A DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR
OF KAYAH MONU

WAI LIN AUNG

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS
IN
LINGUISTICS

Payap University
November 2013
Title: A Descriptive Grammar of Kayah Monu
Researcher: Wai Lin Aung
Degree: Master of Arts in Linguistics
Advisor: Larin Adams, Ph.D.
Approval Date: 26 November 2013
Institution: Payap University, Chiang Mai, Thailand

The members of the thesis examination committee:

1. _______________________________ Committee Chair
   (Assoc. Prof. Saranya Savetamalya, Ph.D.)

2. _______________________________ Committee Member
   (Larin Adams, Ph.D.)

3. _______________________________ Committee Member
   (George Bedell, Ph.D.)
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all I want to praise God for His grace for giving me the opportunity to study linguistics at Payap University. I give thanks to Him for hearing my prayers and giving me wisdom, knowledge, and both spiritual and physical strength. May the name of the Lord be glorified!

I wish to thank the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) organization for financial support throughout my study. I also want to express my gratitude to Jeff German and OJ Gamache for their guidance and taking responsibility for me. I am grateful to all of the teachers from the Linguistics Department who taught and equipped me with a good foundation in linguistics.

My special thanks go to Dr. Larin Adams for graciously serving as my advisor throughout the process of writing this thesis. I could not have completed it without his encouragement, support, and guidance. I also would like to thank Dr. George Bedell for serving as the second reader on my thesis.

I want to extend my thanks to Dr. Ken Manson, Mr. John Bryant and Mr. Myar Reh for contributing their excellent ideas and helpful materials to this project. I also express my gratitude to Mr. Terry Gibbs for thesis formatting and also for helping me with my computer problems.

I am deeply grateful to all of my Language Resource Persons from Taw Khu village for their invaluable help in eliciting and translating data. I would like to state that this Kayah Monu Grammar would have never become a reality without the active involvement of the Kayah Monu people.

Finally I would like to thank my parents and church members from Phruso Baptist Church in Myanmar, Rev. Tin Oo and Chiang Mai Karen Christian Fellowship (CKCF), who supported me with their encouragement and prayers during my study in Thailand. I particularly want to thank my beloved wife Naw Hsa Eh Ywar who took care of me with love each day.

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Number of Pages: 137
Keywords: Tibeto-Burman, Karen, Kayah Monu, Grammar, Phonology

ABSTRACT

This thesis is the first grammatical description of Kayah Monu, a Tibeto-Burman language of the Karenic branch of Sino-Tibetan, spoken in Kayah State, Myanmar. This research is based on the Taw Khu dialect which is regarded as the prestige variety and also officially approved for the Kayah Monu orthography.

The thesis consists of eight chapters and an appendix. The findings of this research include descriptions discusses several types of word classes both major (nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs) and minor (pronouns, demonstratives, classifiers, numerals, quantifiers, preposition, localizers, conjunctions, question words, particles, and directional verbs). Additional description of different kinds of noun phrases, verb phrases, simple clauses, complex clauses and sentence types of Kayah Monu are also provided. The typical sentence structure is SVO which is different from the SOV structure of other Tibeto-Burman languages.

Verb phrase findings included two classes of auxiliaries, pre-verbal and post-verbal. Directional verbs occur on both sides of the main verbs to show the direction of the action. Negation was found to be post-verbal and usually appear clause final. Many main verbs are multiple-verbs constructions consist of the combination of two or more verb roots. They express one simple event or a complex event. Although adjectives were found to have some features of verbs, evidence is presented that they are distinct from verbs.

Another area researched included classifiers which are divided into a number of different subclasses based on grammatical distribution. They occur primarily with numbers. The numbering system is unique in that it includes a ‘pair’ classifier for some numbers. Oblique locatives include a general locative preposition which always precedes the noun to express the general location and often a in the final phrasal position to point out a specific place.

Findings are based on four mother tongue speakers who provided a number of different genres of texts: 1st person narratives (happy and sad experience stories), descriptions of how to do X (two procedure stories), wish or imagination stories (two regret stories), and a traditional story (one folktale) and a set of elicited grammatical sentences. Additional checking was done intermittently using the telephone or internet.
ชื่อเรื่อง: ไวยากรณ์เชิงวรรณนาในภาษากะยาโมนู
ผู้วิจัย: ไว ลิน ออง
ปริญญา: ศิลปศาสตรมหาบัณฑิต สาขาวิชาภาษาศาสตร์
อาจารย์ที่ปรึกษาวิทยานิพนธ์หลัก: ดร. ลาริน อดัมส์
วันที่อนุมัติผลงาน: 26 พฤศจิกายน 2556
สถาบันการศึกษา: มหาวิทยาลัยพยาบาลจุฬาภรณ์ เวชศาสตร์ ประเทศไทย
จำนวนหน้า: 137
คำสำคัญ: ทิเบต-พม่า, กะเหรี่ยง, กะยาโมนู, ไวยากรณ์, สัทวิทยา

บทคัดย่อ

วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้เป็นไวยากรณ์เชิงวรรณนาฉบับแรกในภาษากะยาโมนู หนึ่งในภาษาทิเบต-พม่าในกลุ่มภาษาทิเบต-พม่า ตระกูลจีน-ทิเบต พบที่ถิ่นที่อยู่ในประเทศพม่า งานวิจัยฉบับนี้ศึกษาโดยเก็บข้อมูลจากภาษาถิ่น ภาษากาลีที่ถือว่าเป็นภาษาถิ่นที่มีศักดิ์ศรีและมีรูปแบบที่เป็นทางการ

วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้แบ่งออกเป็นตอนที่และภาคผนวก ผลการวิจัยครอบคลุมถึงการบรรยายประโยคของคำทั้งหมวดคำหลัก ได้แก่ คำนาม คำกริยา คำคุณศัพท์ และคำกริยาวิเศษณ์ และหมวดคำรอง ได้แก่ คำสรรพนาม คำบอกกำหนด คำสั้นสัญญา คำบอกจำนวน คำบอกสถานะ คำบุพบท คำแสดงกริยุสุณ คำสั่งงาน คำถาม อนุภาค และคำกริยาวิเศษณ์ นอกจากนี้ยังอภิปรายถึงประเภทของนามวลี กริยาวิลี อนุพากย์เดี่ยว อนุพากย์ซ้อน และชนิดของประโยคในภาษากะยาโมนู โครงสร้างประโยคพื้นฐานในภาษากะยาโมนูเป็นแบบ SVO ซึ่งแตกต่างจากภาษาในตระกูลทิเบต-พม่าภาษาทั่วไปที่มีลำดับคำแบบ SOV

ในส่วนของกริยาวิเศษณ์ มีกริยาบุพบทที่ประกอบด้วยข้างเคียงของคำกริยาบุพบท คำกริยาแสดงทิศทางสามารถปรากฏได้ทั้งสองข้างของคำกริยาหลักเพียงอักษรศาสตร์ของการกระทำ คำปฏิเสธพบปรากฏในตัวแหน่งท้ายคำกริยาและมักปรากฏในตัวแหน่งท้ายสุดของอนุพากย์ คำกริยาหลักหลายคำปรากฏเป็นกลุ่มคำกริยาที่ประกอบไปด้วยจากคำกริยาตั้งแต่สองคำหรือมากกว่า โดยแสดงเหตุการณ์เดี่ยว หรือเหตุการณ์
ที่ขับขี่หนึ่งเหตุการณ์ แม้ว่าจะพบว่าคำศัพท์มีคุณลักษณะเป็นเหมือนคำกริยา แต่จากหลักฐานพบว่าเป็นคนละประเภทค้ำกัน

ในส่วนของคำศัพท์นามพบว่ามีประเภทอยู่หลายประเภท โดยการจัดประเภทขึ้นอยู่กับการกระจายตัวทางไวยากรณ์ โดยพื้นฐานแล้วคำศัพท์นามปรากฏร่วมกับคำบอกจำนวน โดยระบบการบอกจำนวนในภาษากระยาโมนูเป็นระบบที่ซับซ้อนเนื่องจากมีการใช้คำศัพท์นามบอก "คู่" กับคำบอกจำนวนบางจำนวน การบอกสถานประกอบในรูปของคำบุพบทบอกสถานที่หน้าคำนาม เพื่อบอกสถานที่โดยทั่วไป และปรากฏในตัวแหน่งท้ายของนามวลีเพื่อพิสูจน์สถานที่แบบเฉพาะเจาะจง

