & \text{eye} & \text{CL:person} & \text{one} & \text{take} \end{array} \right.$
- $\left. \begin{array}{ccccccc} ki^{21} & ta^{21} & man^{44} & taaj^{21} & n\partial^{214} & ho^{214} & se^{214}, \text{ } len^{43} \\ \text{-----guitar-----} & & \text{3SG} & \text{put.on} & \text{on} & \text{head} & \text{and} & \text{play} \end{array} \right]$
- ‘A glasses-wearing man takes his guitar to put on his head, and (he) plays.’

[Text 3: MPI Stimulus, (53)]

Example (3.31) above is a classic and basic example of Transfer SVCs. It is a core serialization and a symmetrical construction. As mentioned above, transfer SVCs are also sequential in nature. Hence, the order of the verbs in transfer SVCs are iconic as it reflects the temporal order of actions in reality. The construction expresses how the man first manipulated the object, which is his

guitar, by taking hold of it, and then after that placing it on his head. The first part involves the handling verb *aw*²¹⁴ ‘take’, the actor argument, which is the man wearing glasses, and the undergoer argument, which is his guitar. The man manipulated his guitar by taking hold of it, which is expressed by the verb *aw*²¹⁴ ‘take’. The second part involves the dispatch verb *taan*²¹ ‘put on’, the same actor argument which is the man, and the goal argument *ho*²¹⁴ ‘head’. After having taken hold of his guitar, the man then transferred it from the original place to the top of his head, which is the goal of this transference.

Having shown a basic construction of a Transfer SVC in the earlier example, we present example (3.32) below as an example of a core serialization containing a nuclear serialization:

- (3.32) *kha*²¹⁴ *sɔŋ*²¹⁴ *kɔ*⁵², *ma*⁴⁴ *naŋ*⁴³, *tɪ*⁴³ *phən*²¹⁴ *nan*⁵²
 3PL.DUAL two CL:person come sit at table that
- se*²¹⁴,
 and [*naaŋ*⁴⁴ *jiŋ*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵², *aw*²¹⁴ *nam*⁵² *tsem*⁴⁴ *hi*⁴³
 female female that **take** water sweet **pour**
 -----woman-----
*saj*²¹ *naj*⁴⁴ *waan*²¹]
put inside dish]
- ‘Two of them come and sit at that table, and that woman takes the sweet water and pours (it) in a cup.
 [Text 3: MPI Stimulus (76)]

In (3.32), the first major verb *aw*²¹⁴ ‘take’, has the woman as the actor argument while the sweet water is the theme argument. This part of the construction expresses the woman manipulating the sweet water by taking hold of it. The second part of the construction involves a nuclear serialization with the major verbs *hi*⁴³ ‘pour’ and *saj*²¹ ‘put’. The arguments of these verbs are the woman, who is an actor argument, and the dish, which is the goal argument. This appears to be a resultative construction, where the pouring of the sweet water resulted in the sweet water being put in the dish. An interesting thing about this part of the construction is the need for *saj*²¹ ‘put’ to follow *hi*⁴³ ‘pour’, even though *hi*⁴³ ‘pour’ is considered a dispatch verb. A similar instance was observed in Enfield (2007:380). He observed that in three-participant constructions of Lao, there are dispatch verbs that are unable to take a direct goal argument and have to be marked off with the dispatch verb *sajl* ‘put’, which in this case is identical to the Shan language.

Example (3.33), though different from the previous examples, is still quite a common type of Transfer SVCs in Shan:

- (3.33) *naaŋ*⁴⁴ *jiŋ*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *niŋ*⁴³, *het*⁴⁴, *haaŋ*⁴³ *kon*⁴⁴ *se*²¹⁴,
 female female CL:person one do sample person and
 -----woman----- -----figurine-----
- aw*²¹⁴ *haaŋ*⁴³ *kon*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵², [*khin*⁴⁴ *aw*²¹⁴ *jin*⁴³ *pan*²¹⁴,
 take sample person that [return take pass give
 -----figurine-----
- kon*⁴⁴ *tsaaj*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *niŋ*⁴³]
 person male CL:person one]

‘A woman makes a figurine, and (she) takes that figurine. (She) takes (that figurine) again and gives (it) to a man.’

[Text 3: MPI Stimulus, (25)]

In (3.33), the actor and theme arguments are ellipsed, the handling verb *aw*²¹⁴ ‘take’ does not occur alone, and another common despatch verb, *pan*²¹⁴ ‘give’, is used in the construction instead. In the first part of the construction that involves the major verbs *khin*⁴⁴ ‘return’ and *aw*²¹⁴ ‘take’, the actor argument is the woman, while the theme argument is the figurine. In order to explain the reason for *khin*⁴⁴ ‘return’ in this part of the construction, we need to look at the clause prior to this construction. In the previous clause, the woman took hold of the figurine, which was expressed with the verb *aw*²¹⁴ ‘take’. The utterance presented in the example above is the result of having watched a video meant to elicit SVCs. In that video, the woman, after having made the figurine, took hold of it and put it on the table momentarily before grabbing it again and then passing it to the man. Hence, the part of the construction that involves *khin*⁴⁴ ‘return’ and *aw*²¹⁴ ‘take’ expresses the woman returning to grab the figurine one more time after having done it the first time. In the second part of this SVC construction is a nuclear serialization with the major verbs *jin*⁴³ ‘pass’ and *pan*²¹⁴ ‘give’. It appears to be a Manner construction where *jin*⁴³ ‘pass’ expresses the manner of giving. As actor arguments of transfer SVCs are shared, the actor argument for this part of the construction is the woman while the dative argument is a man. Hence, this part of the Transfer SVC expresses the woman passing the figurine to the man.

The SVC in example (3.34) below is an interesting and uncommon occurrence in Transfer SVCs of the Shan language:

- (3.34) *pit*⁴⁴ *luk*⁴³ *nij*⁴³ *jaw*⁵² *luk*⁴³ *nij*⁴³ *naj*²¹⁴, [*aw*²¹⁴
 pluck CL:fruit one PFV CL:fruit one TOP **take**

*khin*⁴⁴ *aw*²¹⁴ *saj*²¹ *naj*⁴⁴ *thoj*²¹⁴] ...
return take put inside bag]
 ‘(He) plucked one fruit after one fruit. (He) takes (one fruit after another
 and) puts (them) inside a bag ...’

[Text 1: The Pear Story, (10)]

It is more typical for the handling verb *aw*²¹⁴ ‘take’ to occur alone in the V₁ slot or with another major verb. It is uncommon for it to occur twice in the V₁ slot, and for the slot to have a string of more than two verbs occurring together. For major verbs *aw*²¹⁴ ‘take’ *khin*⁴⁴ ‘return’ *aw*²¹⁴ ‘take’, the actor argument is the man while the theme argument is ‘pears’. The arrangement of the verbs shows a repetitive action of the man grabbing hold of the pears. In the previous clause, we can see that the man plucked one fruit after another, which already expresses a repetitive action of plucking. With repetitive plucking comes repetitive taking, as in order for the man to take the pear, he has to first pluck it. As a result, such a repetition is expressed in the form of *aw*²¹⁴ ‘take’ *khin*⁴⁴ ‘return’ *aw*²¹⁴ ‘take’ where the man takes one pear, then returns to take another. As mentioned above, since Transfer SVCs are sequential in nature, the verbs also occur in a way that reflects the temporal sequence of each action captured by each verb. For the dispatch verb *saj*²¹ ‘put’, the actor argument is the man while the goal argument is the bag, in which the man places the pears he has taken. This construction is also a symmetrical Transfer SVC.

Following Sequential SVCs, Transfer SVCs are the next most common constructions to be found in the Shan language. There are only core serializations in these constructions as they involve three arguments. Even if there are nuclear serializations, they are found in the core serialization and cannot occur independently. It is also common for arguments to be elided in such constructions, and that two or fewer arguments get to be explicitly expressed. Topical arguments are most commonly elided. As long as the arguments can be identified in the discourse and retrieved contextually, none of the arguments of the constructions need be mentioned explicitly.

3.3.1 MANNER SVCs

The reason for categorizing Manner SVCs as a subtype of Transfer SVCs is because they largely involve constructions with handle and dispatch verbs *aw*²¹⁴ ‘take’ and *pan*²¹⁴ ‘give’ respectively. As their name suggests, Manner SVCs are constructions that express the manner of handling or dispatching an object.

They are nuclear serializations and can be in one of the cores in a Transfer SVC (refer to example (3.33)).

- (3.35) $pɔ^{44}$ $tjap^{44}$ jaw^{52} , $\left[\begin{array}{ccc} man^{44} & tsaaj^{44} & kjep^{44} \\ 3SG & male & pick.up \end{array} \right.$ aw^{214} $phin^{44}$
 if chop PFV male **pick.up** **take** firewood
 $tsə^{44}$ nan^{52} $\left. \right]$ se^{214} , $kwaa^{21}$ pan^{214} , $naaŋ^{44}$ jin^{44} , $kɔ^{52}$
 those that] and go give female female CL:person
 nin^{43}
 one
 ‘Having finished chopping, the man picks up those firewood and (he)
 goes and gives (them) to a woman.’

[Text 3: MPI Stimulus, (35)]

- (3.36) $\left[\begin{array}{ccc} man^{44} & tsaaj^{44} & kɔ^{43} \\ 3SG & male & also \end{array} \right.$ tsu^{44} juk^{52} aw^{214} , sa^{52}
 male also also **lift** **take** basket
 $maak^{21}$ maj^{52} an^{214} nin^{43} , ...
 CL:round CL one]
 -----fruit-----
 ‘He also lifts one fruit basket...’

[Text 1: The Pear Story, (15)]

- (3.37) ... $\left[\begin{array}{ccc} e^{44} & nan^{52} & khot^{52} \\ HON.F.INF & that & scoop \end{array} \right.$ aw^{214} $taaŋ^{44}$ kin^{214} , ...
take road eat
 -----food-----
 ‘... That woman scoops food, ...’

[Text 3: MPI, (38)]

Examples (3.35), (3.36), and (3.37) all involve the handle verb aw^{214} ‘take’. In (3.35), the manner of ‘taking’ or ‘manipulation’ of the firewood is conveyed by the verb $kjep^{44}$ ‘pick up’. In (3.36), the manner of handling the basket is by lifting, which is captured by the verb juk^{52} ‘lift’. Likewise, in (3.37), the manner of ‘taking’ the food is by scooping, which $khot^{52}$ ‘scoop’ expresses.

3.4 PURPOSIVE SVC

Purposive SVCs are constructions that convey a purpose or a reason behind the act expressed by the main verbs. There are nuclear and core realizations of these SVCs and they are not sequential in nature. Sequentiality assumes that all

acts expressed by verbs are realized, along with the order in which they appear. Purposive SVCs however, still stand true even if the acts of verbs are not realized. However, only verbs in certain positions need not be realized. Such is the characteristic of Purposive constructions.

3.4.1 NUCLEAR SERIALIZATION IN PURPOSIVE SVCs

The basic pattern of a nuclear serialization in a Purposive SVC is given as a template below:

(NC₁) V₁ V₂ (NC₂)

NC₁ is an actor argument slot whose occupancy is optional. If the referent can be understood contextually, then there is no need for it to be explicitly mentioned. NC₂ is an undergoer argument slot and need not be filled if the verbs are intransitive. V₁ V₂ are verb slots. For nuclear serializations of Purposive SVCs, ‘events’ expressed by V₁ and V₂ are separated in time and have independent truth values. Example (3.38) is given below to illustrate such a pattern.

(3.38) *luŋ*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *niŋ*⁴³, *taŋ*⁴⁴ *naaŋ*⁴⁴ *jiŋ*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *niŋ*⁴³,
 uncle CL:person one together female female CL:person one
 -----woman-----

*ju*²¹ *him*⁴⁴ *muk*⁵² *phaŋ*⁴⁴ *se*²¹⁴, [*huŋ*²¹⁴ *kin*²¹⁴
 stay near wood.pile fire and [cook eat
 ----firewood----

*taaŋ*⁴⁴ *kin*²¹⁴,] ...
 road eat]
 -----food-----

‘An uncle, together with a woman, are near firewood and (they are)
 cooking to eat food.’ ...

[Text 3: MPI Stimulus, (31)]

Example (3.38) above is a classic example of a nuclear serialization in a Purposive SVC in Shan. In the video that elicited the utterance above, there was a man and a woman cooking food over a fire that they had built with firewood. They were chatting while cooking, and the video ended there. There are two main verbs used in the construction above, and they are *huŋ*²¹⁴ ‘cook’ and *kin*²¹⁴ ‘eat’. Of the two verbs, *huŋ*²¹⁴ ‘cook’, which was in the V₁ slot, was realized, as the video clearly showed the two people cooking. However, *kin*²¹⁴ ‘eat’, which was in the V₂ slot, was unrealized, as they were not eating, but only cooking.

One can assume that if they were cooking, they would be eating what they cooked after that. However, *kin*²¹⁴ ‘eat’ may never be realized and the entire construction will still stand true, because the validity of the construction was never dependent on the realization of *V*₂.

3.4.2 CORE SERIALIZATION IN PURPOSIVE SVCs

The basic pattern of a core serialization in Purposive SVCs is given as a template below:

$$(NC_1) V_1 NC_2 V_2 (NC_3)$$

*NC*₁, *NC*₂ and *NC*₃ are argument slots and *NC*₁ and *NC*₃ need not be occupied if the referents can be identified through context. The occupancy of *NC*₂ is not optional. Both *NC*₂ and *NC*₃ can be new introductions in the discourse.

Core serialization in Purposive SVCs is different from SVCs that are sequential in nature. Core serializations in constructions that represent sequential actions usually have a shared actor argument that is in the *NC*₁ slot, and *NC*₂ and *NC*₃ are undergoer argument slots that relate only to the individual cores. However, Purposive SVCs are like pivot or switch-reference constructions, where the shared argument *NC*₂ is the undergoer argument of *V*₁ but the actor argument of *V*₂. In core serializations in such constructions, verbs in the *V*₁ slot and verbs in the *V*₂ slot are separate in time and can have independent truth values. An example to illustrate this is given in (12).

(3.39) $\left[\begin{array}{cccccc} \text{pai}^{52} & \text{ka}^{44} & \text{se}^{44B} & \text{joŋ}^{21B} & \text{ma}^{44} & \text{aw}^{214} \end{array} \right] \text{ko}^{43} \text{thaan}^{21}$
 wait car ----hospital---- **come take** also think

$\text{tae}^{52} \quad \text{phjaw}^{214} \quad \text{se}^{44B} \quad \text{joŋ}^{21B} \quad \text{ko}^{43} \quad \text{lo}^{21} \quad \text{taaj}^{214} \quad \text{kwe}^{44}$
 CONTR arrive -----hospital----- also need die only

*jaw*⁵²

PFV

‘(He) waited for the ambulance to come and take (him). (I) also think, however, (even if he) arrives at the hospital, he would die only.’

[Text 4: Conversation, (171)]

As mentioned earlier in §3.2.1.2, core serialization is one strategy in SVCs that allows constructions to host more than two arguments within one clause without compromising grammaticality or complicating the structure of these

constructions. A construction like this allows the second argument in the clause to function as both the undergoer and actor arguments. In relation to example (3.39) above, we can see that the actor argument for the verb *pai*⁵² ‘wait’ is an elided pronoun referring to the victim, while the undergoer argument is *ka*⁴⁴ *se*^{44B} *joŋ*^{21B} ‘ambulance’. However, the actor argument of the verbs *ma*⁴⁴ ‘come’ and *aw*²¹⁴ ‘take’ is *ka*⁴⁴ *se*^{44B} *joŋ*^{21B} ‘ambulance’, while the undergoer argument is the victim, which is also elided. To give some context to the utterance above, it was a conversation that participant Sa was having with two other participants and he was describing a road tragedy that happened right before him while he was travelling home from Hsenwi. This example is actually a continuation of the same conversation mentioned above in example (3.17), where the two riders collided with the truck. Example (3.17) describes the predicament of the rider at the back while this example describes the predicament of the front rider, who is the driver. While the front rider had yet to die then, he had only few life signs and was waiting for the ambulance to arrive. The construction above can be split into two parts. The first part involves the verb *pai*⁵² ‘wait’, and the victim and ambulance are actor and undergoer arguments respectively. The second part involves the verbs *ma*⁴⁴ ‘come’ and *aw*²¹⁴ ‘take’, and the ambulance and victim are the actor and undergoer arguments respectively. The first part of the construction expresses the victim waiting for the ambulance, which in reality, was fulfilled. However, in the second part of the construction, the verbs *ma*⁴⁴ ‘come’ and *aw*²¹⁴ ‘take’ express the ambulance coming and then taking the victim away. In reality, there was no confirmation whether these acts expressed by the verbs were fulfilled. Participant Sa left before the ambulance came, if it even came at all. Nevertheless, the validity of this construction is not dependent on the realization of this part of the construction.

Purposive SVCs are a type of construction that showcases the richness of SVCs in the Shan language and extends its use to beyond just sequentiality. There are both nuclear and core serializations in such constructions, but it appears that there are only symmetrical serializations.

3.5 RECIPROCAL SVCs

Reciprocal SVCs are constructions that express a repeated action over a period of time as a response to something. They appear in a very specific pattern and employ the verb *khin*⁴⁴ ‘return’ to express reciprocal and repetition. *khin*⁴⁴ ‘return’ appears in the first and ultimate positions of the series of verbs that convey the repeated action, which makes its pattern easily identifiable and also unique to this category of SVCs. Only nuclear serializations are found in such constructions.

The basic pattern of a Reciprocal SVCs is given as a template below.

$$(NC_1) \textit{khin}^{44} V \textit{khin}^{44} (X) NC_2$$

NC₁ and NC₂ are argument slots and NC₁ can be left unoccupied if the referent can be identified contextually. V is a verb slot where both major and minor verbs can occur and X is a slot for locative markers. Optional elements are housed in brackets. Examples of Reciprocal SVCs are given below, and the relevant verbs are in bold type.

(3.40) *aaɰ*⁴³ *len*⁴³ *maak*²¹ *naŋ*²¹⁴, *sə*⁴³ *ləŋ*²¹⁴
 HON.M.INF play CL:round soccer.ball.material shirt yellow
 -----soccer.ball-----

*kon*²¹⁴ *lam*²¹⁴ *nan*⁵² *tsai*²¹⁴ *lam*²¹⁴ *se*²¹⁴, [*khin*⁴⁴ *phit*⁴⁴
 trousers black that heart black and **return** **fight**

*khin*⁴⁴, *phu*⁴³ *an*²¹⁴ *kum*⁴⁴, *naɰ*⁴⁴ *paan*²¹⁴ *pɔɰ*⁴⁴
return person REL moderate inside event festival

*maak*²¹ *naŋ*²¹⁴]
 CL:round soccer.ball.material]
 -----soccer.ball-----

‘A guy is playing with a soccer ball. That black trousers and yellow shirt (guy) is angry, and (he) fights the person who moderates (the game), in the soccer game.’

[Text 3: MPI Stimulus, (50)]

- (3.41) *pɔ*⁴³ *kaw*²¹⁴ *naj*⁵², *pɔ*⁴⁴ *wa*⁴³, *man*⁴⁴, *han*²¹⁴ *phaɪ*²¹⁴
 father 1SG this if say 3SG see who
- het*⁴⁴ *ti*⁴³, *kaw*²¹⁴, *phaɪ*²¹⁴ *phit*⁴⁴ *kaw*²¹⁴, *naj*²¹⁴ *kɔ*⁴³,
 do at 1SG who fight 1SG this.TOP also
 -----fight-----
- [*man*⁴⁴, *khin*⁴⁴ *ma*⁴⁴ *tɔp*²¹ *tjen*⁴⁴ *khin*⁴⁴, *kam*⁴⁴ *liw*²¹⁴
 3SG return come ----retaliate---- return time only
 ----at.once----
- jaw*⁵²]
 PFV

“My father, if he sees someone fight me, whoever fights me, he retaliates immediately.”

[Text 2: The Frog and Crow Story, (6)]

Examples (3.40) and (3.41) above are instances of a repeated action done by an entity in response to something. For example (3.40), the video that elicited the utterance showed a soccer player in yellow shirt and black trousers repeatedly pushing the referee in the soccer game, presumably because of his unfair judging of the game. The repeated pushing was inferred as fighting by the speaker, which resulted in his use of *phit*⁴⁴ ‘fight’. The repeated action appears to be done in response to the referee’s unfair judgment and is also the result of the soccer player’s anger. In example (3.41), the verbs *ma*⁴⁴ ‘come’ and *tɔp*²¹ *tjen*⁴⁴ ‘retaliate’ are used to convey the father of the frog moving towards anyone who fights the frog and retaliating on the frog’s behalf. As with all fights, they usually don’t end unless opponents have delivered several blows to each other. Hence, retaliation is often a repeated action in fights.

3.6 SUMMARY

To consolidate what has been elaborated in detail above, tests for verbhood were done to determine what are major verbs, minor verbs, and grammatical markers, especially since their form can be the same as each other. The independence of major verbs were tested by their ability to take a negative marker. A minor verb form a very tight unit with the major verb that precedes it and cannot take a negative marker. In fact, nothing can come between the major verb and minor verb because of how they behave as a unit. The minor verbs in Shan are most commonly *kwaa*²¹ ‘go’ and *ma*⁴⁴ ‘come’, where they express the deictic sense of the major verb that precedes them. *aw*²¹⁴ ‘take’ was also shown

to be a direct object marker than marks an affected patient in Adversative constructions, and *laj*⁴³ ‘get’ was tested to be a modal marker.

There are both symmetrical and asymmetrical SVCs in Shan, with four differing types being Sequential SVCs, Transfer SVCs, Purposive SVCs and Reciprocal SVCs. Sequential SVCs are the largest category of SVCs with subtypes Accomplishment SVCs, Resultative SVCs, Motion SVCs and Adversative SVCs. Both nuclear and core serializations can be found in Sequential SVCs and what defines this category of constructions is their iconic order of verbs which reflects the temporal unfolding of the ‘event’ in reality. Accordingly, Accomplishment SVCs are constructions that speak of an ‘event’ lasting for a period of time and has a definite end. Resultative SVCs express ‘events’ that happened as a result of a prior act while Motion SVCs are constructions that detail a path of travel by an entity. Adversative SVCs involve a causer and a causee where an adverse act of the causer unto the causee resulted in a negative resulting event captured by the SVC.

Moving on, Transfer SVCs are three-participant constructions that involve the use of verbs with a transference sense. Such constructions involve someone manipulating an object to transfer it to a goal. Their subtype, Manner SVCs, convey the manner in which an object is handled or dispatched. Purposive SVCs have both nuclear and core serializations. In nuclear serializations, the verbs have independent truth values and are separated in time. The purpose of the act expressed by the first verb is so that the act of the second verb can be done. However, even if the second act is done at a much later time or is not done at all, the entire construction still stands. As for their core serializations, they resemble pivot or switch-reference constructions where the undergoer argument of the verbs in the first core is the actor of the verbs in the second core. Likewise, verbs in the first core are separated in time with verbs of the second core and their truth values are dependent as well. The unrealization of the act conveyed by the verbs in the second core does not affect the truth value of the entire construction.

Lastly, Reciprocal SVCs have a unique pattern to them where *khin*⁴⁴ ‘return’ occupy the first and ultimate positions of the verb series. Reciprocal SVCs are repeated actions done in response to something, and the verbs of the repeated action are housed within the two *khin*⁴⁴ ‘return’ verbs. I hope this chapter has shown the various strategies employed by the Shan when using SVCs, which reveals the richness and variety of such constructions.

4. The Syntactic Structure of SVCs in Shan

This chapter will first give an overview of the framework used for syntactic analysis of SVCs in Shan, which is the layered structure of the clause (LSC) in Role and Reference Grammar. Following that, it will show the different juncture-nexus types found in these constructions and the roles the minor verbs play. Lastly, the scope of operators over the SVCs will be explored.

The LSC analysis of the RRG framework offers a transparent and straightforward way of presenting SVCs in Shan, where relationships between components can be seen plainly. One of the merits of RRG is its endeavour to represent different languages in comparable structures such that cross-linguistic comparisons could be made. As such, it increases accessibility of my data such that scholars could use them for any comparative work or to build up existing literature on typology.

4.1 OVERVIEW OF ROLE AND REFERENCE GRAMMAR

Role and Reference Grammar (Foley & Van Valin, 1984; Van Valin & LaPolla, 1997) was borne out of an attempt to provide an alternative linguistic theory that was based on languages other than English, opposing theories with a generativist approach. It also wanted to better account for the interaction of pragmatics, semantics and syntax in different grammatical systems. Since this chapter is an examination of the syntactic structure of SVCs in Shan, I am only adopting RRG's framework for syntax. The layered structure of the clause (LSC) framework for syntax is a result of that endeavour. It is RRG's conception of clause structure. Unlike generativist approaches where there are two levels (surface and abstract) of syntactic representation, RRG posits only one level of representation, which is the actual (or surface) form of the sentence. LSC is made up of fundamental units known as nucleus, core and periphery.

Figure 4.1: Figure 2.6 Components of the layered structure of the clause. Reprinted from *Syntax: Structure, meaning, and function*, by R. D. Van Valin and R. J. LaPolla, 1997, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Copyright 1997 by Cambridge University Press.

The nucleus is a syntactic unit that houses the predicate while the core is a syntactic unit that houses the nucleus and arguments of the predicate. Arguments that appear in the core are labelled as core arguments and they can be direct or oblique arguments (Van Valin & LaPolla, 1997: 26). The periphery is defined by adjuncts, which are elements that are not core arguments, and non-core arguments (Van Valin & LaPolla, 1997: 27). The figure that follows is a formal representation of LSC, which contains these units.

Figure 4.2: Figure 2.7 Formal representation of the layered structure of the clause. Reprinted from *Syntax: Structure, meaning, and function*, by R. D. Van Valin and R. J. LaPolla, 1997, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Copyright 1997 by Cambridge University Press.

Since the central concept of RRG is to analyze utterances in their actual form, the formal representation of LSC was made such that it would work for any linear order of the predicate and core arguments (Van Valin & LaPolla, 1997: 32).

In order to account for complex clausal structures, combinations of two or more syntactic units are called junctures, and they deal with multiple nuclei, cores and clauses (Van Valin & LaPolla, 1997: 442).

- a. [CORE . . . [NUC PRED] . . . + . . . [NUC PRED] . . .] Nuclear juncture
- b. [CLAUSE . . . [CORE . . .] . . . + . . . [CORE . . .] . . .] Core juncture
- c. [SENTENCE . . . [CLAUSE . . .] . . . + . . . [CLAUSE . . .] . . .] Clausal juncture

A nuclear juncture involves multiple nuclei while a core juncture involves multiple cores (Van Valin & LaPolla, 1997: 442). Each core in a core juncture can be internally complex as well, in that it can have a nuclear juncture in it. A clausal juncture involves multiple clauses and each clause can be internally complex, as with core junctures (Van Valin & LaPolla, 1997: 444). In this chapter, we are only interested in exploring nuclear and core junctures, as it is in these layers that SVCs are found. Nuclear serializations are actually nuclear junctures while core serializations are core junctures.

Elements that are different from predicates and their arguments but have grammatical functions are called operators (Van Valin & LaPolla, 1997: 40). They modify parts of the clause or the clause itself. RRG identifies eight categories of operators, and they are tense, aspect, negation, modality, status, illocutionary force, directionals, and evidentials (Van Valin & LaPolla, 1997: 40-42). Different layers of the clause are modified by different operators, and clausal operators have scope over core operators while core operators have scope over nuclear operators. The following is a diagram that shows the different operators and the layers they modify.

Figure 4.3: Figure 2.15 Operator projection in LSC. Reprinted from *Syntax: Structure, meaning, and function*, by R. D. Van Valin and R. J. LaPolla, 1997, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Copyright 1997 by Cambridge University Press.

Apart from juncture that deals with the combinations of syntactic units, relationships between the joined units are called nexus (Van Valin & LaPolla, 1997: 448). There are three nexus types—subordination, cosubordination and coordination (Van Valin & LaPolla, 1997: 454). Subordination is defined by structural dependence while cosubordination is defined by operator dependence, that is, constructions of such a type share the same layer operator (Van Valin & LaPolla, 1997: 454). Such constructions, however, are structurally independent. Coordination is defined by its complete independence in operators and structure (Van Valin & LaPolla, 1997: 454). As there are three types of junctures and three types of nexus, nine different juncture-nexus types are possible. However, as SVCs are monoclausal, there are only six possible different juncture-nexus types, namely nuclear subordination, nuclear cosubordination, nuclear coordination, core subordination, core cosubordination, and core coordination (Van Valin & LaPolla, 1997: 477). Out of these six possible types, Shan SVCs only manifest five, which are nuclear

subordination, nuclear cosubordination, nuclear coordination, core cosubordination and core coordination.

4.2 NUCLEAR JUNCTURE-NEXUS TYPES

4.2.1 NUCLEAR SUBORDINATION

Figure 4.4: LSC of a nuclear subordination. Text 3: MPI Stimulus, (71)

The diagram above is a LSC of a nuclear subordination. RP stands for Referential Phrase and it represents referring expressions while IF stands for illocutionary force. The layers above the utterance show constituency while the layers below are operator projections. This utterance is the most basic form of an asymmetrical SVC where there is only one major verb and one minor verb that modifies the major verb. The negative marker *am²¹* cannot occur between them as they form one tight unit. The major verb is *kwaj²¹⁴* ‘break’, and the minor verb *kwaa²¹* ‘go’ modifies the major verb by expressing the change in state from the dish ‘breaking’. Since *kwaa²¹* ‘go’ is not a predicate, there is no PRED label above it, unlike the major verb *kwaj²¹⁴* ‘break’. We can see that structurally, *kwaa²¹* ‘go’ is dependent on the major verb *kwaj²¹⁴* ‘break’, as with all nuclear asymmetrical constructions where the minor verb modifies the major verb. On the operator level, we can see that *kwaa²¹* ‘go’ modifies *kwaj²¹⁴* ‘break’ as a change-of-state marker. Illocutionary force (IF) for declarative clauses is unmarked since they are most common in Shan. If the utterance is a question or

an imperative clause, a question marker or an imperative marker will occur at the end to indicate the illocutionary act. Since IF is a clausal operator, it has scope over all the components under the clause structure.

4.2.2 NUCLEAR COSUBORDINATION

Figure 4.5: Nuclear cosubordination. Text 3: MPI Stimulus, (16).

As mentioned above, cosubordinated constructions have independent constituent structures like coordination but a dependency on operators. The utterance above is a nuclear juncture with two predicating nuclei that share a nuclear operator. To provide some context to the example given above in Figure 4.5 the full utterance where this clause is found details a woman unfolding her bicycle so that she can ride it. The verb *haaŋ*⁴³ *khəŋ*⁴³ ‘decorate’ is an expression used commonly by the Shan when they are preparing for events and hence the extensive preparation is seen as decorating. The unfolding of the bicycle by the woman was considered elaborate because of the many parts that had to unfold just to prepare it for riding. We can see that the major verbs *haaŋ*⁴³ *khəŋ*⁴³ ‘decorate’ and *haaŋ*⁴³ *hjen*⁴⁴ ‘prepare’ are two predicates that form a nuclear juncture. At the constituency layer, it is evident that both verbs are independent, resembling that of a coordinated structure. Looking at the operator layer, we can see that both nuclei share the same nuclear operator,

which is *jaw*⁵², an aspect marker when following verbs. Both verbs share the same operator. In nuclear junctures, nuclear operators have to be shared. The shared actor argument of both verbs is *man*⁴⁴ ‘3SG’, a third person pronoun referring to the actor. In the periphery we have the adverb *pɔ*⁴⁴ ‘when’, which indicates that the entire clause above is a dependent clause. Since declarative clauses are most commonly used in shan, the illocutionary force (IF) in declarative structures is marked by the absence of an interrogative or imperative marking.

Figure 4.6: Nuclear cosubordination. Text 2: The Frog and Crow Story, (10).

This is another example of nuclear cosubordination in SVCs of Shan. Identical to Figure 4.5 above, there are two predicated nuclei that form a nuclear juncture and share the same nuclear operator. A negative marker can occur between the two verbs, showing their independence and therefore making them major verbs. The two major verbs are *kwaa*²¹ ‘go’ and *lap*⁵² ‘sharpen’. Both verbs are independent verbs, as shown in the constituency layer, and they both share the arguments *kaa*²¹⁴ *lam*²¹⁴ ‘crow’ and *sop*⁴⁴ ‘beak’. At the operator layer, we can see that both predicated nuclei share the same nuclear operator *am*²¹⁴, which is a negative marker. This construction is a Sequential SVC. In the periphery is the adverb *pɔ*⁴⁴ *wa*⁴³ ‘if say’, which indicates that this is a dependent clause. The utterance above is a conditional clause. IF is usually

marked by the absence of interrogative or imperative marking and it has scope over all the components under the clause.

4.2.3 NUCLEAR COORDINATION

Figure 4.7: Nuclear coordination. Text 3: MPI Stimulus, (31).

Figure 4.7 above is the LSC of a nuclear coordination. This is the most basic form of a symmetrical SVC with only two major verbs. The two predicated nuclei form a nuclear juncture and there are no overt operators. The SVC above is a purposive SVC (refer to (3.38) of §3.4.1) and the major verbs are *huŋ*²¹⁴ ‘cook’ and *kin*²¹⁴ ‘eat’. The verbs are independent of each other and the shared argument is *taaŋ*⁴⁴ *kin*²¹⁴ ‘food’. Since only major verbs occur in nuclear coordination, all nuclear coordinated structures are symmetrical SVCs. IF has scope over all the components under the clause.

Figure 4.8: Nuclear coordination. Text 3: MPI Stimulus, (38).

Figure 4.8 above is an instance of nuclear coordination that involves multiple predicated nuclei. The nuclear juncture above consists of five nuclei. The order of verb appearance reflects the temporal order of realization since it is a Sequential SVC (refer to example (3.15) of §3.2.1.1). At the constituency layer, the five major verbs are independent of each other, and at the operator layer, they do not share any nuclear operators. Characteristic of nuclear constructions, the five major verbs share the same actor and undergoer arguments. The absence of an imperative or interrogative marker marks the IF of a declarative.

Figure 4.10: Core cosubordination with a nuclear coordination

Figure 4.10 is the LSC of core cosubordination with a nuclear coordination. It is an asymmetrical Sequential SVC with a core juncture that shares a core operator. As mentioned earlier (refer to §4.1), each core in a core juncture can be internally complex, and this is evidenced by the nuclear coordination found in the second core. In the first core, the predicated nuclei is the major verb *tswaaŋ*⁴⁴ 'kick into goal' and the arguments are the blue-shirted man and the soccer ball. In the second core, there are two predicated nuclei represented by the major verbs *khaw*⁴³ 'enter' and *kwaa*²¹ 'go'. The first major verb *khaw*⁴³ 'enter' describes the ball entering the goal and the second *kwaa*²¹ 'go' shows the motion of the ball going into the goal upon entering it. *Kwaa*²¹ 'go' also conveys the direction of this motion which is away from the speaker. These two cores form a core juncture and the negative marker *am*²¹ is a core operator that both cores share, which makes this construction a cosubordination.

Figure 4.11 Core cosubordination with a nuclear coordination

The utterance in Figure 4.11 is another instance of a core cosubordination. It is a Transfer SVC, hence the first core involves the handling verb *aw*²¹⁴ ‘take’ to convey the manipulation of the sweet water by means of taking hold of it. In the second core is a nuclear coordination that is also a Resultative SVC, where the pouring of the sweet water into the cup resulted in the sweet water being “put” inside the cup. This is expressed by the two major verbs *hi*⁴³ ‘pour’ and *saj*²¹ ‘put’. Both cores form a core juncture, and the core operator *am*²¹, which is a negative marker, is shared by both cores, making this a core cosubordinated structure. Hence this entire utterance speaks of the woman not taking hold of the sweet water and not pouring it into the cup.

4.3.2 CORE COORDINATION

Figure 4.12: Core coordination with nuclear subordination. Text 3: MPI Stimulus, (3).

This is an utterance (refer to example (3.18) in §3.2.2.2) that has a core coordination structure with a nuclear subordination. In the first core, we have the predicating nuclei being *khaam*⁴³ ‘cross.over’, where it expresses one woman crossing over a window. The core arguments for this first core are noun complex *naaŋ*⁴⁴ *jiŋ*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *niŋ*⁴³ ‘one woman’ and *hu*⁴⁴ *ljaŋ*⁴⁴ ‘window’. In the second core is where we find the nuclear subordinated structure. The major verb *ɔk*²¹ ‘go.out’ is supplemented by the minor verb that follows it. The minor verb *kwaa*²¹ ‘go’ expresses the direction in which the ‘going out’ was done, which was away from the speaker. The core arguments for this second core are the noun complex *naaŋ*⁴⁴ *jiŋ*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *niŋ*⁴³ ‘one woman’ (which it shares with the first core) and *taaŋ*⁴⁴ *nɔk*⁴³ ‘outside road’. Just like the other examples earlier, this is a declarative clause, and so the absence of an imperative or interrogative marker marks the IF.

Figure 4.13 Core coordination with nuclear cosubordination.

Figure 4.13 above is the LSC of a core coordination with a nuclear cosubordination. It is a similar utterance to the one shown in Figure 4.11, except that in this clause, the woman took the sweet water but did not pour it into the cup. The core juncture consists of two cores with no covert core operators that are shared. In the first core, the predicated nuclei is the major verb *aw*²¹⁴ ‘take’ with the arguments *naaj*⁴⁴ *jin*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵² ‘that woman’ and *nam*⁵² *tsem*⁴⁴ ‘sweet water’. The second core consists of a nuclear juncture involving the major verbs *hi*⁴³ ‘pour’ and *saj*²¹ ‘put’. At the constituency layer or the second core, we can see the negative marker *am*²¹ being shared by the two predicated nuclei, making the nuclear juncture one of cosubordination. The actor argument of the second core is *naaj*⁴⁴ *jin*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵² ‘that woman’, which is also shared with the first core.

Figure 4.14: Core coordination with a nuclear coordination. Text 1: The Pear Story, (10).

Apart from a core coordination with a nuclear cosubordination, there is also core coordination with a nuclear coordination. This is a Transfer SVC that is a symmetrical construction (refer to example (3.34) of §3.3). In the first core, there is a nuclear juncture that consists of three predicated nuclei. These three nuclei do not share any overt nuclear operator and are all main verbs, hence their structure is nuclear coordination. This series of verbs convey the continuous taking of the pears, where the man takes one pear and then returns to take one more pear and so on. Their arguments are elided, which explains why only the nuclear juncture makes up the core. In the second core, there is only one predicated nuclei, which is the main verb *saj*²¹ ‘put’ and the oblique argument which is the entire prepositional phrase that includes a relative clause. It expresses what the man did after he took the pears, which was to put them inside his bag. Just like all the other utterances above, this utterance is a declarative clause. IF is thus marked by the absence of imperative and interrogative markers and the operator has scope over all the components under the clause.

4.4 SCOPE TEST

4.4.1 NEGATION

As negation can be either a nuclear or a core operator, the negative marker *am*²¹ was placed in different positions in both core and nuclear junctures in order to test for the scope of negation in SVCs.

- (4.1) *pho*²¹ *kwaa*²¹ *am*²¹ *phæw*²¹⁴ *him*⁴⁴ *jɔŋ*²¹⁴ *nam*⁵² *nan*⁵² *kɔ*⁴³,
 while go NEG arrive near tank water that also
 ‘While (the crow) went and did not arrive at the water tank, ...’

Example (4.1) is a nuclear juncture with two predicated nuclei. In order to test for the scope of negation in nuclear junctures, I took the construction from example (3.3) of §3.1 which was previously tested to show that both verbs are major verbs. The negative marker *am*²¹ can be placed in the position between *kwaa*²¹ ‘go’ and *phæw*²¹⁴ ‘arrive’, showing that both verbs need not share the same polarity value in this SVC. The crow can leave the place and not arrive at the water tank but elsewhere. Hence, it appears that symmetrical SVCs with a nuclear juncture do not necessarily share the same polarity value.

- (4.2) *ka*⁴⁴ *naɟ*⁵² *man*⁴⁴ *am*²¹ *laɟ*⁴³ *ɔk*²¹ *kwaa*²¹ *tsɔm*⁴⁴
 car this 3SG NEG get go.out go follow
*kan*²¹⁴
 each.other
 ‘This car, it did not get to leave and follow the (other cars).’

- (4.3) *ka*⁴⁴ *naɟ*⁵² *man*⁴⁴ *am*²¹ *ɔk*²¹ *kwaa*²¹ *tsɔm*⁴⁴ *kan*²¹⁴
 car this 3SG NEG go.out go follow
 each.other
 ‘This car, it did not leave and follow the (other cars).’

Both examples above are nuclear junctures with three predicated nuclei being the major verbs *ɔk*²¹ ‘go.out’, *kwaa*²¹ ‘go’, and *tsɔm*⁴⁴ ‘follow’. The difference between examples (4.2) and (4.3) is the presence of core operator *laɟ*⁴³ ‘get’. It was previously tested in §3.1 that *laɟ*⁴³ ‘get’ in SVCs behave as a modal marker. In (4.2), the negative marker *am*²¹ has to be a core operator as it negates the full verb series including the core operator represented by the minor verb *laɟ*⁴³ ‘get’. In (4.3) however, *am*²¹ is a nuclear operator as it negates the entire nuclear juncture. The negative marker *am*²¹ will always be a nuclear operator when occurring in nuclear juncture constructions, unless there are core operators such as *laɟ*⁴³ ‘get’ present.

- (4.4) *kon*⁴⁴ *tsaaj*⁴⁴ *ti*⁴⁴ *maan*²¹ *ta*²¹⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *nij*⁴³, ***am***²¹
 person male wear glass eye CL:person one NEG
*aw*²¹⁴ *ki*²¹ *ta*²¹ *man*⁴⁴ *taan*²¹ *nə*²¹⁴ *ho*²¹⁴
 take -----guitar----- 3SG put.on on head
 ‘A glasses-wearing man did not take his guitar and put (it) on his head.’
- (4.5) *kon*⁴⁴ *tsaaj*⁴⁴ *ti*⁴⁴ *maan*²¹ *ta*²¹⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *nij*⁴³, *aw*²¹⁴
 person male wear glass eye CL:person one take
*ki*²¹ *ta*²¹ *man*⁴⁴ ***am***²¹ *taan*²¹ *nə*²¹⁴ *ho*²¹⁴
 ----guitar---- 3SG NEG put.on on head
 ‘A glasses-wearing man takes his guitar and did not put (it) on his head.’

Examples (4.4) and (4.5) are core junctures. To test the scope of negation in core junctures, the negative marker *am*²¹ was assigned places before the verb in the first core and the verb before the second core. In the case of core junctures, the position of occurrence of the negative marker determines whether it's a core or nuclear operator. Whenever the negative marker *am*²¹ appears before the verb or verb series in the first core of a core juncture, it is a core operator because it negates the entire core juncture. This is shown in example (4.4) where the negative marker negates the entire construction of taking the guitar and putting it on the man's head. On the other hand, when the negative marker appears before the verb or verb series in the second core of a core juncture, it is a nuclear operator because it only negates the verbs occurring in the second core. This is evident in example (4.5) where the man did take his guitar but did not put it on his head. Hence, it is evident that polarity value is not necessarily shared in core junctures.

4.5 SUMMARY

Only five out of the six possible juncture-nexus types are found in Shan SVCs, the missing one being core subordination. For nuclear structures, all three nuclear juncture-nexus types can be found in SVCs of Shan. Asymmetrical SVCs are nuclear subordinated structures as the minor verbs dependent on and modify the major verbs. Symmetrical SVCs can be either cosubordinated structures or coordinated structures, as both structures are independent on the constituent level, unlike nuclear subordination. Symmetrical SVCs that are cosubordination share the same nuclear operator while symmetrical SVCs that are coordination do not share any nuclear operator. Characteristic of nuclear juncture-nexus types is also the sharing of all arguments between predicating

nuclei in nuclear junctures. Since the junctures are all nuclear, they occur within the core layer with the core arguments.

On the other hand, there are only two core juncture-nexus types in Shan SVCs, and they are core cosubordination and core coordination. Both of them are structurally independent, and cosubordinated structures share the same core operator while coordinated structures do not. Each core in a core juncture can be internally complex, in that any of the three nuclear juncture-nexus types can occur within the core.

Additionally, the scope of negation varies according to the position the negative marker *am*²¹ occurs. When occurring before the verb series in nuclear junctures, the negative marker *am*²¹ negates the entire nuclear juncture. However, when it is placed between two major verbs within the series, it only negates the verb it precedes. This shows that polarity value is not always necessarily shared for nuclear junctures. The negative marker *am*²¹ will always be a nuclear operator in nuclear junctures unless the core operators such as *laɟ*⁴³ ‘get’ occur in the SVC, where the scope of negation extends to the whole verb series including the core operator. As for core junctures, *am*²¹ is a core operator when it occurs before the verb or verb series in the first core of the core juncture as it negates the entire core juncture. However, if it appears before the verb or verb series in the second core, then it is a nuclear operator as it only negates the verb/s in that core. Verbs in core junctures thus do not necessarily share the same polarity value as well.

5. Grammaticalization

One of the reasons why there is an interest in grammaticalization in SVCs is because asymmetrical constructions capture the process or paths of grammaticalization. Because minor verbs modify major verbs, their undertaking of grammatical meaning makes them susceptible to be grammaticalized into grammatical markers. (Aikhenvald, 2006: 22). Looking at grammaticalization in Shan helps to inform typology and linguistic theory. It is made apparent in the subsequent sections that grammaticalization patterns in Shan match the patterns found in other languages. Aikhenvald (2006: 31) observes that one of the grammaticalization patterns include minor motion verbs being grammaticalized into directional markers. We can see that this is the case for minor verbs *ma*⁴⁴ ‘come’ and *kwaa*²¹ ‘go’ in Shan, which will be covered in the second part of this chapter. Other grammaticalized markers such *laj*⁴³ ‘get’ and *pan*²¹⁴ ‘give’ are also explored. Before that, an overview of grammaticalization as a language phenomenon and some of the theories that deal with how such a phenomenon comes to be will be given.

5.1 OVERVIEW

Grammaticalization is a process in which lexical forms develop into grammatical forms, and grammatical forms develop into even more grammatical ones, all of which take place in certain contexts (Heine & Kuteva, 2004: 2; Bisang, 2008: 31; Hopper & Traugott, 2003: 1). It is a common understanding that lexical and grammatical forms do not grammaticalize in a vacuum, independent of their environment. Rather, their development is dependent on the constructions in which they appear, since lexical and grammatical items do not occur on their own but in constructions in discourse (Heine & Kuteva, 2004: 2; Loss, 2017: 38). While linguists have a consensus on what defines this language phenomenon, where they split is how such a change happened. Hopper and Traugott (2003: 71-98) believe that pragmatic processes such as metonymy and metaphors are what drive grammaticalization. Metonymic processes involve identifying one meaning in relation to another that is present, where inferences are drawn based on the covert meaning expressed by the lexical item in the construction. Metaphorical processes involve inferences drawn based on conceptual associations, and they are analogical and iconic. Hopper and Traugott (2003: 71-98) posit that metonymy is involved in the initial stages of grammaticalization before metaphoric processes replace it at the later stages, that is, grammaticalization of lexical items at the start arise from semantic contiguity rather than analogy. They also

propose that one of the motivations of grammaticalization is speakers' desire to better express themselves, which results in innovation, leading to new ways being sought to speak about old things. Grammaticalization can thus be seen a result of constant negotiation of meaning between speakers and hearers.

Heine and Kuteva (2004: 1-14), on the other hand, identify metaphorical processes as the only driving force of grammaticalization, where more concrete forms are used to express more abstract forms. There is reinterpretation that happens contextually and concrete objects could be used to express space, or from spatial to temporal, and so on. In order to describe and explain the process of grammaticalization, the following four mechanisms are proposed in their grammaticalization theory, and they are interrelated.

- (i) Extension (an expression is extended to another context)
- (ii) Desemanticization (or "semantic bleaching") – meaning content is lost
- (iii) Decategorialization (morphosyntactic properties that are characteristic of lexical or less grammaticalized forms are lost)
- (iv) Erosion (or "phonetic reduction") – phonetic substance is lost

Another significant aspect of grammaticalization is unidirectionality. Many linguists believe that there is a cline of grammaticality where a less grammatical form becomes more and more grammatical over time (Hopper & Traugott, 2003: 7; Heine & Kuteva, 2004: 4). There have been cases that contradict this unidirectional development, where a grammatical item actually became lexical. However, Heine and Kuteva (2004: 4) argue that there are far more cases that support unidirectionality than they do otherwise, but they do not hold this unidirectional process as absolute.

Grammaticalization in East and Mainland Southeast Asian languages have certain characteristics, one of which is the lack of coevolution in form and meaning (Bisang, 2008; Loss, 2017: 46). As an item becomes more grammatical, it doesn't necessarily lose its phonetic substance. In many Southeast Asian languages, lexical items that have developed grammatical functions still retain their lexical functions (Bisang, 2008; Enfield, 2004). Additionally, Mainland Southeast Asian languages have had prolonged language contact, giving rise to the high possibility that new grammatical forms, or innovations, in a language may be the result of borrowing grammatical patterns from neighbouring languages. In this case, the borrowing is not of words but rather the grammatical pattern. Whether a change is the result of areal contact or inheritance, the boundaries may not be as clear cut as well (Enfield, 2003: 368).

In Lao, the directional markers ‘come’ and ‘go’ are directly related to the motion verbs in SVCs, where the ‘come’ and ‘go’ verbs happen to occur at the end of the verb series to express direction, similar to the examples shown above (Enfield, 2007: 388). The directional markers ‘come’ and ‘go’ in Lao are

grammaticalized forms of the motion verbs ‘come’ and ‘go’ (Enfield, 2007: 232). Thepkanjana & Uehara (2008) has also observed a similar phenomenon in Thai where directional verbs are grammaticalized into directionals. They view the grammaticalization path to be one from directional verbs to directional markers to success markers, with the linguistic item still having its lexical function despite having developed new grammatical ones. It is thus very likely for the minor verbs *ma*⁴⁴ ‘come’ and *kwaa*²¹ ‘go’ to be grammaticalized into directional markers when directionality is already inherent in their meaning and thus could be extended to a more general use of expressing directionality in other contexts other than paths of motion.

Additionally, it seems that Shan is in a similar situation as Thai where the motion verb can also act as a completive aspect marker. Example (5.3) below shows how Shan uses *ma*⁴⁴ ‘come’ as a success marker. It is also interesting to note that it occurs in a context of a path of travel, which means it did not venture beyond constructions that convey paths of motion.

- (5.3) *ka*⁴⁴ *kɔ*²¹ *ɔn*²¹ *nan*⁵², *kwaa*²¹ *tsu*⁴⁴ *na*⁴⁴
 car plastic small that go forward meet
- pɔt*⁴⁴ *maj*⁵² *se*²¹⁴ *ta*⁵² *kɔ*⁴³, *khin*⁴⁴ *pon*⁵² *kwaa*²¹
 short wood -----but----- also return pass.by go
 --short.piece.of.wood--
- se*²¹⁴, $\left[\begin{array}{cccccc} \textit{khin}^{44} & \textit{nɔt}^{43} & \textit{thin}^{214} & \textit{ma}^{44} & \textit{ti}^{43} & \textit{kaw}^{21} \\ \text{and} & \text{return} & \text{reach} & \text{arrive} & \text{come} & \text{place} & \text{old} \end{array} \right]$
 ‘That small plastic car goes forward and meets the short piece of wood,
 but (it) returns and goes past (the ramp), and then (it) arrives at the
 original place.

[Text 3: MPI Stimulus, (27)]

Example (5.3) above is an Accomplishment SVC that describes the final stage of the full path of travel made by the small plastic car. The series of verbs in the SVC convey the journey of return where the plastic car travels back to the original place after having passed the ramp, and eventually arrives at the place it originally set off from. The marker *ma*⁴⁴ ‘come’ at the end of this verb series marks the successful arrival and completion of the return. It appears that *ma*⁴⁴ ‘come’ may only be at the initial stages of grammaticalization, as its motivation for grammaticalization seems to still be transparent. Its usage does not go beyond paths of travel, which is related to its lexical form being a motion verb.

There are also instances where the minor verb *kwaa*²¹ ‘go’ expresses a change in state rather than its lexical meaning in serial verb constructions. Two examples are given below.

- (5.4) *naaŋ*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *nɪŋ*⁴³ *aw*²¹⁴ *khwan*⁵² *tsɔk*⁴⁴, *hjam*²¹⁴ *saj*²¹
 female CL:person one take cane tie hit put
 ----hammer----

*waan*²¹ [*waan*²¹ *kwaj*²¹⁴ ***kwaa***²¹ *pjæt*⁴³]
 dish [dish break go throw.away]

‘A woman uses a hammer to hit a plate. The plate broke.’

[Text 3: MPI Stimulus, (11)]

- (5.5) ... *kon*⁴⁴ *an*²¹⁴ *ju*²¹ *phaaj*²¹ *lan*²¹⁴ *man*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵²
 person REL stay side back 3SG this
 -----behind-----

[*kon*⁴⁴ *an*²¹⁴ *ju*²¹ *phaaj*²¹ *lan*²¹⁴ *man*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵²]_R *min*²¹⁴
 person REL stay side back 3SG this fly
 -----behind-----

*kwaa*²¹ *phat*⁵² *saj*²¹ *ho*²¹⁴ *ka*⁴⁴ *he*²¹⁴, [*jaat*²¹ *khɪt*⁴⁴]
 go hit put head car and [separate toss]

*tok*⁴⁴ *ma*⁴⁴ *taaj*²¹⁴ ***kwaa***²¹ *kam*⁴⁴ *lew*²¹⁴]
 drop come die go -immediately-

‘... The person who was behind him flew off and hit the front of the car, and then (he) separated (from the car), tossed, and dropped (on the road) and died immediately.’

[Text 4: Text conversation, (163)]

In (5.4), we can see that *kwaa*²¹ ‘go’ modifies the major verb *kwaj*²¹⁴ ‘break’ to express a change in state of the dish, which is that it broke. Similarly, in (5.5), we can see *kwaa*²¹ ‘go’ modifying the major verb *taaj*²¹⁴ ‘die’ to express a change in state of the man who died. This minor verb tends to modify achievement verbs that express an inherent change in state of the subject. Major verbs like *kwaj*²¹⁴ ‘break’ and *taaj*²¹⁴ ‘die’ have an inherent change-in-state sense, in that for something to have been broken or dead, it would have gone from unbroken or alive to broken or dead. Unlike *ma*⁴⁴ ‘come’, *kwaa*²¹ ‘go’ appears to have its usage extending beyond contexts related to its lexical form.

Additionally, in Thai, *pay* ‘go’ is also used in a similar manner. It takes on the grammatical function of conveying that an entity has left from a normal state (Gandour, 1978: 383). With the lexical meaning of ‘go’ having a deictic element akin to departure, the centre of deixis of grammatical marker *pay* ‘go’ is the normal condition, such as a person living or a plate not broken. Gandour (1978: 383) has also pointed out that only *pay* ‘go’ can be used and that if *ma*⁴⁴ ‘come’ was used, the construction would be ungrammatical. This is logical, since the deictic element inherent in ‘go’ is leaving. Hence, if an entity leaves a normal state of being into an “abnormal” one, then only ‘go’ can be used. Looking at the examples of Shan, it appears that the same could be said of *kwaa*²¹ ‘go’, that it doesn't just mark a change of state, but the departure of what is normal.

5.3 GRAMMATICALIZED MARKERS

When looking through and analyzing the data I collected, there are instances of grammaticalization that I thought would be interesting to include in this chapter, hence they are subsumed under this section.

5.3.1 *LAJ*⁴³ ‘GET’ OR ‘COME TO HAVE’

Mainland Southeast Asian languages with similar meanings as *laj*⁴³ ‘get’ in Shan are referred to as ACQUIRE words by Enfield (2003; 2004). ACQUIRE words are defined as ‘come to have’, which is different from the mere meaning of ‘get’ where it assumes agency/control. The only similarity in meaning with ‘get’ is that it has the sense of receive. Other than that, ACQUIRE words have a source meaning that express the act of coming into possession of a thing (Enfield 2003: 81; 2004: 276). This is a definition that he established on the basis of Lao data. Additionally, he observes that in Tai languages, ACQUIRE words are cognates and their reconstruction for Proto-Tai, which is **?daj*, has been uncontroversial (2003: 321). Shan has it in the form of *laj*⁴³, Thai has it in the form of *dâaj* while Lao has it in the form of *daj*⁴. He reports that ACQUIRE words throughout these languages display a similar grammaticalization pattern from the meaning of ‘come to have’ to ‘succeed’ and then to ‘can’ in the postverbal position (Enfield, 2004: 277). In a construction where there are V1 and V2, of which V2 is the resultative position, *daj*⁴ in V2 gave rise to the implicature of succeeding. After that, the constant use of *daj*⁴ ‘succeed’ in the V2 slot resulted in the modal sense ‘can’ (ability or permission) in certain contexts. He has observed a similar pattern in other Mainland Southeast Asian languages such as Khmer, Kmhmu Cwang, Hmong and Vietnamese (Enfield, 2004: 287-291).

which resulted in the people no longer having the chance to take the boats anymore.

In (5.7), the clause where the preverbal *laj*⁴³ ‘get’ appears in expresses that the car was given the opportunity to drive at a certain speed because of the imposed speed limit. However, it can also be seen that the car was allowed to drive at a certain speed regulated by the imposed speed limit. For an utterance like this, there is vagueness with regards to the opportunity or permission interpretations. Nevertheless, in a similar manner, the opportunity or permission to drive at a certain speed is due to a prior imposition of speed limit. Since permission is something that is received, which also means that it is something an entity comes to possess, the permission interpretation could be the metaphorical extension of the source meaning of *laj*⁴³ which is ‘come to have’. The source meaning ‘come to have’ was the coming into possession of something concrete, which very possibly then later extended into abstract contexts.

Now in the postverbal slot, *laj*⁴³ ‘get’ has grammaticalized into a modality marker that conveys ability. In a similar manner, one of the meanings of postverbal *daj*⁴ in Lao is ability. Though for Lao, the interpretations of ability and permission are vague. Examples of Shan are given.

- (5.8) ...

<i>man</i> ⁴⁴	<i>am</i> ²¹	<i>paj</i> ²¹	<i>phæw</i> ²¹⁴	<i>laj</i> ⁴³	<i>ku</i> ⁴³	<i>ti</i> ⁴³
3SG	NEG	yet	arrive	get	-everywhere-	

*[man*⁴⁴*]_{SM}* *taaj*⁴⁴ *man*⁴⁴ *jaaw*⁴⁴ *jaen*²¹ *na*²¹ *ə*⁴³
3SG road 3SG long very PTCL yes

‘...It is not yet able to reach everywhere. Its road is very long.’

[Text 4: Conversation, (122)]

- (5.9)

<i>kɔ</i> ⁵²	<i>an</i> ²¹⁴	<i>am</i> ²¹	<i>[taaj</i> ²¹⁴ <i>]_{SM}</i>	<i>paj</i> ²¹	<i>taaj</i> ²¹⁴	<i>kam</i> ⁴⁴	<i>lew</i> ²¹⁴
CL:person	REL	NEG	die	yet	die	--immediately--	

*nan*⁵² *kɔ*⁴³ *am*²¹ *[am*²¹*]_R* *aap*⁴³ *khaam*²¹ ***laj***⁴³ *sæ*²¹, ...
that also NEG NEG may tolerate **get** EPIS]

‘The person who has yet to die immediately may not be able to tolerate (the pain), I think. ...’

[Text 4: Conversation, (170)]

In example (5.8), the referent of the clause in which the postverbal *laj*⁴³ ‘get’ occurs is the speed camera. A speed camera was placed on a long stretch of road, but its ability to reach everywhere on the road to catch speeders was limited. Similarly, in example (5.9) *laj*⁴³ ‘get’ occurs postverbally to give an

abilitative reading, but the preverbal negative marker negates the ability to give an inability sense. Coupled with the modal verb, the entire construction expresses the possible inability of the man to tolerate the pain since he was in an accident. Enfield (2003: 93) purports that it seems natural for ability to be something that people possess and thus when there is a requirement for abilities, they ‘come’ or they don’t. This ‘coming’ means that there is a destination, in which this case is related metaphorically to coming into one’s “sphere of ability”. Hence, the ability sense could be a metaphorical extension of ‘come to have’.

5.3.2 *PAN*²¹⁴ ‘GIVE’

As a lexical verb, *pan*²¹⁴ literally means the the transfer of a concrete item, an object, from one entity to another. It appears in Transfer SVCs as a major verb and is considered a dispatch verb as dispatch verbs are verbs of transference where there is a goal where an object is given. Outside of constructions that involve the expressing of an object transference, *pan*²¹⁴ ‘give’ has grammaticalized into a benefactive marker. An example is given below.

(5.10) *pən*⁴³ *ma*⁴⁴ *twaj*²¹ *phak*⁴⁴ *tu*²¹⁴ *se*²¹ ⁴*ta*⁵² *kɔ*⁴³,
 others come knock -----door----- -----but----- also

[*man*⁴⁴ *tsaaj*⁴⁴ *am*²¹ *kwaa*²¹ *phuj*²¹ *pan*²¹⁴]
 3SG male NEG go open **give**]

‘Others come and knock the door but he does not open for (them).’

[Text 3: MPI Stimulus, (20)]

The clause in which *pan*²¹⁴ ‘give’ behaves as a benefactive marker in the postverbal position in Example (5.10) is a Sequential SVC, where the man does not move towards to the door to open it for the people who are presumably on the other side of the door. Heine & Kuteva (2004: 149), in their collected analysis of grammaticalized items, show that one of the paths of grammaticalization for lexical items with the meaning ‘give’ include benefactiveness. This seems like a natural and logical progression, since the lexical verb *pan*²¹⁴ ‘give’ presupposes that someone received the object that another person gave. The receiver is the goal of this act of transfer, and can be said to have gained something. Since the receiver has gained something, it is also possible to see it as a benefit since it is something added to the receiver. The concrete transfer of an object from one person to another can thus be extended to other contexts where the act of transfer is of not objects but of services or acts, similar to that shown in example (5.10) above.

5.4 SUMMARY

Minor verbs *ma*⁴⁴ ‘come’ and *kwaa*²¹ ‘go’ are most frequently used to modify motion verbs in Shan SVCs and they appear in every single Motion SVC. Through Enfield (2007) and Thepkanjana & Uehara (2008), it is discovered that directional motion verbs like *ma*⁴⁴ ‘come’ and *kwaa*²¹ ‘go’ in Lao and Thai grammaticalize into directional markers. Seeing how *ma*⁴⁴ ‘come’ and *kwaa*²¹ ‘go’ function as minor verbs, it is completely plausible for these minor verbs to be grammaticalized as directionals where their deictic sense would extend from motion to other contexts as well, which was what happened in Lao. Additionally, Thepkanjana & Uehara (2008) observed that directional verbs in Thai follow the grammaticalization path of becoming directional markers and then success/completive aspect markers. It appears that Shan also has *ma*⁴⁴ ‘come’ as a completive aspect marker. On the other hand, the minor verb *kwaa*²¹ ‘go’ has developed a new grammatical function as a change-of-state marker. Gandour (1978: 383) observes that in Thai, the marker *pay* ‘go’, grammaticalized from the lexical verb *pay* ‘go’, is used to signify the leaving of a normal state of being. It seems that in a similar way, Shan employs the same strategy where *kwaa*²¹ ‘go’ doesn’t just convey a change of state but also the departure of that state to another. While the grammaticalized form of *ma*⁴⁴ ‘come’ remains to be used in constructions with some form of path of travel, the use of *kwaa*²¹ ‘go’ has extended beyond the contexts related to its lexical form.

There are also other grammaticalized markers in Shan that are interesting to explore, and one of them is *laj*⁴³ ‘get’ or ‘come to have’. It appears that the grammaticalization of *laj*⁴³ ‘get’, which Enfield (2003; 2004) has subsumed under as ACQUIRE words, is an areal phenomenon. He observed a similar pattern of grammaticalization of ACQUIRE words in Mainland Southeast Asian languages where their sense of ‘come to have’ becomes ‘succeed’ and then becomes ‘can’ in the postverbal position (Enfield, 2004: 277). Upon investigating *laj*⁴³ ‘get’ in Shan, there appear to be similarities in grammatical functions between ACQUIRE words in Shan and Lao. In a similar fashion, *laj*⁴³ ‘get’ in the preverbal position conveys the sense of opportunity. More specifically, it conveys a result prior to something that happened before that. In Shan, an ‘event’ had the opportunity to happen because an act prior to that made it such that the ‘event’ could happen. Additionally, preverbal grammaticalized marker *laj*⁴³ ‘get’ also has a permissibility sense in certain constructions. For postverbal *laj*⁴³ ‘get’, Shan is similar to Lao in that the grammaticalized marker of such a position conveys the sense of ability. Lastly,

the dispatch verb *pan*²¹⁴ ‘give’ has grammaticalized into a benefactive marker such that the act of transfer from one concrete object to another is now extended to other contexts where the transfer is of more abstract or intangible things.

Similar to what Bisang (2008) has written, despite having developed new grammatical functions, lexical items still retain their lexical functions. All the items mentioned above for grammaticalization still function as main verbs in certain contexts, while in others, they assume grammatical roles.

6. Conclusion

This dissertation has documented the SVCs of Shan by providing different categories and sub-categories of these constructions, as well as a syntactic analysis of them by means of the layered structure of the clause framework of RRG. Grammaticalization of minor verbs *ma*⁴⁴ ‘come’ and *kwa*²¹ ‘go’ in SVCs was also investigated. The types of SVCs discussed in this paper are by no means exhaustive, but they are my best attempts in identifying the various kinds of constructions and their uses based on the data I’ve collected. The richness of the use of SVCs in Shan is demonstrated by their ability to host multiple verbs in order to convey even the most minute of details. By simply juxtaposing a string of verbs, a speaker can express himself elaborately or even dramatize a story, as we have seen in example (3.17) in §3.2.1.1. Apart from nuclear serializations where all arguments of the verbs are shared, core serializations are able to host more than two arguments without complicating structure. They also make it possible to express actions in the two cores that shows their relationship.

Subsequently, the syntactic analysis of SVCs using the layered structure of the clause showed the relationship between verbs and their arguments, as well as the scope of operators. Aspect markers have scope over all the verbs in nuclear serializations, but negative markers do not necessarily have scope over the entire verb series. This shows that while aspect is shared in nuclear conjunctions, polarity value might not be shared. On the other hand, negative markers can have scope over an entire core serialization or only over the nuclear serialization in the second core. Constructions of this nature do not necessarily share polarity value as well. SVCs in Shan challenge Aikhenvald’s (2006: 8) claims that all SVCs share polarity value.

Grammaticalization of minor verbs *ma*⁴⁴ ‘come’ and *kwa*²¹ ‘go’ is interesting. Their deictic element allow their use to extend beyond motion and direction relative to the speaker. They can become directional markers, completive aspect markers and even change-of-state markers, all of which extending their deictic sense for other uses. It was also displayed that the verb *la*⁴³ ‘get’ has developed grammatical functions of a modality marker, and whose pattern of development resembles that in other neighbouring languages such as Lao. It contributes to the current observations about the areal factor in grammaticalization in Mainland Southeast Asian languages.

There remains much of the Shan language to be explored and this study is but a small contribution to the little existing research about it. It would be great to

have more quality field-based research on the language, given that there are different dialects of Shan in different parts of the Shan State of Myanmar, Yunnan China and the Sagaing Division. Their differences would be interesting to document and I believe they would contribute greatly to the current literature available on Tai Kadai languages as well as the grammaticalization of languages in those areas.

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Appendix B: TEXT 1 The Pear Story

- (1) *mə⁴³* *lew²¹⁴* *naj⁵²* *laj⁴³* *han²¹⁴* *kon⁴⁴* *tsaaj⁴⁴* *kə⁵²* *nij⁴³* *naj²¹⁴* *khin⁴³*
 -----currently----- this get see person male CL:person one this.TOP ascend
nə²¹⁴ *ton⁴³* *maj⁵²* *se²¹⁴* *khin⁴³* *aw²¹⁴* *nə²¹⁴* *ton⁴³* *maj⁵²* *se²¹⁴* *khin⁴³*
 on tree wood and ascend take on tree wood and ascend
 -----tree-----
pit⁵² *maak²¹* *maj⁵²*
 pluck CL:round
 -----fruit-----
 ‘Currently, I get to see a man. (He) is ascending a tree, and (he) carries himself up the tree. And (he) ascends and pluck fruits.’
- (2) *kon⁴⁴* *tsaaj⁴⁴* *kə⁵²* *nan⁵²* *naj²¹⁴* *saj²¹* *sə⁴³* *to²¹⁴* *pi⁴⁴* *pi⁴⁴* *waj⁵²*
 person male CL:person that this.TOP wear shirt torso fat REDUP keep
he²¹⁴ *jaw⁵²* *tjaŋ⁴³kə⁴³* *saj²¹* *sə⁴³* *səm²¹* *he²¹⁴* *saj²¹* *kon²¹⁴* *he²¹⁴*
 and PFV and.then wear shirt blue and wear trousers and
man⁴⁴ *tsaaj⁴⁴* *pit⁴⁴* *maak²¹* *moŋ⁴³* *loŋ⁴⁴* *maj⁵²* *jaw⁵²* *naj²¹⁴* *aw²¹⁴* *maak²¹*
 3SG male pluck CL:round descend wood PFV this.TOP take CL:round
 -----mango-----
moŋ⁴³ *loŋ⁴⁴* *aw²¹⁴* *aw²¹⁴* *maak²¹* *maj⁵²* *ma⁴⁴* *saj²¹* *naj⁴⁴* *sa⁵²* *an²¹⁴*
 descend take take CL:round come put inside basket CL
 ngo-----
 -----fruit-----
man⁴⁴ *waj⁴⁴* *waj⁵²* *saam²¹⁴* *an²¹⁴* *nan⁵²* *naj⁴⁴* *sa⁵²* *saam²¹⁴* *an²¹⁴* *nan⁵²*
 3SG put.CONT keep three CL that inside basket three CL that
naj²¹⁴ *an²¹⁴* *pen²¹⁴* *sa⁵²* *səŋ²¹⁴* *[sa⁵²]_{SM}* *te⁵²* *tem²¹⁴* *jaw⁵²*
 this.TOP REL COP basket two basket already be.full PFV
 ‘The man, (he) is wearing a shirt. (He) has a very fat body, and then, (he) wore a blue shirt and wore trousers and he plucks the mangoes off the tree. (He) descends and takes the mangoes (with him). (He) takes the fruits and put inside a basket. He was putting (the pears) into those three baskets. Within these three baskets are two baskets already filled.’
- (3) *kit⁴⁴* *thjaŋ⁴³* *sa⁵²* *nij⁴³* *an²¹⁴* *paj²¹* *tem²¹⁴*
 remaining another basket one CL yet be.full
 ‘One remaining basket is yet to be full.’
- (4) *mə⁴³* *lew²¹⁴* *man⁴⁴* *tsaaj⁴⁴* *tik⁵²* *aw²¹⁴* *saj²¹* *naj⁴⁴* *sa⁵²* *maaj²¹⁴* *səŋ²¹⁴*
 -----now----- 3SG male still take put inside basket ORD two
nan⁵² *waj⁵²* *ju²¹* *naj²¹⁴*
 that keep stay this.TOP
 ‘Now he is still taking (the pears). He puts (them) inside the second basket. (He) continued (doing that).’
- (5) *an²¹⁴* *sa⁵²* *maaj²¹⁴* *səŋ²¹⁴* *nan⁵²* *kam⁴⁴* *naj⁵²* *man⁴⁴* *tsaaj⁴⁴* *tsam⁵²* *tsjet⁵²*
 CL basket ORD two that -----now----- 3SG male CONTR wipe
an²¹⁴ *maak²¹* *maj⁵²* *an²¹⁴* *man⁴⁴* *aw²¹⁴* *loŋ⁴⁴* *ma⁴⁴* *nan⁵²* *naj²¹⁴* *tsjet⁵²*
 CL CL:round REL 3SG take descend come that this.TOP wipe
 -----fruit-----

*maak*²¹ *maɣ*⁵² *khin*⁴⁴ *waɲ*⁴⁴ *saj*²¹ *naɣ*⁴⁴ [*naɣ*⁴⁴]_R *sa*⁵² *maɣ*²¹⁴ *sɔɲ*²¹⁴ *nan*⁵²
 CL:round return put put inside inside basket ORD two that
 -----fruit-----

*se*²¹⁴ *khin*⁴⁴ *aw*²¹⁴, *phjæn*²¹ *mat*⁵² *khɔ*⁴⁴ *an*²¹⁴ *lɔaj*²¹⁴ *man*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵² *khin*⁴⁴
 and return take cloth tie neck REL red 3SG that return

*mat*⁵² *khɔ*⁴⁴ *man*⁴⁴ *he*²¹⁴ *kam*⁴⁴ *naɣ*⁵² *te*²¹⁴ *khin*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵² *jaw*⁵²
 tie neck 3SG and -----now----- IRR return that PFV

‘(At) that second basket, right now, he is wiping a fruit that he took and descended from that (tree). (He) wipes the fruit and puts (it) back inside that second basket, and (he) takes his scarf that is red and ties (it) back on his neck. And now (he) will return to that (tree).’