ผู้วิจัยวิเคราะห์ข้อมูลจากผู้บอกภาษาที่พูดภาษากระยาโมนูเป็นภาษาแม่จำนวนสี่คน โดยผู้บอกภาษาแต่ละคนให้ข้อมูลโดยการเล่าเรื่องตามตัวบทหลายประเภท ได้แก่เรื่องเล่าแสดงประสบการณ์ ความสุข และความเศร้าจากมุมมองของบุคคลที่หนึ่งการบรรยายวิธีการทำ X จำนวนสองเรื่อง

เรื่องเล่าแสดงความปราณามและจินตนาการจากเรื่องเศร้าสองเรื่อง และเรื่องเล่าพื้นบ้านหนึ่งเรื่อง นอกจากนี้ยังใช้ชุดประโยคทดสอบอีกหนึ่งเรื่อง และในชั้นตอนสุดท้าย ตรวจทานข้อมูลเพิ่มเติมโดยอาศัยการคุยกันทางโทรศัพท์และอินเทอร์เน็ต
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

(*) = Content in parenthesis is ungrammatical
( ) = Optional (in examples and schema)
* = Ungrammatical
*( ) = Without content in parenthesis, it is ungrammatical
{ } = Either or (in schema)
Ø = Zero
1S = First person singular
1P = First person plural
2S = Second person singular
2P = Second person plural
3S = Third person singular
3P = Third person plural
ADJ = Adjective
AdjP = Adjective phrase
ADV = Adverb
AdvP = Adverb phrase
APPL = Applicative marker
ASP = Aspect
ASRT = Assertive
AUX = Auxiliary
C = Consonant (only in Chapter 1)
CAE = Contrast in Analogous Environment
CLF = Classifier
ClfP = Classifier phrase
COMPL = Completive aspect marker
COMPZR = Complementizer
CONJ = Conjunction
COORD = Coordinating connective
COP = Copula
HORT = Hortative
INTS = Intensifier
DEM = Demonstrative
FN = Footnote
IMP = Imperative
INTRG = Interrogative pro-form
LCLZR = Localizer
Lit = Literal translation
Loc = Location
LRP = Language Resource Person
MOD = Modality
N = Noun
NEG = Negation
NMLZR = Nominalizer
NP = Noun phrase
NPROP = Proper noun
NUM = Numeral
OBL = Oblique
POSS = Possessive pronoun
PP = Prepositional phrase
PREP = Preposition
PRO = Pronoun
PRT = Particle
QP = Question particle
QUANT = Quantifier
QntP = Quantifier phrase
RECP = Reciprocal pronoun
REFL = Reflexive pronoun
REL = Relativizer
RC = Relative clause
RSMP = Resumptive pronoun
S = Sentence
S_{Main} = Main clause
S_{Comp} = Complement clause
S_{Sub} = Subordinate clause
S_{Poss} = Possessive clause
SF = Sentence final
SUBORD = Subordinating connective
TOP = Topic marker
V = Verb
V = Vowel (only in Chapter 1)
V_{Dir} = Directional verb
VP = Verb phrase
V_{Complex} = Verb complex
V_{Motion} = Motion verb
XP = Constituent
Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1 Introduction
Kayah Monu is a Karen language of the Tibeto-Burman language family of Sino-Tibetan spoken in the Southwest of Kayah State, Myanmar. There is a phonology of the Kayah Monu language but no grammatical studies of Kayah Monu have been published. The previous phonological study was done by Myar Doo Myar Reh in his M.A thesis. This thesis presents an initial description of the grammatical structures of Kayah Monu.

The purpose of this chapter is to present a basic introduction to the language and people as well as to present basic geographic locations and demographic information about the Kayah Monu. It provides information about the informants used to collect the data used in this research. It also describes the objectives, benefits, scope and methodology of this study. It finally includes a brief overview of the phonological of the Kayah Monu. The phonology section presents the consonant and vowel tones inventories, and the syllable structure of Kayah Monu.

1.2 Language and People
Kayah Monu is one of the Karenic languages spoken in Kayah State (formerly called Karenni State) of Myanmar. Kayah Monu is a Central Karen language, belongs to the Karenic branch under the Tibeto-Burman language family group of Sino-Tibetan. According to Bradley (1997: 47), Kayah Monu is in the Eastern Central Karenic group. However, its position among Tibeto-Burman languages has been disputed. Matisoff classifies Kayah Monu under Tibeto-Burman while Benedict (1973) and Egerod (1973) classify it under Tibeto-Karen due to its distinctive characteristic of having a SVO structure like other Karenic languages which differs from the SOV structure of all other Tibeto-Burman languages.

Kayah Monu has alternate language names. In previous research, this language was called Manu (Bradley 1997, Manson 2002), Manumanaw (Ethnologue, Joshua Project) and Monumanaw (Kauffman 1993: 5, Myardoo Myarreh). There is a book
“A History of Kayah Monu”, published by the Kayah Monu literature committee in 2000. This book is the latest book which describes updated information about the Kayah Monu people. It is written in Burmese and includes an ethnographical overview, history, traditions and culture of Kayah Monu people. This book relates that on May 3rd 1970, Kayah Monu representatives from Loikaw, Phroso, Daw La Saw, and Taw Khu held a meeting at U Mi Lo’s house in Dee Dar Ku quarter, Phruso Township. From that meeting, all representatives rejected the well-known name ‘Manumanaw’ used by outsiders instead they agreed to refer themselves by using the old names ‘Kayah Monu’ /kà jà mò nù/ or ‘Kayaw Monu Phu’ /kà jò mò nù pʰú/. Both names mean “people who live in the west region or west people”. Native speakers refer to their language by these two names which are widely used nowadays (History of Kayah Monu, 2000: 80). The researcher refers to this language as Kayah Monu in this study.

Bradley (1997) illustrates the classification of Karen within Tibeto-Burman family in Figure 1. He regards Kayah Monu as one of the Eastern Central Karenic groups. Bradley presents three main groups of Karenic: Northern, Central/Bwe and Southern. Under these three groups, he sub-classifies each. Kayah Monu is found in the Eastern branch of the Central/Bwe group.

According to Manson (2002), Figure 2 summarizes a lexicostatistic analysis showing that the central Karen languages (marked with arrows) do not belong to a unified group within Karen. This diagram is based on wordlist data collected from different 20 Karenic languages wordlists. The analysis is based on lists of 32 words.
In his thesis, Myar Reh said that Kayah Monu includes two dialects: Monu and Manaw. Monu is the northern dialect and Manaw the Southern. They appear to be two separate languages because Baptists live in the Manaw part and Roman Catholic live in the Monu part. They are not only different in the name of their locations and accent but since they are also different in religious beliefs so they appear to outsiders to be two different dialects. However both sides consider themselves to be the same. In Myar Doo Myar Reh’s M.A thesis, he refers to both of them as Monumanaw (Myar Reh, 2004: 15). From the researcher’s point of view, both Baptist and Roman Catholic use one language as they have high intelligibility and can communicate with each other very well with no apparent difficulties.

1.3 Geography and Demography
Kayah Monu people are found primarily in the Southwest part of Kayah State, Myanmar. Kayah State is located in the eastern part of Myanmar and it borders Shan State to the northeast, Karen State to the southwest and Thailand to the east. It is one of the smallest states in Myanmar (see Figure 3).
Figure 3 Location of Kayah State in Myanmar
In Kayah State, the Kayah Monu villages can be found west of Bawlakhe and Phruso townships. They also form communities in one quarter of Loikaw, a quarter of Phruso and a quarter of Demawso. They are also found in Naa Phe village, Bawlakhe Township. Naa Phe is the place where the researcher recorded and collected his data. There are a total of 21 villages and three town quarters (see Figure 4 and Figure 5).

Figure 4 Location of Kayah Monu Area in Kayah State
Figure 5 Kayah Monu Villages Area in Kayah State
There are different estimated populations of Kayah Monu given. According to the census of Myanmar in 1980, the population of Kayah Monu speakers was 4060. Another current estimate population is 10,000 (Bradley, Myardoo Myarreh, and Ethnologue). In *A History of Kayah Monu*, the total population of Kayah Monu is more than 5000 speakers (History of Kayah Monu, 2000: 46). From online resources, the population of Kayah Monu is reported to be 9800 (Joshua Projects), or 10,000 (Multitree: A Digital Library of Language Relationships).

### 1.4 General Information

Historically, the Kayah Monu people were animists, but currently, all Kayah Monu speakers have converted to Christianity. The Kayah Monus are fully Christians, 70% of Kayah Monu speakers are Baptists and 30% are Roman Catholic. In a Kayah Monu community, if a village chief gives a command to do something, the whole community totally follows his instruction, even if they are displeased with his decision. They are hard-workers and have very limited free time. They wake up at four o’clock in the early morning, prepare their meal and then leave to go to their fields. It is very common, if a family builds or repairs their old house, that at least one person from each family in the village would come to help that family. If there is a funeral service in the village, most villagers come to join and some bring food, rice, drinks or contribute as much as they can afford to show their sympathy. Teamwork is very important in Kayah Monu society.

Farming and cultivation is the main vocation of the Kayah Monu people. The basic steps, ploughing, harrowing, planting and harvesting, are done by the whole village working cooperatively. They trade their goods, handicrafts, and foods in Phruso Township. The main goods for trade are betel nuts and betel leaf, beans, plantains, and oranges. These things are all sold to buy household items, kitchen things, and other necessities. Women and men do different work. Men work by cutting bamboo, chopping wood, erecting posts, ploughing, carrying heavy things and butchering animals. Women do cooking, weaving and do all the domestic work at home.

The traditional Kayah Monu costume is very similar to Kayah Li costumes and can be considered a variant of it. Men wear black or white woven pants with white shirts. Men also wear white turbans on their head similar to other mountainous Karen people. Kayah Monu woman’s sarong colour is red or black, and is worn with a black shawl. Women also wear black turbans on their head and a white sash worn
around the waist. Black loops made by white cotton and painted in black are worn at a women's knee and calf.

The Kayah Monu have significant contact with other languages, including Sgaw, Kayah Li and Burmese. In the west part of Bawlakhe Township, the Sgaw Karen language is important for communicating with the neighboring Sgaw. Sgaw Karen is also used in the churches for religious purposes. In Phruso Township, Kayah Li and Burmese are languages of wider communication.

1.5 Scope of the Thesis Research

In this study, different genres of texts: 1st person narratives (happy and sad experience stories), descriptions of how to do X (two procedure stories), wish or imagination stories (two regret stories), and a traditional story (one folktale) were collected and used. Moreover, elicited grammatical sentences for specific phrases and clauses were collected for analysis.

All the data was collected from only one village named Taw Khu. All Kayah Monu speakers recognize the Taw Khu variety as the standard/prestige variety and it is also officially approved as a standard for the Kayah Monu orthography. The data used in this study is derived primarily from four language resource persons. They range in age from 35 to 75 years. Data collection was done within a period of 2 months (March & April 2012) at Nan Phe village. Due to the difficulty of transportation, the researcher arranged a convenient/middle place (Nan Phe village) to meet those informants then collected the data there. The researcher’s own background knowledge of the language helped in analyzing the data. The researcher speaks Wester Kayah Li and has had previous contact with the Kayah Monu from that area. The sociolinguistic background was based on data collected from LRP's living in the same village. Table 1 shows the biographic data of each informant.
Table 1 Information on Informants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Informant (1)</th>
<th>Informant (2)</th>
<th>Informant (3)</th>
<th>Informant (4)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>Religious teacher</td>
<td>Church leader</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birth place</td>
<td>Taw Khu village, Phruso Township, Kayah State</td>
<td>Taw Khu village, Phruso Township, Kayah State</td>
<td>Taw Khu village, Phruso Township, Kayah State</td>
<td>Taw Khu village, Phruso Township, Kayah State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother tongue</td>
<td>Kayah Monu</td>
<td>Kayah Monu</td>
<td>Kayah Monu</td>
<td>Kayah Monu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other languages</td>
<td>Sgaw Karen</td>
<td>Sgaw Karen, Burmese</td>
<td>Sgaw Karen, Burmese</td>
<td>Sgaw Karen, Burmese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion and denomination</td>
<td>Baptist</td>
<td>Baptist</td>
<td>Baptist</td>
<td>Baptist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>Christian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Elicited grammatical sentences supplemented the text analysis and were verbally translated from English into Burmese and then the language helper provided a translation equivalent in Kayah Monu. The thesis does not include a description of information structure, or text discourse analysis due to the limited time and data, this study only presents an overview of the grammar structure. It should be helpful for language learners and those who want to explore this language further. Much more research is needed to understand the details and complexities of this language.

1.6 Methodology

The general process for analysis consisted of recording a text, then with native speakers going over the recorded text and creating an initial interlinear transcription and go free translations first into Burmese and later into English.

The primary methods of data collection were recording not only narratives but also eliciting basic grammatical sentences. The lengths of each text range from 5 to 60 clauses. Sound recordings were made using a MiniDisc recorder which was then transfer to computer as MP3 files. Texts and elicited material were transcribed using International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) symbols and entered into the computer database program called “Fieldworks Language Explorer” in order to be examined. A 436 wordlist was recorded from a single person and new words were discovered through the interlinearization of the collected texts. After interlinearizing texts, the subsequent analysis was then checked with another two female speakers to confirm whether the glosses were accurate or not.
Additional interlinearizing and analysis of the selected texts was done in Chiang Mai. English glosses, grammatical categories and free translation in English were also entered in Fieldworks. The data were analyzed from a descriptive perspective and then this grammar sketch, including phrase and clause structure was created. Meanwhile, the interlinear translations were revised. After a preliminary grammar was drafted, the analysis was frequently re-checked with native speakers. From the result of this analysis, the basic grammatical structures of Kayah Monu are presented.

1.7 Literature Review

Kayah Monu phonology was done by Myar Doo Myar Reh and David Solnit has done research on Eastern Kayah Li Grammar. Additionally, this thesis uses the research on closely related languages compiled by Robert B. Jones Jr., Kenneth Neil Manson and Hsar Shee. All these references provided help for doing this research. Each is briefly summarized below.

**A Phonological Comparison of Selected Karenic Language Varieties of Kayah State**, by Myar Reh (2004): this thesis mainly focuses on a phonological comparison of selected Karenic language varieties of Kayah state. The synchronic phonologies of Kayaw, Kayah Monu and Yintale are compared with Kayah Li. The study focuses on the comparison of consonants, vowels and tones in these four languages in order to learn how closely they are related to each other. It also determines the correspondences between these elements. The researcher uses the Kayah Monu phonology from Myar Reh in this research.

**Eastern Kayah Li: Grammar, Texts, Glossary** by Solnit (1997): this book looks at a typological outline, a phonology, detailed grammar structures, dialect and orthographic information about Kayah Li (one of the central Karenic group languages), and other related Karen languages.

**Karen Linguistic Studies: Description, Comparison and Texts** by Jones, Robert B, Jr. (1961): this book primarily presents a general overview of phonology and grammar structures found in Karen languages. Moreover, the author adds the comparison and reconstruction of Karen languages. He also incorporates some texts from different Karen groups to help the reader get some idea of what Karen languages look like.

**A Grammar of Kayan: a Tibeto-Burman Language** by Manson (2010): this thesis is the first grammatical description of Kayan, a Tibeto-Burman language of the Karen
branch spoken in Myanmar and Thailand. This thesis consists of thirteen chapters and an appendix. It describes the phonology (including the tonal system) and the complete grammatical structures of Kayan with illustrations.

*A Descriptive Grammar of Geba Karen* by Hsar Shee (2008): This thesis describes the basic structure of Geba Karen grammar within 'Basic Linguistic Theory' (BLT). BLT is based on traditional grammar. In this thesis, Geba Karen, a previously unresearched language is introduced. The basic grammar structure and the basic phonology of Geba Karen are discussed. The phonology presented is not yet complete. This thesis covers a wide-range of phonological and grammatical topics and opens the door for future research on Geba.

*A History of Kayah Monu* by Peter Ko Doe Ri, U & Mateo Ket Ri, U (2000): this book was arranged and published by the Kayah Monu literature committee. This book tries to update the latest information about Kayah Monu. It is written in Burmese. It presents the worldview, ethnographical details, the traditions and culture of the Kayah Monu people.

### 1.8 Brief Phonology of Kayah Monu

This section provides brief information on the phonology of Kayah Monu. It presents the consonant, vowel, and tone inventories of Kayah Monu, and its syllable structure. The phonology presented in this chapter was taken from the M.A Thesis ‘A Phonology Comparison of Selected Karenic Language Varieties of Kayah State’ written by Myar Doo Myar Reh in 2004. However, small changes based on the researcher’s analysis are incorporated in this section.