- (6) *luk*⁵² *he*²¹⁴ *kam*⁴⁴*naɣ*⁵² *te*²¹⁴ [*khin*⁴⁴ *khin*⁴³ *naɣ*⁵²]_{SM} *khin*⁴⁴ *khin*⁴³ *nan*⁵²
 get.up and right.now IRR return ascend this return ascend that

*kwaa*²¹ *jaw*⁵²
 go PFV

‘(He) gets up and right now (he) will return and ascend that (tree).’

- (7) *khin*⁴⁴ *khin*⁴³ *khu*⁴³ *laaj*²¹⁴, *khin*⁴⁴ *khin*⁴³ *khu*⁴³ *laaj*²¹⁴ *khin*⁴⁴ *kwaa*²¹ *pit*⁴⁴,
 return ascend -----ladder----- return ascend -----ladder----- return go pluck

*maak*²¹ *maɣ*⁵² *thjæŋ*⁴³ *jaw*⁵² *naɣ*²¹⁴
 CL:round another PFV this.TOP
 -----fruit-----

‘(He) returns and ascends the ladder. (He) returns and ascends the ladder and goes back to pluck more fruits.’

- (8) *phɔɲ*⁴⁴ *jaam*⁴⁴ *mɔ*⁴³ *man*⁴⁴ *khin*⁴⁴ *khin*⁴³ *khu*⁴³ *laaj*²¹⁴ *kwaa*²¹ *khin*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵²
 while period time 3SG return ascend -----ladder----- go return that

*naɣ*²¹⁴ *mi*⁴⁴, *kon*⁴⁴ *tsaaj*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *nij*⁴³ *naɣ*²¹⁴, *tsuŋ*²¹⁴ *taɲ*⁴⁴, *pe*⁵²
 this.TOP have person male CL:person one this.TOP pull together goat

*loŋ*²¹⁴ *ma*⁴⁴ *he*²¹⁴, *ma*⁴⁴ *him*⁴³ *ŋaaw*⁴³ *maɣ*⁵², *an*²¹⁴ *man*⁴⁴ *tsaaj*⁴⁴ *tik*⁵²
 big come and come near bottom wood CL 3SG male still

*khin*⁴³ *ju*²¹ *nan*⁵² *se*²¹⁴, *khin*⁴⁴ *tsuŋ*²¹⁴ *pe*⁵² *man*⁴⁴ *khin*⁴⁴ *ɔk*²¹ *kwaa*²¹
 ascend stay that and return pull goat 3SG return leave go

*khin*⁴⁴
 return

‘While he returns and ascends the ladder to return to the tree, there is a man. (He) pulls with (him) a big goat and comes near the bottom of the tree. He is still ascending (the ladder) and (the man) goes back to pulling his goat and leaves.’

- (9) *kon*⁴⁴ *tsaaj*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *nan*⁵² *kɔ*⁴³, *man*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁴³, *khin*⁴⁴ *pit*⁴⁴ *maak*²¹ *moŋ*⁴³
 person male CL:person that also 3SG also return pluck CL:round
 -----mango-----

*he*²¹⁴ *khin*⁴⁴ *aw*²¹⁴ *saj*²¹ *naɣ*⁴⁴ *thoŋ*²¹⁴ *man*⁴⁴ *he*²¹⁴ *pit*⁴⁴ *jaw*⁵²
 and return take put inside bag 3SG and pluck PFV

‘The man also, he returns to plucking the mangoes, and again takes and puts (them) inside his bag and (he) finished plucking.’

- (10) *pit*⁴⁴ *luk*⁴³ *nij*⁴³ *jaw*⁵² *luk*⁴³ *nij*⁴³ *naj*²¹⁴, *aw*²¹⁴ *khin*⁴⁴ *aw*²¹⁴ *saj*²¹
 pluck CL:fruit one PFV CL:fruit one this.TOP take return take put
*naj*⁴⁴ *thoj*²¹⁴ *an*²¹⁴ *man*⁴⁴, [*an*²¹⁴ *man*⁴⁴ *jaw*⁵² *naj*⁵² *nan*⁵²,]_{SM} [*an*²¹⁴ *man*⁴⁴]_R
 inside bag REL 3SG REL 3SG PFV this that REL 3SG
*pa*⁴⁴ *khin*⁴³ *kwaa*²¹ *nan*⁵² *pen*²¹⁴ *thoj*²¹⁴ *khaaw*²¹⁴ *khaaw*²¹⁴ *nan*⁵² *naj*²¹⁴
 take.along return go that COP bag white REDUP that this.TOP
 ‘(He) plucks one fruit after one fruit. (He) takes and puts (them) inside a bag that he took along (with him) and returns to that (tree). It is that very white bag.’

- (11) *jo*⁴³ *kam*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵² *phək*²¹ *man*⁴⁴ *tsaaj*⁴⁴ *tik*⁵² *khin*⁴⁴ *pit*⁴⁴, *tik*⁵² *pit*⁴⁴
 -----At.this.time----- after 3SG male still return pluck still pluck
*ju*²¹ *nan*⁵² *mi*⁴⁴ *luk*⁴³ *ɔn*²¹ *kam*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵² *mi*⁴⁴ *luk*⁴³ *ɔn*²¹ *tsaaj*⁴⁴
 stay that have child small -----now----- have child small male
*kɔ*⁵² *nij*⁴³, [*luk*⁵² *taaj*⁴⁴]_{SM} *luk*⁵² *taaj*²¹ *ti*⁴³ *ma*⁴⁴, *khi*²¹ ¹*sap*⁵² *pin*⁴⁴
 CL:person one get.up road get.up put.on at come ride ----bicycle-----
 -----somewhere-----
*se*²¹⁴ *ma*⁴⁴
 and come
 ‘Now, after he was returning to pluck (the fruits), (he) continues plucking the fruits at that tree. There is a small child. Now there is a small boy. (He) left somewhere and (he) rides a bicycle and comes.’

- (12) *khi*²¹ *sap*⁵² *pin*⁴⁴ *se*²¹⁴ *ma*⁴⁴ *kam*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵² *jep*²¹ *sap*⁵² *pin*⁴⁴ *loj*²¹⁴
 ride ----bicycle----- and come -----now----- step ----bicycle----- move
*ma*⁴⁴ *luk*⁴³ *ɔn*²¹ *tsaaj*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵² *a*²¹ *ju*⁵² *kɔ*⁴³, *mɔk*⁴³ *ka*⁴³ [*pjaàkmān*^T
 come child small male that ----age----- also ---estimate--- estimate
*mɔk*⁴³ *ka*⁴³]_R *a*⁴³ *sak*⁴³ *sip*⁴⁴ *saam*²¹⁴ *khop*²¹ *tsə*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵² *ka*⁴³
 ----estimate---- ----age----- ten three years ----about.there-----
 ‘(He) rides a bicycle and comes. Now, (he) steps on the bicycle to move. The age of that small boy, estimates to be about thirteen years of age.’

- (13) *luk*⁴³ *ɔn*²¹ *tsaaj*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *nan*⁵² *kɔ*⁴³, *khi*²¹ *sap*⁵² *pin*⁴⁴ *man*⁴⁴ *ma*⁴⁴
 child small male CL:person that also ride ----bicycle----- 3SG come
*se*²¹⁴ *aw*²¹⁴ *sap*⁵² *pin*⁴⁴ *man*⁴⁴ *ma*⁴⁴ ²*nɔn*⁴⁴ *se*²¹⁴, *waan*⁴⁴ *waj*⁵² *se*²¹⁴
 and take ----bicycle----- 3SG come put.aside and put.aside keep and
*kam*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵², *twe*⁴⁴ *khin*⁴³ *kwaa*²¹ *nə*²¹⁴ *ton*⁴³ *maj*⁵²
 -----now----- look ascend go on tree wood
 -----tree-----

¹ *sap*⁵² *pin*⁴⁴ is actually Burmese, but the village in Lashio uses it a lot more often than the Shan counterpart.

² *nɔn*⁴⁴ is used when putting aside big items, while *waan*⁴⁴ is used when putting aside any general item regardless of its size.

‘That small boy rides his bicycle and (he) takes his bicycle and puts (it) aside. (It is) put aside now, (he) looks up the tree.’

- (14) *phɔŋ⁴⁴ mɔ⁴³ man⁴⁴ twe⁴⁴ kwaa²¹ nɔ²¹⁴ ton⁴³ maj⁵² ju²¹ nan⁵² naj²¹⁴*
 while time 3SG look go on tree wood stay that this.TOP
 -----tree-----

an²¹⁴ pen²¹⁴ kon⁴⁴ tsaj⁴⁴ an²¹⁴ kɔ⁵² an²¹⁴ pit⁴⁴ ju²¹ maak²¹ nɔ²¹⁴
 CL COP person male CL CL:person REL pluck stay round.thing on

ton⁴³ maj⁵² nan⁵² kɔ⁴³ am²¹ laj⁴³ han²¹⁴ man⁴⁴
 tree wood that also NEG get see 3SG

-----tree-----

‘While he looks at that tree, there is a man who is plucking fruits on that tree and (he) does not see him.’

- (15) *man⁴⁴ tsaj⁴⁴ kɔ⁴³ tsu⁴⁴ juk⁵² aw²¹⁴, sa⁵² maak²¹ maj⁵² an²¹⁴ niŋ⁴³,*
 3SG male also also lift take basket CL:round CL one
 -----fruit-----
[sɔŋ⁴⁴ maak²¹ maj⁵² an²¹⁴ niŋ⁴³,]_R sa²¹ ti⁴³ [sa²¹ ti⁴³]_R na⁴³ sap⁵²
 basket CL:round CL one put at put at face ---bicycle
 -----fruit-----

pin⁴⁴ man⁴⁴ kam⁴⁴ naj⁵² pɔ⁴⁴ wa⁴³ man⁴⁴ aw²¹⁴ maak²¹ moŋ⁴³ aw²¹⁴
 ---- 3SG -----now----- when say 3SG take CL:round take
 -----mango-----

maak²¹ maj⁵² nan⁵² sa²¹ ti⁴³, na⁴³ sap⁵² pin⁴⁴ man⁴⁴ jaw⁵² pɔ⁴⁴
 CL:round that put at face ----bicycle---- 3SG PFV if
 -----fruit-----

naj²¹⁴ man⁴⁴ tsaj⁴⁴ kɔ⁴³, aw²¹⁴ sa⁵² [maak²¹ an²¹⁴]_{SM} maak²¹ maj⁵² an²¹⁴
 this.TOP 3SG male also take basket CL:round REL CL:round REL
 -----fruit-----

luŋ⁴⁴ nan⁵² pit⁴⁴ waj⁵² saam²¹⁴ sa⁵² nan⁵², [an²¹⁴ tem²¹⁴]_{SM} aw²¹⁴ kwaa²¹
 uncle that pluck keep three basket that REL be.full take go

pjæŋ⁴³ sa⁵² niŋ⁴³ jaw⁵² naj²¹⁴
 throw.away basket one PFV this.TOP

‘He also lifts and takes a fruit basket and puts (it) at the front of his bicycle. Now, when he takes the mangoes, takes the fruits, (he) puts (them) at the front of his bicycle. He also takes a fruit basket that the uncle plucked and kept (the fruits) in those three baskets. He takes one basket away.’

- (16) *aw²¹⁴ kwaa²¹ kam⁴⁴ naj⁵², aw²¹⁴ kwaa²¹ khi²¹ sap⁵² pin⁴⁴ kwaa²¹ tsɔm⁴⁴*
 take go -----now----- take go ride ----bicycle---- go follow

taaj⁴⁴ tik⁴⁴ tik⁴⁴ kam⁴⁴ naj⁵²
 road continue REDUP -----now-----

‘(He) takes (the basket) and goes (on his way) now. (He) takes (the basket) and goes to ride (his) bicycle and follows the road now.’

- (17) *aw²¹⁴ taaj²¹ sap⁵² pin⁴⁴ man⁴⁴ se²¹⁴ kwaa²¹ tik⁴⁴ tik⁴⁴ kam⁴⁴ naj⁵²*
 take put.on ----bicycle---- 3SG and go continue REDUP ----now-----
[kam⁴⁴ naj⁵²]_R lək⁴³ am²¹ le²¹ phɔŋ⁴⁴ man⁴⁴ tik⁵², kwaa²¹ nan⁵², man⁴⁴

-----now----- -----unexpectedly----- while 3SG still go that 3SG

*tsaaj*⁴⁴ *tsam*⁵² *laɣ*⁴³ *kwaa*²¹ *han*²¹⁴ *naaj*⁴⁴ *jin*⁴⁴ *ɔn*²¹ *kɔ*⁵² *nij*⁴³, *khi*²¹
male CONTR get go see -----female----- small CL:person one ride

*sap*⁵² *pin*⁴⁴ *ma*⁴⁴, *aw*²¹⁴ *ma*⁴⁴ *lɔ*²¹ *ja*⁴⁴ *man*⁴⁴ *luk*⁵² *naj*⁵²,
-----bicycle----- come TAKE come collide meet 3SG get.up this

*man*⁴⁴ *ja*⁴⁴ *kan*²¹⁴
3SG meet each.other

‘(He) takes (the basket) and puts (it) on his bicycle and (he) continues going (on his way) now. Unexpectedly as he was going (on his way) however, he got to see a girl. (She) is riding a bicycle towards (him). (She) “collides” [they did not collide, but had close contact which seemed like they collided] into him and she leaves. He (and she) meet each other.’

(18) *phək*²¹ *man*⁴⁴ *laɣ*⁴³ *han*²¹⁴ *naaj*⁴⁴ *jin*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *nan*⁵² *jaw*⁵² *naj*²¹⁴ *man*⁴⁴
after 3SG get see -----female----- CL:person that PFV this.TOP 3SG

*kum*²¹ *twe*⁴⁴, *naaj*⁴⁴ *jin*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *nan*⁵² *kwe*⁴⁴ *lae*⁴³, [*man*²¹ *lim*⁴⁴]_{SM} *man*⁴⁴
non-stop look -----female----- CL:person that -----distracted----- forget 3SG

*lim*⁴⁴ *twe*⁴⁴ *sap*⁵² *pin*⁴⁴ *man*⁴⁴ *ə*⁴³ *phək*²¹ *man*⁴⁴ *lim*⁴⁴ *twe*⁴⁴ *sap*⁵²
forget look ---bicycle--- 3SG yes after 3SG forget look ---bicycle

*pin*⁴⁴ *man*⁴⁴ *jaw*⁵² *kɔ*⁴³, *kam*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵² *aw*²¹⁴ *sap*⁵² *pin*⁴⁴, *aw*²¹⁴ *ho*²¹⁴
----- 3SG PFV also -----now----- take ---bicycle--- take head

*sap*⁵² *pin*⁴⁴ *kwaa*²¹ *lɔ*²¹ *ja*⁴⁴, *maak*²¹ *hin*²¹⁴ *he*²¹⁴ *kam*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵² *aw*²¹⁴
-----bicycle----- go collide meet CL:round and -----now----- take

*man*⁴⁴ *lom*⁵² *pjæt*⁴³ *ə*⁴³ -----stone-----
3SG fall.down throw.away yes *kam*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵²
-----now-----

‘After he got to see that girl, he keeps looking at (her). That girl distracted (him). He forgets to look at his bicycle. After he forgot to look at his bicycle, (he) now takes the bicycle. He causes the front of his bicycle to collide into a stone. And now (he) causes himself to fall down.’

(19) *phək*²¹ *man*⁴⁴ *lom*⁵² *pjæt*⁴³ *jaw*⁵² *naj*²¹⁴ *man*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁴³, *maak*²¹ *maj*⁵²
after 3SG fall.down throw.away PFV this.TOP 3SG also CL:round
-----fruit-----

*an*²¹⁴ *man*⁴⁴ *taaj*²¹ *kwaa*²¹ *tsə*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵² *kɔ*⁴³, *tok*⁴⁴ *mot*⁴⁴ *jaw*⁵² *kam*⁴⁴
REL 3SG put.on go those that also fall all PFV -----now

*naj*⁵²

‘After he had fallen down, he and those fruits which he put on (his bicycle), (they) all fall now.’

(20) *tok*⁴⁴ *mot*⁴⁴ *tok*⁴⁴ *tsə*⁴⁴ *nə*²¹⁴ *tsə*⁴⁴ *lin*²¹⁴ *tsə*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵² *se*²¹⁴ *kam*⁴⁴
fall all fall those on those ground those that and -----now

*naj*⁵² *sam*⁵² *mi*⁴⁴, *kon*⁴⁴ *tsaaj*⁴⁴ *ɔn*²¹ *saam*²¹⁴ *kɔ*⁵², [*luk*⁵² *ti*⁴³]_{SM} *luk*⁵²
----- CONTR have person male small three CL:person get.up at get.up

taaj²¹ ti⁴³ ma⁴⁴ [ma⁴⁴]_R han²¹⁴ saj²¹ læ⁴³, khaw²¹⁴ tsə⁴⁴ nan⁵²
 put.on at come come see unexpectedly.sees and 3PL those that
 -somewhere-

kə⁴³ tswaj⁴⁴ kan²¹⁴, kep⁴⁴ maak²¹ moŋ⁴³ saj²¹ pan²¹⁴ naj⁴⁴, [naj⁴⁴]_R kwe²¹⁴
 also help each.other pick CL:round put give inside inside basket
 -----mango-----

pan²¹⁴ man⁴⁴ ə⁴³
 give 3SG yes

‘All fall, those fall on the ground, and now however, there are three boys coming from somewhere. (They) unexpectedly see (what happened). And those (boys) help one another. (They) pick the mangoes and put inside the basket for him (the boy who fell).’

(21) *[kep⁵² maak²¹ moŋ⁴³ saj²¹]_{SM} khaw²¹⁴ tsə⁴⁴ nan⁵² tswaj⁴³ kep⁴⁴ maak²¹ moŋ⁴³*
 keep CL:round put 3PL those that help pick CL:round
 -----mango-----

saj²¹ pan²¹⁴ naj⁴⁴ kwe²¹⁴ khin⁴⁴ juk⁵², tswaj⁴⁴ juk⁵² taaj²¹ pan²¹⁴ nə²¹⁴
 put give inside basket return lift help lift put.on give on

ho²¹⁴ sap⁵² pin⁴⁴ man⁴⁴ nan⁵² ə⁴³
 head -----bicycle----- 3SG that yes

‘The three of them help pick the mangoes and put (them) in the basket and lift (it). (They) help lift (the basket) and put (it) on the front of his bicycle.’

(22) *kon⁴⁴ tsaj⁴⁴ ɔn²¹ saam²¹⁴ kə⁵² tsə⁴⁴ nan⁵², jə⁴³ kam⁴⁴ naj⁵²*
 person male small three CL:person those that -----at.this.time-----

waaj⁴⁴ se²¹⁴, khaw²¹⁴ tse⁴⁴ nan⁵² aw²¹⁴, tswaj⁴³ man⁴⁴ aw²¹⁴ taaj²¹ nə²¹⁴
 after and 3PL those that take help 3SG take put.on on

nan⁵² jaw⁵² kə⁴³ man⁴⁴ tsaj⁴⁴ kə⁴³ khin⁴⁴, sip²¹ tho⁴⁴
 that PFV also 3SG male also return ongoing push.bicycle

sap⁵² pin⁴⁴ man⁴⁴ kwa²¹
 -----bicycle----- 3SG go

‘Those three boys, after that, the three of them take hold of the basket. (They) help him take (the basket) and put (it) on that (bicycle). After that, he returns (on his way home). (He) continues pushing his bicycle.’

(23) *sip²¹ tho⁴⁴ sap⁵² pin⁴⁴ man⁴⁴ kwa²¹, [sip²¹ tho⁴⁴ lja²¹⁴ thip²¹*
 ongoing push.bicycle --bicycle-- 3SG go ongoing push.bicycle ----bicycle----

lot⁵² thip²¹ man⁴⁴ kwa²¹]_R
 -----bicycle----- 3SG go

‘(He) continues pushing his bicycle.’

(24) *[an²¹⁴]_{SM} kon⁴⁴ tsaj⁴⁴ saam²¹⁴ kə⁵² tsə⁴⁴ nan⁵² kə⁴³ paj²¹⁴ kwa²¹ tsəm⁴⁴*
 CL person male three CL:person those that also walk go follow

sjen⁴³ taaj⁴⁴ tsə⁴⁴ nan⁵² haaj⁴⁴ khaw²¹⁴ jaw⁵²
 -long.level.road- those that by.oneself 3PL PFV

‘Those three boys also walk along the road on their own.’

- (25) *lək⁴³ am²¹ le²¹ kam⁴⁴ naj⁵² khaw²¹⁴ khin⁴⁴ kwaa²¹,]_{SM} kon⁴⁴ tsaj⁴⁴*
 -----unexpectedly----- -----now----- 3PL return go person male
saam²¹⁴ kɔ⁵² nan⁵², [khaw²¹⁴,]_{SM}lək⁴³ am²¹ le²¹ khaw²¹⁴ khin⁴⁴ kwaa²¹ han²¹⁴,
 three CL:person that 3PL -----unexpectedly----- 3PL return go see
maak² ho²¹⁴ aaj⁴³ tsaj⁴⁴ ɔn²¹ an²¹⁴ tok⁴⁴ waj⁵² him⁴⁴ kaaj²¹⁴
 CL:round head HON.M.INF male small REL drop keep near middle
 -----hat-----
taaj⁴⁴ nan⁵² jaw⁵²
 road that PFV
 ‘Those three guys, unexpectedly, they see the boy’s hat that had dropped near the middle of that road.’
- (26) *kon⁴⁴ tsaj⁴⁴ kɔ⁵² nij⁴³ tsaj²¹ aw²¹⁴ maak²¹ ho²¹⁴ nan⁵² se²¹⁴ læ⁴³,*
 person male CL:person one hence take CL:round head that and and
 -----hat-----
kwaa²¹ pan²¹⁴ man⁴⁴ jaw⁵²
 go give 3SG PFV
 ‘One guy hence takes that hat and goes and gives (it) to him.’
- (27) *phək²¹ aw²¹⁴ maak²¹ ho²¹⁴ kwaa²¹ pan²¹⁴ man⁴⁴ jaw⁵² naj²¹⁴ kam⁴⁴ naj⁵²*
 after take CL:round head go give 3SG PFV this.TOP -----now-----
 -----hat-----
man⁴⁴ tsaj⁴⁴ kɔ⁴³, mən²¹⁴ tsəŋ⁵² nə²¹⁴ khaw²¹⁴ waa⁴³, jin⁴⁴ tsom⁴⁴ khɔp⁴⁴
 3SG male also ----similar.to---- on 3PL say hear happy ----thank-
tsai²¹⁴ nə²¹⁴ khaw²¹⁴ se²¹⁴ læ⁴³, laj⁴³ pan²¹⁴ maak²¹ moŋ⁴³ kwaa²¹ saam²¹⁴
 ful---- on 3SG and and get give CL:round go three
 ----mango----
- luk⁴³, taak²¹ khaw²¹⁴ saam²¹⁴ kɔ⁵², [taak²¹ kin²¹⁴,]_{SM} taak²¹ kɔ⁵² luk⁴³ luk⁴³*
 CL:fruit to 3PL three CL:person to eat to CL:person CL:fruit CL:fruit
 ‘After (he) takes the hat and goes and gives (it) to him, now he (the boy who received the hat) too, similar to them, says that he is happy and thankful towards them and as a result, (he) gives three mangoes to the three of them, one to each person.’
- (28) *aaj⁴³ nan⁵² kɔ⁴³ waa⁴⁴ se²¹⁴ laj⁴³ maak²¹ moŋ⁴³, saam²¹⁴ luk⁴³ jaw⁵²*
 HON.M.INF that also after and get CL:round three CL:fruit PFV
 ----mango-----
naj²¹⁴ [waa⁴⁴ se²¹⁴ laj⁴³ maak²¹ moŋ⁴³ jaw⁵²]_R man⁴⁴ kɔ⁴³ aw²¹⁴ maak²¹
 this.TOP after and get CL:round PFV 3SG also take CL:round
 -----mango----- ----man
moŋ⁴³ ma⁴⁴ pan²¹⁴ taj⁴⁴ kɔ⁵² man⁴⁴ nan⁵², kɔ⁵² luk⁴³ luk⁴³
 go---- come give Tai CL:person 3SG that CL:person CL:fruit CL:fruit
khaw²¹⁴ saam²¹⁴ kɔ⁵², kɔ⁵² luk⁴³ luk⁴³
 3PL three CL:person CL:person CL:fruit CL:fruit
 ‘That boy, after (he) gets the three mangoes, he takes the mangoes and comes and gives (them) to his friends. One

person one fruit. The three of them get one fruit each.'

- (29) *khaw*²¹⁴ *kɔ̌*⁴³ *khin*⁴⁴ *sip*²¹, *paj*²¹⁴ *khaaw*⁴⁴ *taaj*⁴⁴ *khaw*²¹⁴ *kwa*²¹
 3PL also return ongoing walk during road 3PL go
 'They return (to their journey). They walk along their road.'

- (30) *khaw*²¹⁴ *kɔ̌*⁴³ [*taaj*⁴⁴]_{SM} *paj*²¹⁴ *kwa*²¹, *taaj*⁴⁴ *kin*²¹⁴ *taaj*⁴⁴ *paj*²¹⁴ *taaj*⁴⁴ *kin*²¹⁴
 3PL also road walk go road eat road walk road eat
*len*⁴³ *kwa*²¹ *tsɔm*⁴⁴ *kaaj*²¹⁴ *taaj*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵² *jaw*⁵² [*aaj*⁴³ *kon*⁴⁴]_{SM} *aaj*⁴³
 play go follow middle road that PFV person.M.INF person person.M
*kon*⁴⁴ *tsaaj*⁴⁴ *ɔn*²¹ *saam*²¹⁴ *kɔ̌*⁵² *tsə*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵² *kɔ̌*⁴³
 person male small three CL:person those that also
 'They walk. They eat and walk and eat and play following the middle of that road, those three boys.'

- (31) *jaw*⁵² *kɔ̌*⁴³ *kam*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵² *luj*⁴⁴ *an*²¹⁴, *pit*⁴⁴ *maak*²¹ *moj*⁴³ *ju*²¹ *nan*⁵²
 PFV also -----now----- uncle REL pluck CL:round stay that
 ----mango----
*man*⁴⁴ *kɔ̌*⁴³, *phək*²¹ *pit*⁴⁴ *jaw*⁵² *naj*²¹⁴ *kam*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵² *man*⁴⁴ *loj*⁴⁴ *ma*⁴⁴
 3SG also after pluck PFV this.TOP -----now----- 3SG descend come
*kam*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵²
 -----now-----
 'And then now, the uncle who was plucking mangoes, he too after having plucked them, he descends the tree.'

- (32) *phək*²¹ *man*⁴⁴ *loj*⁴⁴ *ma*⁴⁴ *jaw*⁵² *kam*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵² *man*⁴⁴ [*ma*⁴⁴]_{SM} *laj*⁴³ *ma*⁴⁴
 after 3SG descend come PFV -----now----- 3SG come get come
*han*²¹⁴ *saj*²¹ *maak*²¹ *moj*⁴³ *an*²¹⁴ *mi*⁴⁴ *tem*²¹⁴ *waj*⁵² *soj*²¹⁴ *sa*⁵² *nan*⁵²
 see suddenly CL:round REL have be.full keep two basket that
 ----mango----
*haaj*²¹⁴ *kwa*²¹ *sa*⁵² *nij*⁴³
 disappear go basket one
 'After he has descended, he now sees that all of a sudden the mangoes that were filled in those two baskets- one basket disappeared.'

- (33) *pun*⁴³ *ta*²¹ *thajaj*⁴³, *sa*⁵² *nij*⁴³ *am*²¹ *paj*²¹ *tem*²¹⁴ *nij*⁴³
 -----for----- another basket one NEG yet be.full one
 'For the other, one basket has yet to be full.'

- (34) [*kam*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵² *man*⁴⁴ *tsaaj*⁴⁴ *twe*⁴⁴, *nan*⁵² *naj*²¹⁴ *kam*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵² *man*⁴⁴ *tsaaj*⁴⁴
 now 3SG male look that this.TOP -----now----- 3SG male
*twe*⁴⁴,_{SM} *phɔj*⁴⁴ *mə*⁴³ [*mə*⁴³ *mə*⁴³]_R *man*⁴⁴ *loj*⁴⁴ *ma*⁴⁴ *he*²¹⁴ *læ*⁴³ *twe*⁴⁴
 look while time time time 3SG descend come and and look
*maak*²¹ *moj*⁴³ *haaj*²¹⁴ *ju*²¹ *nan*⁵² *naj*²¹⁴ *mi*⁴⁴ *kam*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵² *aaj*⁴³
 CL:round disappear stay that this.TOP have -----now----- HON.M.INF
 ----mango----

*luk*⁴³ *ɔn*²¹ *saam*²¹⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *nan*⁵² *tsam*⁵², *paj*²¹⁴ *taaj*⁴⁴ *loj*²¹⁴ *ma*⁴⁴,
 small three CL:person that TOP walk road big come
 -----child-----

[*paj*²¹⁴ *taaj*⁴⁴ *loj*²¹⁴ *ma*⁴⁴]_R *se*²¹⁴ *lae*⁴³ *laɣ*⁴³ *han*²¹⁴, *sam*⁵² *ɔn*²¹⁴ *kan*²¹⁴
 walk road big come and and get see repeat lead each.other

*kin*²¹⁴ *maak*²¹ *moj*⁴³ *loj*²¹⁴ *ma*⁴⁴ *kam*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵² [*man*⁴⁴, *man*⁴⁴ *twe*⁴⁴]_{SM}
 eat CL:round descend come now this 3SG 3SG look
 -----mango-----

‘While he descended (the tree), he looked at those disappeared mangoes. Now there are three boys however, walking on the main road (towards him), and (he) gets to look (at them). (They) repeatedly lead each other eat mangoes as (they walk) down (the road).’

(35) *man*⁴⁴ *twe*⁴⁴ *waa*⁴³ *maak*²¹ *moj*⁴³ *man*⁴⁴ *haaj*²¹⁴ *naj*²¹⁴ *pen*²¹⁴ *luk*⁴³ *ɔn*²¹
 3SG look say CL:round 3SG disappear this.TOP COP small
 -----mango----- -----child-----

*tsə*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵² *jo*⁵² *naj*²¹⁴
 those that EPIS this.TOP

‘He looks and says that his mangoes disappearing is (because) of those children, perhaps.’

Appendix C: TEXT 2 The Frog and Crow Story

- (1) *mə⁴³ nəj⁵² tɛ²¹⁴ laa⁴³ ne²¹⁴ a⁵²pum²¹⁴, khet²¹ læ⁴³ kaa²¹⁴ lam²¹⁴ nəj²¹⁴*
 time this IRR talk show story frog and black this.TOP
 -----today-----
 ‘Today I will tell a frog and crow story.’
ja^w⁵²
 PFV

- (2) *mə⁴³ nan⁵² mi⁴⁴, khet²¹ læ⁴³ kaa²¹⁴ lam²¹⁴, soŋ²¹⁴ to²¹⁴*
 time that have frog and black two CL:animal
 -long.time.ago- -----crow-----
 ‘A long time ago there were two animals, a frog and a crow.’

- (3) *kaa²¹⁴ lam²¹⁴ nan⁵², ɲɔp⁴⁴ khet²¹ se²¹⁴,... khin⁴³ kwa^a²¹, nə²¹⁴, muŋ⁴⁴ hən⁴⁴*
 black that catch frog and ascend go on roof house
 -----crow-----
ti⁴³ niŋ⁴³
 place one
 ‘That black crow caught the frog and went up the roof of one house.’

- (4) *mə⁴³ phɔŋ⁴⁴ nan⁵², khet²¹ kɔ⁴³,... kho²¹⁴, khik⁴⁴-khik⁴⁴ nəj²¹⁴ læ⁴³,*
 time during that frog also laugh sound.of.laughter this.TOP and

kaa²¹⁴ lam²¹⁴ khin⁴⁴ tham²¹⁴ man⁴⁴, mai⁴⁴ kho²¹⁴ i⁴³ saŋ²¹⁴, mai⁴⁴ kho²¹⁴
 black return ask 3SG 2SG laugh something 2SG laugh
 -----crow----- -----what-----

het⁴⁴ saŋ²¹⁴, nəj²¹⁴ læ⁴³, khet²¹ kɔ⁴³, tɔp²¹ wa⁴³,... kaw²¹⁴ kho²¹⁴ nəj⁵²
 do something this.TOP and frog also reply say 1SG laugh this
 -----why-----

mi⁴⁴ loŋ⁴³taaŋ⁴⁴ man⁴⁴ ə⁴³
 have reason 3SG yes
 ‘At that time, the frog was laughing like this: ‘kik-kik’, and the crow asked it “What are you laughing at? Why are you laughing like this?”, and the frog replied saying, “I laugh like this has its reason.”’

- (5) *ɲɔn⁵²pə⁴⁴ kaw²¹⁴ laj⁴³ han²¹⁴ pɔ⁴³ kaw²¹⁴ mi⁴⁴ him⁴⁴ hɔm⁴⁴ nəj⁵² læ⁴³,*
 because 1SG get see father 1SG have near together this and

kaw²¹⁴ kho²¹⁴ ə⁴³ nəj²¹⁴ ja^w⁵²
 1SG laugh yes this.TOP PFV
 ‘“Because I see my father is somewhere near here, I laugh.”’

- (6) *pɔ⁴³ kaw²¹⁴ nəj⁵², pɔ⁴⁴ wa⁴³, man⁴⁴, han²¹⁴ phai²¹⁴ het⁴⁴ ti⁴³, kaw²¹⁴,*
 father 1SG this if say 3SG see who do at 1SG
 -----fight-----

phai²¹⁴ phit⁴⁴ kaw²¹⁴, nəj²¹⁴ kɔ⁴³, man⁴⁴, khin⁴⁴ ma⁴⁴ tɔp²¹ tjen⁴⁴ khin⁴⁴,
 who fight 1SG this.TOP also 3SG return come -----retaliate----- return

*kam*⁴⁴ *liw*²¹⁴ *jaw*⁵²
time only PFV
-----at.once-----

“My father, if he sees someone fight me, whoever fights me, he retaliates immediately.”

- (7) *het*⁴⁴ *tsəŋ*⁵² *nan*²¹⁴ *se*²¹⁴, *kaa*²¹⁴ *lam*²¹⁴ *kɔ̌*⁴³, *ko*²¹⁴ *læ*⁴³, *tsaŋ*²¹ *ɲɔp*⁴⁴
do that and black also afraid and hence catch
----like.that---- -----crow-----

*aw*²¹⁴ *khet*²¹, *paŋ*⁴³ *kwa*²¹ *ti*⁴³ *him*⁴⁴, ... *ɲɔŋ*²¹⁴ *nam*⁵², *ti*⁴³ *niŋ*⁴³
take frog run go at near tank water place one

‘(The frog) did it like that, and the crow was afraid. Hence, (it) took the frog, and (it) went near a water tank.’