### 1.8.1 Consonants

The consonant inventory of Kayah Monu includes 22 consonants (Myar Reh, 2004: 91). The phoneme chart can be seen in Table 2.
Table 2 Kayah Monu Consonants (adapted from Myar Reh: 2004)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manners of articulation</th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Post-Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosives</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pʰ</td>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td>kʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
<td>tʃ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dʒ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trill</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approx.</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lat. Appro</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.8.2 Vowels

According to Myar Reh’s analysis, there are 10 vowels and no diphthongs are found in Kayah Monu. There are four unrounded front vowels, one central vowel, two close unrounded back vowels and three rounded back vowels in Kayah Monu as shown in Table 3. Kayah Monu seems to have some breathy vowels, but there is an unaccounted for regularity between vowel breathiness and the voicing of preceding consonants.

Table 3 Kayah Monu Vowels (adapted from Myar Reh: 2004)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back un-rounded</th>
<th>Back-rounded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close-mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open-mid</td>
<td>ē</td>
<td>æ¹</td>
<td>œ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ /æ/ was used in Myar Reh’s analysis but the researcher feels that it is closer to /ə/. 
1.8.3 Tones
There are four contrastive tones in Kayah Monu. Each tone is marked by the diacritics in Table 4. They are high, high-mid, mid, and low. It is very rare to find the contrast of the high-mid tone and mid tone. Only one pair of CAE with both these tones is found as in /lú/ ‘cloud’ and /lō/ ‘plate’ (Myar Reh, 2004: 105-106).

Table 4 Kayah Monu Tones²

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonetic Transcription</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>High-Mid</th>
<th>Mid</th>
<th>Low</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ː</td>
<td>ː</td>
<td>ː</td>
<td>ː</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.8.4 Syllable Structure
Kayah Monu is an open syllable language, no consonant can be found at the end of words or syllables. There are two syllable types in Kayah Monu. They are CV and CCV. V only syllables do not occur as a glottal stop always precedes them. CCV occurs rather infrequently in Kayah Monu. The template for main syllable structure is C₁(C₂) V. Symbols enclosed by parentheses are optional while other elements are obligatory. All the consonants are permitted in the onset position C₁. However, in the initial cluster postions of C₁(C₂), the first consonant C₁ of the cluster is restricted to /p/, /pʰ/, /tʰ/, /k/, /kʰ/, /l/ and the second consonant C₂ is limited to the liquid and approximants /r/, /l/, /j/, /w/. There are 15 types of consonant clusters in Kayah Monu as shown in Table 5.

Table 5 Consonant Clusters in Kayah Monu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>/p/</th>
<th>/pʰ/</th>
<th>/tʰ/</th>
<th>/k/</th>
<th>/kʰ/</th>
<th>/l/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/r/</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/j/</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/w/</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

² The researcher hypothesizes that there are only three level tones in Kayah Monu without high-mid tone and high-mid tone and mid tone presumably are the same.
1.8.5 Kayah Monu Orthography
There is no established written form in Kayah Monu, although Roman based script orthographies for Kayah Mon were designed by Roman Catholic missionaries in the past. A Roman based alphabet is still used for religious purposes among the Roman Catholics. Currently, the Kayah Monu Literature Committee is implementing language development programs organized by SIL and some materials such as primer books, story books etc. were published in Burmese based script. The Kayah Monu Literature Committee is trying to approve a common orthography that is accepted by both Baptist and Roman Catholic. Both sides agreed the Taw Khu dialect as the main/prestige dialect to use for Kayah Monu orthography. That is why the researcher has done data collection from that standard dialect.

1.9 Summary
This chapter looked at overview of the Kayah Monu including language and people, geography and demography, general information about Kayah Monu. The scope, the methodology, literature review of the research, a brief phonology of Kayah Monu, and brief information about Kayah Monu orthography were also presented. There are 22 consonants, 10 vowels, and 3 tones in Kayah Monu. Kayah Monu is an open syllable language, no consonant can be found at the end of words or syllables. There are two syllable types in Kayah Monu. They are CV and CCV.
Chapter 2
Word Classes

2.1 Introduction
Chapter two describes word classes in Kayah Monu. Both open and closed classes are discussed in this chapter. It primarily involves a discussion of some diagnostics of open or major class words and listings of closed or minor class words.

2.2 Major Word Classes
Major word classes are lexical categories that can function as the head of a phrase (Kroeger, 2005: 346). This chapter deals with the four major classes of lexical words that appear most widely across languages. Nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs are considered the major word classes. They are also categorized as open word classes because they can accept the addition of new morphemes through such processes as modifying, compounding, derivation, and inflection.

2.2.1 Nouns
Noun is a word class where members function as heads in a noun phrases. The head noun is modified by the other elements such as adjectives, numerals and classifiers. Example (1) shows a noun phrase in which the noun functions as a head and is modified by adjectives, numeral, and classifier.

(1) ʔ l red ʔ l bi three M mɛ round bi three big red houses

2.2.1.1 Common Nouns
Common nouns in Kayah Monu can be distinguished from other types of nouns because this type of noun can be followed by numerals and classifiers. Common nouns in Kayah Monu typically denote concrete objects (human and non-human),

15
places and times. These usually occur with related classifiers (sometime called sortal classifiers). The following examples show different types of common nouns with their related classifiers.

Example (2) shows a common noun denoting a human classified by the human sortal classifier pwà.

(2) pwàkʰó hénù tà pwà
   male that one CLF.human
   N DEM NUM CLF
   That man

In example (3), a dog (in this case an examplar of large, four-legged animals and rodents) is classified by the sortal classifier dó. In (4), a fish (here an examplar for the set of small animals, birds, fishes and insects) is classified by the sortal classifier bá.

(3) fí sù dó
   dog three CLF.four legs animals
   N NUM CLF
   three dogs

(4) tɔ kàní bá
   fish two CLF.flat
   N NUM CLF
   two fishes

2.2.1.2 Proper Nouns

Proper nouns in Kayah Monu identify a specific entity, such as a person, place, thing, or specific period of time by an arbitrary name. This type of noun does not normally occur with either numerals or classifiers. Table 6 and Table 7 show some proper nouns for people and places in Kayah Monu.
Table 6 People Names in Kayah Monu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examples (people)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pʰʌbɔ</td>
<td>‘Phabaw’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰʌlʊ</td>
<td>‘Phalu’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mʊnʊpɔ</td>
<td>‘Kayah Monu people’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kɔlɔbɔ</td>
<td>‘English man’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7 Place Names in Kayah Monu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examples (places)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jʊkʊkɛ</td>
<td>‘Yangon’ (city)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mɔdɔlɛ</td>
<td>‘Mandalay’ (city)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰʌbɔ  sɔ</td>
<td>‘Pha Baw’ (mountain)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰhɛ kɔ</td>
<td>‘China’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mʊnʊkɔ</td>
<td>‘Kayah Monu land’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sʊklɔ</td>
<td>‘Sukulu’ (mountain)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The nouns that express places can occur on both sides of proper nouns as in examples (5a) and (5b).

(5a)  

pʰʌbɔ  sɔ

Pha Baw  mountain
‘Pha Baw mountain’

(5b)  

sɔ  pʰʌbɔ

mountain  Pha Baw
‘Pha Baw mountain’

Kayah Monu uses titles added to someone’s name to signify either veneration or academic qualification. Sometime people are commonly referred to by their respective titles. Some titles in Kayah Monu are displayed in Table 8.

Table 8 Titles in Kayah Monu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Titles in Kayah Monu</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pʰɔ</td>
<td>‘Mr.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mɔ</td>
<td>‘Ms.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰpwakʰɔ</td>
<td>‘grandfather’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰpwɔmɔ</td>
<td>‘grandmother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mɔdɔ</td>
<td>‘aunt’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Titles in Kayah Monu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Titles in Kayah Monu</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>pʰàdó</em></td>
<td>‘uncle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pũ</em></td>
<td>‘brother/sister’ (younger)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wẽ</em></td>
<td>‘brother/sister’ (older)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sàrã</em></td>
<td>‘teacher/sir’ (male)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sàrãmã</em></td>
<td>‘teacher/sir’ (female)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 2.2.1.3 Mass Nouns

Mass nouns are also found in Kayah Monu. Mass nouns can only be counted if a measure classifier is used. Example (6) shows mass noun with a specific container to measure them.

For the mass noun *ṭi* ‘water’, the specific container *bẽ* ‘cup’ is obligatorily used to classify the noun.

(6) *ṭi* (*bẽ*)
- water four
- N NUM CLF
- four cups of water

For the mass noun *bũ* ‘paddy’ the specific container *pó* ‘basket’ is used to classify the noun as in example (7).

(7) *bũ* (*pó*)
- rice.unthreshed three
- N NUM CLF
- three baskets of paddy

For the mass noun *ʔešá* ‘salt’ the specific container *ʔé* ‘bag’ is used to classify the noun as in (8).

(8) *ʔešá* (*ʔé*)
- salt four
- N NUM CLF
- four packs of salt

As shown above, mass nouns are uncountable unless they occur with related measure classifiers.
2.2.1.4 Abstract Nouns

Abstract nouns in Kayah Monu are formed by adding the nominalizer prefix (IServiceCollectionD) to verbs or adjectives and thereby changing their word class into nouns. Abstract nouns cannot be used with a count classifier or any container. They are uncountable nouns. Table 9 shows some abstract nouns in Kayah Monu.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abstract Nouns</th>
<th>Literal Translation</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tš-mā</td>
<td>NOM-love</td>
<td>‘love’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tš-tāk’sāsā</td>
<td>NOM-hate</td>
<td>‘hate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tš-sāp’hédō</td>
<td>NOM-angry</td>
<td>‘anger’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tš-sāwō</td>
<td>NOM-shy</td>
<td>‘shame’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tš-sālśāb</td>
<td>NOM-rejoice</td>
<td>‘joy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tš-sāplā</td>
<td>NOM-sad</td>
<td>‘sadness’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.2 Verbs

Verb is the name given to the parts-of-speech class in which occur most of the words that express actions, processes, and the like (Shopen, 2007: 9). Verbs are most typically events that involve concrete participant nouns. The verbs then code either the physical action, or physical change, or spatial motion of those participants (Givon, 2001: 52).

Different kinds of verbs are widely used in Kayah Monu. They always function as a predicate and generally follow the agent to denote activities, states, accomplishments, or achievements. Verbs appear as main verbs, auxiliary (pre-verbal and post-verbal), and copulas.

The following properties are used to diagnose main verbs in Kayah Monu:

i) Verbs can be negated and followed by the general negator tš

ii) Verbs can be modified by various aspectual markers

iii) Verbs can occur with auxiliaries/modal verbs

All tests can be used to identify both verbs and adjectives.

The example (9) shows the main verb nūmā ‘stink’ occurring as a predicate with negation.
Verb Negation

(9) ʃi  nʊmɔ  tɔ
   dog  stink  not
   N  V    ADV
   The dog does not stink.

Adjective Negation
Example (10) shows that the monosyllabic verb-like adjective mɛ ‘right’ is directly followed by the general negation tɔ that is one reason why “adjectives” are considered a subclass of verbs in Kayah Monu (for more discussion, see section 2.2.3.1 and 2.2.3.2).

(10) mɛ  tɔ
   right  not
   ADJ  NEG
   It is not right. (Lit: right not)

Aspect
Example (11) demonstrates a verb sì ‘die’ directly followed and modified by both perfective and completive aspect markers kɛ and hɔ in a single clause. It indicates that the action or the event is already completed by placing those two aspect markers next to the verb. In Kayah Monu, sequences of two or more auxiliaries are allowed, in which case their order in relation to one another is generally fixed.

(11) ʃi  sì  kɛ  hɔ
   dog  die  PERF  COMPL
   N  V  ASP  ASP
   The dog just died (recently).

Modal
In the following example (12), the verb ʔà ‘eat’ follows and is modified by the modal verb bá ‘must’.

(12) ʔà  bá  ʔà  di
   3S  must  eat  cooked-rice
   PRO  MOD  V  N
   She must eat the rice.

More discussion on verbs is presented in Chapter 4.
2.2.3 Adjectives

Although it is not clear if adjectives form their own class or are simply subclass of verbs, there is still good evidence that adjectives form a distinct word class. The following section will first discuss how adjectives are similar to verbs and then discuss how they are dissimilar.

2.2.3.1 Features Adjectives have in common with Verbs

Both main verbs and adjectives in Kayah Monu occur alone as the predicate of a clause, describing the subject of the clause. There is no auxiliary or copula verb that occurs with adjectives used predicatively. Examples (13) and (14) show a verb and an adjective, respectively in stative clauses.

(13) ?à sákānā
3S understand
PRO V
She understands.

(14) ?à nā kō
3S.Poss body hot
PRO N ADJ
His body (is) hot.

In Kayah Monu, adjectives are negated in the same way as verbs. The following examples show the negative construction with a verb (15) and an adjective (16).

(15) ?à sákānā tō
3S understand not
PRO V NEG
She does not understand.

(16) ?à nā kō tō
3S.Poss body hot not
PRO N ADJ NEG
His body (is) not hot.

Example (17) shows the verb-like adjective wō ‘suitable’ and its negated form. In both cases negation is structurally the same as verb and subordinator mé ‘if’ separates the two predicate options. See more on disjunctive-negative questions in 7.4.3.

(17) tālā nū wō mé wō tō dý bā tʰē pū jā
place topic suitable if suitable not and.then must cut test SF
N TOP ADJ SUBORD ADJ NEG COORD MOD V V PRT
You must cut to test if the land is good enough for hill-side cultivation or not.

Examples below show both an adjective (18) and a verb (19) followed by aspect markers.
The following examples show that an adjective (21) can be modified by the same intensifier as a verb (20). tʃepwé ‘try’ is a verb and sáplá ‘dejected’ is an adjective is shown in FN 3 on page 23.

(20) hè tʃepwé dómàti
1S try very

(21) hè sáplá dómàti
1S dejected very

(22) háli ?ásà sù mè
house red new three CLF.round.big

(23) * jí nùmọ́ dó ?á hè *ungrammatical
dog stink big bite 1S

2.2.3.2 Features that separate Adjectives from Verbs

There is also evidence that adjectives are distinct from prototypical verbs. Inside the noun phrase, both adjectives and verbs can modify a noun. The fact that the numeral and classifier follows adjectives shows this modification is inside a noun phrase. In a noun phrase, adjectives and verbs typically follow the head noun.

The following three example sentences show more than one adjective can occur in a noun phrase (22), whereas verbs are limited to one. If a verb modifies a noun then even if the relativizer dọ́ is marginally dropped, no other adjective can follow it (23). Schematically, given [N __ ADJ], as in (22) only an adjective can occur in the gap.

(22) háli ?ásà sù mè
house red new three CLF.round.big

(23) * jí nùmọ́ dó ?á hè *ungrammatical
dog stink big bite 1S

The big stink dog bit me.
The next evidence is from comparative and superlative constructions. The comparative degree marker ‘kêlù’ ‘more than’ directly follows adjectives in comparative constructions. But in comparative construction of intransitive verbs, the verb is separated from kêlù by do ‘big’, dôwê ‘many’ or some directional verbs. The schema for comparative formation is as below.

ADJ → ADJ kêlù
V → V *(X) kêlù/kàtù (X represents ADJ or V_{dir})

Examples (25), (26), and (27) show the comparative construction with an adjective and a verb³.

(25) hè sáplâ kêlù pâlù
1S dejected more than Phalu
PRO ADJ ADV NPROP
I am more dejected than Phalu.

(26) pâbô kêlé *(fį) kêlù pâlù
Phabaw run away more than Phalu
NPROP V V.DIR ADV NPROP
Phabaw runs further than Phalu.

(27) hè tʃépwé *(dó) kêlù pâbô
1S try big more than Phabaw
PRO V ADJ ADV NPROP
I try more than Phabaw.

Adjectives can also occur with the superlative degree markers ‘kàtù’ and ‘ló’ in the superlative construction. Verbs are different from adjectives in the superlative constructions because, as in the comparative construction, they need an adjective or

³ This test shows that ‘try’ is a verb in (20) and ‘dejected’ is an adjective in (21) as proposed in section 2.2.3.1.
directional verb as in the examples above. The examples (28) and (29) show adjectives in the superlatives and (30) shows the superlative structure of a verb.

(28) hè ṭá *(wi) kàṭù mí mòkʰésá
1S eat delicious most be pineapple
PRO V ADJ ADV COP N
My favorite food is pineapple.

(29) ṭàmà ló lùmùnì tà nì
happy most day one CLF.day
ADJ ADV N NUM CLF
The happiest day

(30) hè kʰà dá kʰlé *(jì) kàṭù mí pʰàbò
1S.Poss friend that run away most be Phabaw
PRO N REL V V.DIR ADV COP NPROP
My friend who runs the most is Phabaw.