- (8) *pho*²¹ *kwa*²¹ *phaew*²¹⁴ *him*⁴⁴ *ɲɔŋ*²¹⁴ *nam*⁵² *nan*⁵² *kɔ̌*⁴³, *aaj*⁴³ *khet*²¹ *nan*⁵²
while go arrive near tank water that also HON.M.INF frog that

*kɔ̌*⁴³, *khin*⁴⁴ *kho*²¹⁴ *thæŋ*⁴³
also return laugh again

‘While (the crow) went and arrived at the water tank, that frog laughed again.’

- (9) *kaa*²¹⁴ *lam*²¹⁴ *kɔ̌*⁴³ *khin*⁴⁴ *tham*²¹⁴ *thæŋ*⁴³ *wa*⁴³ *ma*⁴⁴ *kho*²¹⁴ *het*⁴⁴ *tsaŋ*²¹⁴,
black also return ask again say 2SG laugh do
-----crow----- -----what-----

*naŋ*²¹⁴ *læ*⁴³, *khet*²¹ *kɔ̌*⁴³ *wa*⁴³, ... *ə*⁴³, *kaw*²¹⁴ *han*²¹⁴, *pɔ̌*⁴³ *sip*²¹, *kaw*²¹⁴
this.TOP and frog also say yes 1SG see father continue 1SG
---step-father---

*mi*⁴⁴ *him*⁴⁴ *naŋ*⁵² *ə*⁴³, *pɔ̌*⁴³ *sip*²¹ *kaw*²¹⁴ *naŋ*⁵², *haaj*⁵² *lə*²¹⁴ *se*²¹⁴ *pɔ̌*⁴³
have near this yes father continue 1SG this brave more.than father
---step-father---

*kaw*²¹⁴ *jaw*⁵², *pɔ̌*⁴⁴ *wa*⁴³ *pha*²¹⁴ *het*⁴⁴ *ti*⁴³, *kaw*²¹⁴ *kɔ̌*⁴³, *man*⁴⁴ *te*²¹⁴
1SG PFV if say someone do at 1SG also 3SG IRR
-----fight-----

*khin*⁴⁴ *tɔp*²¹ *tjen*⁴⁴ *khin*⁴⁴, *aw*²¹⁴ *taj*²¹⁴ *khin*⁴⁴ *jaw*⁵², *wa*⁴³ *naŋ*²¹⁴ *se*²¹⁴,
return ----retaliate---- return take die return PFV say this.TOP and

*kaa*²¹⁴ *lam*²¹⁴ *kɔ̌*⁴³ *ko*²¹⁴ *læ*⁴³, *ɲɔp*⁴⁴ *aw*²¹⁴ *khet*²¹ *se*²¹⁴ *loŋ*⁴⁴ *kwa*²¹
black also afraid and catch take frog and descend go
-----crow-----

*ti*⁴³ *him*⁴⁴ *nam*⁵² *mɔ̌*²¹, *kwa*²¹ *tsuk*⁴⁴ *him*⁴⁴ *nam*⁵² *mɔ̌*²¹ *nan*⁵²
at near water hole go stand near water hole that
-----well----- -----well-----

‘The crow ask again, saying, “What you laughing at?” And the frog said, “Yes, I see my step-father is near here. My step father is braver than my father. If someone fights me, he will retaliate and (he) will cause them to die.” And the crow was afraid and took the frog and went down near a well. (It) went and stood near that well.’

- (10) *jaam*⁴⁴ *nan*²¹⁴ *aaj*⁴³ *khet*²¹ *kɔ̌*⁴³ *wa*⁴³, *naŋ*²¹⁴ *kaw*²¹⁴ *naŋ*⁵², *nə*⁵² *naŋ*²¹⁴
period that HON.M.INF frog also say skin 1SG this flesh skin

*naj*²¹⁴ *kaw*²¹⁴ *naj*⁵² *ken*²¹⁴ *khaej*²¹⁴ *na*²¹, *pɔ*⁴⁴ *wa*⁴³ *kaa*²¹⁴ *lam*²¹⁴ *am*²¹
 skin 1SG this -----strong----- very if say -----crow-----
 black NEG

*kwaa*²¹⁴ *lap*⁵² *sop*⁴⁴, *se*²¹⁴, *ma*⁴⁴ *sak*⁴⁴ *tæ*⁵², *te*²¹⁴ *am*²¹ *laj*⁴³ *naj*²¹⁴
 go sharpen beak and come pierce CONTR IRR NEG get this.TOP

*læ*⁴³

and

‘At that time, the frog said, “My skin, my flesh, is very hard. If crow does not sharpen (its) beak and pierce me, (it) will not kill me.”’

- (11) *kaa*²¹⁴ *lam*²¹⁴ *kɔ*⁴³, *ə*⁴³ *paɪ*⁵² *ti*⁴³ *naj*⁵² *kam*⁴⁴ *nij*⁴³ *na*⁵² *kaw*²¹⁴
 black also yes wait at this time one COMM 1SG
 -----crow----- -----here----- ----awhile----

*te*²¹⁴ *kwaa*²¹ *lap*⁴⁴ *sop*⁴⁴, *wa*⁴³ *naj*²¹⁴ *se*²¹⁴ *loj*⁴⁴ *kwaa*²¹ *naj*⁴⁴ *nam*⁵²,
 IRR go sharpen beak say this.TOP and descend go inside water

*kwaa*²¹ *lap*⁴⁴ *sop*⁴⁴ *ti*⁴³ *maak*²¹ *hin*²¹⁴
 go sharpen beak at CL:round
 -----stone-----

‘The crow (said this): “Yes, wait here for awhile! I will go sharpen my beak.” And (it) descended into the water. (It) went and sharpened its beak at a stone.’

- (12) *pho*²¹ *kaa*²¹⁴ *lam*²¹⁴ *khin*⁴⁴ *khin*⁴³ *ma*⁴⁴, *am*²¹ *laj*⁴³ *han*²¹⁴ *khet*²¹ *jav*⁵²
 when black return ascend come NEG get see frog PFV
 -----crow-----

‘When the crow returned, (it) did not get to see the frog.’

- (13) *khet*²¹ *kɔ*⁴³ [*tok*⁴⁴,]_{SM} *waen*²¹⁴ *tok*⁴⁴ *kwaa*²¹ *naj*⁴⁴ *nam*⁵² *mɔ*²¹, *nan*⁵² *jav*⁵²
 frog also drop jump drop go inside water hole that PFV
 -----well-----

‘The frog jumped into that well.’

- (14) *pho*²¹, *kaa*²¹⁴ *lam*²¹⁴ *kwaa*²¹, *ŋok*⁴³ *twe*⁴⁴, *ti*⁴³ *nam*⁵² *mɔ*²¹ *nan*⁵², *laj*⁴³
 when black go stretch look at water hole that get
 -----crow-----

*han*²¹⁴ *khet*²¹ *læ*⁴³, *aaj*⁴³ *khet*²¹ *ə*⁴³, *khin*⁴³ *ma*⁴⁴ *læ*⁴³, *kaw*²¹⁴ *te*²¹⁴
 see frog and HON.M.INF frog yes ascend come and 1SG IRR

*aw*²¹⁴ *mat*⁴⁴ *taj*²¹⁴ *ə*⁴³ *naj*²¹⁴ *læ*⁴³ *aaj*⁴³ *khet*²¹ *kɔ*⁴³, *am*²¹ *khin*⁴³
 take 2SG die yes this.TOP and HON.M.INF frog also NEG return

*ma*⁴⁴

come

‘When the crow stretched out and looked at that well, (it) saw the frog and (said) this, “Frog! Come up and I will cause you to die.” And the frog did not come back up.’

- (15) *jaam*⁴⁴ *nan*²¹⁴, *aaj*⁴³ *khet*²¹ *khin*⁴⁴ *wa*⁴³ *haj*⁴⁴ *man*⁴⁴, *aaj*⁴³ *kaa*²¹⁴ *lam*²¹⁴
 period that HON.M.INF frog return say alone 3SG HON.M.INF black
 -----crow-----
- ə*³²,... *kaw*²¹⁴ *tsai*²¹⁴ *am*²¹ *li*²¹⁴ *tsəm*⁴⁴ *mai*⁴⁴ *tæk*⁵² *tæk*⁵², *mai*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵²
 yes 1SG heart NEG good follow 2SG very very 2SG this
- ŋə*⁴³ *na*²¹,... *pən*⁴³ *ljen*²¹⁴ *mai*⁴⁴ *kə*⁴³ *am*²¹⁴ *hu*⁵²,... *kon*⁴⁴ *haw*⁴⁴ *nij*⁴³
 ignorant very others lie 2SG also NEG know person 2PL one
- kə*⁵²,... *pə*⁴⁴ *wa*⁴³, *pon*⁵² *phe*⁴⁴ *khen*²¹⁴, *pon*⁵² *ləŋ*⁴³ *taj*²¹⁴ *jaw*⁵²
 CL:person if say overcome danger enemy free about die PFV
- ta*²¹ *te*²¹⁴ *khin*⁴⁴ *ma*⁴⁴ *tsu*⁴⁴, *ləŋ*⁴³ *taj*²¹⁴ *nan*⁵², *phai*²¹⁴ *kə*⁴³ *am*²¹
 for/to IRR return come towards about die that who also NEG
- ma*⁴⁴ *laj*⁴³, *kəp*⁴³ *naj*²¹⁴ *lə*⁴³, *kaw*²¹⁴ *lət*⁴³ *phe*⁴⁴ *se*²¹⁴ *jaw*⁵², *kaw*²¹⁴
 come get this.TOP and 1SG free danger and PFV 1SG
 ---this.is.why---
- kə*⁴³ *am*²¹⁴ *kwa*²¹ *tsu*⁴⁴ *mai*⁴⁴ *laj*⁴³ *jaw*⁵², *mai*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵² *ŋə*⁴³ *na*²¹,
 also NEG go towards 2SG get PFV 2SG this ignorant very
- wa*⁴³ *tsəŋ*⁵² *naj*²¹⁴ *se*²¹⁴, *aaj*⁴³ *khet*²¹ *kə*⁴³, *lət*⁴³ *phe*⁴⁴ *kwa*²¹ *se*²¹⁴
 say same this.TOP and HON.M.INF frog also free danger go and
- jaw*⁵², *kaa*²¹⁴ *lam*²¹⁴ *kə*⁴³, *khin*⁴⁴, *min*²¹⁴ *kwa*²¹ *tsu*⁴⁴, *ti*⁴³ *kaw*²¹ *man*⁴⁴
 PFV black also return fly go towards at old 3SG
 -----crow-----
- nan*⁵² *jaw*⁵²
 that PFV

‘At that time, the frog replied to it, “Crow! I feel very sad for you. You are very stupid. Others lie to you and (you) do not know. For anyone, if (one) has been free from danger and death, no one will return to death. Because I am free from danger, I do not go to you. You are very stupid like this.’ And the frog was free from danger. The crow also flew back to its old place.’

- (16) *an*²¹⁴ *naj*⁵² *pen*²¹⁴, *a*⁵² *pum*²¹⁴, *khet*²¹ *lə*⁴³, *kaa*²¹⁴ *lam*²¹⁴, *naj*²¹⁴ *jaw*⁵²
 CL this COP story frog and black this.TOP PFV
 -----crow-----

‘This is the story of the frog and crow.’

Appendix D: TEXT 3 Staged Events Stimulus

001ET_handtohand

- (1) *man*⁴⁴ *aw*²¹⁴ *pha*⁴³ *tset*⁵² *pan*²¹⁴ *naaj*⁴⁴ *jiŋ*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *nan*⁵²
 3SG take fabric clean give female female CL:person that
 -----towel----- -----woman-----

‘He takes a cloth and gives (it) to that woman.’

002C_urn

- (2) *ka*⁴⁴ *kɔ*²¹ *ɔn*²¹ *nan*⁵² *kwa*²¹ *taaj*⁴⁴ *pun*⁵² *se*²¹⁴ *khin*⁴⁴ *ma*⁴⁴ *khin*⁴⁴
 car plastic small that go road and return come return
 -----there-----

‘That small plastic car goes there, and then (it) comes back.’

003M_inoutin

- (3) *naaj*⁴⁴ *jiŋ*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *nij*⁴³ *khaam*⁴³ *hu*⁴⁴ *ljan*⁴⁴ *ɔk*²¹ *kwa*²¹ *taaj*⁴⁴ *nɔk*⁴³
 female female CL:person one cross.over hole light go.out go road outside
 -----woman----- -----window-----

‘One woman crosses over the window and goes out to the road outside.’

004M_tasameactor

- (4) *kon*⁴⁴ *tsaaj*⁴⁴ *læ*⁴³ *kon*⁴⁴ *jiŋ*⁴⁴ *sɔŋ*²¹⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *nan*⁵², *naaj*⁴³ *up*²¹ *kan*²¹⁴
 person male and person female two CL:person that sit talk each.other

*ti*⁴³ *phən*²¹⁴ *nan*⁵² *he*²¹⁴, *naaj*⁴⁴ *jiŋ*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *nan*⁵² *hi*⁴³ *kin*²¹⁴, *nam*⁵²
 at table that and female CL:person that pour eat water
 -----woman-----

*tsem*⁴⁴

sweet

‘Those two, man and woman, sit and talk to each other at that table and that woman pours and drinks sweet water.’

005P_collidebreak

- (5) *naaj*⁴⁴ *jiŋ*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *nij*⁴³, *jip*⁴⁴ *waan*²¹ *se*²¹⁴ *pai*⁵² *waj*⁵², *kon*⁴⁴ *tsaaj*⁴⁴
 female female CL:person one hold dish and wait keep person male

*kɔ*⁵² *nij*⁴³, *ma*⁴⁴ *pha*²¹ *ja*⁴⁴ *he*²¹⁴, *aw*²¹⁴ *waan*²¹ *tok*⁴⁴ *kwaj*²¹⁴
 CL:person one come collide meet and take dish drop break
 ‘A woman holds a plate and waits. A man comes and collides (into her), and (he) causes the plate to drop and break.’

006ET_findstop

- (6) *luŋ*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *nij*⁴³, *sɔk*⁴³ *ha*²¹⁴, *khəŋ*⁴³, *an*²¹⁴ *phuj*²¹ *tsaak*⁴³
 uncle CL:person one search search thing CL open machine
 ‘An uncle searches for a thing to open the machine.’

007T_menstop

- (7) *luk*⁴³ *ɔn*²¹ *tsaaj*⁴⁴ *sɔŋ*²¹⁴ *kɔ*⁵², *len*⁴³ *maak*²¹ *naaj*²¹⁴
 small male two CL:person play CL:round soccer.ball.material
 -----child----- -----soccer.ball-----
 ‘Two children are playing with a soccer ball.’

015ET_talknormal

- (8) *luŋ⁴⁴* *kɔ⁵²* *nan⁵²* *he²¹⁴* *taŋ⁴⁴* *aaj⁴³* *nan⁵²*, *kha²¹⁴* *sɔŋ²¹⁴* *kɔ⁵²*, *up²¹*
 uncle CL:person that and together HON.M.INF that 3PL two CL:person talk

kan²¹⁴, *se²¹⁴* *loŋ⁴³* *loŋ⁴³*
 each.other and matter matter

-----some.matter-----

‘That uncle, together with that guy, the two of them talk to each other about some matter.’

016ET_soupsit

- (9) *aaj⁴³* *kɔ⁵²* *nij⁴³*, *naŋ⁴³* *he²¹⁴* *kin²¹⁴*, *taaj⁴⁴* *kin²¹⁴*
 HON.M.INF CL:person one sit and eat road eat

-----food-----

‘A guy sits and eats food.’

017B_block

- (10) *maak²¹* *lom⁴⁴* *nan⁵²*, *ma⁴⁴* *tum⁵²* *ja⁴⁴*, *pɔt⁴⁴* *maj⁵²*
 CL:round air that come deliberately.collide meet short wood

-----ball-----

--short.piece.of.wood--

‘That ball collided into the short block of wood.’

018P_hammerhitbreak

- (11) *naaj⁴⁴* *kɔ⁵²* *nij⁴³* *aw²¹⁴* *khwan⁵²* *tsɔk⁴⁴*, *hjam²¹⁴* *saj²¹* *waan²¹*, *waan²¹* *kwaj²¹⁴*
 female CL:person one take cane tie hit put dish dish break

-----hammer-----

kwaa²¹ *pjæt⁴³*
 go throw.away

‘A woman takes a hammer. (She) hits a plate. The plate broke.’

019ET_soupsittable

- (12) *aaj⁴³* *kɔ⁵²* *nij⁴³* *naŋ⁴³* *he²¹⁴*, *sɔt⁵²* *kin²¹⁴* *taaj⁴⁴* *kin²¹⁴*
 HON.M.INF CL:person one sit and drink eat road eat

-----food-----

‘A man sits and drinks something.’

020M_fb foulrolling

- (13) *kon⁴⁴* *sə⁴³* *sɔm²¹* *lə⁴³* *kon⁴⁴* *sə⁴³* *lɔaj²¹⁴*, *len⁴³* *maak²¹* *naŋ²¹⁴*
 person shirt blue and person shirt red play CL:round soccer.ball.material

-----soccer.ball-----

‘The blue shirt people and red shirt people are playing soccer.’

021T_applethrowcatch

- (14) *kon⁴⁴* *sɔŋ²¹⁴* *kɔ⁵²* *len⁴³* *maak²¹*
 person two CL:person play CL:round

‘Two people are playing with something round.’

029C_sourcegoal

- (15) *ka⁴⁴* *kɔ²¹* *ɔn²¹* *nan⁵²*, *luk⁵²* *ti⁴³* *na⁵²* *he²¹⁴* *kwaa²¹* *thij²¹⁴*
 car plastic small that get.up at this and go arrive

-----here-----

¹ *tsɔk⁴⁴* is a type of tying that’s specific to the tightening of plastic bags after having packed food or trash in them.

taaj⁴ pun⁵²
road

-----there-----

‘That small plastic car leaves here and goes and arrives there.’

030M_bikeunfold

- (16) naaj⁴⁴ jij⁴⁴ kɔ⁵² nan⁵²,... [phuj²¹,...]_{SM} haaj⁴³ khəj⁴³ lja²¹⁴ man⁴⁴ se²¹⁴,
female female CL:person that open sample thing bicycle 3SG and
-----woman----- -----prepare-----

pɔ⁴⁴ man⁴⁴ haaj⁴³ khəj⁴³ haaj⁴³ hjen⁴⁴ jaw⁵², khin⁴⁴ khi²¹ len⁴³ naj⁴⁴
when 3SG sample thing sample prepare PFV return ride play inside
-----decorate----- -----prepare-----

waaj⁴⁴ ti⁴³ pən⁴³ len⁴³ nan⁵²
compound at others play that

‘That woman prepares her bicycle and when she has decorated and prepared (her bicycle), she rides and plays in the compound where others play at.’

031B_blockwoman

- (17) naaj⁴⁴ jij⁴⁴ kɔ⁵² nij⁴³ len⁴³ maak²¹, [man²¹⁴]_{SM} naj²¹⁴
female female CL:person one play CL:round soccer.ball.material
-----woman----- -----soccer.ball-----

‘A woman plays with a soccer ball.’

032M_saltsameactor

- (18) lu⁴⁴ kɔ⁵² nij⁴³ læ⁴³, naaj⁴⁴ jij⁴⁴ kɔ⁵² nij⁴³ sa²¹ phaj⁴⁴ se²¹⁴,
uncle CL:person one and female female CL:person one put fire and
-----woman-----

kho⁴³ kin²¹⁴, taaj⁴⁴ kin²¹⁴, ti⁴³ naj⁴⁴ thən²¹
stir.fry eat road eat at inside forest
-----food-----

‘An uncle and a woman make fire, and (they) stir fry and eat food in the forest.’

033P_collidenonbreak

- (19) naaj⁴⁴ jij⁴⁴ kɔ⁵² nij⁴³ [nak⁵²]_{SM} tsuk⁴⁴ waj⁵², aaj⁴³ kɔ⁵² nan⁵² ma⁴⁴
female female CL:person one stand keep HON.M.INF CL:person that come
-----woman-----

pha²¹ ja⁴⁴ aw²¹⁴ waan²¹ tok⁴⁴ se²¹⁴ ta⁵² waan²¹ am²¹ kwaj²¹⁴
collide meet take dish drop ----but---- dish NEG break

‘A woman stands. That guy comes and collides (into her), causing the plate to drop but the plate did not break.’

034ET_bananaeat

- (20) aaj⁴³ kɔ⁵² nij⁴³, tsuk⁴⁴ him⁴⁴ pha²¹⁴ se²¹⁴, kək⁴⁴ kin²¹⁴ kwe⁴³, ljap⁴³
HON.M.INF CL:person one stand near wall and peel eat banana seem

kin²¹⁴ waan²¹⁴ na²¹, kin²¹⁴ kin²¹⁴ tək²¹ kwe⁴³ pɔ⁴⁴ mot⁴⁴, pən⁴³ ma⁴⁴
eat delicious very eat REDUP until banana -----finish----- others come

*twaj*²¹ *phak*⁴⁴ *tu*²¹⁴ *se*²¹ *ta*⁵² *kɔ*⁴³ *man*⁴⁴ *tsaaj*⁴⁴ *am*²¹ *kwa*²¹ *phuj*²¹
 knock -----door----- -----but----- also 3SG male NEG go open

*pan*²¹⁴
 give

‘A guy stands near a wall and (he) peels and eats a banana. (He) seems to be eating very deliciously. (He) eats and eats until the banana finishes. Others come and knock the door but he does not open for (them).’

035ET_foottohand

(21) *aaj*⁴³ *kɔ*⁵² *nan*⁵² *aw*²¹⁴ *tin*²¹⁴ *man*⁴⁴ *se*²¹⁴ *aw*²¹⁴ *pan*²¹⁴ *pha*⁴³ *tset*⁵²
 HON.M.INF CL:person that take leg 3SG and take give fabric clean
 -----towel-----

*e*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵²
 HON.F.INF that

‘That guy takes his leg and (he) takes and gives the towel to that woman.’

043ET_talkbacktoback

(22) *luj*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *nij*⁴³ *læ*⁴³ *aaj*⁴³ *kɔ*⁵² *nij*⁴³ *kɔj*²¹⁴ *lan*²¹⁴ *tɔ*²¹ *kan*²¹⁴
 uncle CL:person one and HON.M.INF CL:person one --back.to.back-- gamble each.other

*se*²¹⁴ *up*²¹ *kan*²¹⁴
 and talk each.other

‘An uncle and a guy (stand) back to back of each other and talk to each other.’

044ET_soupstand

(23) *naaj*⁴⁴ *jin*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *nij*⁴⁴ *tsuk*⁴⁴ *him*⁴⁴ *pha*²¹⁴ *se*²¹⁴ *tsɔ*⁵² *kin*²¹⁴
 female female CL:person one stand near wall and scoop eat
 -----woman-----

*taaj*⁴⁴ *kin*²¹⁴
 road eat
 -----food-----

‘A woman stands near a wall and (she) scoops and eats food.’

045M_fbpenaltywins

(24) *tsum*⁴⁴ *kho*⁴⁴ *laj*²¹⁴ *læ*⁴³ *tsum*⁴⁴ *kho*⁴⁴ *sɔm*²¹
 group clothes red and group clothes blue
 ‘(There is) red clothes group and blue clothes group.’

046T_claygive

(25) *naaj*⁴⁴ *jin*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *nij*⁴³ *het*⁴⁴ *haaj*⁴³ *kon*⁴⁴ *se*²¹⁴ *aw*²¹⁴ *haaj*⁴³ *kon*⁴⁴
 female female CL:person one do sample person and take sample person
 -----woman----- -----figurine----- -----figurine-----

*nan*⁵² *khin*⁴⁴ *aw*²¹⁴ *jin*⁴³ *pan*²¹⁴ *kon*⁴⁴ *tsaaj*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *nij*⁴³
 that return take pass give person male CL:person one

‘A woman makes a figurine, and (she) takes that figurine. (She) takes (that figurine) again and gives (it) to a man.’

047M_woodongoing

- (26) *aaj*⁴³ *kɔ*⁵² *nij*⁴³, *aw*²¹⁴ *ta*²¹⁴ *mja*⁴⁴ *se*²¹⁴, *tja*⁴⁴ *pɔt*⁴⁴ *maj*⁵²,
 HON.M.INF CL:person one take -----short.axe----- and chop short wood
 --short.piece.of.wood--

*ti*⁴³ *naj*⁴⁴ *than*²¹
 at inside forest

‘One guy takes a short axe and (he) chops branches in the forest.’

048C_complexnottunnel

- (27) *ka*⁴⁴ *kɔ*²¹ *ɔn*²¹ *nan*⁵², *kwa*²¹ *tsu*⁴⁴ *ja*⁴⁴ *pɔt*⁴⁴ *maj*⁵² *se*²¹⁴ *ta*⁵²
 car plastic small that go forward meet short wood -----but-----
 --short.piece.of.wood--

*kɔ*⁴³, *khin*⁴⁴ *pon*⁵² *kwa*²¹ *se*²¹⁴, *khin*⁴⁴ *nɔt*⁴³ *thij*²¹⁴ *ma*⁴⁴ *ti*⁴³ *kaw*²¹
 also return pass.by go and return reach arrive come place old

‘That small plastic car goes forward and meets the short piece of wood, but (it) returns and passes by (the ramp), and then (it) arrives at the original place.’

049P_hammerdropbreak

- (28) *naaj*⁴⁴ *jij*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *nij*⁴³, *jip*⁴⁴, *ta*²¹⁴ *maat*²¹ *se*²¹⁴, *pɔj*²¹ *loj*⁴⁴, *nə*²¹⁴
 female female CL:person one hold -----long.axe----- and let.go descend on
 -----woman-----

*waan*²¹, *waan*²¹ *kwaj*²¹⁴ *kwa*²¹
 dish dish break go

‘A woman holds a long axe and (she) lets go (of it) on a plate. The plate broke.’

050M_fbpenalty goal

- (29) *aaj*⁴³ *sɔ*⁴³ *sɔm*²¹ *nan*⁵² *tswaan*⁴⁴ *maak*²¹ *nan*²¹⁴ *khaw*⁴³
 HON.M.INF shirt blue that kicks.into.goal CL:round soccer.ball.material enter
 -----soccer.ball-----

*kwa*²¹ *naj*⁴⁴ *ko*⁴⁴
 go inside goal

‘That blue shirt guy kicks the soccer ball into the goal.’

058P_tablethrow

- (30) *naaj*⁴⁴ *jij*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *nij*⁴³ *jip*⁴⁴ *waan*²¹ *se*²¹⁴ *thim*⁴³ *saj*²¹ *nə*²¹⁴ *phən*²¹⁴
 female female CL:person one hold dish and throw put on table
 -----woman-----

*aw*²¹⁴ *waan*²¹ *kwaj*²¹⁴ *pjæt*⁴³
 take dish break throw.away

‘A woman holds a dish and (she) throws (it) on the table. (She) caused the dish to break.’

059M_tablethrow

- (31) *luj*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *nij*⁴³, *ta*⁴⁴ *naaj*⁴⁴ *jij*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *nij*⁴³, *ju*²¹ *him*⁴⁴
 uncle CL:person one together female female CL:person one stay near
 -----woman-----

*muk*⁵² *phaj*⁴⁴ *se*²¹⁴, *huj*²¹⁴ *kin*²¹⁴ *taaj*⁴⁴ *kin*²¹⁴, *twe*⁴⁴ *ljap*⁴³ *sə*⁴⁴ *na*²¹,
wood.pile fire and cook eat road eat look seems happy very
---firewood--- -----food-----

*taaj*⁴⁴ *up*²¹ *taaj*⁴⁴ *kho*²¹⁴
road talk road laugh

‘An uncle, together with a woman, is near firewood and (they are) cooking to eat food. (They) look very happy.
(They are) talking and laughing.’

060C_tunnel

(32) *ka*⁴⁴ *kɔ*²¹ *səm*²¹ *ɔn*²¹ *nan*⁵², *khaw*⁴³ *kwa*²¹ *tsəm*⁴⁴ *hɔj*⁴⁴ *man*⁴⁴, *an*²¹⁴
car plastic blue small that enter go follow line 3SG REL

*khaw*²¹⁴ *kaj*⁴³ *waj*⁵² *nan*⁵²
3PL cover keep that

‘That small blue plastic car enters and follows its (the tunnel’s) line that they covered.’

061M_fbheadononefalls

(33) *sə*⁴³ *səm*²¹ *lə*⁴³ *sə*⁴³ *ljaj*²¹⁴ *him*²¹⁴ *kan*²¹⁴ *maak*²¹ *naj*²¹⁴
shirt blue and shirt red snatch each.other CL:round soccer.ball.material
-----soccer.ball-----

*sə*⁴³ *ljaj*²¹⁴ *ləj*⁴³ *lom*⁵² *kwa*²¹
shirt red get fall.down go

‘The blue shirt (person) and red shirt (person) are snatching the soccer ball from each other. The red shirt (person) falls down.’

062M_cookingokay

(34) *aaj*⁴³ *kɔ*⁵² *nij*⁴³, *aw*²¹⁴ *ta*²¹⁴ *mjat*⁴⁴ *se*²¹⁴, *tjap*⁴⁴ *phin*⁴⁴, *jaw*⁵² *kɔ*⁴³,
HON.M.INF CL:person one take ---short.axe--- and chop firewood PFV also

*khin*⁴⁴ *aw*²¹⁴ *pha*⁵², *se*²¹⁴ *tjap*⁴⁴
return take knife and chop

‘A guy takes a short axe and (he) chops firewood. Then he takes a knife and (he) chops.’

(35) *pɔ*⁴⁴ *tjap*⁴⁴ *jaw*⁵², *man*⁴⁴ *tsaaj*⁴⁴ *kjep*⁴⁴ *aw*²¹⁴ *phin*⁴⁴ *tsə*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵² *se*²¹⁴,
if chop PFV 3SG male pick.up take firewood those that and

*kwa*²¹ *pan*²¹⁴, *naaj*⁴⁴ *jij*⁴⁴, *kɔ*⁵² *nij*⁴³
go give female female CL:person one
-----woman-----

‘Having finished chopping, the man picks up those firewood and (he) goes and gives (them) to a woman.’

(36) *naaj*⁴⁴ *jij*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵², *tik*⁵² *huj*²¹⁴, *taaj*⁴⁴ *kin*²¹⁴ *ju*²¹
female female that still cook road eat stay
-----woman----- -----food-----

‘That woman is still cooking food.’

(37) *mə*⁴³ *phəj*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵², *luj*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *nij*⁴³, *ma*⁴⁴ *naj*⁴³, *him*⁴⁴ *kha*²¹⁴
time period that uncle CL:person one come sit near 3PL.DUAL

‘At that time, an uncle comes and sits near two of them.’

- (38) *aaj⁴³ kɔ⁵² nan⁵², khin⁴⁴ luk⁵² kwaa²¹ naj⁴³ len⁴³ kɔ⁵², luj⁴⁴ nan⁵²*
 HON.M.INF CL:person that return get.up go sit play CL:person uncle that
se²¹⁴, e⁴⁴ nan⁵², khot⁵² aw²¹⁴ taaj⁴⁴ kin²¹⁴, saj²¹ naj⁴⁴ waan²¹
 and HON.F.INF that scoop take road eat put inside dish
 -----food-----

‘That guy gets up and goes and sit with that uncle, and that woman scoops food into the plate.’

- (39) *jaw⁵² kɔ⁴³, aw²¹⁴ taaj⁴⁴ kin²¹⁴ nan⁵², khin⁴⁴ kwaa²¹ lej⁵², kha²¹⁴ soj²¹⁴*
 PFV also take road eat that return go feed 3PL.DUAL two
 -----food-----

kɔ⁵², luj⁴⁴ thaw⁴³ lae⁴³, taj⁴⁴ aaj⁴³ nan⁵²
 CL:person uncle old and together HON.M.INF that

‘And then, (she) takes that food and (she) goes and feeds the two of them—the old uncle uncle and that guy.’

- (40) *waaj⁴⁴ se²¹⁴ nan⁵², khaw²¹⁴ up²¹ kan²¹⁴*
 after and that 3PL talk each.other

‘After that, they talk to each other.’

063ET_guitarlap

- (41) *luj⁴⁴ kɔ⁵² nij⁴³, naj⁴³ nɔ²¹⁴ taj²¹, se²¹⁴ len⁴³ ki²¹ ta²¹*
 uncle CL:person one sit on chair and play -----guitar-----

‘An uncle sits on a chair and (he) plays a guitar.’

064ET_soupfloortable

- (42) *naaj⁴⁴ jij⁴⁴ kɔ⁵² nij⁴³, naj⁴³, ti⁴³ taj⁴³ se²¹⁴, tsɔ⁵² kin²¹⁴*
 female female CL:person one sit at floor and scoop eat
 -----woman-----

taaj⁴⁴ kin²¹⁴, an²¹⁴ mi⁴⁴ nɔ²¹⁴ phən²¹⁴
 -----food----- CL have on table

‘A woman sits on the floor and (she) scoops and eats (her) food. It is on the table.’

065M_fbheadoutnofall

- (43) *tsum⁴⁴ som²¹ lae⁴³ tsum⁴⁴ ljan²¹⁴ him²¹⁴ kan²¹⁴, maak²¹ naj²¹⁴, lom⁵²*
 group blue and group red compete each.other CL:round soccer.ball.material fall.down
 -----soccer.ball-----

taj⁴⁴ soj²¹⁴ kɔ⁵²
 together two CL:person

‘The blue group and the red group compete with each other for the soccer ball. Two people fell down together.’

074ET_findgoon

- (44) *luj⁴⁴ kɔ⁵² nan⁵², ma⁴⁴ ²sɔk⁴³ ³ha²¹⁴, ⁴kho⁴⁴ man⁴⁴, se²¹⁴ miw⁴⁴ miw⁴⁴,*
 uncle CL:person that come search search clothes 3SG and type type
 -----a.type.of.thing-----

² *sɔk⁴³* means a more detailed kind of searching where you search every single corner.

³ *ha²¹⁴* means just a cursory search where you look around.

⁴ *kho⁴⁴* also means belongings.

*ti*⁴³ *him*⁴⁴ *puŋ*⁴⁴ *læ*⁴³, *him*⁴⁴ *pɔt*⁴⁴ *maɲ*⁵², *twe*⁴⁴ *man*⁴⁴ *am*²¹
 at near bucket and near short wood look 3SG NEG
 ---short.piece.of.wood---

*ljap*⁴³ *han*²¹⁴
 seem see

‘That uncle comes and searches for his belonging, a type of thing. (He) is near the bucket, and near the short piece of wood looking. He cannot seem to see.’

075T_menmiss

(45) *luk*⁴³ *ɔn*²¹ *tsaaj*⁴⁴ *sɔŋ*²¹⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *len*⁴³ *maak*²¹ *naɲ*²¹⁴ *kan*²¹⁴
 small male two CL:person play CL:round soccer.ball.material each.other
 -----child----- -----soccer.ball-----
 ‘Two boys play a soccer ball with each other.’

076T_applethrowmiss

(46) *luk*⁴³ *ɔn*²¹ *tsaaj*⁴⁴ *sɔŋ*²¹⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *len*⁴³, *taaj*⁴⁴ *len*⁴³
 small male two CL:person play road play
 -----child----- -----toy-----
 ‘Two boys play with a toy.’

077B_rampman

(47) *aaj*⁴³ *kɔ*⁵² *nij*⁴³ *len*⁴³ *maak*²¹ *naɲ*²¹⁴ *aw*²¹⁴ *thim*⁴³ *kwa*²¹ *nə*²¹⁴
 HON.M.INF CL:person one play CL:round soccer.ball.material take throw go on
 -----soccer.ball-----

*sik*⁴³ *khu*²¹⁴ *laɲ*²¹⁴
 step ---staircase---

‘A guy plays with a soccer ball by taking (it) and throwing (it) up the staircase step.’