2.2.3.3 Summary
As can be seen above, adjectives seem to share some characteristics of verbs especially with regards to negation and aspect marker. Both main verbs and adjectives occur as the predicate of a clause without auxiliaries. But adjectives also have distinct characteristics not shared with verbs. The position and structure of adjectives modifying the head noun in a noun phrase and the comparative and superlative construction show strong evidence that adjectives exist in Kayah Monu as a distinct word class.

2.2.4 Adverbs
Adverbs are words which modify the meaning of a verb, an adjective, or another adverb. Typically, adverbs follow verbs. There are four types of adverbs found in Kayah Monu. They are 1) event adverbs, 2) agent adverbs, and 3) truth adverbs.

2.2.4.1 Event Adverbs
Event adverbiaisons modify the event in terms of rate, sound, or degree of action.

Example (31) shows modification of a creation event by a reiterative adverb.
He (the old man) again allows termite to create the soil.

In example (32), *lālātēbā* ‘completely’ another event adverb is used to indicate exhaustive completion of an action expressed in the sentence.

Then (the earthworm) completely eats the termite’s soil.

Sometimes adverbs of movement modify by using a reduplicated form. In example (33), the reduplication expresses that the rate of action that the agent is doing is fast. Both adverbs have the same tones.

Adverbial elaborate expressions also appear as partially reduplicated forms where the first two syllables and the last two are the same (AABB). They can be seen in the following example (34).

I and my wife with my children and grandchildren will stay together in contentment forever.
2.2.4.2 Agent Adverb

Another kind of adverb modifies the attitude, disposition or technique of the agent performing the action. In Kayah Monu, these adverbs do not have to directly follow the adjective, verb, or adverb they modify. Example (35) shows the adverb tátʰóːtáláʔ ‘carefully’ which modifies pʰáʔ ‘cook’. The adverb follows after the object noun but it modifies the predicate.

(35)ʔà pʰáʔá hásí tátʰóːtáláʔ
3S cook curry carefully
PRO V N ADV
She cooked the meat carefully.

2.2.4.3 Truth Adverb

Another kind of adverb modifies the proposition and is used to emphasize what the speaker believes about whether he or she is saying is true. These truth adverbs usually occur at the final position and do not have to directly follow after the verb. Examples (36) and (37) show propositions modified by truth adverbs.

(36)ʔà hé tāwétākè nū ŕàmě wáhó
3S say subject.matter topic right probably
PRO V N TOP ADJ ADV
The subject matter that he said is probably right.

(37)kʰáʔànè hé kà tʰwākà tfō pēlè
today 1S will attend school maybe
ADV PRO ASP V N ADV
Today, maybe I will attend the school.

An elaborate expression adverb intensifier that occurs after an adjective in (38) is an AABB elaboration expression.

(38)tàʔàsʰàʔàkʰà kʰàʔnó nū ʔàp₃ʔàsʰà tfětfe̱p̱ò dò hé jā
time now topic difficult really at 1S for
N ADV TOP ADJ ADV PREP PRO LCLZR
Nowadays, it is really difficult for me.

A discussion of adverbs as adjective intensifiers is in section 3.2.3.
Several varieties of adverb constructions are found in Kayah Monu. As can be seen above, adverbs in Kayah Monu occur as single words, reduplication, and elaborate expressions. They modify events, agents, and truth claims.

2.3 Minor Word Classes

Minor word classes in Kayah Monu form closed classes to which no new items can normally be added and that usually contains a relatively small number of items. Some of the closed classes, pronouns, demonstratives, preposition, localizers, numerals, classifiers, conjunctions, and directional verbs are discussed in this section.

2.3.1 Pronouns

Pronouns are a small closed class of words which substitute for NPs and may function as the subject or the object in a clause. They can occur as possessors in NPs. In Kayah Monu, pronouns play an important role by providing continuity and brevity. No gender or class distinctions are relevant for pronouns. There are also reflexive pronouns and reciprocal pronouns. Pronouns are marked for person (1st, 2nd, and 3rd). Table 10 shows the different pronouns in Kayah Monu.

Table 10 Pronouns in Kyah Monu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Subject/ free pronoun</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Possessor</th>
<th>Reflexives Reciprocals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>non-human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td>hè</td>
<td>hè</td>
<td>hè</td>
<td>hè-ná</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>pà</td>
<td>pà</td>
<td>pà</td>
<td>pà-ná</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td>nà</td>
<td>nà</td>
<td>nà</td>
<td>nà-ná</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>sè</td>
<td>sè</td>
<td>sè</td>
<td>sè-ná</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen in the above table, all subject, object, and possessive personal pronouns are the same. Example (39) exemplifies the first person singular pronoun in the subject position.
(39) hè mé sʰájá nū hè kà nébá rù
IS if sell topic IS will get money

PRO SUBORD V TOP PRO ASP V N
If I sell them, I would get money.

For the object and oblique positions, the first person singular pronoun appears with the same form as in the subject position. Examples (40) and (41) show the first person singular pronoun in oblique and object position.

(40) tʰʔasʰʔàkʰä kʰ代表团 nūʔàpʰʔàsʰʔà tf∅ʔepɔ́ːpɔ́ dò hè já
time now topic difficult really at IS for
N ADV TOP ADJ ADV PREP PRO LCLZR
Nowadays, it is really difficult for me.

(41)ʔà sápʰlōdó nóʔfàkà hè
3S angry extremely IS
PRO ADJ ADV PRO
He extremely angry at me.

Both the 1ˢᵗ person singular hè and the possessive pronoun hè appear together in a single sentence. The two forms are identical as shown in (42).

(42) hè tʰʔ kłɔ́ só d̪̀r hè lɔtɛ̃ kɔ̀ kè hè kʰ₅l̪apɔ́
IS climb.up cut tree and.then IS down break PERF IS.Poss leg
PRO V V N COORD PRO V.DIR V ASP PRO N
I climb up to cut a tree and I fell down then my leg was broken.

2.3.1.1 Reflexive and Reciprocal Pronouns

Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns are also found in Kayah Monu and they express reflexives for animates by using the personal pronoun plus the word for -ná ‘body’ or –tà ‘thing’, nòlò̀ ‘each other’ functions as the reciprocal pronoun. The reflexive pronoun usually co-occurs with tàʔó a verbal reflexive marker. It can be used to form emphatic reflexives (43) or used as an intransitivizers (44) in Kayah Monu.
(43) ḥè ĕ hē tāʔò ḥēná
1S say alone myself
PRO V PRO.RFLX PRO.RFLX
I said it myself.

(44) ŋà plēbásó tāʔò ŋàná
3S hit alone himself
PRO V PRO.RFLX PRO.RFLX
He hits himself.

The following example (45) shows the verbal reflexive marker used in an emphatic statement. The reflexive pronoun ŋàná is dropped. But in (46), the reflexive pronoun is not dropped and no intransitivization occurs.

(45) ŋà pē tāʔò fí
3S beat alone dog
PRO V PRO.RFLX N
He himself beats the dog.

(46) nà bá mà tāʔò nàtā
2S must do alone yourself
PRO MOD V PRO.RFLX PRO.RFLX
You must do by yourself.

In example (47), the reiterative adverb sō ‘again’ modifies the verb phrase. Both the verb and verbal reflexive marker precedes that adverb but the object NP follows the adverb. This suggests that tāʔò is a verbal marker and not a nominal marker.

(47) ŋà pē tāʔò sō fí
3S beat alone again dog
PRO V PRO.RFLX ADV N
He himself hits the dog again.

For the reciprocal pronoun, the form nōʔò ‘each other’ is used. More than one participant is found in this kind of construction. Examples (48) and (49) show the reciprocal construction in Kayah Monu. The verbal reflexive marker tāʔò does not appear with nōʔò.
They fight each other.

I and him (we) play together.

### 2.3.1.2 Interrogative Pronouns

Interrogative pronouns are used to ask questions. Table 11 provides a list of content interrogative pronouns in Kayah Monu. These are used in content questions that elicit a specific answer. Besides content question words, Kayah Monu also has two question particles ḫë and ḡà that both appear clause final. The question particle ḡà is optionally used in ‘Yes-No’ questions. Interrogative sentences are discussed more in section 7.4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Interrogative Proform</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>who</td>
<td>môpè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>where</td>
<td>bâtè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>what</td>
<td>tûtè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>when</td>
<td>bûkʰûtè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>how</td>
<td>hàtè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>how much</td>
<td>pwéttè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>why</td>
<td>màttè</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.3.1.3 Plural Pronoun

To use a pronoun to denote a 3rd person plural in Kayah Monu, the 3rd person pronoun singular ñà + 2nd person plural sè combine to become 3rd person plural ñàsè. Another 3rd person plural pronoun is derived by the addition of the suffix lûkʰʃ to the root 3rd person plural form ñàsè.
Examples (50) and (51) show the use of the third person plural pronoun.