078P_ticklebreak

(48) *naaj*⁴⁴ *jij*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *nij*⁴³, *tsuk*⁴⁴ *se*²¹⁴, *jip*⁴⁴ *waan*²¹ *waj*⁵² *aaj*⁴³ *kɔ*⁵²
 female female CL:person one stand and hold dish keep HON.M.INF CL:person
 -----woman-----

*nij*⁴³ *ma*⁴⁴ *taaj*⁴⁴ *laɲ*²¹⁴ *læ*⁴³, *tok*⁴⁴ *tsai*²¹⁴, *aw*²¹⁴ *waan*²¹ *kwaj*²¹⁴ *kwa*²¹
 one come ---backside--- and drop heart take dish break go

‘A woman stands and (she) holds a dish. A guy comes behind (her) and (she) was surprised, causing the dish to break.’

079_tablecornerbreak

(49) *naaj*⁴⁴ *jij*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *nij*⁴³, *jip*⁴⁴ *waan*²¹ *se*²¹⁴ *twɔj*⁵² *saj*²¹ *phən*²¹⁴
 female female CL:person one hold dish and hit put table
 -----woman-----

‘A woman holds a dish and (she) hits (it) against a table.’

080M_fbpushfan

(50) *aaj*⁴³ *len*⁴³ *maak*²¹ *naɲ*²¹⁴, *sə*⁴³ *ləŋ*²¹⁴ *kon*²¹⁴ *lam*²¹⁴ *nan*⁵²
 HON.M.INF play CL:round soccer.ball.material shirt yellow trousers black that
 -----soccer.ball-----

*tsai*²¹⁴ *lam*²¹⁴ *se*²¹⁴, *khin*⁴⁴ *phit*⁴⁴ *khin*⁴⁴, *phu*⁴³ *an*²¹⁴ *kum*⁴⁴, *naɲ*⁴⁴ *paaj*²¹⁴
 heart black and return fight return person REL moderate inside event

*pɔj*⁴⁴ *maak*²¹ *naŋ*²¹⁴
 festival CL:round soccer.ball.material
 -----soccer.ball-----

‘A guy is playing with a soccer ball. That black trousers and yellow shirt (guy) is angry, and (he) fights the person who moderates (the game), in the soccer game.’

088ET_chairsit

(51) *luk*⁴³ *ɔn*²¹ *tsaaj*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *nij*⁴³, *ma*⁴⁴ *naŋ*⁴³ *nə*²¹⁴ *taŋ*²¹
 small male CL:person one come sit on chair
 -----child-----

‘A boy comes and sits on a chair.’

089M_fbpushing

(52) *paaj*²¹⁴ *len*⁴³ *maak*²¹ *naŋ*²¹⁴, *sə*⁴³ *lɔaj*²¹⁴ *læ*⁴³ *sə*⁴³ *sɔm*²¹,
 event play CL:round soccer.ball.material shirt red and shirt blue
 -----soccer.ball-----

*him*²¹⁴ *kan*²¹⁴
 compete each.other

‘A soccer-playing event, the red shirt (people) and blue shirt (people) compete with each other.’

090ET_guitarhead

(53) *kon*⁴⁴ *tsaaj*⁴⁴ *ti*⁴⁴ *maan*²¹ *ta*²¹⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *nij*⁴³, *aw*²¹⁴ *ki*²¹ *ta*²¹ *man*⁴⁴
 person male wear glass eye CL:person one take -----guitar----- 3SG

*taaj*²¹ *nə*²¹⁴ *ho*²¹⁴ *se*²¹⁴, *len*⁴³
 put.on on head and play

‘A glasses-wearing man puts his guitar on his head, and (he) plays.’

091T_applepelt

(54) *luk*⁴³ *ɔn*²¹ *tsaaj*⁴⁴ *sɔŋ*²¹⁴ *kɔ*⁵², *jip*⁴⁴ *maak*²¹ *naŋ*²¹⁴ *se*²¹⁴,
 small male two CL:person hold CL:round soccer.ball.material and
 -----child----- -----soccer.ball-----

⁵*len*⁴³ ⁶*tɔ*²¹ *kan*²¹⁴
 play play each.other

‘Two boys hold a football and (they) play with each other.’

092P_tabledropbreak

(55) *naaj*⁴⁴ *jij*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *nij*⁴³ *jip*⁴⁴ *waan*²¹ *se*²¹⁴ *aw*²¹⁴ *waan*²¹, *thin*⁴³ *nə*²¹⁴
 female female CL:person one hold dish and take dish throw on
 -----woman-----

*phən*²¹⁴, *waan*²¹ *kwaj*²¹⁴ *kwa*²¹
 table dish break go

‘A woman holds a plate and (she) takes the plate. (She) throws (it) on the table. The plate broke.’

⁵ *len*⁴³ means playing sports

⁶ *tɔ*²¹ means playing any form of game or sport

093C_bridge

(56) *kaa*⁴⁴ *kɔ*²¹ *sɔm*²¹ *ɔn*²¹ *nan*⁵² *khin*⁴³ *kwaa*²¹, *ti*⁴³ *taaj*⁴⁴, *an*²¹⁴ *khaw*²¹.
car plastic blue small that ascend go at road REL 3PL

*het*⁴⁴ *waj*⁵²
do keep

‘That small blue plastic car ascends the road that they made.’

094M_fblongpass

(57) *paaj*²¹⁴ *len*⁴³ *maak*²¹ *naj*²¹⁴, *tsum*⁴⁴ *sə*⁴³ *ljan*²¹⁴ *lə*⁴³ *tsum*⁴⁴
event play CL:round soccer.ball.material group shirt red and group
-----soccer.ball-----

*sə*⁴³ *sɔm*²¹, *khaw*²¹⁴ *tɔ*²¹ *kan*²¹⁴
shirt blue 3PL play each.other

‘A soccer-playing event, the red shirt (group) and blue shirt (group), they play with each other.’

102M_woodsamesector

(58) *kon*⁴⁴ *tsaaj*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *nij*⁴³, *aw*²¹⁴, *ta*²¹⁴ *mjat*⁴⁴, *se*²¹⁴, *tjap*⁴⁴ *phin*⁴⁴
person male CL:person one take ---short.axe--- and chop firewood
‘A man takes a short axe and (he) chops firewood.’

103C_complexunnel

(59) *ka*⁴⁴ *kɔ*²¹ *sɔm*²¹ *ɔn*²¹, *nan*⁵², *khin*⁴³ *kwaa*²¹ *ti*⁴³ *taaj*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵² *se*²¹⁴,
car plastic blue small that ascend go at road that and

*khin*⁴⁴ *khaw*⁴³ *ma*⁴⁴, *naj*⁴⁴ *hɔŋ*⁴³ *nan*⁵², *khin*⁴⁴ *ma*⁴⁴ *tsu*⁴⁴ *ti*⁴³ *kaw*²¹
return enter come inside room that return come forward at old

‘That small blue plastic card ascends that road and (it) returns and enters that tunnel. It returns and comes forward to the original place.’

104P_tabledropbreak

(60) *naaj*⁴⁴ *jij*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵² *jip*⁴⁴ *waan*²¹ *se*²¹⁴ *poj*²¹ *nə*²¹⁴ *phən*²¹⁴, *waan*²¹ *am*²¹
female female that hold dish and let.go on table dish NEG
-----woman-----

*kwaj*²¹⁴
break

‘That woman holds a plate and (she) lets (it) go on the table. The plate did not break.’

105ET_walkforward

(61) *luŋ*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *nij*⁴³ *ti*⁴⁴ *maan*²¹ *ta*²¹⁴ *se*²¹⁴, *paj*²¹⁴ *taaj*⁴⁴ *len*⁴³
uncle CL:person one wear glass eye and walk road play

‘An uncle wears glasses and (he) strolls.’

106M_fb foulleg

(62) *sə*⁴³ *ljan*²¹⁴ *lə*⁴³ *sə*⁴³ *sɔm*²¹, *him*²¹⁴ *maak*²¹ *naj*²¹⁴ *kan*²¹⁴, *sə*⁴³
shirt red and shirt blue compete CL:round soccer.ball.material each.other and
-----soccer.ball-----

*ljan*²¹⁴ *pit*⁵² *na*⁴⁴ *sə*⁴³ *sɔm*²¹
red kick meet shirt blue

‘A red shirt (guy) and blue shirt (guy) compete for the soccer ball with each other, and the red shirt (guy) kicks the blue shirt (guy).’

107M_inoutout

(63) *naaj*⁴⁴ *jiŋ*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *nij*⁴³, *ju*²¹ *naj*⁴⁴ *hən*⁴⁴ *se*²¹⁴, *khaam*⁴³ *ɔk*²¹ *ma*⁴⁴
 female female CL:person one stay inside house and cross.over go.out come
 -----woman-----

*nɔk*⁴³ *hən*⁴⁴
 outside house

‘A woman is in a house and (she) crosses over and comes outside the house.’

108P_hammertable

(64) *aw*²¹⁴ *khɔn*⁵² *tsɔk*⁴⁴ *thup*⁵², *nə*²¹⁴ *phən*²¹⁴ *nan*⁵², *waan*²¹ *kwaj*²¹⁴ *kwaa*²¹
 take cane tie hammer on table that dish break go
 -----hammer-----

‘She takes a hammer and hammers on that table. The plate broke.’

116B_rampkickup

(65) *luŋ*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *nij*⁴² *pit*⁵² *maak*²¹ *naj*²¹⁴ *ljaŋ*²¹⁴ *ljaŋ*²¹⁴ *ɔn*²¹,
 uncle CL:person one kick CL:round soccer.ball.material red REDUP small
 -----soccer.ball-----

*khin*⁴³ *kwaa*²¹ *nə*²¹⁴ *kɔŋ*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵²
 ascend go on ramp that

‘An uncle kicks a small red soccer ball . (It) goes up that ramp.’

117M_hoopball

(66) *kon*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *nij*⁴³ *aw*²¹⁴ *maak*²¹ *naj*²¹⁴ *pɔf*²¹ *ma*⁴⁴ *naj*⁴⁴
 person CL:person one take CL:round soccer.ball.material let.go come in
 -----soccer.ball-----

*toŋ*²¹
 hoop

A person takes a soccer ball and releases (it) into a hoop.’

118M_cookingweird

(67) *aaj*⁴³ *sə*⁴³ *ljaŋ*²¹⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *nij*⁴³, *aw*²¹⁴ *ho*²¹⁴ *khaw*²¹ *man*⁴⁴, *haak*⁴⁴ *phin*⁴⁴
 HON.M.INF shirt red CL:person one take head shake 3SG break firewood
 -----knee-----

*se*²¹⁴, *waaj*⁴⁴ *se*²¹⁴ *nan*⁵², *khin*⁴⁴ *kwaa*²¹ *tsu*⁴⁴ *ti*⁴³ *oe*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *nij*⁴³
 and after and that return go forward at friend CL:person one

*man*⁴⁴, *am*²¹ *hiŋ*²¹⁴, *luŋ*⁴⁴ *thaw*⁴³ *kɔ*⁵² *nij*⁴³, *ma*⁴⁴ *him*⁴⁴ *kha*²¹⁴,
 3SG NEG long uncle old CL:person one come near 3PL.DUAL

*naaj*⁴⁴ *jiŋ*⁴⁴, *oe*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *man*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵², *khot*⁵² *taaj*⁴⁴ *kin*²¹⁴ *se*²¹⁴, *khot*⁵²
 female female friend CL:person 3SG that scoop road eat and scoop
 -----woman----- -----food-----

*sej*²¹ *naj*⁴⁴ *waan*²¹, *pɔ*⁴⁴ *khot*⁵² *jaw*⁵², *khin*⁴⁴ *hom*²¹ *waj*⁵² *se*²¹⁴, *aw*²¹⁴
 put inside dish when scoop PFV return cover keep and take

tɔ⁵² saɣ²¹ naɣ⁴⁴ waan²¹ sɔŋ²¹⁴ waan²¹ nan⁵², man⁴⁴ naaŋ⁴⁴ kɔ⁴³, khin⁴⁴
 spoon put inside dish two dish that 3SG female also return

naɣ⁴⁴, len⁴³ kɔ⁵² kha²¹⁴ sɔŋ²¹⁴ kɔ⁵² nan⁵²
 sit play CL:person 3PL.DUAL two CL:person that

‘A red shirt guy takes his knee to break firewood, and after that, (he) returns to his friend. Not long later, an uncle comes near the two of them. His female friend scoops food and (she) scoops (it) into the plate. Having finished scooping, (she) covers back (the pot). And (she) takes a spoon and puts (it) in those two plates. She also goes to sit and accompany the two of them.’

119M_bikefold

(68) *naaŋ⁴⁴ jɪŋ⁴⁴ kɔ⁵² niŋ⁴³, khi²¹ ljaŋ²¹⁴ ma⁴⁴, jaw⁵² kɔ⁴³, khin⁴⁴ ma⁴⁴*
 female female CL:person one ride bicycle come PFV also return come
 -----woman-----

pot⁴⁴, ljaŋ²¹⁴ man⁴⁴ nan⁵² se²¹⁴, khin⁴⁴, sim⁴⁴ waj⁵²
 remove bicycle 3SG that and return safe keep

‘A woman comes riding a bicycle, and then (she) returns to remove her bicycle and (she) keeps (it) safe.’

120ET_foottofoot

(69) *aaj⁴³ kɔ⁵² nan⁵² aw²¹⁴ tin²¹⁴ man⁴⁴, suk⁴⁴ pha⁴³ tset⁵² nan⁵² se²¹⁴*
 HON.M.INF CL:person that take leg 3SG put.in fabric clean that and
 -----towel-----

khin⁴⁴ kwa²¹ pan²¹⁴, ti⁴³ naaŋ⁴⁴ jɪŋ⁴⁴ nan⁵², naaŋ⁴⁴ jɪŋ⁴⁴ nan⁵² kɔ⁴³
 return go give at female female that female female that also
 -----woman-----

aw²¹⁴ tin²¹⁴ man⁴⁴, jip⁴⁴ aw²¹⁴
 take leg 3SG hold take

‘That guy takes his leg to put in that cloth and gives it back to that woman. That woman also uses her leg to hold and take it.’

121T_menhit

(70) *luk⁴³ ɔn²¹ tsaaɣ⁴⁴ sɔŋ²¹⁴ kɔ⁵², len⁴³ maak²¹ naɣ²¹⁴ ljaŋ²¹⁴ ljaŋ²¹⁴*
 child small male two CL:person play CL:round soccer.ball.material red REDUP
 -----soccer.ball-----

‘Two small boys play with a little red soccer ball.’

122P_hammerthrow

(71) *kon⁴⁴ sɔŋ²¹⁴ kɔ⁵², ljak⁴³ laaj²¹ kan²¹⁴ waan²¹ lae⁴³ khɔn⁵² tsɔk⁴⁴,*
 person two CL:person ---exchange--- each.other dish and cane tie
 -----hammer-----

waan²¹ kwaj²¹⁴ kwa²¹
 dish break go

‘Two people exchange with each other a plate and a hammer. The plate broke.’

130M_wakeup

(72) *aaj⁴³ kɔ⁵² niŋ⁴³, nɔn⁴⁴ lap⁴⁴ waj⁵², ti⁴³ paaj²¹, him⁴⁴ ton⁴³ maj⁵²,*
 HON.M.INF CL:person one sleep keep at open.place near tree wood
 --fall.asleep-- -----tree-----

‘A guy fell asleep at an open place near a tree.’

- (73) *man*⁴⁴ *tin*²¹ *ma*⁴⁴, *məŋ*⁴⁴ *ljaj*⁴⁴
 3SG wake.up come state dawn
 ‘He wakes up at dawn.’

- (74) *waaj*⁴⁴ *se*²¹⁴ *nan*⁵², *man*⁴⁴ *kwa*²¹ *jip*⁴⁴ *aaj*²¹, *se*²¹⁴, *kwa*²¹ *aw*²¹⁴ *nam*⁵²
 after and that 3SG go hold tub and go take water

*maj*⁴³, *saj*²¹ *naj*⁴⁴ *aaj*²¹, *khin*⁴⁴ *jɔŋ*⁴³ *ma*⁴⁴ *khin*⁴⁴, *him*⁴⁴ *pha*⁴³ *tset*⁵²
 hot put inside tub return carry come return near fabric clean
 -----towel-----

*man*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵² *se*²¹⁴, *suk*⁴³ *mi*⁴⁴ *man*⁴⁴, *jaw*⁵² *kɔ*⁴³, *suk*⁴³ *na*⁴³
 3SG that and wash hand 3SG PFV also wash face
 ‘After that, he goes and holds a tub, and (he) goes and take hot water to put into the tub. (He) returns carrying
 (the water to the place) near his towel and (he) washes his hand. Then, (he) washes his face.’

- (75) *waaj*⁴⁴ *se*²¹⁴ *nan*⁵², *khin*⁴⁴ *aw*²¹⁴ *phaen*²¹ *tset*⁵² *na*⁴³ *an*²¹⁴ *sɔm*²¹ *nan*⁵²,
 after and that return take cloth clean face REL blue that
 -----towel-----

*tset*⁵² *na*⁴³ *man*⁴⁴, *man*⁴⁴ *khin*⁴⁴ *aw*²¹⁴ *nam*⁵² *an*²¹⁴ *suk*⁴³ *na*⁴³ *nan*⁵²,
 clean face 3SG 3SG return take water REL wash face that
*khin*⁴⁴ *thok*²¹ *pjæt*⁴³
 return move.from.one.place.to.another throw.away
 ‘After that, (he) takes a face towel that is blue and (he) cleans his face. He then takes the water that (he used to)
 wash (his) face (with) and (he) throws it away.’

131M_teaswitchactor

- (76) *kha*²¹⁴ *sɔj*²¹⁴ *kɔ*⁵², *ma*⁴⁴ *naj*⁴³, *ti*⁴³ *phən*²¹⁴ *nan*⁵² *se*²¹⁴, *naaj*⁴⁴ *jij*⁴⁴
 3PL.DUAL two CL:person come sit at table that and female female
 -----woman-----

- nan*⁵², *aw*²¹⁴ *nam*⁵² *tsem*⁴⁴ *hi*⁴³ *saj*²¹ *naj*⁴⁴ *waan*²¹
 that take water sweet pour put inside dish
 ‘Two of them come and sit at that table, and that woman takes the sweet water and pours (it) in a cup.’

 (77) *kon*⁴⁴ *tsaaj*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵² *sam*⁵², *khin*⁴⁴ *aw*²¹⁴, *kɔn*⁴³ *nam*⁵² *kaam*⁴⁴, *saj*²¹ *naj*⁴⁴
 person male that CONTR return take pebble water solidify put inside
 -----ice-----

- waan*²¹, *nan*⁵² *se*²¹⁴, *taw*²¹⁴
 dish that and stir
 ‘That man, on the other hand, takes ice to put into that cup, and (he) stirs.’

- (78) *waaj*⁴⁴ *se*²¹⁴ *nan*⁵², *naaj*⁴⁴ *jij*⁴⁴, *khin*⁴⁴ *jip*⁴⁴ *aw*²¹⁴, *sot*⁵² *kin*²¹⁴, *nam*⁵²
 after and that female female return hold take drink eat water
 -----woman-----

- tsem*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵²
 sweet that
 ‘After that, the woman holds (the cup). (She) drinks the sweet water.’

132P_tablecornerbreak

- (79) *naaj*⁴⁴ *jij*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *nij*⁴³ *jip*⁴⁴ *waan*²¹ *se*²¹⁴ *twaj*²¹ *saj*²¹ *phən*²¹⁴, *waan*²¹
 female female CL:person one hold dish and hit put table dish
 -----woman-----

*kwaj*²¹⁴ *kwaa*²¹
 break go

‘A woman holds a plate and (she) hits (it) against the table. The plate broke.’

133ET_chairstand

- (80) *aaj*⁴³ *kɔ*⁵² *nan*⁵², *paj*²¹⁴ *ma*⁴⁴ *tsu*⁴⁴ *ti*⁴³, *tan*²¹ *naj*⁴³ *nan*⁵² *se*²¹⁴
 HON.M.INF CL:person that walk come towards at chair sit that and
 -----chair-----

*ma*⁴⁴ *tsuk*⁴⁴ *nə*²¹⁴ *tan*²¹ *naj*⁴³
 come stand on chair sit
 -----chair-----

‘That guy walks towards that chair and (he) stands on the chair.’

134M_outinin

- (81) *naaj*⁴⁴ *jij*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *nij*⁴³, *ju*²¹ *nok*⁴³ *hən*⁴⁴ *se*²¹⁴, *khaam*⁴³ *khaw*⁴³ *ma*⁴⁴
 female female CL:person one stay outside house and cross.over enter come
 -----woman-----

*ti*⁴³ *hu*⁴⁴ *ljaj*⁴⁴, *khaw*⁴³ *ma*⁴⁴ *naj*⁴⁴ *hən*⁴⁴
 at hole light enter come inside house
 -----window-----

‘A woman is outside a house and (she) crosses over and enters through the window. She comes into the house.’

135T_applegive

- (82) *kha*²¹⁴ *sɔj*²¹⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *jip*⁴⁴ *maak*²¹ *se*²¹⁴ *len*⁴³
 3PL.DUAL two CL:person hold CL:round and play
 ‘The two of them hold an apple and play (with it).’

136P_tablefist

- (83) *ta*²¹⁴ *mi*⁴⁴ *thup*⁵² *ti*⁴³ *phən*²¹⁴ *læ*⁴³ *waan*²¹ *kwaj*²¹⁴ *kwaa*²¹
 eye hand hammer at table and dish break go
 -----fist-----

‘A fist hammers the table and the plate broke.’

144B_ramprollup

- (84) *aaj*⁴³ *nan*⁵², *aw*²¹⁴ *mi*⁴⁴ *man*⁴⁴, *kin*⁴³ *maak*²¹ *se*²¹⁴, *khin*⁴³ *kwaa*²¹ *nə*²¹⁴
 HON.M.INF that take hand 3SG roll CL:round and ascend go on

*kɔj*⁴⁴
 ramp

‘That guy uses his hand to roll a ball and (it) goes up a ramp.’

145ET_bananatable

- (85) *aaj*⁴³ *nan*⁵², *kɔk*⁴⁴ *kwe*⁴³ *se*²¹⁴, *aw*²¹⁴ *kwe*⁴³ *nan*⁵², *kwaa*²¹ *tam*⁴⁴ *waj*⁵²,
 HON.M.INF that peel banana and take banana that go place keep

nə²¹⁴ phən²¹⁴

on table

‘That guy peels a banana, and (he) takes that banana. (He) goes and places it on the table.’

146M_saltswitchactor

(86) *kha²¹⁴ səŋ²¹⁴ kɔ⁵² huŋ²¹⁴ kin²¹⁴ taaj⁴⁴ kin²¹⁴*
 3PL.DUAL two CL:person cook eat road eat
 -----food-----

‘Two of them are cooking to eat food.’

147ET_soupstandtable

(87) *aaɣ⁴³ nan⁵² tsuk⁴⁴ him⁴⁴ phən²¹⁴ nan⁵² se²¹⁴ tsɔ⁵² kin²¹⁴ taaj⁴⁴ kin²¹⁴*
 HON.M.INF that stand near table that and scoop eat road eat
 -----food-----

naɣ⁴⁴ waan²¹⁴

inside dish

‘That guy stands near that table and (he) scoops and eats the food in the bowl.’

148ET_handtohandnot

(88) *naaj⁴⁴ jij⁴⁴ nan⁵² aw²¹⁴ pha⁴³ tset⁵² man⁴⁴ mjan²¹ aaɣ⁴³ nan⁵²*
 female female that take fabric cloth 3SG give HON.M.INF that
 -----woman----- -----towel-----

‘That woman takes her towel and (she) gives (it) to that guy.’

150ET_souplie

(89) *aaɣ⁴³ nan⁵² lən⁴⁴ kha²¹⁴ man⁴⁴ se²¹⁴ tsɔ⁵² kin²¹⁴ taaj⁴⁴ kin²¹⁴*
 HON.M.INF that stretch.leg leg 3SG and scoop eat road eat
 -----food-----

‘That guy stretches his leg and (he) scoops and eats food.’

158T_applerefuse

(90) *aaɣ⁴³ nan⁵² aw²¹⁴ maak²¹ se²¹⁴ pan²¹⁴ aaɣ⁴³ nan⁵²*
 HON.M.INF that take CL:round and give HON.M.INF that

‘That guy takes an apple and (he) gives (it) to that guy.’

159P_threatenbreak

(91) *aaɣ⁴³ nan⁵² jip⁴⁴ khɔn⁵² se²¹⁴ ŋa²¹⁴ saɣ²¹ e⁴⁴ nan⁵² e⁴⁴ nan⁵²*
 HON.M.INF that hold cane and aim put HON.F.INF that HON.F.INF that

aw²¹⁴ waan²¹ thim²¹ tok⁴⁴ kwaj²¹⁴

take dish throw drop break

‘That guy holds a stick and aims at that lady. That lady takes the dish, (and she) throws (it), dropping and breaking (it).’

160M_woodswitchactor

(92) *luŋ⁴⁴ thaw⁴³ nan⁵² ma⁴⁴ jip⁴⁴ aw²¹⁴ ta²¹⁴ mjaɣ⁴⁴ se²¹⁴ kwa²¹ pan²¹⁴*
 uncle old that come hold take ----short.axe---- and go give

aaɣ⁴³ sɔ⁴³ ljaɣ²¹⁴ aaɣ⁴³ sɔ⁴³ ljaɣ²¹⁴ nan⁵² aw²¹⁴ tjap⁴⁴ phin⁴⁴

HON.M.INF shirt red HON.M.INF shirt red that take chop firewood

‘That old uncle comes holding a short axe and (he) gives it to the red shirt guy. That red shirt guy takes (it), and (he) chops firewood.’

161ET_bananathrow

(93) *aaj*⁴³ *nan*⁵², *kwɔk*⁴⁴ *kwe*⁴³ *se*²¹⁴, *aw*²¹⁴ *kwe*⁴³ *nan*⁵², *thim*²¹ *pan*²¹⁴, *oe*⁴⁴
 HON.M.INF that peel banana and take banana that throw give friend

*kɔ*⁵² *man*⁴⁴

CL:person 3SG

‘That guy peels a banana and (he) takes that banana. (He) throws it to his friend.’

162ET_walkbackward

(94) *luj*⁴⁴ *thaw*²¹ *nan*⁵², *hon*²¹⁴ *ma*⁴⁴, *taaj*⁴⁴ *lay*²¹⁴
 uncle old that move.backwards come road back
 -----behind-----

‘That old uncle moves backwards to the back.’

163M_outinout

(95) *naaj*⁴⁴ *jij*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵², *khaam*⁴³, *khaw*⁴³ *kwaa*²¹ *ti*⁴³ *hu*⁴⁴ *laj*⁴⁴
 female female that cross.over enter go at hole light
 -----woman----- ----window----

‘That woman crosses over and enters through the window.’

164ET_talkclose

(96) *luj*⁴⁴ *thaw*⁴³ *nan*⁵² *se*²¹⁴ *aaj*⁴³ *nan*⁵², *ju*²¹ *tsam*²¹⁴ *tsam*²¹⁴ *kan*²¹⁴
 uncle old that and HON.M.INF that stay close REDUP each.other

*se*²¹⁴, *up*²¹ *kan*²¹⁴
 and talk each.other

‘That old uncle and that guy are very close to each other and (they) talk to each other.’

Appendix E: TEXT 4 Conversation

Su:

- (1) *pɔ⁴⁴ nan²¹⁴, nan⁵² læ⁴³, pɔ⁴⁴ ju²¹ naj⁴⁴ nam⁵² nan⁵² læ⁴³ pɔ⁴⁴*
if that.TOP that because when stay inside water that because when

ju²¹ naj⁴⁴, man⁴⁴ laj⁴³ naj⁵² kwe⁴⁴ lu⁴⁴
stay inside 3SG get this only EXCL

‘If, because when you stay stay in the water, because when you stay inside, it will get (cold) only!’

- (2) *kat⁴⁴ kɔ⁴³ kat⁴⁴ lom⁴⁴ tho⁴⁴ na²¹, naj⁴⁴ paaj²¹ laaj²¹*
cold also cold wind blow very inside open.area used.water

-----beach-----

‘(You are) cold and the wind is blowing (strongly) in the sea.’

- (3) *ton⁴⁴ maj⁵² kɔ⁴³ am²¹ mi⁴⁴, saj²¹⁴ kɔ⁴³ am²¹ mi⁴⁴ naj²¹⁴ lom⁴⁴*
tree wood also NEG have something also NEG have this.TOP wind

-----tree-----

kɔ⁴³ tho⁴⁴ jon⁵² nan²¹⁴ kɔ⁴³, kat⁴⁴ kɔ⁴³ kat⁴⁴
also blow reason that.TOP also cold also cold

‘There is no tree, there is nothing. The wind is also blowing that’s why (it’s) cold.’

- (4) *pɔ⁴⁴ kaaj²¹⁴ kham⁴³ pɔ⁴⁴ naj²¹⁴* [interrupted]
when middle night when this.TOP

‘When at night, when... [interrupted]’

Sa:

- (5) *haw⁴⁴ tæ⁵² haw⁴⁴ am²¹ jaam⁴³ kwaa²¹ nam⁵² paaj²¹ laaj²¹,*
ISG CONTR ISG NEG ever go water open.area used.water

-----beach-----

se²¹⁴ pɔk⁴³ li²¹⁴ ko²¹⁴ am²¹ laj⁴³ hwe⁴⁴ nam⁵²
-----never----- -----scary----- NEG get swim water

‘I, however, I don’t ever go into the sea- never. (It is) scary. (I) don’t swim.’

Su:

- (6) *an²¹⁴ nam⁵² taaj⁴⁴ mɔ⁴⁴ ton⁴³ te⁴⁴ [nan⁵²] SM ta²¹⁴ la⁵² nan⁵² nam⁵²*
CL water road return.home ---Twante--- that -----Tala----- that water

nan⁵², maaj²¹⁴ pɔk⁴³ naj²¹⁴ pɔ⁴⁴ haw⁴⁴ khi²¹, hɔ⁴⁴ ɔn²¹ khaam⁴³ pɔ⁴⁴
that -----sometimes----- when ISG ride boat small cross.over if

khaaw⁴⁴ hi⁵² tam⁴⁴ kham⁴³ naj⁴⁴ nam⁵² man⁴⁴ khin⁴³ ɔ⁴³, nam⁵² khin⁴³
-rainy.season- junior night inside water 3SG ascend yes water ascend
-----evening-----

he²¹⁴ nam⁵² phaj²¹ phap⁴³ phaj²¹ phap⁴³ phaj²¹ phap⁴³ nan⁵² na²¹
and water -sound.of.waves- -sound.of.waves- -sound.of.waves- that PTCL

-----waves-----

‘The road of water returning home to Twante from Tala, that water, sometimes when I ride a small boat to cross over, if it is during the evening of rainy season in the water, it (the boat) rises. Water rises and waves crash.’

Sa:

- (7) *an²¹⁴ nan⁵² pən⁴³ te²¹⁴ kaaj²¹ kho²¹⁴ naj²¹⁴ am²¹ hi²¹⁴ la²¹*
CL that others IRR stack bridge this.TOP NEG -tag.question-

mə⁴³ lew²¹⁴

-----now-----

‘Now that place, others will build a bridge, will they not?’

- (8) *khaw²¹⁴ tik⁵² het⁴⁴, tik⁵² mə⁴⁴, tik⁵² te²¹⁴ het⁴⁴ nan⁵² na²¹, pən⁴³*
 3PL still do still prepare still IRR do that PTCL others

te²¹⁴ kaaj²¹ kho²¹⁴ pən⁴³ te²¹⁴ kaaj²¹ kho²¹⁴ loj²¹⁴ nan⁵² na²¹
 IRR stack bridge others IRR stack bridge big that PTCL

‘They are still doing, still preparing, they will still be building that (bridge). Others will build a bridge, others will build that big bridge.’

Su:

- (9) *ti⁴³ ta²¹⁴ la⁵² nan⁵² ha⁵²*
 place -----Tala----- that INT
 ‘At Tala?’

Sa:

- (10) *ə⁴³, pən⁴³ te²¹⁴ kaaj²¹ kho²¹⁴ wa²¹*
 yes others will stack bridge hearsay
 ‘Yes, others will build a bridge, I heard.’

- (11) *am²¹ laj⁴³ khi²¹ hə⁴⁴ jaw⁵² pə⁴⁴ kaaj²¹ kho²¹⁴ jaw⁵² am²¹ laj⁴³*
 NEG get ride boat PFV when stack bridge PFV NEG get

khi²¹ hə⁴⁴ jaw⁵² te²¹⁴ laj⁴³ [khi²¹]_{SM} [paj²¹⁴]_M het⁴⁴ nan²¹⁴ kwa²¹ kwe⁴⁴
 ride boat PFV IRR get ride walk ---do.that.way--- go only

jaw⁵²

PFV

‘(We) cannot ride the boat anymore. When the bridge is built, (we) cannot ride the boat anymore. (We) will only get to walk like that and go.’

- (12) *pə⁴⁴ wa⁴³ khaam⁴³, [pə⁴⁴ wa⁴³ khaam⁴³]_R kho²¹⁴ naj²¹⁴ khaw²¹⁴ wa⁴³ te²¹⁴*
 if say cross.over if say cross.over bridge this.TOP 3PL say IRR
 -----if-----

cja²¹ sip⁴⁴ ha⁴³ mi⁵² nit⁵² kwe⁴⁴ naj²¹⁴ wa²¹
 long ten five -----minute----- only this.TOP hearsay

‘If (we) cross over the bridge, they said (it) will take fifteen minutes long only, I heard.’

- (13) *[pə⁴⁴ wa⁴³ pə⁴⁴ wa⁴³ khi²¹ pə⁴⁴ ti⁴³ [mə⁴³]_M lew²¹⁴ naj⁵²]_{SM} pə⁴⁴*
 if say if say ride if place -----now----- this if
 -----if----- -----if-----

wa⁴³ khi²¹ hə⁴⁴, khaam⁴³ naj²¹⁴ man⁴⁴ te²¹⁴, [man⁴⁴ te²¹⁴]_R hij²¹⁴ mək⁴³,
 say ride boat cross.over this.TOP 3SG IRR 3SG will long estimate

saam²¹⁴ sip⁵² na⁴⁴ thi⁴⁴ nan⁵² na²¹ ə⁴³
 three ten -----minute----- that PTCL yes

‘If (we) ride the boat and cross over, it will take about thirty minutes long.’

Su:

- (14) *laj*⁴³ *pat*⁵² *nan*⁵² *na*²¹
 get wait that PTCL
 ‘(You) get to wait for that.’

- (15) *laj*⁴³ *pat*⁵² *taan*⁴⁴ *pun*⁵² *sip*⁴⁴ *ha*⁴³ *mi*⁵² *nit*⁵² *taan*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵² *sip*⁴⁴
 get wait road that ten five ----minute---- road this ten
 -----there----- -----here-----

*ha*⁴³ *mi*⁵² *nit*⁵²
 five ----minute----

‘(You) get to wait there for fifteen minutes and here for fifteen minutes.’

Sa:

- (16) *man*⁴⁴ *cja*²¹ *kan*²¹⁴ *tsəŋ*⁵² *nan*²¹⁴ *ə*⁴³
 3SG long each.other ----like.that---- yes
 ‘It takes long (travelling back and forth) like that.’

Su:

- (17) *pɔ*⁴⁴ *kaan*²¹⁴ *nat*²¹⁴ *kɔ*⁴³ *kon*⁴⁴ *nam*²¹⁴ *him*²¹⁴ *kan*²¹⁴ *khin*⁴³ *him*²¹⁴ *kan*²¹⁴
 when middle morning also person many vie each.otherascend vie each.other
 [*lon*⁴⁴ *pɔ*⁴⁴ *kaan*²¹⁴ *kham*⁴³ *kam*⁴⁴ *naj*²¹⁴]_{SM} *pɔ*⁴⁴ *kaan*²¹⁴ *wan*⁴⁴ *tə*⁵² *am*²¹
 descend if middle night -----now----- if middle day CONTR NEG

*mi*⁴⁴ *han*²¹⁴ *naj*²¹ *kaw*²¹
 have something -----PTCL-----

‘When in the morning (there are) also many people vying with each other to ascend and descend (the boat). If in the middle of the day however, there is nothing.’

- (18) *am*²¹ *tsai*⁴³ *ljet*²¹ *ɔk*²¹
 NEG correct sunrays go.out
 ‘(It is) not because of the sunrays shining.’

- (19) *haw*⁴⁴ *wa*⁴³ *hə*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵² *kwaa*⁴³ *hə*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵² *pɔ*⁴⁴ *pen*²¹⁴ *kaan*²¹⁴ *nat*²¹⁴
 IPL say boat that yes.IMP boat that if COP middle morning
*naj*²¹⁴ *pən*⁴³ *luk*⁵² *ti*⁴³ *tse*⁴⁴ *ta*⁵² *la*⁵² *tse*⁴⁴ *saj*²¹⁴ *siŋ*²¹ *tse*⁴⁴,
 this.TOP others get.up at those -----Tala----- those ---somewhere--- those
*ton*⁴³ *te*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵² *pən*⁴³ *ma*⁴⁴ [*pən*⁴³ *ma*⁴⁴]_R *kaan*²¹⁴ *ti*⁴³ *paan*⁴⁴ *so*⁴⁴
 ---Twante--- this others come others come work at -----Pansodan--
*taan*⁴⁴ *laan*^{44B} *am*²¹ *hi*²¹⁴ *la*²¹ *ti*⁴³ *jaan*²¹ *kun*⁴³ [*ti*⁴³ *ta*⁴³ *kun*⁴³]_R
 ----- road NEG -tag.question- place ---Yangon--- at -----Yangon-----

*na*²¹
 PTCL

‘We mean that boat. That boat, if in the morning, others come from... Those from Tala, those from somewhere, those from Twante, others come to work at Pansodan road, isn’t it? At Yangon.’

Sa:

- (20) *haw*⁴⁴ *jaam*⁴³ *khi*²¹ *hə*⁴⁴ *lon*²¹⁴ *kwe*⁴⁴ *haw*⁴⁴ *am*²¹ *jaam*⁴³ *khi*²¹ *hə*⁴⁴
 IPL used.to ride boat big only IPL NEG used.to ride boat

ɔn²¹ tsej⁵² nan²¹⁴ nan⁵²

small ----like.that---- that

‘We are used to only riding the big boat. We are not used to riding small boats like that (boat).’

Su:

- (21) *hə⁴⁴ saaj⁴⁴ pho⁴⁴ loj²¹⁴ nan⁵² na²¹ an²¹⁴ jaaj²¹ jaaj²¹ soj²¹⁴ tsan⁵²*
 boat ----papaya---- big that PTCL REL big REDUP two storey
 -----ship-----

nan⁵² na²¹

that PTCL

‘That big ship that is very big with two storeys.’

Sa:

- (22) *haw⁴⁴ jaam⁴³ khi²¹ hə⁴⁴ saaj⁴⁴ pho⁴⁴ soj²¹⁴ thaap^{43B} saam²¹⁴ thaap⁴³ nan⁵²*
 IPL used.to ride boat ----papaya---- two storey three storey that
 -----ship-----

kwe⁴⁴ ə⁴³ hə⁴⁴ lek⁵² lek⁵² ɔn²¹ nan⁵² haw²¹⁴ am²¹ tən⁵² khi²¹
 only yes. POL boat small small small that IPL NEG used.to ride

¹ loj²¹⁴ am²¹ hat⁴⁴ khi²¹

big NEG dare ride

‘We are used to riding that two storey or three storey ship only. That very small boat, we are not used to riding. (We) really do not dare to ride.’

Su:

- (23) *man⁴⁴ te²¹⁴ mi⁴⁴ ə⁴³ an²¹⁴ pən⁴³ tsaa⁴³ hə⁴⁴ lek⁵² nan⁵²*
 3SG IRR have yes CL others hire boat small that

kwe⁴⁴ ka⁴³ kə⁵² ha⁴³ paak²¹ nan⁵² [mumbles]
 ----but---- CL.person five hundred that

‘It will have, yes, one (boat). Others hire that small boat but each person five hundred (kyat).’

Sa:

- (24) *an²¹⁴ naj⁵² man⁴⁴ kwaa²¹ phaaj⁴⁴ na²¹ ə⁴³ pə⁴⁴ pai⁵² khi²¹ hə⁴⁴*
 that this 3SG go fast very yes if wait ride boat

loj²¹⁴ tæ⁵² haw⁴⁴ kwaa²¹ khi²¹ hə⁴⁴ loj²¹⁴ na²¹, man⁴⁴ am²¹ pə⁴⁴
 big CONTR IPL go ride boat big PTCL 3SG NEG if

haj²¹⁴ naj⁵² ka⁴³ hi²¹⁴ jaam⁴³ kwaa²¹ phjaw²¹⁴ pək⁴³ niij⁴³ jo⁵²
 something this --how.much-- used.to go arrive time one EPIS

‘It goes very fast, yes. If (we) wait to ride the big boat however, we go and ride the big boat. It is nothing much. (I) used to go (using the boat) once I think.’

Su:

- (25) *ti⁴³ ton⁴³ te⁴⁴ na²¹⁴*
 place ----Twante---- INT
 ‘At Twante?’

- (26) *nan⁵² man⁴⁴ kwaa²¹ laaj²¹⁴ pək⁴³ jaw⁵² lu⁴⁴ nan⁵²*
 that 3SG go few occasion PFV PTCL that

¹ It is used here to mean how much they do not dare to ride.

‘She had gone a few times.’

Sa:

- (27) *kwaa²¹ khi²¹ hə⁴⁴ ɔn²¹ [man²¹⁴ haw⁴⁴ nan⁵²]_{SM}*
 go ride boat small IPL that
 ‘(She) rode a small boat.’

Su:

- (28) *ti⁴³ ton⁴³ te⁴⁴ ə⁴³ ti⁴³ tham²¹ ma⁵² su⁵² kha⁵² nan⁵² ə⁴³*
 place ----Twante---- yes place -----dhamma.sukha.temple----- that yes
 ‘At Twante, yes, at Dhamma Sukha Temple, yes.’

- (29) *tsai⁴³ ə⁴³ laj⁴³ khi²¹ hə⁴⁴ na²¹ nan⁵²*
 correct yes get ride boat PTCL that
 ‘Yes, correct. (You) get to ride the boat.’

Sa:

- (30) [mumbles] *mə⁴³ pi²¹⁴ pon⁵² ma⁴⁴ naj⁵² mə⁴³ haw⁴⁴ mə⁴³, [mə⁴³*
 time year pass.by come this time IPL time time
haw⁴⁴ mə⁴³]_R la⁴³ sjo⁴³ naj⁵²
 IPL time ----Lashio---- this
 ‘In the year that passed, the time we were in Lashio.’

- (31) *haw⁴⁴ khi²¹ ka⁴⁴ sɔŋ²¹⁴ saam²¹⁴ haw⁴⁴ khi²¹ [ka⁴⁴]_{SM} ka⁴⁴ loŋ²¹⁴ kwaa²¹*
 IPL ride car two three IPL ride car car big go
 -----bus/van-----
mə⁴³ la⁴³ sjo⁴³ nan⁵² am²¹ hi²¹⁴ la²¹, ə⁴³ nan⁵² kɔ⁴³ haw⁴⁴
 time ----Lashio---- that NEG -tag.question- yes that also IPL
kɔ⁴³ pen²¹⁴ tsəŋ⁵² nan²¹⁴ naŋ²¹ kaw²¹ jaw⁵², kwe⁴⁴ na²¹ ka⁴⁴ haw⁴⁴
 also COP ----like.that---- -----PTCL----- PFV ---however--- car IPL
tə⁵² am²¹ pen²¹⁴, ka⁴⁴ an²¹⁴ pən⁴³ kwaa²¹, phaaj²¹ na⁴³ haw⁴⁴ nan⁵²
 CONTR NEG COP car REL others go side face IPL that
 ---in.front---

‘We rode two or three cars. We rode the bus when we were at Lashio, did we not? Yes, we were also like that. However, our car was not the car that others went in. (They were) in front of us.’

- (32) *haw⁴⁴ khi²¹ haw⁴⁴ ɔk²¹ kwaa²¹, [ɔk²¹ kwaa²¹]_R kaaj²¹⁴ kham⁴³ se²¹⁴ kwaa²¹*
 IPL ride IPL go.out go go.out go middle night and go
kin²¹⁴ khaw⁴³ ti⁴³ [ti⁴³]_R an²¹⁴ pən⁴³ li⁴³ ka⁴⁴ nan⁵² jaw⁵² he²¹⁴
 eat rice at at REL others rest car that PFV and
 ‘We rode (the car). We left at night and (we) went to eat at where others rested their cars.’

- (33) *khin⁴⁴ ɔk²¹ kwaa²¹, kwe⁴⁴ na²¹ mə⁴³ nan⁵² naj²¹⁴ haw⁴⁴ sam⁵² het⁴⁴*
 return go.out go ---however--- time that this.TOP IPL CONTR do
saj²¹⁴ naj²¹⁴ luk⁴³ haw⁴⁴ sam⁵² man⁴⁴ khi⁴³ man⁴⁴ jew⁴³ nan⁵²
 something this child IPL CONTR 3SG shit 3SG urine that

*na*²¹ *nɔ*²¹
PTCL INT

‘(We) returned to leave. However, at that time, we were doing something. Our child however, he (had to) shit and urine, you know?’

- (34) *haw*⁴⁴ *kum*²¹ *laaj*²¹ *kho*⁴⁴ *se*²¹⁴ *ka*⁴⁴ *haw*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵² *sam*⁵² *man*⁴⁴ *lo*²¹
IPL just change clothes and car IPL this CONTR 3SG need

*ɔk*²¹ *tsɔm*⁴⁴ *khaw*²¹⁴ *naj*²¹ *kaw*²¹ *jaw*⁵²
go.out follow 3PL -----PTCL----- PFV

‘We just changed clothes (for our child) and our car, however, it needed to leave and follow them (the other cars).’

- (35) [*haw*⁴⁴ *sam*⁵² *tok*⁴⁴]_{SM} *haw*⁴⁴ *sam*⁵² *tok*⁴⁴ *lin*⁴⁴ *jon*⁵² *pə*⁴³ *haw*⁴⁴ *tok*⁴⁴
IPL but drop IPL CONTR drop last ---because--- IPL drop
-----late----- -----late

*lin*⁴⁴ *lae*⁴³ *ka*⁴⁴ *khaw*²¹⁴ *naj*⁵² *am*²¹ *pen*²¹⁴ *ɔk*²¹ *kwa*²¹
last because car 3PL this NEG COP go.out go

‘We, however, were late. Because we were late, their car did not leave.’

- (36) *pai*⁵² *tha*⁴³ *haw*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵² *na*²¹ *nɔ*²¹, *phə*²¹ *wa*⁴³ *haw*⁴⁴ *ɔk*²¹ *ma*⁴⁴
wait wait IPL that PTCL INT when say IPL go.out come
-----when-----

*naj*²¹⁴ *ka*⁴⁴ *an*²¹⁴ [*an*²¹⁴]_R *haw*⁴⁴ *khaw*⁴³ *tsɔm*⁴⁴ *kan*²¹⁴ *si*²¹ *lam*⁴⁴
this.TOP car REL REL IPL enter follow each.other four CL:vehicle

*ha*⁴³ *lam*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵² *naj*²¹⁴ *ka*⁴⁴ *tsə*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵² *ɔk*²¹ *kwa*²¹ *ɔn*²¹⁴ *taaj*⁴⁴
five CL:vehicle that this.TOP car those that go.out go lead road

*haw*⁴⁴ *pjæt*⁴³
IPL throw.away

‘(They) waited for us, you know? When we came out, the four or five cars that we entered (the restaurant) following each other; those cars left before us.’

- (37) *waaj*⁴⁴ *se*²¹⁴ *khaw*²¹⁴ *ɔk*²¹ *kwa*²¹ *ɔn*²¹⁴ *taaj*⁴⁴ *haw*⁴⁴ *jaw*⁵² *naj*²¹⁴ *he*²¹⁴,
after and 3PL go.out go lead road IPL PFV this.TOP and

*tsaj*²¹ *ha*²¹⁴ *pon*⁵² *haw*⁴⁴ *kwa*²¹ *sip*⁴⁴ *ha*⁴³ *mi*⁵² *nit*⁵² *kha*⁴³ *naj*⁵²
----almost---- pass.by IPL go ten five ----minute---- ----this.is.all----

*kwe*⁴⁴ *naj*²¹ *kaw*²¹, *kwa*²¹ *jaw*⁵² *se*²¹⁴, *khaw*²¹⁴ *kwa*²¹ *jaw*⁴³ *kan*²¹⁴
only -----PTCL----- go PFV and 3PL go push each.other

‘After they left before us, only fifteen minutes had passed by when we went. And they pushed (collided with) each other.’

- (38) *jaw*⁴³ *kan*²¹⁴ *se*²¹⁴ *ta*²¹ *lam*⁴⁴ *nij*⁴³, *lom*⁵² *pjæt*⁴³
push each.other and for CL:vehicle one fall.down throw.away

*kaaj*²¹⁴ *taaj*⁴⁴
middle road

‘(They) pushed each other and for one vehicle, (it) fell (on its side) in the middle of the road.’

- (39) *ka*⁴⁴ *an*²¹⁴ *jaw*⁴³ *naj*⁵² *sam*⁵² [interrupted]
 car REL push this CONTR
 ‘The car that pushed this, however...’

- (40) *pa*⁴⁴ *kon*⁴⁴ *tem*²¹⁴ *ə*⁴³
 with person fill yes
 ‘Filled with people, yes.’

- (41) *an*²¹⁴ *man*⁴⁴ *an*²¹⁴ *khaam*²¹ [*an*²¹⁴ *khaam*²¹]_R *jaw*⁴³ *man*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵² *sam*⁵² *lom*⁵²
 CL 3SG REL affected REL affected push 3SG that CONTR fall.down

*pjaet*⁴³ *kaan*²¹⁴ *taan*⁴⁴ *het*⁴⁴ *nan*²¹⁴ *he*²¹⁴ *ta*²¹ *thjan*²¹⁴ *an*²¹⁴ *ka*⁴⁴
 throw.away middle road do that and for another CL car
 ---do.that.way---

*an*²¹⁴ *lam*⁴⁴ *an*²¹⁴ *kwa*²¹ *pha*²¹ *man*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵² *sam*⁵² *loj*⁴⁴ *kwa*²¹ *tsom*⁴⁴
 CL CL:vehicle REL go collide 3SG that CONTR descend go follow

*taan*⁴⁴ *pjaet*⁴³ *loj*⁴⁴ *kwa*²¹ *naj*⁴⁴ *taan*⁴⁴ *pæ*⁴³ *man*⁴⁴ *am*²¹
 road throw.away descend go inside road throw.away 3SG NEG

*tsai*⁴³ *naj*⁴⁴ *loj*²¹⁴ *man*⁴⁴ *pen*²¹⁴ *taan*⁴⁴ *tik*⁵² *mi*⁴⁴ *naj*⁴⁴ [*naj*⁴⁴]_R
 correct inside mountain 3SG COP road still have inside inside

*sjen*⁴³ *taan*⁴⁴ *məj*⁴⁴ *maan*⁴³ *nan*⁵² *na*²¹ *ə*⁴³
 --expressway-- ----Burmese---- that PTCL yes

‘It (the car) that was affected and pushed it however, fell (on its side) in the middle of the road that way. For the other car that collided it (with the car that fell on its side) however, descended along the road. (It) descended in the road. It is not in the mountains, it is still in the Burmese expressway.’

- (42) *an*²¹⁴ *ka*⁴⁴ *thjan*⁴³ *lam*⁴⁴ *nij*⁴³ *tæ*⁵² *jaw*⁴³ *loj*⁴⁴ *hoe*⁴³ *kwa*²¹ *ka*⁴⁴
 CL car another CL:vehicle one CONTR push descend valley go car

*an*²¹⁴ *lam*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵² *tæ*⁵² *te*²¹⁴ *am*²¹ *tæ*⁵² *haj*²¹⁴ *ka*⁴³ *hi*²¹⁴
 CL CL:vehicle that CONTR IRR NEG touch something---how.much---

‘Another car, however, pushed and descended into the valley. That car however, will not be affected much.’

- (43) *pha*²¹⁴ *kə*⁴³ *te*²¹⁴ *am*²¹ [changes topic] *ka*⁴⁴ *an*²¹⁴ *lom*⁵² *kwa*²¹ *nan*⁵²
 someone also IRR NEG car REL fall.down go that

*kə*⁴³ [*man*⁴⁴]_{SM} *man*⁴⁴ *am*²¹ *tsai*⁴³ *læ*⁴³ *man*⁴⁴ *pin*⁴³ *kwa*²¹ *laaj*²¹⁴
 also 3SG 3SG NEG correct because 3SG overturn go many.times

*ŋop*⁵² *naj*²¹⁴ *man*⁴⁴ *lom*⁵² *nən*⁴⁴ *nə*²¹⁴ *taan*⁴⁴ *kwa*²¹ *het*⁴⁴ *naj*²¹⁴
 overturns.repeatedly this.TOP 3SG fall.down sleep on road go do this
 ---do.this.way---

*kwe*⁴⁴ *man*⁴⁴ *mi*⁴⁴ *kon*⁴⁴ *tsep*⁴⁴ *maat*²¹ *nij*⁴³ *it*⁴⁴ *kwe*⁴⁴ *kwa*⁴³
 only 3SG have person hurt injured one small only PTCL.INF.IMP
 -----a.few-----

‘Someone will not... That car that fell, it was not because it overturned many times. It only overturned once like

this on the road. It has a few injured and hurt people only.’

- (44) *[man⁴⁴ am²¹ man⁴⁴, mi⁴⁴ kon⁴⁴,]_{SM} man⁴⁴ am²¹ tan⁴⁴ mi⁴⁴ kon⁴⁴ taaj²¹⁴*
 3SG NEG 3SG have person 3SG NEG free have person die

naɲ²¹ kaw²¹

-----PTCL-----

‘There is no one dead.’

- (45) *phə²¹ haw⁴⁴ kwaa²¹ naɲ²¹⁴, ka⁴⁴ haw⁴⁴ naɲ⁵² kwaa²¹ ji⁴³ ki⁴⁴ kwaa²¹*
 when IPL go this.TOP car IPL this go -----stop----- go

[ka⁴⁴ haw⁴⁴ naɲ⁵² pən⁴³,]_{SM} pən⁴³ lo²¹ ɲa⁴⁴ kan²¹⁴ na²¹ nan⁵²
 car IPL this others others push meet each.other PTCL that

naɲ²¹⁴ lom⁵², kaaj²¹⁴ taaj⁴⁴ naɲ⁵² phaaj²¹ na⁴³ haw⁴⁴ li²¹⁴ li²¹⁴
 this.TOP fall.down middle road this side face IPL -----exactly-----
 ----in.front----

nan⁵² na²¹
 that PTCL

‘When we went, our car went and stopped. Others pushed against each other there. (Their cars) fell (on their sides) in the middle of the road right in front of us.’

- (46) *khaw²¹⁴ kam⁴³ phəɲ⁴³ ko⁴³ wa⁴³ ə⁴³ no²¹, tu^{21B} to^{52B} naɲ^{43B} jaw^{52B}*
 3PL -some.people- also say yes INT -----3PL----- two people

lo²¹ laɲ⁴³ haɲ²¹⁴ naɲ⁵² naɲ²¹⁴ wa⁴³, lo²¹ laɲ⁴³ ce^{44B} su^{44B} taaj²¹
 need get something this this.TOP say need get ---thank.you--- put.on

khaw²¹⁴ ə⁴³ naɲ²¹⁴ wa⁴³
 3PL yes this.TOP say

‘Some people also said, you know?’ ‘These two people need to get something. (They need) to be thanked.’

- (47) *pə⁴⁴ khaw²¹⁴ am²¹ tok⁴⁴ lin⁴⁴ naɲ²¹⁴ tæ⁵² te²¹⁴ ɲa⁴⁴ haw⁴⁴ te²¹⁴*
 if 3PL NEG drop last this.TOP CONTR IRR meet IPL IRR
 -----late-----

pha²¹ tsom⁴⁴ kan²¹⁴ tam⁵² am²¹ hu⁵² naɲ²¹⁴ wa⁴³
 collide follow each.other -----NEG----- know this.TOP say

‘If they were not late, however, (we) will meet (them). We will collide into them, we do not know.’

- (48) *kəp⁴³ pə⁴³ haw⁴⁴ tok⁴⁴ lin⁴⁴ lae⁴³, [kəp⁴³ pə⁴³ haw⁴⁴ tok⁴⁴ lin⁴⁴*
 ----because---- IPL drop last because ----because---- IPL drop last
 -----late-----

lae⁴³]_R ka⁴⁴ naɲ⁵² man⁴⁴ am²¹ laɲ⁴³ ɔk²¹ kwaa²¹ tsom⁴⁴ kan²¹⁴
 because car this 3SG NEG get go.out go follow each.other

‘Because we were late, this car, it did not get to leave and follow (the other cars).’

- (49) *ka⁴⁴ saam²¹⁴ si²¹ lam⁴⁴ naɲ⁵² ɔk²¹ kwaa²¹ ɔn²¹⁴ taaj⁴⁴ haw⁴⁴*
 car three four CL.vehicle this go.out go lead road IPL

*pjæt*⁴³

throw.away

‘Three or four cars left before us.’

- (50) *pɔ*⁴⁴ *wɑ*⁴³ *waaj*⁴⁴ *se*²¹⁴ *khaw*²¹⁴ *ɔk*²¹ *kwaɑ*²¹ *jaw*⁵² *naj*²¹⁴, *haw*⁴⁴
if say after and 3PL go.out go PFV this.TOP IPL
-----if-----

*tsɑ*⁵² *ha*²¹⁴ *pon*⁵² *ti*⁴³ *kin*²¹⁴ *khaw*⁴³ *nan*⁵² *ma*⁴⁴ *sip*⁴⁴ *ha*⁴³
---just.started--- pass.by place eat rice that come ten five
-----restaurant-----

*mi*⁵² *nit*⁵² *tam*⁵² *am*²¹ *tan*⁴⁴ *mi*⁴⁴ *ə*⁴³
-----minute----- -----NEG----- free have yes

‘If after they had left, we had only begun to leave the restaurant. It was not even fifteen minutes.’

- (51) [*man*⁴⁴, *phɔŋ*⁴⁴ *man*⁴⁴,]_{SM} *phɔŋ*⁴⁴ *hjaŋ*⁴⁴ *khin*⁴³ *man*⁴⁴ *jaw*⁵², [*phɔŋ*⁴⁴]_{SM} *ka*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵²
3SG during 3SG during strength ascend 3SG PFV during car this

*kɔ*⁴³ *lam*⁴⁴ *nij*⁴³ *læ*⁴³ *lam*⁴⁴ *nij*⁴³ *man*⁴⁴ *tik*⁵² *ɔk*²¹ *ma*⁴⁴ *tsɔm*⁴⁴
also CL:vehicle one and CL:vehicle one 3SG still go.out come follow

*kon*⁴³ *kan*²¹⁴ *na*²¹ *nɔ*²¹
buttocks each.other PTCL INT

‘During the time where (their) speed increased, the cars, one after another, it (they) were still following behind each other, you know?’

- (52) *man*⁴⁴ *am*²¹ *paj*²¹, [*man*⁴⁴ *am*²¹ *paj*²¹]_R *jaan*²¹⁴ *kan*²¹⁴ *kaj*²¹⁴ *nan*⁵²
3SG NEG yet 3SG NEG yet separate each.other far.away that

*na*²¹, *man*⁴⁴ *tik*⁵² *tsap*⁴⁴ *kan*²¹⁴ *nan*⁵² *na*²¹ *kaw*²¹⁴ *tik*⁵² *khai*⁴³ *pon*⁵²
PTCL 3SG still join each.other that PTCL 1SG still want pass.by

*mai*⁴⁴ *mai*⁴⁴ *tik*⁵² *khai*⁴³ *pon*⁵² *kaw*²¹⁴ *man*⁴⁴ *pen*²¹⁴ *tsəŋ*⁵² *nan*²¹⁴ *nan*⁵²
2SG 2SG still want pass.by 1SG 3SG COP -----like.that----- that

*na*²¹
PTCL

‘It (they) are not yet separated far from each other. It (they) were still joined together. I still want to overtake you, you still want to overtake me. It (they) were like that.’

Su:

- (53) *luk*⁵² *ti*⁴³ *jan*²¹ *kuj*²¹ *mə*⁴⁴ *ə*⁴³ *nan*⁵² *na*²¹
get.up at -----Yangon----- return.home yes that PTCL
‘Leave Yangon to return home, yes?’

Sa:

- (54) *luk*⁵² *ti*⁴³ *jan*²¹ *kuj*²¹ *mə*⁴⁴
get.up at -----Yangon----- return.home
‘Leave Yangon to return home.’

- (55) *man*⁴⁴ *tæ*²¹ *tsɑ*⁵² *ɔk*²¹,... *kik*⁵² *man*⁴⁴ *ma*⁴⁴ *tæ*²¹ *tsɑ*⁵² *ɔk*²¹ *ti*⁴³
3SG start begin go.out gate 3SG come start begin go.out place

*kin*²¹⁴ *khaw*⁴³ *ma*⁴⁴ *kwe*⁴⁴ *na*²¹ *naj*²¹⁴
eat rice come only PTCL this.TOP
restaurant-----

'It (the cars) began to leave the gate. It (they) started to leave the restaurant only.'

- (56) *lam*⁴⁴ *laaj*²¹⁴ *hjaŋ*⁴⁴ *lə*⁴⁴ *se*²¹⁴ *lam*⁴⁴ *laaj*²¹⁴ *kə*⁴³ *man*⁴⁴ *am*²¹ *paj*²¹
CL:vehicle which strength over and CL:vehicle which also 3SG NEG yet

*hu*⁵² *nan*⁵² *na*²¹ *no*²¹
know that PTCL INT

'Which vehicle is stronger than which vehicle, it(they) also do not know that yet?'

- (57) *phai*²¹⁴ *am*²¹ *phai*²¹⁴ *kə*⁴³ *khai*⁴³ [*khai*⁴³]_R *pon*⁵² *kan*²¹⁴ *nan*⁵² *na*²¹
someone NEG someone also want want pass.by each.other that PTCL
-----everyone-----

'Everyone wants to overtake each other.'

- (58) *man*⁴⁴ *het*⁴⁴ *saj*²¹⁴ *læ*⁴³ *naj*²¹⁴, *pə*⁴⁴ *wa*⁴³ *man*⁴⁴ *ək*²¹ *kwa*²¹ *hiŋ*²¹⁴
3SG -----why----- because this.TOP if say 3SG go.out go long.time
-----if-----

*jaw*⁵² *naj*²¹⁴ *tæ*⁵² [*man*⁴⁴]_{SM} *lam*⁴⁴ *niŋ*⁴³ *læ*⁴³ *lam*⁴⁴ *niŋ*⁴³ *man*⁴⁴ *phaat*²¹
PFV this.TOP CONTR 3SG CL:vehicle one and CL:vehicle one 3SG separate

*kan*²¹⁴ *kwa*²¹ *kaj*²¹⁴ *jaw*⁵² *naj*²¹⁴ *tæ*⁵² *phai*²¹⁴ *am*²¹ *tsaaj*⁴³
each.other go far.away PFV this.TOP CONTR someone NEG can

*pon*⁵² *phai*²¹⁴ *nan*⁵² *na*²¹
pass.by someone that PTCL

'Why it (the accident) (happened) is because of (this overtaking). If it (the car) had left for a long time however, one vehicle by one vehicle, it separates from each other. However, people cannot overtake people.'

- (59) *an*²¹⁴ *naj*⁵² *tæ*⁵² *man*⁴⁴ *tik*⁵² *ək*²¹ *ma*⁴⁴ *kwe*⁴⁴ *man*⁴⁴ *tik*⁵² *ək*²¹
CL this CONTR 3SG still go.out come only 3SG still go.out

*ma*⁴⁴ *het*⁴⁴ *nan*²¹⁴ *naj*²¹⁴, *kaw*²¹⁴ *kə*⁴³ *khai*⁴³ *pon*⁵² *mai*⁴⁴ *mai*⁴⁴ *kə*⁴³
come ---do.that.way--- this.TOP 1SG also want pass.by 2SG 2SG also

*khai*⁴³ [*khai*⁴³]_R *pon*⁵² *kaw*²¹⁴, *lam*⁴⁴ *laŋ*²¹⁴ *an*²¹⁴ *naj*⁵² *kə*⁴³ *te*²¹⁴
want want pass.by 1SG CL:vehicle back CL this also IRR

*pon*⁵² *lam*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵² *lam*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵² *kə*⁴³ *te*²¹⁴ *pon*⁵² *lam*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵² *het*⁴⁴
pass.by CL:vehicle this CL:vehicle this also IRR pass.by CL:vehicle this --do.this

*naj*²¹⁴ *ə*⁴³
way-- yes

'This car, however, it was still leaving only, it was still leaving like that- I want to overtake you, you also want to overtake me. This car at the back will overtake this car. This car will also overtake this car like this.'

- (60) [*lam*⁴⁴ *an*²¹⁴, *an*²¹⁴]_{SM} *səŋ*²¹⁴ *lam*⁴⁴ *an*²¹⁴ *phaaj*²¹ *na*⁴³, *nan*⁵² *tæ*⁵² *am*²¹
CL:vehicle CL CL two CL:vehicle CL side face that CONTR NEG
-----front-----

*pen*²¹⁴ *saj*²¹⁴ *am*²¹ *tan*⁴⁴ *pen*²¹⁴ *saj*²¹⁴
 COP something NEG free COP something

‘The two vehicles in front, however, are unaffected.’

- (61) *an*²¹⁴ *lam*⁴⁴ *an*²¹⁴ *te*²¹⁴ *pon*⁵² *naj*⁵² *e*⁴³, *nam*^{21B} *paat*^{43B} *soj*²¹⁴ *kɔ*⁴³
 CL CL:vehicle CL IRR pass.by this yes -----ORD----- two also
- te*²¹⁴ *pon*⁵² *nam*^{21B} *paat*^{43B} *nij*⁴³ *nam*^{21B} *paat*^{43B} *saam*²¹⁴ *kɔ*⁴³ *te*²¹⁴ *pon*⁵²
 IRR pass.by -----ORD----- one -----ORD----- three also IRR pass.by

nam^{21B} *paat*^{43B} *soj*²¹⁴ *naj*²¹⁴ *ə*⁴³, *tsəj*⁵² *naj*²¹⁴ *ə*⁴³
 -----ORD----- two this.TOP yes ----like.this---- yes

‘One vehicle will overtake this (vehicle). The second (vehicle) will also overtake the first. The third will also overtake the second. Like this, yes.’

- (62) *nam*^{21B} *paat*^{43B} *soj*²¹⁴ *naj*⁵² *ɔk*²¹ *ma*⁴⁴ [*pɔ*⁴⁴ *ho*²¹⁴,]_{SM} *pɔ*⁴⁴ *ho*²¹⁴ *man*⁴⁴
 -----ORD----- two this go.out come if head if head 3SG
- ɔk*²¹ *ma*⁴⁴ *naj*²¹⁴ *kɔ*⁴³ *hə*²¹ *ka*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵² *kɔ*⁴³ *ho*²¹⁴ *man*⁴⁴ *ɔk*²¹
 go.out come this.TOP also EXCL car this also head 3SG go.out
- ma*⁴⁴, *man*⁴⁴, *pon*⁵² *kwa*²¹ *jaw*⁵² *naj*²¹⁴ *aaj*⁴³ *naj*⁵², *kɔ*⁵² *an*²¹⁴
 come 3SG pass.by go PFV this.TOP HON.INF.M this CL:person REL
- ju*²¹ *nam*^{21B} *paat*^{43B} *saam*²¹⁴ *naj*⁵² *khin*⁴⁴, *tsan*²¹⁴, *pɔ*⁴⁴ *kwa*²¹ *tsan*²¹⁴ *khin*⁴⁴
 stay -----ORD----- three this return pull.back when go pull.back return
- [*naj*²¹⁴]_{SM} *kwa*²¹ *jaw*⁴³ *saj*²¹ *kon*⁴³ *ka*⁴⁴ *lam*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵² *he*²¹⁴, *ka*⁴⁴ *lam*⁴⁴
 this.TOP go push put buttocks car CL:vehicle that and car CL:vehicle
- nan*⁵², *pin*⁴³ *kwa*²¹ *nə*²¹⁴ *taaj*⁴⁴ *ə*⁴³
 that overturn go on road yes

‘This second (vehicle) left... If its head comes out! This car also, its head came out. It overtook this guy. The person who is in this third (vehicle), pulled (his car) back. When (it) pulled back, it crashed into the back of that car and that car overturned on the road.’

- (63) *ka*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵² *thu*²¹⁴ *ɔk*²¹ *taaj*⁴⁴ *kwa*²¹ *het*⁴⁴ *naj*²¹⁴
 car that slide go.out road go ---do.this.way---

‘That car slid out of the road like this.’

- (64) *pɔ*⁴⁴ *am*²¹ *nan*²¹⁴ *tə*⁵² *kɔ*⁴³, *a*⁵² *lo*⁵² [*sa*⁴⁴,]_{SM} *ka*⁴⁴ *pen*²¹⁴ *phaaj*²¹
 if NEG that.TOP CONTR also ---- EXCL---- car COP side
 -----front

*na*⁴³ *haw*⁴⁴ *li*²¹⁴ *li*²¹⁴ *nan*⁵² *na*²¹ *ə*⁴³
 face IPL good good that PTCL yes
 -----exactly-----

‘If not of that however, ... The car was exactly in front of us!’

- (65) *kam*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵² *a*⁵² *lo*⁵² *kwa*²¹ *he*²¹⁴ *khaw*²¹⁴ *an*²¹⁴ *taaj*⁴⁴ [interrupted]
 -----now----- ----EXCL---- go and 3PL CL road

‘Now, (we) go and they!...’

- (66) *pɔ⁴⁴ haw⁴⁴ tæ⁵² haw⁴⁴ kɔ⁴³ [haw⁴⁴ kɔ⁴³]_R haw⁴⁴ [tok⁴⁴]_{SM} tok⁴⁴ tsai²¹⁴*
 when 1PL CONTR 1PL also 1PL also 1PL drop drop heart
ə⁴³ kon⁴⁴ taaj⁴⁴ hən⁴⁴ kɔ⁴³ tok⁴⁴ tsai²¹⁴ ə⁴³
 yes person road house also drop heart yes
 -----family-----
 ‘We however, we were also scared. (Our) family members were also scared.’
- (67) *a⁵² lo⁵² khaw²¹⁴ tsa⁵² ha²¹⁴ ɔk²¹ kwaa²¹ mə⁴³ naj⁵² kwe⁴⁴ naj⁴³*
 ----EXCL---- 3PL --just.started-- go.out go -----today----- -----only-----
pen²¹⁴ ka⁴⁴ i⁴³ saɲ²¹⁴ [interrupted]
 COP car -----what-----
 ‘‘‘They just started to leave today only! What car is it?’’ (The family asked.)’
- (68) *ti⁴³ hən⁴⁴ haw⁴⁴ tæ⁵² am²¹ hu⁵² na²¹, [ti⁴³ hən⁴⁴ haw⁴⁴ tæ⁵²*
 at house 1PL CONTR NEG know PTCL at house 1PL CONTR
am²¹ hu⁵² an²¹⁴,]_R ti⁴³ hən⁴⁴ an²¹⁴ ti⁴³, jaan²¹ kuɲ²¹ naj⁵² ə⁴³
 NEG know CL at house CL at ----Yangon---- this yes
 ‘At our house, however, (they) did not know. At the house that is at Yangon, yes.’
- (69) *ti⁴³ hən⁴⁴ haw⁴⁴ tæ⁵² khaw²¹⁴ am²¹ paj²¹ mi⁴⁴ in²¹ ta²¹ naet⁵²,*
 at house 1PL CONTR 3PL NEG yet have -----internet-----
fæsbuk khaw²¹⁴ am²¹ hu⁵² na²¹ ə⁴³
 facebook 3PL NEG know PTCL yes
 ‘At our house however, they do not have internet yet. Facebook, they do not know (about it).’
- (70) *haw⁴⁴ kwaa²¹ taaj⁴⁴ laaj²¹⁴ khaw²¹⁴ am²¹ hu⁵² loɲ²¹⁴ ə⁴³*
 1PL go road which 3PL NEG know big yes
 ‘Which road we took, they do not know at all.’
- (71) *an²¹⁴ hən⁴⁴, ti⁴³ jaan²¹ kuɲ²¹ naj⁵² he²¹⁴ an²¹⁴ pi⁴³ nɔɲ⁵² an²¹⁴*
 CL house at ---Yangon--- this and CL ----siblings----- REL
maan⁴⁴ tə⁵² le⁴⁴ naj⁵² ə⁴³
 -----Mandalay----- this yes
 ‘The house at Yangon and siblings that are in Mandalay (know which road we took).’
- (72) *a⁵² lo⁵² khaw²¹⁴ ma⁴⁴ mə⁴³ naj⁵² pen²¹⁴ ka⁴⁴ haɲ²¹⁴ khaw²¹⁴ khi²¹*
 ----EXCL---- 3PL come -----today----- COP car what 3PL ride
ka⁴⁴ haɲ²¹⁴ ma⁴⁴ naj²¹⁴ ə⁴³
 car what come this.TOP yes
 ‘‘‘Which is the car they come with today! Which car did they ride to come?’’’
- (73) *ka⁴⁴ an²¹⁴ pin⁴³ kwaa²¹ nan⁵², pen²¹⁴ ka⁴⁴ saɲ²¹⁴ la²¹ pen²¹⁴ haɲ²¹⁴*
 car REL overturn go that COP car what INT.EMPH COP what
naj²¹⁴ ɔn²¹⁴ kan²¹⁴ twe⁴⁴ ə⁴³
 this.TOP lead each.other look yes
 ‘‘‘The car that overturned was which car?! Which is it?’’ They helped each other to check (for information

online).’