(50) ?àsè tʃó tʰʒ tɔŋ
   3P lift up box
   PRO V V.DIR N
   They lift up the box.

(51) ?àsèlôkʰɔ pʰɔʔ ɔŋ sɔ jɛ
   3P child have CLF.human five
   PRO N V CLF NUM
   They have five children.

The above example sentences show that both 3rd person plural pronouns ?àsè and ?àsèlôkʰɔ can be used in the subject position.

The plural pronoun ?àsè can be used in object position as in the following example (52) while -lôkʰɔ is attached to subject position only.

(52) pà mà si ?àsè
   1P do die 3P
   PRO V V PRO
   We kill them.

It is ungrammatical for the plural pronoun ?àsèlôkʰɔ appear at object position as in (53).

(53) * pà mà si ?àsèlôkʰɔ (ungrammatical)
   1P do die 3P
   PRO V V PRO
   We kill them.

2.3.2 Demonstratives

Demonstrative (modifiers) can modify a noun with deictic information (see section 2.3.2.1). Or in some cases, a demonstrative occurs without a head noun; instead it functions as demonstrative pronoun (see section 2.3.2.2).
2.3.2.1 Demonstratives as Modifiers

Demonstratives in Kayah Monu are used to identify a particular thing or individual which is near or far from the speaker. héʔù ‘this’ is proximate and hênù ‘that’ and bánù ‘that’ are distal. Sometimes, for plural demonstratives ‘these’ or ‘those’ the quantifier tākʰlə is optionally added. Demonstratives normally modify a noun in a noun phrase, and typically, they follow the noun.

In the following examples (54) and (55), both demonstratives are optionally added and followed by the quantifier tākʰlə to show the plural.

(54) hí héʔù tākʰlə	house this some
N DEM QUANT
these houses

(55) hí hênù tākʰlə ?ɔ dónù
house that some be.exist there
N DEM QUANT COP DEM
those houses (way) over there

Sometimes the distal demonstrative bánù 'that' occurs at the start of an adverbial clause used to specify or emphasize time as in example (56).

(56) bánù ?àkʰà ʔà tjőlēlù pē
that time 3S travel still
DEM N PRO V ASP
At that time, he (old man) is still travelling.

2.3.2.2 Demonstrative Pronouns

A demonstrative pronoun comes before the copula mí and optionally the topic marker nū to function as a subject in interrogatives. Examples (57) and (58) show demonstratives which occur before a copula verb in interrogative sentences.

(57) hênù mí tîtè
that be what
DEM COP INTRG
What is that?
One remarkable fact is that the distal *hênû* ‘that’ can refer to an event which normally is marked a verb or verb phrase. Table 12 presents the demonstrative pronouns in Kayah Monu.

**Table 12 Demonstratives in Kayah Monu**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Referents</th>
<th>Near</th>
<th>Far</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Object</td>
<td><em>hênû</em></td>
<td><em>hênû</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td><em>bâ?û</em></td>
<td><em>dônû</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td><em>bâ?û</em></td>
<td><em>bânû</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples (59) and (60) show the distal demonstrative *hênû* ‘that’ which follows and refers to an event which normally is marked a verb or verb phrase.

(59) mâ *hênû* dyr hê jîpênà pê pê tà kʰ̄s tɔ  
    do that and.then 1S forget able.can still one CLF.time not  
    V DEM COORD PRO V MOD ASP NUM CLF NEG  
    By doing that, I can still never forget about that day.

(60) mâ *hênû* ṭà tʰɔ tʰ̄s kê dî ṭàbô tà kâpù hó  
    do that 3S become up PERF cooked.rice white one pot COMPL  
    V DEM PRO V V.DIR ASP N N NUM N ASP  
    By doing that it becomes a pot of white cooked-rice.

### 2.3.3 Classifiers

Classifiers in Kayah Monu are preceded by numerals. Classifiers accompany nouns to mark a specific class of nouns. Sometimes the classes differentiate based on a semantic feature such as the physical shape of the noun or the difference between “animacy” and “inanimacy”.

In some cases the classifier has the same form as the noun it classifies. Generally, most classifiers (CLF) follow numerals (NUM) which come after the head noun. However, sometimes classifiers precede numerals for humans. See the discussion on Table 15 for more detail on this.
The classifier usage depends on noun that is the head of a noun phrase. There are two kinds of classifiers: sortal and measure. Sortal classifiers are typical count type nouns and are semantically based. Measure classifiers are used to measure mass nouns and denote a container, weight, height, group, or amount.

Examples (61), (62), and (63) show sortal classifiers in noun phrases.

(61) ditʃó sú bá
    spoon three CLF.flat
    N   NUM CLF
    three spoons

(62) hí sú mè
    house three CLF.round.big
    N   NUM CLF
    three houses

(63) só tà bò
    tree one CLF.long and thin
    N   NUM CLF
    a tree
Table 13 is a list of semantic based sortal classifiers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classifiers</th>
<th>Semantic (Sortal)</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>pwɔ̀</em></td>
<td>human</td>
<td>king, woman, man, children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sɔ̀</em></td>
<td>human</td>
<td>king, woman, man, children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dɔ̀</em></td>
<td>mammals, rodents, four legs animal</td>
<td>elephant, dog, horse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bɔ̀</em></td>
<td>long, thin, cylindrical, hair</td>
<td>tree, snake, river, pencil, hairs,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>da</em></td>
<td>village</td>
<td>vilalges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mù</em></td>
<td>plants</td>
<td>tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mè</em></td>
<td>big and rounded things</td>
<td>house, mango, banana, bugs, silkworms, mountain, stars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kʰɔ̀</em></td>
<td>vehicle</td>
<td>bicycle, bus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tjɔ̀</em></td>
<td>kind, non-human object things</td>
<td>desire, curry (kind)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>prɔ̀</em></td>
<td>generic</td>
<td>unspecified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bá</em></td>
<td>flat things</td>
<td>book, spoon, money, teeth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bá</em></td>
<td>animals or vehicles that fly and swim</td>
<td>birds, fish, plane, boat,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bɔ̀</em></td>
<td>pole, long, grass</td>
<td>pole, rope, grasses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>jù</em></td>
<td>subject, topic</td>
<td>story, news, bibliography, monograph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pùj</em></td>
<td>clothes</td>
<td>shirts, trousers, blankets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nì</em></td>
<td>day</td>
<td>days</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are also measure classifiers used in Kayah Monu. Some measure classifiers are shown in the following examples.

(64) ꟳ ꦗ ꦳ ꦸ ꦨ
water four **CLF.cup**

N NUM CLF
four cups of water

(65) ꟳ ꦗ ꦳ ꦨ ꦳ ꦧ ꦰ ꦮ ꦰ
3S money have five **CLF.flat**
PRO N V NUM CLF
He has five kyats.
Table 14 lists some measure classifiers with their related example usages.

Table 14 Measure Classifiers in Kayah Monu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classifiers</th>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Substance Measured</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bè</td>
<td>dish or cup</td>
<td>water, curry</td>
<td>a cup of water, a dish of curry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>métjûmû</td>
<td>finger</td>
<td>measure size</td>
<td>two inches, three feet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pû</td>
<td>bottle</td>
<td>oil, wine</td>
<td>three bottles of wine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kàpû</td>
<td>pot</td>
<td>rice, curry</td>
<td>a pot of rice/ curry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mè</td>
<td>round thing</td>
<td>water container made of bamboo</td>
<td>three water containers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pó</td>
<td>basket, bucket</td>
<td>water, oil</td>
<td>water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pló</td>
<td>heap</td>
<td>paddy, stone</td>
<td>a heap of paddy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mû</td>
<td>group</td>
<td>human</td>
<td>a group/team of people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>klû</td>
<td>plot</td>
<td>land</td>
<td>a field, plot,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kò</td>
<td>hole, cave</td>
<td>two holes, a cave</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰ˘sì</td>
<td>time</td>
<td>frequency, number of times,</td>
<td>once, twice,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?é</td>
<td>bag, pack</td>
<td>a bag of rice, a pack of salt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰ˘sì</td>
<td>pair things</td>
<td>windows, doors, hands, shoes</td>
<td>a window, two hands</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Table 15 shows the positions of classifiers for both human and non-human. The schematic constructions are [N Num Clf] and [N Clf Num]. The non-human classifier dò is used for four-leg animals and the human classifier pwè is the main classifier for human.