- (74) ɔ^{43} am^{21} tsat^{43} ka^{44} khaw^{214} khaw^{214} khi^{21} ka^{44} an^{214} nan^{52} an^{214}
 yes NEG correct car 3PL 3PL ride car CL that CL

naj^{52} ma^{44} ə^{43} am^{21} tsat^{43} haj^{214} naj^{214}
 this come yes NEG correct what this.TOP

‘‘‘Yes, (it is) not their car. They rode that car, this car, coming. Nothing happened (to them).’’’

- (75) kam^{52} haw^{44} khin^{44} sip^{21} hoj^{44} laj^{43} khaw^{214} kaw^{214} wa^{43} haw^{44}
 that.time 1SG return continue call.on.the.phone get 3PL 1SG say 1SG

laat^{43} wa^{43} ə^{43} am^{21} tsat^{43} ka^{44} haw^{44} man^{44} pen^{214} kwa^{21} phaaj^{21}
 tell say yes NEG correct car 1PL 3SG COP go ----front

na^{43} haw^{44} ə^{43} naj^{214} pɔ^{44} am^{21} nan^{214} tə^{52} haw^{44} ɔk^{21} kwa^{21}
 face 1PL yes this.TOP if NEG that.TOP CONTR 1PL go.out go

tsəm^{44} kan^{214} ə^{43} nan^{52} ka^{44} nan^{52} kɔp^{43} pə^{43} haw^{44}
 follow each.other yes that car that ----because---- 1PL

tok^{44} lin^{44} lə^{43} ka^{44} haw^{44} laj^{43} ɔk^{21} kwa^{21} tok^{44} lin^{44} naj^{214}
 drop last because car 1PL get go.out go drop last this.TOP

-----late-----

-----late-----

‘At that time, I was able to call them back. I said, I told (them), “Yes it is not our car. It is (the car that) went in front of us. If not, however, we (would have) left and followed those cars. Because we were late, our car got to leave late.’

- (76) laat^{43} khaw^{214} tsəj^{52} nan^{214} ə^{43}
 tell 3PL ----like.that---- yes
 ‘(I) told them like that.’

- (77) $[\text{pɔ}^{44}$ $\text{am}^{21}]_{\text{SM}}$ pɔ^{44} am^{21} tsat^{43} haw^{44} tok^{44} lin^{44} tə^{52} $[\text{man}^{44}]_{\text{SM}}$ man^{44}
 if NEG if NEG correct 1PL drop last CONTR 3SG 3SG
 -----late-----

kwa^{21} tsəm^{44} kan^{214} jaw^{52} taj^{44} saam^{214} si^{21} lam^{44} nan^{52}
 go follow each.other PFV together three four CL:vehicle that
 ‘If not (because) we were late, it (our car would have) gone and followed those three, four vehicles.’

Su:

- (78) kaan^{214} ku^{52} so^{21} nam^{214} wan^{44} man^{44} kɔ^{43} paj^{21} thij^{214}
 actions --good.deeds-- a.lot day 3SG also yet arrive
 ‘(You have done) a lot of good deeds. Its day (the day of death) has yet to arrive.’

Sa:

- (79) an^{214} naj^{52} $[\text{pɔ}^{44}]_{\text{SM}}$ pɔ^{44} haw^{44} am^{21} $[\text{pɔ}^{44}$ haw^{44} $\text{am}^{21}]_{\text{R}}$ tok^{44} lin^{44}
 REL this if if 1PL NEG if 1PL NEG drop last
 -----late-----

naj^{214} khaw^{214} phə^{21} haw^{44} khin^{43} ma^{44} nə^{214} ka^{44} naj^{214} khaw^{214} pai^{52}
 this.TOP 3PL when 1PL ascend come on car this.TOP 3PL wait

*tha*⁴³ *haw*⁴⁴ *kwe*⁴⁴ *jaw*⁵² *khaw*²¹⁴ *ko*⁴³ *no*⁴⁴, *tsaak*⁴³ *ka*⁴⁴ *he*²¹⁴
wait.CONT IPL only PFV 3PL also start.engine engine car and

*pai*⁵² *waj*⁵²
wait keep

‘If we were not late, they ...[change topic] When we went up the car, they were waiting (for us) only. They also started the car engine and waited.’

- (80) *kon*⁴⁴ *ko*⁴³ *khi*²¹ *tem*²¹⁴ *pik*⁴⁴ *jaw*⁵², *po*⁴⁴ *haw*⁴⁴ *khin*⁴³ *ko*⁴³ *khaw*²¹⁴
person also ride fill to.the.brim PFV when IPL ascend also 3PL

*ko*⁴³ *ɔk*²¹ *jaw*⁵²
also go.out PFV

‘People had ridden and completely filled (the car). When we went up as well, they left.’

- (81) *kɔp*⁴³ *pə*⁴³ *khaw*²¹⁴, [*khaw*²¹⁴ *tsə*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵², *khaw*²¹⁴]_{SM} *pen*²¹⁴ *kon*⁴⁴ [*man*⁴⁴]_{SM} *am*²¹
--because-- 3PL 3PL those that 3PL COP people 3SG NEG

*tsai*⁴³, *kon*⁴⁴ *thəŋ*⁴⁴ *man*⁴⁴ *am*²¹ *pa*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵² *na*²¹ *ə*⁴³, *khaw*²¹⁴ *ɔk*²¹
correct people slow 3SG NEG include that PTCL yes 3PL go.out

*kwaa*²¹ *phaaŋ*⁴⁴ *ə*⁴³ *ka*⁴⁴ *tsə*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵²
go fast yes car those that

‘Because they were people (who) are not (like that), slow people were not included. They left quickly, those cars.’

- (82) [*an*²¹⁴]_{SM} *haw*⁴⁴ *sam*⁵² *luk*⁴³ *ɔn*²¹ *he*²¹⁴, *saj*²¹⁴ *he*²¹⁴ *suk*⁵² *sak*⁵² *nan*⁵²
REL IPL CONTR child small and something and -----busy----- that

*na*²¹ *ə*⁴³ *kin*²¹⁴ *jaw*⁵² *he*²¹⁴ *sam*⁵², *haw*⁴⁴ *ko*⁴³ *am*²¹ *tan*⁴⁴, *tan*⁴⁴
PTCL yes eat PFV and CONTR IPL also NEG free free

*li*⁴³ *i*⁴³ *saj*²¹⁴ *naj*²¹ *kaw*²¹
rest -----what----- -----PTCL-----

‘We however, (have) a baby and something and (we were) busy. Having eaten though, we were also not free to rest or what.’

- (83) *po*⁴⁴ *wa*⁴³ *kin*²¹⁴ *jaw*⁵² *ko*⁴³ *lo*²¹ *het*⁴⁴ *saj*²¹⁴ *het*⁴⁴ *saj*²¹⁴ *kwaa*²¹
if say eat PFV also need do something REDUP REDUP go
-----if-----

*suk*⁴³ *na*⁴³, *si*²¹⁴ *khjew*⁴³ *he*²¹⁴ *pan*²¹ *put*⁴³ *kan*²¹⁴ *khin*⁴³ *thaj*²¹⁴ *he*²¹⁴
wash face brush teeth and ---take.turn--- each.other ascend toilet and

‘If (we) have finished eating, (we) also needed to do this do that. (We) went to wash face. (We) brushed teeth, and took turns with each other to go to the toilet, and...’[interrupted]

Su:

- (84) *pən*⁴³ *li*⁴³ *sip*⁴⁴ *mi*⁵² *nit*⁵², *pən*⁴³ *li*⁴³ *sip*⁴⁴ *ha*⁴³ *mi*⁵² *nit*⁵²,
others rest ten -----minute----- others rest ten five -----minute-----

*saam*²¹⁴ *sip*⁴⁴ *mi*⁵² *nit*⁵²
three ten -----minute-----

‘Others rested for ten minutes? Others rested for fifteen minutes? Thirty minutes?’

Su:

- (85) *saam*²¹⁴ *sip*⁴⁴ *mi*⁵² *nit*⁵² *tem*²¹⁴ *tem*²¹⁴ *kwe*⁴⁴ *na*²¹
 three ten ----minute---- ----exactly---- only PTCL
 'Exactly thirty minutes only.'
- (86) *het*⁴⁴ *nan*²¹⁴ *haw*⁴⁴ *ko*⁴³ *ɔn*²¹⁴ *kan*²¹⁴ *kwa*²¹ *pat*⁵² *ti*⁴³ *nan*⁵² *na*²¹
 --do.that.way-- IPL also lead each.other go wait -----there----- PTCL
*tsɔŋ*²¹ *wa*⁴³ *ka*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵² *pɔ*⁴⁴ *am*²¹ *tan*⁴⁴ *haj*²¹⁴ *naj*⁵² *naj*²¹⁴ *ko*⁴³
 hence say car this if NEG happen somethingthis this.TOP also
 ---hence---
 'Like that, we led each other and waited there (at the toilet). Hence this car, if not something (would have) happened to it.'
- (87) *pɔ*⁴⁴ *wa*⁴³ [*haw*⁴⁴]_{SM} *am*²¹ *tsai*⁴³ *haw*⁴⁴ *tok*⁴⁴ *lin*⁴⁴ *naj*²¹⁴ *ko*⁴³ *man*⁴⁴
 if say IPL NEG correct IPL drop last this.TOP also 3SG
 -----if-----
*lo*²¹ *pha*²¹ *tsɔm*⁴⁴ *kon*⁴³ *kan*²¹⁴ *kwa*²¹ *tsəŋ*⁵² *nan*²¹⁴ *te*²¹⁴ *ɲa*⁴⁴ [*pen*²¹⁴]_{SM}
 need collide follow buttocks each.other go ---like.that--- IRR meet COP
*haw*⁴⁴ *tam*⁵² *am*²¹ *hu*⁵² *ə*⁴³
 IPL even NEG know yes
 'If we were not late, it (our cars would) definitely collide with the back of each other's cars like that and (we) will meet, we don't even know.'
- (88) *an*²¹⁴ *naj*⁵² *kɔp*⁴³ *pə*⁴³ *haw*⁴⁴ *tok*⁴⁴ *lin*⁴⁴ *læ*⁴³ [*ka*⁴⁴]_{SM} *man*⁴⁴ *am*²¹
 REL this ---because--- IPL drop last because car 3SG NEG
 -----late-----
*tan*⁴⁴ *man*⁴⁴ *am*²¹ *tə*⁵² *man*⁴⁴ *am*²¹ *pa*⁴⁴ *haw*⁴⁴ *kwa*²¹ *nan*⁵² *na*²¹
 happen 3SG NEG touch 3SG NEG include IPL go that PTCL
*ə*⁴³
 yes
 'Because we were late, it (the accident) did not happen. It (the accident) did not touch (us). It (the accident) did not include us.'
- (89) *an*²¹⁴ *naj*⁵² [*pɔ*⁴⁴ *wa*⁴³ *kwa*²¹]_{SM} *pɔ*⁴⁴ *wa*⁴³ *te*²¹⁴ *kwa*²¹ *ta*⁴³ *paj*²¹⁴
 REL this if say go if say IRR go harbour walk
 -----if-----
*taaj*⁴⁴ *ti*⁴³ [*məŋ*⁴⁴]_{SM} *məŋ*⁴⁴ *man*⁴³ *naj*²¹⁴ *tɔ*⁴³ *lew*²¹⁴ *naj*⁵² *man*⁴⁴ [trails off]
 road at ---Myanmar--- this.TOP ---currently--- this 3SG
 'If, (we) were to travel to Myanmar now, it...'
- (90) *mə*⁴⁴ *tæ*⁵² *khai*⁴³ *mə*⁴⁴ *ju*²¹ *pɔ*⁴⁴ *mə*⁴⁴ *ko*⁴³ [*man*⁴⁴]_{SM}
 return.home CONTR want return.home stay when return.home also 3SG
*khi*²¹⁴ *tsai*²¹⁴ *lɔŋ*⁴³ *kwa*²¹ *lɔŋ*⁴³ *paj*²¹⁴ *man*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵² *na*²¹ *ə*⁴³
 worry heart condition go condition walk 3SG that PTCL yes
 -----worry-----
 'Return home, however, (I) want to return home. When (I) return home, (I) worry about going in its (Myanmar's) travelling conditions.' [Travelling conditions in Myanmar are very bad and dangerous.]

- (91) *kɔp*⁴³ *pə*⁴³ *taaj*⁴⁴ *li*²¹⁴ *nan*⁵² *jaw*⁵² *khaw*²¹⁴ *tsaj*²¹ [interrupted]
 ---because--- road good that PFV 3PL hence
 ‘Because of the good roads, they hence...’

Su:

- (92) *taaj*⁴⁴ *mə*⁴³ *lew*²¹⁴ *naj*⁵²
 road -----currently----- this
 ‘The roads now...’

- (93) *kon*⁴⁴ *hɔ*⁴³ *ka*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵² [*an*²¹⁴ *naj*⁵² *naj*⁵²]_{SM} *an*²¹⁴ *luk*⁵² *jaan*²¹ *kuj*²¹
 person drive car this REL this this REL get.up -----Yangon-----

*mə*⁴⁴ *man*⁴⁴ *tə*⁵² *le*⁴⁴ *mə*⁴⁴ *ne*²¹ *pi*²¹ *tɔ*²¹ *mə*⁴⁴
 return.home -----Mandalay----- return.home -----Naypyidaw----- return.home

*la*⁴³ *sjo*⁴³ *naj*⁵² *mə*⁴³ *lew*²¹⁴ *naj*⁵² [*kon*⁴⁴]_{SM} *an*²¹⁴ *sjen*⁴³ *taaj*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵²
 -----Lashio----- this ---currently--- this person CL --expressway-- this

*khaw*²¹⁴ *hɔ*⁴³ *waj*⁴⁴ *wa*⁴³ *waj*⁴⁴ *jaw*⁵² *lu*⁴⁴
 3PL drive fast say fast PFV PTCL
 ‘The car driver that leaves Yangon to return to Mandalay, to return to Naypyidaw, to return to Lashio; currently on the expressway, they drive extremely fast.’

Sa:

- (94) *kɔp*⁴³ *pə*⁴³ *taaj*⁴⁴ *li*²¹⁴ *nan*⁵² *na*²¹ *khaw*²¹⁴ *tsaj*²¹ *wa*⁴³ *lap*⁴⁴ *hu*²¹⁴
 ---because--- road good that PTCL 3PL hence say close ear
 -----hence----- -----blindly

*lap*⁴⁴ *ta*²¹⁴ *hɔ*⁴³ *nan*⁵² *naj*⁵²
 close eye drive that this

 ‘Because of the good roads, they hence blindly drive.’

Su:

- (95) *pɔ*⁴⁴ *hɔ*⁴³ *waj*⁴⁴ *waj*⁴⁴ *naj*²¹⁴ *pən*⁴³ *te*²¹⁴ *mi*⁴⁴ *ti*⁴³ *an*²¹⁴ *ɲɔp*⁴⁴,
 if drive fast REDUP this.TOP others IRR have place REL catch

sipit *ləŋ*⁴³ *waj*⁴⁴ *man*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵² *kon*⁴⁴ *hɔ*⁴³ *man*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁴³ *ljet*⁴³ *naŋ*²¹
 speed case fast 3SG that person drive 3SG also clever -----PTCL

*kaw*²¹ *pɔ*⁴⁴ *te*²¹⁴ *thij*²¹⁴ *nan*⁵² *naj*²¹⁴ *kɔ*⁴³ *pæ*²¹ *sip*⁴⁴ *næ*²¹ *paak*²¹
 ----- if IRR arrive that this.TOP also eight ten or hundred

*niŋ*⁴³ *pɔ*⁴⁴ *paak*²¹ *niŋ*⁴³ *ɲa*⁴⁴ *nam*²¹⁴ *na*²¹ *jaw*⁵² *khaw*²¹⁴ *khin*⁴⁴ *me*⁴⁴
 one when hundred one meet a.lot very PFV 3PL return repair

cjɔ^{52B} *a*^{52B} *feŋ*^{21B}
 reduce -----speed-----

‘If (you) drive very fast, there will be a place that catches speeding. The driver, he is also clever. If (he) were to arrive at that (place that catches speeders), 80 or 100 (km/h). As the fine is very heavy when (travelling at) 100 (km/h), they reduce speed (at the place that catches speeders).’

Sa:

- (96) *khaw*²¹⁴ *pɔ*⁴⁴ *hu*⁵² *jaw*⁵² *na*²¹ *ə*⁴³ *khaw*²¹⁴ *kwaa*²¹ *ku*⁴³ *wan*⁴⁴
 3PL when know PFV PTCL yes 3PL go every day
 ‘They already know. Yes, they go everyday.’

Su:

- (97) *lə*²¹⁴ *pæ*²¹ *sip*⁴⁴ *het*⁴⁴ *nan*²¹⁴ *kwe*⁴⁴ *na*²¹ *nan*⁵² *man*⁴⁴ *tsəŋ*²¹ *wa*⁴³
 over eight ten --do.that.way-- only PTCL that 3SG hence say

*pen*²¹⁴ *aksitən* *nam*²¹⁴ *na*²¹ *a*⁴⁴ *la*⁴⁴
 COP accident a.lot very -large.amount-
 ‘(The drivers drive) only over eighty. Hence there are many accidents.’

Sa:

- (98) *mə*⁴³ *ɔn*²¹⁴ *taan*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵² *[khaw*²¹⁴*],*_{SM}*khaw*²¹⁴ *pɔ*⁴⁴ *[khaw*²¹⁴*pɔ*⁴⁴*],*_R *ta*^{52B} *ma*^{52B}
 time lead road this 3PL 3PL when 3PL when -----schedule-----
 --in.the.past--

*waj*⁵² *khaaw*⁴⁴ *jaam*⁴⁴ *man*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵² *na*²¹
 keep -----timing----- 3SG that PTCL
 ‘In the past, this road, they scheduled its (the cars/buses) timings.’

- (99) *[khaw*²¹⁴*],*_{SM}*khaw*²¹⁴ *ta*^{52B} *ma*^{52B} *waj*⁵² *khaw*²¹⁴ *wa*⁴³ *tsəŋ*⁵² *hi*²¹⁴ *læ*⁴³ *naj*²¹⁴
 3PL 3PL ----schedule---- keep 3PL say -----how----- and this.TOP

*ka*⁴⁴ *su*²¹⁴ *naj*⁵² *man*⁴⁴ *ɔk*²¹ *ma*⁴⁴ *man*⁴⁴ *te*²¹⁴ *laɲ*⁴³ *hɔ*⁴³ *nə*²¹⁴
 car 2SG this 3SG go.out come 3SG IRR get drive on

*taan*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵² *pæ*²¹ *naj*²¹ *ha*⁵² *sip*⁴⁴ *naj*²¹ *ha*⁵²
 road this eight hour INT ten hour INT
 ‘They scheduled. How they say is, “Your car, it leaves, it will get to drive on this road. For eight hours? Ten hours?”’

- (100) *pɔ*⁴⁴ *wa*⁴³ *kaan*²¹⁴ *na*²¹⁴ *naj*²¹⁴ *man*⁴⁴ *te*²¹⁴ *laɲ*⁴³ *cja*²¹ *ə*⁴³ *man*⁴⁴
 if say middle morning this.TOP 3SG IRR get long yes 3SG
 -----if-----

*lo*²¹ *laɲ*⁴³ *ma*⁴⁴ *hat*⁴³ *man*⁴⁴ *thiŋ*²¹⁴ *khaaw*⁴⁴ *jaam*⁴⁴ *man*⁴⁴ [interrupted]
 need get come must 3SG arrive -----timing----- 3SG
 ‘If in the morning, it will take long. It needs to come. It must arrive within its timing...’

- (101) *pɔ*⁴⁴ *wa*⁴³ *khaw*²¹⁴ *[khaw*²¹⁴*],*_R *phjaw*²¹⁴ *tsaw*⁵² *tsaw*⁵² *naj*²¹⁴ *na*⁴⁴ *taam*²¹ *tsaŋ*²¹
 if say 3PL 3PL arrive early REDUP this.TOP meet punishment hence

*wa*⁴³ *khaw*²¹⁴ *am*²¹ *han*²¹⁴ *naj*⁵²
 say 3PL NEG something this
 ‘If they arrive very early, (they) will face punishment. Hence, they do not...’

- (102) *[man*⁴⁴*],*_{SM}*het*⁴⁴ *saŋ*²¹⁴ *læ*⁴³ *pən*⁴³ *tsam*⁵² *ta*^{52B} *ma*^{52B} *waj*⁵² *tsəŋ*⁵² *hi*²¹⁴
 3SG -----what----- because others TOP -----schedule----- keep -----how-----

*læ*⁴³ *naj*²¹⁴ *pɔ*⁴⁴ *wa*⁴³ *[haw*⁴⁴*],*_{SM}*khaw*²¹⁴ *hɔ*⁴³ *ka*⁴⁴ *nə*²¹⁴ *taan*⁴⁴ *lon*²¹⁴
 because this.TOP if say 1PL 3PL drive car on road big
 -----if-----

*naj*²¹⁴, *man*⁴⁴ *te*²¹⁴ *laɲ*⁴³ *hɔ*⁴³ *paak*²¹ *saw*⁴⁴ *hi*⁵², *niŋ*⁴³ *paak*²¹
this.TOP 3SG IRR get drive hundred twenty or one hundred

*hi*⁵² *kaw*⁴³ *sip*⁵² *kilomita* *naj*²¹⁴
or nine ten kilometer this.TOP

‘Because of what? Because of how others scheduled (the time), if they drive the car on the expressway, it will get to drive at 120 or 100 or 90 kilometers (per hour, depending on the speed limit).’

- (103) *man*⁴⁴ *mi*⁴⁴ *tsəŋ*⁵² *nan*²¹⁴ *nan*⁵² *na*²¹
3SG have ----like.that---- that PTCL
‘It has (rules) like that.’

- (104) *pɔ*⁴⁴ *wa*⁴³ *khaw*²¹⁴ *hɔ*⁴³ *tsəŋ*⁵² *nan*²¹⁴, *pɔ*⁴⁴ *wa*⁴³ *khaw*²¹⁴ *hɔ*⁴³, *paak*²¹
when say 3PL drive -----like.that----- if say 3PL drive hundred
-----when----- -----if-----

*saw*⁴⁴ *ju*²¹ *tik*⁴⁴ *tik*⁴⁴ *naj*²¹⁴ *man*⁴⁴, *kwaa*²¹ *phaaj*⁴⁴ *na*²¹ *nan*⁵² *na*²¹
twenty stay again REDUP this.TOP 3SG go fast very that PTCL
‘When they drive like that. If they drive 120 (km/h) continuously, it goes very fast.’

Su:

- (105) *kwaa*²¹ *phaaj*⁴⁴ *te*²¹⁴ *thiŋ*²¹⁴ *tsaw*⁵²
go fast IRR arrive early
‘Go fast will arrive early.’

Sa:

- (106) *phjaw*²¹⁴, [*phjaw*²¹⁴]_R *tsaw*⁵² *nan*⁵² *na*²¹ *ə*⁴³
arrive arrive early that PTCL yes
‘Yes, arrive early.’

- (107) *tsəŋ*²¹ *wa*⁴³ *khaw*²¹⁴ *pɔ*⁴⁴ *wa*⁴³ [*interrupted*], *pɔ*⁴⁴ *wa*⁴³ *khaw*²¹⁴ *hɔ*⁴³
hence say 3PL if say if say 3PL drive
----hence---- -----if----- -----if-----

*phaaj*⁴⁴, [*hɔ*⁴³ *phaaj*⁴⁴]_R *naen*²¹ *jaw*⁵² *naj*²¹⁴ [*khaw*²¹⁴ *tsəŋ*²¹ *wa*⁴³ *khaw*²¹⁴, *khaw*²¹⁴
fast drive fast very PFV this.TOP 3PL hence say 3PL 3PL

*wa*⁴³ *khaw*²¹⁴, [*SM* *khaw*²¹⁴ *kwaa*²¹ *kwaa*²¹ *kit*⁴⁴ *kit*⁴⁴ *kwaa*²¹ *kwaa*²¹ *kit*⁴⁴ *kit*⁴⁴
say 3PL 3PL go REDUP stop REDUP go REDUP stop REDUP

*nan*⁵² *na*²¹
that PTCL

‘Hence, they, if... If they drove very fast, they went and stopped very often.’

- (108) *man*⁴⁴ *pen*²¹⁴ *tsəŋ*⁵² *nan*²¹⁴
3SG COP -----like.that-----
‘It is like that.’

- (109) *pɔ*⁴⁴ *am*²¹ *tsai*⁴³ *tsəŋ*⁵² *nan*²¹⁴ *naj*²¹⁴ *khaw*²¹⁴, [*khaw*²¹⁴]_R *khaw*⁴³ *kwaa*²¹ *tsaw*⁵²
if NEG correct ----like.that---- this.TOP 3PL 3PL enter go early
*naj*²¹⁴, *ə*⁴³ *ka*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵² *pɔ*⁴⁴ *phjaw*²¹⁴ *jaw*⁵², *ka*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵² *pɔ*⁴⁴ *phjaw*²¹⁴
this.TOP yes car that when arrive PFV car this when arrive

*jaw*⁵² *kik*⁵² *naj*⁵² *ko*⁴³ *wa*⁴³ *ka*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵² *phjaw*²¹⁴ *jaw*⁵² *naj*²¹⁴ *khaw*²¹⁴
 PFV gate this also say car this arrive PFV this.TOP 3PL

*khe*⁵² *kan*²¹⁴ *nan*⁵² *na*²¹
 compete each.otherthat PTCL

‘If it isn’t like that, they enter early. That car, when (it) has arrived; This car, when (it) has arrived; The gate also (reports) saying this car has arrived. They compete with each other.’

- (110) *phai*²¹⁴ *am*²¹ *phai*²¹⁴ *ko*⁴³ *khai*⁴³ *phjaw*²¹⁴ *tsaw*⁵² *nan*⁵² *na*²¹
 someone NEG someone also want arrive early that PTCL
 -----everyone-----

‘Everyone also wants to arrive early.’

- (111) *kam*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵² *khaw*²¹⁴ *khin*⁴⁴ *tat*^{52B} *mai*^{52B} *waj*⁵², [*khaw*²¹⁴ *khin*⁴⁴]_{SM} *khaw*²¹⁴ *khin*⁴⁴
 -----now----- 3PL return ----schedule---- keep 3PL return 3PL return
chja^{52B} *tsi*^{44B} *kan*^{44B} *waj*⁵² *wa*⁴³ *po*⁴⁴ *ka*⁴⁴ *phai*²¹⁴, [*phai*²¹⁴]_{SM} *khaw*⁴³ *tsaw*⁵²
 put -----rule----- keep say when car someone someone enter early

*ko*⁴³ *te*²¹⁴ *ja*⁴⁴ *tsaam*²¹ *nan*⁵² *na*²¹
 also IRR meet punishment that PTCL

‘Now, they re-scheduled (the timings). They revised the rules saying, when someone’s car enters early, (he) will also face punishment.’

Su:

- (112) *pij*²¹ *wa*⁴³, *man*⁴⁴ *ho*⁴³ *waj*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵² *na*²¹
 pierce say 3SG drive fast that PTCL
 ---this.means---

‘This means he drove very fast.’

- (113) *kwe*⁴⁴ *ka*⁴³ *khaw*²¹⁴ *tsam*⁵² *am*²¹ *hei*⁴⁴ *tsəj*⁵² *nan*²¹⁴ *na*²¹ *ə*⁴³, *khaw*²¹⁴
 ---however--- 3PL TOP NEG do ----like.that---- PTCL yes 3PL

*kit*⁴⁴ *pjæt*⁴³ *kaaj*²¹⁴ *taaj*⁴⁴ *kwe*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵² *na*²¹, *man*⁴⁴ *am*²¹ *tsai*⁴³
 stop throw.away middle road only that PTCL 3SG NEG correct

*wa*⁴³ *khaw*²¹⁴ *ho*⁴³, *puj*^{21B} *man*^{21B}, *hai*⁴³ *man*⁴⁴ *kwa*²¹ *phjaw*²¹⁴ *khaaw*⁴⁴ *jaam*⁴⁴
 say 3PL drive -----normal----- request 3SG go arrive -----timing-----

*man*²¹⁴ *pən*⁴³ *hai*⁴³ *ho*⁴³ *nan*⁵² *na*²¹
 same others request drive that PTCL

‘However, they did not do (it) like that. They kept stopping along the way. It is wrong to say they drove normally as requested. It (the cars) arrived at the same timing others requested (them) to drive in that (manner stipulated by the law).

- (114) [*an*²¹⁴]_{SM} *khaw*²¹⁴ *naj*⁵² *ho*⁴³ *phaaj*⁴⁴ *phaaj*⁴⁴ *thjaj*²¹⁴ *he*²¹⁴ *kwa*²¹ *kit*⁴⁴ *pjæt*⁴³
 REL 3PL this drive fast REDUP arrive and go stop throw.away

*tsəj*⁵² *nan*²¹⁴ *na*²¹
 ----like.that---- PTCL

‘They drove very fast to arrive and stopped intermittently like that.’

Su:

- (115) *kit*⁴⁴ *hɔ*⁴³ *phaaj*⁴⁴ *phaaj*⁴⁴ *thjaŋ*²¹⁴ *ə*⁴³ *nan*⁵²
 stop drive fast REDUP arrive again that
 ‘(They) stop and drive very fast to arrive.’

Sa:

- (116) *tsəŋ*²¹ *wa*⁴³ *pən*⁴³ *thiŋ*⁴⁴ *khaw*²¹⁴, *ti*⁴³ *lew*²¹⁴ *naj*⁵², *ja*²¹ *pe*²¹⁴ *hai*⁴³
 hence say others control 3PL -----current.situation----- -----do.not----- allow
 -----hence-----

*man*⁴⁴ *pen*²¹⁴ *tsəŋ*⁵² *nan*²¹⁴ *naj*²¹⁴ *khaw*²¹⁴ *tsəŋ*²¹ *wa*⁴³ *te*²¹⁴ *saj*²¹, [*saj*²¹]_R
 3SG COP ----like.that---- this.TOP 3PL hence say IRR put put

*i*⁴³ *haiŋ*²¹⁴ *kɔ*²¹⁴, ... *saj*²¹ *khəŋ*⁴³ *man*⁴⁴ [*te*²¹⁴]_{SM} *spit* *kæmi.ɬa* *hai*⁴³ *man*⁴⁴
 -----what----- INT put accessory 3SG IRR speed camera allow 3SG

 [*pɔ*⁴⁴]_{SM} *thiŋ*⁴⁴ *laŋ*⁴³ *kon*⁴⁴ *hɔ*⁴³ *ka*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵² *naj*²¹⁴ *ti*⁴³ *kwe*⁵²
 if control get person drive car that this.TOP at bend
 ‘Hence others control them. In the current situation, (they) do not allow it to be like that. They hence said (they) will put, what is it? (They) put its accessory, speed camera, and allow it to control the car driver at the bend.’

Su:

- (117) *ti*⁴³ *ka*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵² *ha*⁵²
 at car that INT
 ‘At the car?’

Sa:

- (118) *am*²¹ *tsai*⁴³, *tsəm*⁴⁴ *taaj*⁴⁴ *ə*⁴³
 NEG correct follow road yes
 ‘Wrong. Along the road.’

Su:

- (119) *tsəm*⁴⁴ *taaj*⁴⁴ *ha*⁵²
 follow road INT
 ‘Along the road?’

- (120) *ti*⁴³ *siŋ* *ti*⁴³ *singapu* *nan*⁵² *na*²¹
 at Sing at Singapore that PTCL
 ‘(Like) at Singapore.’

Sa:

- (121) [*pən*⁴³, *pən*⁴³]_{SM} *tsaj*²¹ *wa*⁴³ *pən*⁴³ *te*²¹⁴ *saj*²¹ *khəŋ*⁴³ *nan*⁵², *saj*²¹ *tæ*⁵²
 others others hence say others IRR put accessory that put CONTR

*saj*²¹ *jaw*⁵², *kwe*⁴⁴ *ka*⁴³ *man*⁴⁴ *am*²¹ *paj*²¹, *mi*⁴⁴ [*interrupted*], *mi*⁴⁴
 put PFV ---however--- 3SG NEG yet have [interrupted], have

 [*næ*]_{MUO?} *saj*²¹ *jaw*⁵², *tsaam*⁴⁴ *jaw*⁵²
 network put PFV test PFV
 ‘Hence others will put that accessory. Though it has been put, however it does not yet have... have network. (They) put (it) already. Tested already.’

- (122) *tsai*⁴³ *jaw*⁵², *kwe*⁴⁴ *ka*⁴³ *man*⁴⁴, *pen*²¹⁴ *tsəŋ*⁵² *hi*²¹⁴ *læ*⁴³, *man*⁴⁴ *am*²¹
 correct PFV ---however--- 3SG COP -----how----- and 3SG NEG

*paj*²¹ *phaew*²¹⁴ *laj*⁴³ *ku*⁴³ *ti*⁴³ [*man*⁴⁴]_{SM} *taaj*⁴⁴ *man*⁴⁴ *jaaw*⁴⁴ *naen*²¹ *na*²¹
 yet arrive get -everywhere- 3SG road 3SG long very PTCL

*ə*⁴³

yes

‘Correct. However, it is, how is it? It is not yet able to reach everywhere. Its road is very long.’

- (123) *taaj*⁴⁴ *jaaw*⁴⁴ *naj*²¹⁴ *khaw*²¹⁴ *saj*²¹ *laj*⁴³ *ti*⁴³, [*ti*⁴³, *ti*⁴³]_R [*khin*²¹]_M *taan*²¹
 road long this.TOP 3PL put get at at at -----suitable.place

*taan*²¹ *man*⁴⁴

----- 3SG

‘The long road, they were able to put (the speed camera) at its suitable place.’

- (124) *kwe*⁴⁴ *ka*⁴³ *mə*⁴³ *lew*²¹⁴ *ti*⁴³ *lew*²¹⁴ *naj*⁵² *sam*⁵² *taaj*⁴⁴ *kə*⁴³ *khaw*²¹⁴
 ---however--- ---currently--- -----now----- CONTR road also 3PL

*sam*⁵² *khin*⁴⁴ *mə*⁴⁴ *he*²¹⁴, [*man*⁴⁴]_{SM} *taaj*⁴⁴ *kot*⁵² *taaj*⁴⁴ *saj*²¹⁴ *man*⁴⁴
 CONTR return repair and 3SG road bend road something 3SG

*tsə*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵² *khaw*²¹⁴ *khin*⁴⁴ *mə*⁴⁴ *saj*²¹,... [*maaj*²¹⁴ *phaaj*²¹⁴]_{SM} *pan*²¹⁴ *sa*⁵² *ti*⁵²
 those this 3PL return repair put ----identity.card---- -----warning.sign-----

*man*⁴⁴ *saj*²¹⁴ *he*²¹⁴ *tsə*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵² *na*²¹ *ə*⁴³
 3SG something and those that PTCL yes

‘However, currently, the road, they went back to repair and the road bend, these roads or something, they went back to repair and put up its warning signs and those other things.’

- (125) *ti*⁴³ *lew*²¹⁴ *naj*⁵², [*ti*⁴³ *lew*²¹⁴ *naj*⁵²]_R *i*⁴³ *saj*²¹⁴ *kə*⁴³ *nan*⁵² *kə*⁴³
 -----now----- -----now----- -----what----- also that also

[*nan*⁵² *kə*⁴³]_R [*taaj*⁴⁴]_{SM} *taaj*⁴⁴ *la*⁴³ *sjo*⁴³ *kə*⁴³ [*khaw*²¹⁴ *mə*⁴⁴]_{SM} *khaw*²¹⁴ *mə*⁴⁴
 that also road road ----Lashio---- also 3PL repair 3PL repair

*khwak*⁴³ *taaj*⁴⁴ *he*²¹⁴ *khaw*²¹⁴ *khin*⁴⁴ *pan*²¹⁴ *konpani* *thjan*⁴³ *an*²¹⁴ *nij*⁴³ *jo*⁵²
 extend road and 3PL return give company another CL one EPIS

‘Now, what is that? Lashio’s road, they repaired and extended the road, and they gave (it) to another company I think.’

- (126) *ta*²¹ *te*²¹⁴ *het*⁴⁴ *hai*⁴³ *taaj*⁴⁴, *mai*²¹ *naj*²¹⁴ *man*⁴⁴ *kam*⁴⁴ *kam*⁴⁴ *pen*²¹⁴,
 for IRR do request road new this.TOP 3SG again REDUP COP

*phe*⁴⁴ [*naj*²¹⁴ *man*⁴⁴]_{SM} *ka*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵² *man*⁴⁴ *pin*⁴³ *tik*⁴⁴ *tik*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵²
 dangerous this.TOP 3SG car this 3SG overturn again REDUP that

*na*²¹ *naj*⁴⁴ *kok*⁵² *twin*⁴⁴ *taaj*⁴⁴ [*taaj*⁴⁴]_R *loj*⁴⁴ [*kho*²¹⁴, *kho*²¹⁴ *loj*²¹⁴]_{SM} *kho*²¹⁴
 PTCL inside -----Oktwin----- road road big bridge bridge big bridge

*loj*²¹⁴ *naj*⁵²

big this

‘To make a new road, it is always dangerous. The car, it always overturns in the big bridge of the expressway of Oktwin.’

- (127) *kam*⁵² *kwaa*²¹ *he*²¹⁴, *pin*⁴³ *he*²¹⁴, *kam*⁵² *kwaa*²¹ *he*²¹⁴ *loŋ*⁴⁴ *he*²¹⁴ *kham*²¹⁴
 awhile go and overturn and awhile go and descend and stuck
*he*²¹⁴ *nan*⁵² *na*²¹ *kam*⁴⁴ *kam*⁴⁴ *pɔ*⁴⁴, *kham*²¹⁴ *nan*⁵² *na*²¹
 and that PTCL again REDUP when stuck that PTCL
 ‘(It) goes for awhile and then overturns, goes for awhile and descends and (gets) stuck and that happens again and again when (it’s) stuck there.’

- (128) *kɔp*⁴³ *pə*⁴³ *man*⁴⁴ [interrupted]
 ---because--- 3SG
 ‘Because it...’

Su:

- (129) *ti*⁴³ *laaŋ*²¹⁴, *ti*⁴³ *luk*⁵² *man*⁴⁴ *tə*⁵² *le*⁴⁴ *mə*⁴⁴, *la*⁴³ *sjo*⁴³ *nan*⁵²
 -----where----- at get.up -----Mandalay----- return.home -----Lashio----- that

*ha*⁵²

INT

‘Where? Leave from Mandalay to return home to Lashio?’

Sa:

- (130) *taay*⁴⁴ *ka*⁴⁴, *taay*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵² *man*⁴⁴, *hay*²¹⁴ *naj*⁵² *na*²¹ *a*⁴⁴ *la*⁴⁴ *man*⁴⁴
 road car road this 3SG something this very ---extremely--- 3SG

*khit*²¹ *na*²¹ *a*⁴⁴ *la*⁴⁴ *he*²¹⁴, *ti*⁴³ *lew*²¹⁴ *taay*⁴⁴ *naj*⁴⁴ [*naj*⁴⁴]_R
 messy very --extremely-- and -----now----- road inside inside

*la*⁴³ *sjo*⁴³, *mu*²¹ *tsæ*⁴³, *si*²¹ *pɔ*⁵² *tse*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵² *khaw*²¹⁴ *khin*⁴⁴ *mæ*⁴⁴
 ---Lashio--- ----Muse---- ---Hsipaw--- those this 3PL return repair

*khwak*⁴³ *taay*⁴⁴ *na*²¹
 extend road PTCL

‘Road for cars, this road, it is extremely something—it is extremely messy and now those roads inside Lashio, Muse and Hsipaw, they repaired and extended the roads.’

Su:

- (131) *ə*⁴³ *tsa*⁴³ *jaw*⁵², *sjen*⁴³ *taay*⁴⁴ *kwaay*⁴³ *it*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵² *na*²¹
 yes correct PFV --expressway-- widen a.little that PTCL
 ‘Correct. That slightly widened expressway.’

- (132) *luk*⁵² *man*⁴⁴ *tə*⁵² *le*⁴⁴ *mə*⁴⁴ *tə*²¹ *te*²¹⁴ *hɔt*⁴³, *la*⁴³ *sjo*⁴³ *kɔ*⁴³
 get.up -----Mandalay----- return.home to IRR arrive -----Lashio----- also

*sjen*⁴³ *taay*⁴⁴ *jaap*²¹, *luk*⁵², *la*⁴³ *sjo*⁴³ *kwaa*²¹ *mu*²¹ *tsæ*⁴³ *kɔ*⁴³
 --expressway-- difficult get.up -----Lashio----- go -----Muse----- also

*sjen*⁴³ *taay*⁴⁴ *jaap*²¹, *sjen*⁴³ *taay*⁴⁴ *ŋɔk*⁴⁴ *ŋɔk*⁴⁴ *ŋak*⁴⁴ *ŋak*⁴⁴ *na*²¹ *lu*⁴⁴
 --expressway-- difficult --expressway-- bend bend bend very PTCL
 -----bendy.and.winding-----

*tsə*⁴⁴, *kol*⁵² *khaaj*²¹⁴ *tsə*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵², *tsə*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵² *nan*⁵²
 those -----Kutkai----- those that those that that

‘Leaving Mandalay to return home to Lashio, the expressway is difficult. Leaving Lashio to go Muse also, the expressway is difficult. The expressway is very bendy and winding—those at Kutkai especially.’

Sa:

- (133) *nan*⁵² *tæ*⁵² *man*⁴⁴ *am*²¹ *tsaaj*⁴³ *het*⁴⁴ *hi*²¹⁴ *mæ*⁴⁴ *kot*⁵² *khaaj*²¹⁴ *tsə*⁴⁴
 that CONTR 3SG NEG can do anything repair -----Kutkai----- those
- nan*⁵² *tæ*⁵² *lo*²¹ *mæ*⁴⁴, *khaw*²¹⁴ *lo*²¹ *het*⁴⁴ *tsəj*⁵² *hi*²¹⁴ *læ*⁴³ *naj*²¹⁴
 that CONTR need repair 3PL need do -----how----- because this.TOP
- mæ*⁴⁴ *kwaak*⁴³ *taaj*⁴⁴ *hai*⁴³ *man*⁴⁴ *kwaaj*⁴³ *he*²¹⁴ *pɔ*⁴⁴ *wa*⁴³ *man*⁴⁴ *am*²¹
 repair extend road request 3SG widen and when say 3SG NEG
- kwaaj*⁴³ *laj*⁴³ *kɔ*⁴³ *mæ*⁴⁴ *saj*²¹ *kho*²¹⁴ *pit*⁴⁴ [*pɔt*⁴⁴]_M
 widen get also repair put bridge -----short-----
- ‘That (place), however, it cannot do anything to repair. Those Kutkai (roads) however, need repairing. How they need to do is to repair and extend the road and request for it to widen. And when it is unable to widen, repair and put a short bridge.’

- (134) *taaj*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵² [*man*⁴⁴ *man*⁴⁴]_{SM} *tsəm*⁴⁴ *min*²¹ *man*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵² *a*²¹⁴, *mən*²¹⁴ *tsəj*⁵²
 road this 3SG 3SG follow border 3SG this yes ----similar.to----
- [*an*²¹⁴]_{SM} *taaj*⁴⁴ [*an*²¹⁴]_M *pən*⁴³ *kwa*²¹, ... *məleŋa* *nan*⁵², *pɔ*⁴⁴ *wa*⁴³ *taaj*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵²
 REL road REL others go Malaysia that when say road this.
 -----when-----
- [*man*⁴⁴]_{SM} *man*⁴⁴ *kot*⁵² *man*⁴⁴ *am*²¹ [*man*⁴⁴ *am*²¹]_R *pɔ*⁴⁴ *naj*²¹⁴ *khaw*²¹⁴ *khin*⁴⁴
 3SG 3SG bend 3SG NEG 3SG NEG enough this.TOP 3PL return
- sə*²¹ *konkrit* *he*²¹⁴, ... *ɔk*²¹ *taaj*⁴⁴ *nɔk*⁴³
 lay concrete and go.out road outside
- ‘This road, along its border, is similar to the road that others (use to) go Malaysia. When this road, it bends, it (has) not enough (space). They laid the concrete and expanded the road.’

- (135) *lo*²¹ *het*⁴⁴ *tsəj*⁵² *nan*²¹⁴ *kwe*⁴⁴ *jaw*⁵²
 need do ----like.that---- only PFV
- ‘Need to do (it) like that only.’

Su:

- (136) *pən*⁴³ *khut*⁴⁴ *lɔj*²¹⁴ *ja*⁵² *lɔj*²¹⁴
 others dig mountain destroy mountain
- ‘Others dig and destroy mountains.’

Sa:

- (137) *ə*⁴³, *man*⁴⁴ *ja*⁵² *lɔj*²¹⁴ *naj*²¹⁴ *pɔ*⁴⁴ *su*²¹⁴ *ja*⁵² *tai*⁴³ *man*⁴⁴ *kai*⁴³
 yes 3SG destroy mountain this.TOP when 2SG destroy underneath 3SG at.INF
 -----top
- nə*²¹⁴ *te*²¹⁴ *kon*²¹ *tik*⁴⁴ *tik*⁴⁴ *na*²¹
 on IRR collapse again REDUP PTCL

- ‘Yes, it destroyed mountains. When you destroy underneath it, the top will always collapse.’

- (138) *man*⁴⁴ *am*²¹ *het*⁴⁴ *laj*⁴³ *nan*⁵² *na*²¹
 3SG NEG do get that PTCL

‘It cannot do that (mountain).’

- (139) *man*⁴⁴ *pen*²¹⁴ [*maak*²¹ *hin*²¹⁴,]_{SM} *lɔj*²¹⁴ *maak*²¹ *hin*²¹⁴ *naj*²¹⁴ [*man*⁴⁴]_{SM} *pɔ*⁴⁴ *wa*⁴³
 3SG COP CL:round mountain CL:round this.TOP 3SG if say
 -----stone----- -----stone-----

*mən*²¹⁴ *tsəŋ*⁵² *naj*²¹ *taaj*⁴⁴ *khin*⁴³ *ko*⁵² *khaaj*²¹⁴ *naj*²¹⁴ *man*⁴⁴ *am*²¹ *het*⁴⁴
 -----similar.to----- road ascend -----Kutkai----- this.TOP 3SG NEG do

*laɲ*⁴³ *lu*⁴⁴ *ə*⁴³
 get PTCL yes

‘It is a stone mountain. If it is similar to the road going up to Kutkai, it is unable to do (it).’

- (140) *ja*⁵² *lɔj*²¹⁴ *kɔ*⁴³ *lɔj*²¹⁴ *pɔ*⁴⁴ *mo*⁴⁴ *naj*²¹ *kaw*²¹ *na*²¹ *ə*⁴³, *lɔj*²¹⁴
 destroy mountain also mountain when finish -----PTCL----- PTCL yes mountain
*pɔ*⁴⁴ *kew*²¹ *mo*⁴⁴ *jaw*⁵² *na*²¹ *am*²¹ *tsaaj*⁴³ *het*⁴⁴ *hi*²¹⁴ *jaw*⁵², *man*⁴⁴
 when collapse finish PFV PTCL NEG can do anything PFV 3SG
*tə*⁵² *jaw*⁵²
 end PFV

‘Destroy the mountains, and mountains, when (they are) gone. Mountains, when (they) have all collapsed, (we) cannot do anything already. It has ended.’

- (141) *tsaj*²¹ *wa*⁴³, *khaw*²¹⁴ *lo*²¹ *het*⁴⁴ *nan*²¹⁴ *ɔk*²¹ *aw*²¹⁴ *kwe*⁴⁴ *jaw*⁵²
 hence say 3PL need ---do.that.way--- go.out take only PFV
 ‘Hence, they need to do (it) that way to expand.’

- (142) *ti*⁴³ *lew*²¹⁴ *taaj*⁴⁴, [*taaj*⁴⁴]_R *khin*⁴³ *cjæk*^{52B} *thi*^{43B} *jo*^{43B} *khaw*²¹⁴ *het*⁴⁴
 ---currently--- road road ascend ---Kyaiktiyo.Pagoda--- 3PL do

*tsəŋ*⁵² *nan*²¹⁴ *pan*²¹⁴ *am*²¹ *tsai*⁴³ *hi*²¹⁴ *la*²¹ *kam*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵²
 ----like.that---- give NEG correct -tag.question- -----now-----

‘Currently, the road going up to Kyaiktiyo Pagoda, they do (it) like that for (the people) now, right?’

Su:

- (143) *am*²¹ *hu*⁵² *te*²¹⁴ *het*⁴⁴ *hi*²¹⁴ *jo*⁵² *kon*⁴⁴ [interrupted]
 NEG know IRR do anything EPIS people
 ‘(I) don’t know (they) did anything, I think. People...’

Sa:

- (144) *het*⁴⁴ *ə*⁴³ *het*⁴⁴ *saj*²¹⁴ *am*²¹ *ŋaaj*⁴³
 do yes -----why----- NEG easy
 ‘Yes, (they) did. Why not easy?’

- (145) *kam*⁵² *kwe*⁴⁴ *tsaj*²¹ *man*⁴⁴ *pe*⁵² *ma*⁴⁴ *sej*⁴³ *nam*²¹⁴ *kɔ*⁴³ *am*²¹ *tsai*⁴³
 -just.a.moment- hence 3SG win come cost a.lot also NEG correct
 ‘(It takes only) a moment (to do), hence it doesn’t cost a lot.’

Su:

- (146) *a*^{52B} *tso*^{44B} *ja*^{52B}, *ŋin*⁴⁴ *khaw*²¹⁴ *laɲ*⁴³ *wa*⁴³ *laɲ*⁴³ *jaw*⁵²
 -----government----- money 3PL get say get PFV
 ‘Government, their money, (they) could get a lot.’

- (147) *lo*²¹ *het*⁴⁴ *sjen*⁴³ *taaj*⁴⁴ *khin*⁴³ *kwe*⁴⁴ *na*²¹
 need do ---expressway--- ascend only PTCL
 ‘(They) only need to make the expressway ascending.’

Sa:

- (148) *het*⁴⁴ *haj*²¹⁴ *man*⁴⁴, [*man*⁴⁴]_R*am*²¹ *sej*⁴³ *nam*²¹⁴, *het*⁴⁴ *laj*⁴³ *ə*⁴³
 -----why----- 3SG 3SG NEG cost a.lot do get yes

*het*⁴⁴ *haj*²¹⁴ *am*²¹ *het*⁴⁴ *laj*⁴³
 -----why----- NEG do get
 ‘Why doesn’t it cost a lot? Able to do, yes? Why unable to do?’

- (149) *tə*⁴³ *naj*²¹, *kho*²¹⁴ *tsəj*⁵² *nan*²¹⁴ *kə*⁴³ *man*⁴⁴, *het*⁴⁴ *haj*²¹⁴ *naj*²¹⁴ *ka*⁴⁴
 ---although--- bridge ---like.that--- also 3SG -----why----- this.TOP car

*naj*⁵² *man*⁴⁴ *kam*⁴⁴ *kam*⁴⁴ *ma*⁴⁴ *pha*²¹ *kan*²¹⁴ [*pha*²¹ *kan*²¹⁴]_R *tik*⁴⁴ *tik*⁴⁴
 this 3SG again REDUP come collide each.other collide each.other again REDUP

*naj*²¹⁴ *man*⁴⁴, [*man*⁴⁴]_R *am*²¹ *thu*⁴⁴ *haj*²¹⁴ *na*²¹ *ə*⁴³
 this.TOP 3SG 3SG NEG special something PTCL yes
 ‘Although the bridge is like that, it is why these cars, it(they) keep colliding into each other. It is nothing special.’

- (150) *o*⁴⁴ *mə*⁴³, *haj*²¹⁴ *naj*⁵² *naj*⁵² *mə*⁴³ *haw*⁴⁴ *kwa*²¹ *pəj*⁴⁴ *lən*²¹⁴ *tsi*²¹,
 EXCL time something this REDUP time IPL go festival month four

*sjen*²¹⁴ *wi*²¹⁴ *naj*²¹⁴, *pi*²¹⁴ *nan*⁵² *naj*²¹⁴ *am*²¹ *hi*²¹⁴, *kaw*²¹⁴ *pjan*^{21B} *ma*⁴⁴, ...
 -----Hsenwi----- this.TOP year that this -----INT----- 1SG return come

 [*kaw*²¹⁴ *kə*⁴³ *pjan*^{21B} *ma*⁴⁴]_R
 1SG also return come
 ‘Oh! When something [speaker was pondering], The time we went to Hsenwi’s fourth month festival, that year is it? I was coming back.’

- (151) *ka*⁴⁴ *jaaw*⁴⁴, *ka*⁴⁴ *an*²¹⁴ *jaaw*⁴⁴ *jaaw*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵² *khaw*²¹⁴ *am*²¹ *khai*⁴³, *chə*^{52B}
 car long car REL long REDUP this 3PL NEG want reduce

*pan*²¹⁴, *spit* *man*⁴⁴ *he*²¹⁴, *khaw*²¹⁴ *am*²¹ *khai*⁴³ *wə*⁴³ *pan*²¹⁴ *taaj*⁴⁴
 give speed 3SG and 3PL NEG want move.aside give road
 ‘A long car, the car that is very long, they do not want to reduce its speed and they do not want to move aside to give way.’

- (152) *ta*²¹ *te*²¹⁴ *wə*⁴³, *khaw*²¹⁴ *naj*⁵² *khai*⁴³ *pon*⁵² *khaw*²¹⁴ *naj*⁵² *man*⁴⁴ *pon*⁵²
 for IRR move.aside 3PL this want pass.by 3PL this 3SG pass.by

*jaap*²¹ *na*²¹
 difficult very
 ‘To move aside, they want to overtake them. It is very difficult to overtake them.’

Su:

- (153) *ka*⁴⁴ *taaj*²¹ *kun*²¹ *ka*⁴⁴ *loj*²¹⁴
 car put.on things.to.be.sold car big
 ‘A put-things-to-be-sold car [A car that puts things to be sold—a truck]. A big car.’

Sa:

- (154) ∂^{43} , ka^{44} $taaj^{21}$ kun^{21} ka^{44} loj^{214} ∂^{43}
 yes car put.on things.to.be.sold car big yes
 ‘Yes, a put-things-to-be-sold car [A car that puts things to be sold—a truck], a big car, yes.’
- (155) $waaj^{44}$ se^{214} ma^{44} naj^{214} kaw^{214} pon^{52} $khaw^{214}$ ma^{44} kaw^{214} pon^{52} loj^{44} ,
 after and come this.TOP 1SG pass.by 3PL come 1SG pass.by descend
 loj^{43} loj^{44} loj^{214} ma^{44} naj^{214} kaw^{214} laj^{43} khi^{21} $sjæj^{21B}$ $kæk^{21B}$
 move.steadily descend mountain come this.TOP 1SG get ride ----motorcycle----
 $phaaj^{44}$ $phaaj^{44}$ ∂^{43} $tsaj^{21}$ te^{214} pon^{52} $khaw^{214}$
 fast REDUP yes hence IRR pass.by 3PL
 ‘After that, I passed by them. I passed by (them) descending and then steadily descended the mountain. I got to ride the motorcycle really fast, hence (I) could overtake them.’
- (156) $taaj^{44}$ kof^{52} na^{21} ham^{52} ko^{214} kwa^{21} ja^{44} $pən^{43}$ $taaj^{44}$ na^{43} man^{44}
 road bend very CONTR afraid go meet others road face 3SG
 -----in.front-----
 nan^{52} na^{21} ∂^{43}
 that PTCL yes
 ‘The road bends a lot, however. (I) was afraid to go and meet others in front of it (the big car).’
- (157) kaw^{214} $tsam^{52}$ ma^{44} $wæ^{52}$ $hən^{44}$ oe^{44} ko^{52} kaw^{214} ti^{43} ho^{214} pik^{52}
 1SG TOP come stop.by house ----friend----- 1SG at -----Hobin-----
 naj^{52}
 this
 ‘I came and stopped by my friend’s house at Hobin.’
- (158) kaw^{214} ma^{44} kit^{44} , he^{214} tik^{52} kin^{214} nam^{52} , kat^{44} he^{214} ha^{44} tik^{52}
 1SG come stop and still eat water cold and 1PL still
 naj^{43} up^{21} kan^{214} ju^{21}
 sit talk each.other stay
 ‘I came and stopped, and was drinking cold and we were sitting and talking to each other.’
- (159) kon^{44} naj^{44} $waan^{43}$ ho^{214} pik^{52} nan^{52} $[khe^{21}]_{SM}$ khe^{21} $khaw^{214}$ naj^{52} $[khe^{21}]_{SM}$
 person inside village -----Hobin----- that Chinese Chinese 3PL this Chinese
 aaj^{43} khe^{21} luk^{43} $ɔn^{21}$, khe^{21} $sɔj^{214}$ ko^{52} nan^{52} , khe^{21} ko^{43} man^{44}
 HON.INF.M Chinese child small Chinese two CL:person that Chinese also 3SG
 am^{21} $tsai^{43}$ khe^{21} luk^{43} $ɔn^{21}$ naj^{21} kaw^{21} man^{44} , ko^{52} $jaaj^{21}$ $taan^{21}$
 NEG correct Chinese child small PTCL PTCL 3SG CL:person big same
 haw^{44} naj^{52} naj^{21} kaw^{21}
 1PL this PTCL PTCL
 ‘People in Hobin village, the Chinese, the Chinese guys, the two Chinese boys. The Chinese, it is wrong they are children. He (they) are adults like us.’

- (160) *ka*⁴⁴ *jaaw*⁴⁴ *jaaw*⁴⁴ *loŋ*²¹⁴ *he*²¹⁴ *luk*⁵² *ti*⁴³ *la*⁴³ *sjo*⁴³ *naŋ*⁵² *te*²¹⁴
 car long REDUP big and get.up at ----Lashio---- this IRR
*khin*⁴³ *mu*²¹ *tsæ*⁴³, *ka*⁴⁴ *naŋ*⁵² *kɔ*⁴³ *khin*⁴³ *ma*⁴⁴ [*hɔŋ*²¹⁴]_{SM} *kha*²¹⁴ *sɔŋ*²¹⁴
 ascend -----Muse----- car this also ascend come two 3PL two
*kɔ*⁵² *naŋ*⁵² *tsam*⁵² *khi*²¹ *sjæŋ*^{21B} *kæk*^{21B} *te*²¹⁴ *pon*⁵² *ka*⁴⁴ *lam*⁴⁴ *naŋ*⁵²
 CL:person this TOP ride ---motorcycle--- IRR pass.by car CL:vehicle this
 ‘A big and very long car and (it) left Lashio and will ascend to Muse. This car ascended. Two of them rode a motorcycle and will overtake this car.’
- (161) *phaaŋ*²¹ *taaj*⁴⁴ *na*⁴³ *man*⁴⁴ *naŋ*⁵² *tsam*⁵² [*ka*⁴⁴]_{SM} *ka*⁴⁴ *ɔn*²¹ *ma*⁴⁴ *lam*⁴⁴
 side road face 3SG this TOP car car small come CL:vehicle
 -----in.front-----
*nin*⁴³
 one
 ‘In front of it, (there is) one approaching small car.’
- (162) *mɔ*⁴³ *kha*²¹⁴ *khin*⁴³ *ma*⁴⁴ *naŋ*⁵² *ka*⁴⁴ *loŋ*²¹⁴ *naŋ*⁵² *man*⁴⁴ *am*²¹ *khaam*²¹,
 time 3PL.DUAL ascend come this car big this 3SG NEG willing
 [*chɔ*^{52B} *pan*²¹⁴ *kan*²¹⁴, ...]_{SM} [*am*²¹ *khaam*²¹]_R *chɔ*^{52B} *pan*²¹⁴ *nan*⁵² *man*⁴⁴ *ɔ*⁴³
 reduce give each.other NEG willing reduce give that 3SG yes
 [*am*²¹ *pan*²¹⁴ *kan*²¹⁴]_{SM} *am*²¹ *pan*²¹⁴ *sjæŋ*^{21B} *kæk*^{21B} *naŋ*⁵² *pon*⁵²
 NEG give each.other NEG give ---motorcycle--- this pass.by
 ‘At the time they were ascending, this big car, it was not willing to reduce (speed) for him. It did not allow the motorcycle to overtake.’
- (163) *aaj*⁴³ *sɔŋ*²¹⁴ *kɔ*⁵² *nan*⁵² *kɔ*⁴³, *hɔ*⁴³ *khin*⁴³ *ma*⁴⁴ *wu*⁴⁴ *naŋ*²¹⁴
 HON.INF.Mtwo CL:person that also drive ascend come sound.of.motorcycle this.TOP
*he*²¹⁴ *kɔ*⁴³ *ma*⁴⁴, [*ma*⁴⁴]_R *taŋ*⁴⁴ *ho*²¹⁴ *sjæŋ*^{21B} *kæk*^{21B} *he*²¹⁴ *taŋ*⁴⁴ *ho*²¹⁴
 and also come come together head ---motorcycle--- and together head
*ka*⁴⁴ *naŋ*⁵² *ma*⁴⁴ *pha*²¹, *pon*⁵² *naŋ*²¹⁴ *he*²¹⁴ *kɔ*⁴³, *kon*⁴⁴ *an*²¹⁴
 car this come collide sound.of.crash this.TOP and also person REL
*ju*²¹ *phaaŋ*²¹ *laŋ*²¹⁴ *man*⁴⁴ *naŋ*⁵², [*kon*⁴⁴ *an*²¹⁴ *ju*²¹ *phaaŋ*²¹ *laŋ*²¹⁴ *man*⁴⁴
 stay side back 3SG this person REL stay side back 3SG
 -----behind-----
*naŋ*⁵²]_R *min*²¹⁴ *kwa*²¹ *phat*⁵² *saj*²¹ *ho*²¹⁴ *ka*⁴⁴ *he*²¹⁴, *jaat*²¹ *khit*⁴⁴ *tok*⁴⁴
 this fly go hit put head car and separate toss drop
*ma*⁴⁴ *taaj*²¹⁴ *kwa*²¹ *kam*⁴⁴ *lew*²¹⁴
 come die go --immediately--
 ‘Those two guys drove and ascended “wuuuu~” and the front of the motorcycle, together with the front of the car, collided “pong!”. And the person who is behind him, flew off and hit the front of the car, and (he) separated (from the car), tossed, and dropped (on the road) and died immediately.’
- Sa:**
- (164) *kɔ*⁵² *an*²¹⁴, [*kɔ*⁵² *an*²¹⁴]_R *hɔ*⁴³ *sjæŋ*^{21B} *kæk*^{21B}, *nan*⁵² *kɔ*⁴³ *man*⁴⁴ [*man*⁴⁴]_R
 CL:person REL CL:person REL drive ---motorcycle--- that also 3SG 3SG

*am*²¹ *tsaaj*⁴³ *min*²¹⁴ *læ*⁴³ *man*⁴⁴ *kham*²¹⁴ *ho*²¹⁴ *sjaej*^{21B} *kæk*^{21B} *nan*⁵² *waj*⁵²
NEG can fly and 3SG stuck head ---motorcycle--- that keep

*he*²¹⁴ *man*⁴⁴ *am*²¹ *tan*⁴⁴ *taaj*²¹⁴ *tsan*²¹⁴ *waj*⁵² *ti*⁴³ *nan*⁵² *kwe*⁴⁴ *ə*⁴³
and 3SG NEG has.time die pull keep at that only yes

‘The person who drove that motorcycle, he could not fly and he was stuck at the front of the motorcycle. And he has not died, stretched at the motorcycle only.’

- (165) *kɔ*⁵² *an*²¹⁴, *ju*²¹ *taaj*⁴⁴ *laɲ*²¹⁴ *man*⁴⁴ *naj*⁵² *tæ*⁵² *min*²¹⁴ *he*²¹⁴ *jaat*²¹
CL:person REL stay road back 3SG this CONTR fly and separate
-----behind-----

*khit*⁴⁴ *tok*⁴⁴ *ma*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁴³ *taaj*²¹⁴ *kam*⁴⁴ *lew*²¹⁴ *jaw*⁵²
toss drop come also die ---immediately--- PFV

‘The person who is at his back however, flew and separated (from the motorcycle), tossed and dropped (on the road. And he had died immediately.’

- (166) *kho*⁴⁴ *man*⁴⁴, *pak*⁴⁴ *saj*²¹ *lin*²¹⁴ *he*²¹⁴, *i*⁴³ *haɲ*²¹⁴ *kɔ*⁴³ *lɔt*⁴³ *man*⁴⁴
neck 3SG pierce put earth and -----what----- also blood 3SG

[*ham*⁵²]_M *pɔ*⁴⁴ *tuj*⁴⁴ *na*²¹ *ə*⁴³
-----even----- harden PTCL yes

‘His neck pierced the earth and what? His blood even hardened, yes’

- (167) *kɔ*⁵² *an*²¹⁴, *kɔ*⁵² *an*²¹⁴ *am*²¹ *taaj*²¹⁴ *nan*⁵² *kɔ*⁴³ [*interrupted*]
CL:person REL CL:person REL NEG die that also
‘The person that did not die also...’

Su:

- (168) *kon*⁴⁴ *ho*⁴³, *man*⁴⁴ *kɔ*⁴³ *kin*²¹⁴ *law*⁴³ *tik*⁴⁴ *tik*⁴⁴ *loɲ*²¹⁴ *nɔ*²¹
person drive 3SG also eat alcohol again REDUP big INT
‘The driver, he consistently consumed a lot of alcohol right?’

Sa:

- (169) *ə*⁴³, *pɔ*⁴⁴ *am*²¹ *kin*²¹⁴ *law*⁴³ *kɔ*⁴³ *man*⁴⁴ *am*²¹ *haɲ*²¹⁴ *naj*⁵² *nan*⁵²
yes when NEG eat alcohol also 3SG NEG something this that

*na*²¹ *ə*⁴³
PTCL yes

‘Yes, when (he) did not consume alcohol, it is nothing.’

- (170) *kɔ*⁵² *an*²¹⁴ *am*²¹ [*taaj*²¹⁴]_{SM} *paj*²¹ *taaj*²¹⁴ *kam*⁴⁴ *lew*²¹⁴ *nan*⁵² *kɔ*⁴³ *am*²¹
CL:person REL NEG die yet die ---immediately--- that also NEG

[*am*²¹]_R *aap*⁴³ *khaam*²¹ *laɲ*⁴³ *sæ*²¹, *tik*⁵² *nij*²¹⁴ *jɔk*⁴⁴ *jɔk*⁴⁴, *jɔk*⁴⁴ *jɔk*⁴⁴
NEG may tolerate get EPIS still move -----a.little----- -----a.little-----

*her*⁴⁴ *naj*²¹⁴ *kwe*⁴⁴ *nan*⁵² *na*²¹
-done.this.way- only that PTCL

‘The person who has yet to die immediately may not be able to tolerate (the pain) I think. He was still moving a little, a little, like this only.’

- (171) *pat*⁵² *ka*⁴⁴ *se*^{44B} *joŋ*^{21B} *ma*⁴⁴ *aw*²¹⁴ *kɔ*⁴³ *thaan*²¹ *tæ*⁵² *phjaw*²¹⁴
 wait car ----hospital---- come take also think CONTR arrive
se^{44B} *joŋ*^{21B} *kɔ*⁴³ *lo*²¹ *taaj*²¹⁴ *kwe*⁴⁴ *jaw*⁵²
 ----hospital---- also need die only PFV
 ‘(He) waited for the ambulance to come and take (him). I think however, (even if he) arrives at the hospital, he would die only.’
- (172) *ɔ*⁴³, *kɔp*⁴³ *pɔ*⁴³ *tsəŋ*⁵² *nan*²¹⁴ *læ*⁴³, *ɔ*⁴³ *a*⁵² *lo*⁴³ *kaw*²¹⁴ *han*²¹⁴
 yes ---because--- ----like.that---- because -----EXCL----- 1SG see
*khaw*²¹⁴, *pen*²¹⁴ *tsəŋ*⁵² *nan*²¹⁴ *am*²¹ *tsai*⁴³ *hi*²¹⁴ *kaw*²¹⁴, [*ti*⁴³]_{SM} *luk*⁵² *ti*⁴³
 3PL COP ----like.that---- NEG correct how 1SG at get up at
*ho*²¹⁴ *pik*⁵², *khin*⁴⁴ *khi*²¹ *sjæŋ*^{21B} *kæk*^{21B} *khaw*⁴³ *ma*⁴⁴ *la*⁴³ *sjo*⁴³ *naj*⁵²
 -----Hobin----- return ride ----motorcycle---- enter come -----Lashio----- this
*ham*⁵² *pɔ*⁴⁴, *san*²¹ *tin*⁴⁴ *tin*⁴⁴ *ɔ*⁴³
 -----even----- shiver -way.of.shivering- yes
 ‘Yes, Because it is like that, I saw them like that, isn’t it? I left Hobin and (I) went back to riding the motorcycle and entered Lashio. (I) even shivered.’
- (173) *man*⁴⁴ *pen*²¹⁴ *tsəŋ*⁵² *nan*²¹⁴, *ham*⁵² *pɔ*⁴⁴ *tsam*²¹⁴ *kan*²¹⁴ *haw*⁴⁴ *phjaw*²¹⁴ *tsam*²¹⁴
 3SG COP ----like.that---- -----even----- close each.other 1PL arrive close
*la*⁴³ *sjo*⁴³ *jaw*⁵²
 -----Lashio----- PFV
 ‘It is not like that. Even if (Lashio and Hobin) were close to each other, we had arrived near Lashio.’
- (174) *pɔ*⁴⁴ *lo*²¹ *phjaw*²¹⁴ *kwe*⁴⁴ *jaw*⁵² *nan*⁵², *a*⁵² *lo*⁵² *te*²¹⁴ *khi*²¹ *ma*⁴⁴
 when need arrive only PFV that ----EXCL---- IRR ride come
*naj*²¹⁴ *a*⁵² *lo*⁵² *li*²¹⁴ *ko*²¹⁴ *cja*⁵² *la*²¹ *e*⁵² *han*²¹⁴ *pən*⁴³ *taaj*²¹⁴
 this.TOP ----EXCL---- good afraid -----EXCL----- see others die
*tsəŋ*⁵² *nan*²¹⁴ *he*²¹⁴ *naj*²¹⁴
 ----like.that---- and this.TOP
 ‘When (I) only need to arrive at (Lashio), (I) will ride (a motorcycle to Lashio). I am afraid! Seeing others die like that.’