It is common for a semantically null prefix ʔâ- to attach to a classifier when the classifier precedes the numeral in a classifier phrase.

The human classifier sò ‘person’ only precedes the numbers "two, three, four, and five".
For all other classifiers, usually the classifiers follow the number, but for the numbers six and eight, and all multiples of ten, the classifier precedes the number as in the following.

**Table 15 The Positions of Classifiers in Kayah Monu**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Non-human</th>
<th>Human – só</th>
<th>Human – pwà</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>jī tà dò</td>
<td>NOT POSSIBLE</td>
<td>kōjō tà pwà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dog one CLF.animal</td>
<td></td>
<td>people one CLF.human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>jī kànř dò</td>
<td>kōjō só kànř</td>
<td>kōjō kànř pwà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dog two CLF.animal</td>
<td>people CLF.human two</td>
<td>people two CLF.human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>jī ?àdò sù só</td>
<td>NOT POSSIBLE</td>
<td>kōjō ?àpwà sù só</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dog CLF.animals three pair</td>
<td></td>
<td>people CLF.human three pair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>jī sù só tà dò</td>
<td>NOT POSSIBLE</td>
<td>kōjō sù só tà pwà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dog three pair one CLF.animal</td>
<td></td>
<td>people three pair one CLF.human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>jī ?àdò jī</td>
<td>NOT POSSIBLE</td>
<td>kōjō ?àpwà jī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dog CLF.animals ten</td>
<td></td>
<td>people CLF.human ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>jī ?àdò kànř jī</td>
<td>NOT POSSIBLE</td>
<td>kōjō ?àpwà kànř jī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dog CLF.animals two ten</td>
<td></td>
<td>people CLF.human two ten</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**2.3.4 Numerals**

The numeral systems of Kayah Monu are discussed in this section. Normally, most languages have a specific name for each number from one to ten, but the numeral system in Kayah Monu is different from others. In Kayah Monu, the number six is equivalent to three + Classifier (pairs), and the number eight is four + Classifier (pairs). The number seven and nine are different still, with seven having the combination of six (three + pairs) plus one and nine, the combination of eight (four + pairs) plus one as it can be seen in Table 16. The cardinal numbers from 11 to 19 are presented in Table 17.
### Table 16 Numbers 1 to 10 in Kayah Monu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kayah Monu Numerals</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Literal Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tà</td>
<td>‘one’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kànî</td>
<td>‘two’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sù</td>
<td>‘three’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lì</td>
<td>‘four’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jë</td>
<td>‘five’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sù só</td>
<td>‘six’</td>
<td>three + pair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sù só tà</td>
<td>‘seven’</td>
<td>three + pair + one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lì só</td>
<td>‘eight’</td>
<td>four + pair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lì só tà</td>
<td>‘nine’</td>
<td>four + pair + one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fí</td>
<td>‘ten’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 17 Numbers 11 to 19 in Kayah Monu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kayah Monu Numerals</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Literal Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fí tà</td>
<td>‘eleven’</td>
<td>ten + one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fí kànî</td>
<td>‘twelve’</td>
<td>ten + two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fí sù</td>
<td>‘thirteen’</td>
<td>ten + three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fí lì</td>
<td>‘fourteen’</td>
<td>ten + four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fí jë</td>
<td>‘fifteen’</td>
<td>ten + five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fí sù só</td>
<td>‘sixteen’</td>
<td>ten + three + pair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fí sù só tà</td>
<td>‘seventeen’</td>
<td>ten + three + pair + one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fí lì só</td>
<td>‘eighteen’</td>
<td>ten + four + pair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fí lì só tà</td>
<td>‘nineteen’</td>
<td>ten + four + pair + one</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 18 presents Kayah Monu numbers from twenty to ninety. Table 19 shows higher numbers in Kayah Monu. Such numbers jà ‘hundred’, sà ‘ten thousand’ and sí ‘hundred thousand’ are loan words from Burmese.
Table 18 Numbers 20 to 90 in Kayah Monu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kayah Monu Numerals</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Literal Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kànì ū́</td>
<td>‘twenty’</td>
<td>two + ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sù ū́</td>
<td>‘thirty’</td>
<td>three + ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ì ū́</td>
<td>‘forty’</td>
<td>four + ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jè ū́</td>
<td>‘fifty’</td>
<td>five + ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?àfì sùsó</td>
<td>‘sixty’</td>
<td>ten + six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sùsôtà ū́</td>
<td>‘seventy’</td>
<td>seven + ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?àfì lísó</td>
<td>‘eighty’</td>
<td>ten + eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lísôtà ū́</td>
<td>‘ninety’</td>
<td>nine + ten</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 19 Higher Numbers in Kayah Monu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kayah Monu Numerals</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tà jà</td>
<td>‘one hundred’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tà rř</td>
<td>‘one thousand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tà sž</td>
<td>‘ten thousand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tà sì</td>
<td>‘one hundred thousand’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3.5 Quantifiers

Quantifiers are modifiers of nouns that indicate quantity or scope. A quantifier expresses a referent’s definite or indefinite number or amount. There are six quantifiers in Kayah Monu and they are shown in Table 20.

Table 20 Quantifiers in Kayah Monu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quantifiers in Kayah Monu</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dòwè</td>
<td>many</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lóbò</td>
<td>all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tàk’lə</td>
<td>some</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tàkí</td>
<td>few</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tàkíp’hú</td>
<td>few</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tàsílì</td>
<td>few</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Example (67) shows that the quantifier dówè ‘many’ occurs after the noun in a noun phrase.

(67) hí ?àli hénù dówè
    house red that many
    N   ADJ DEM QUANT
many of those red houses

In examples (68) (an existential clause), dówè ‘many’ follows a copula and a verb.

(68) kànē ?á dówè
    bee be.exist many
    N   COP QUANT
The bees are many.

In examples (69), lóbò ‘all’ comes after the noun to function as an indefinite quantifier.

(69) hí lóbò
    house all
    N   QUANT
all houses

Example (70) shows the quantifier tákʰlā ‘some’ is normally added to a noun to create a non-specific plural.

(70) ḟí tákʰlā
    dog some
    N   QUANT
dogs (or) some dogs

In Kayah Monu, there cannot be both a CLfP and a quantifier in the same NP and it is ungrammatical as in (71) and (72).

(71) * hí tákʰlā sù mè ungrammatical
    house some three CLF.round.big
    N   QUANT NUM CLF
some three houses
In example (73), the quantifiers tâkípʰů and tâsĭli appear after the noun and both have the same meaning.

See section (3.2.5) for more on quantifiers.

### 2.3.6 Localizers

Localizers, also called relator nouns (Watters 136-137) and location nouns (Hartmann 2008: 93-95), are specialized words that function to provide a more specific locational reference to the location preposition dâ. Localizers form a closed class of nouns that cover much of the semantic territory of English prepositions. While they are not structurally equivalent to prepositions they are also not truly postpositions (Solnit 1997: 209). Localizers are not usually modified by any noun modifier, classifier, relative clause, demonstrative, possessor (Manson 2010: 241).

Kayah Monu has a number of localizers which co-occur with the location preposition dâ. All these localizers point out the specific location of the place denoted by the noun. In examples (74), (75), and (76), the localizers come after the noun and denote specific places or locations.
The child is under the house.

The localizers used in Kayah Monu are listed in Table 21.

**Table 21 Localizers of Kayah Monu**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Localizers in Kayah Monu</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>básá</td>
<td>about</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰ³ó</td>
<td>on/to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>já</td>
<td>for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰɔ̃</td>
<td>foot/base</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>klà</td>
<td>among</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kó</td>
<td>with/about</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kò</td>
<td>in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kòlà</td>
<td>under</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>là</td>
<td>under</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>là</td>
<td>beside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lò</td>
<td>from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ðʰ5</td>
<td>above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋajá</td>
<td>for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋnkłà</td>
<td>among</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋnkò</td>
<td>in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋnwékę</td>
<td>about</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋó</td>
<td>to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰì</td>
<td>top</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋnkʰlò</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.3.7 Uses of dó

One special feature of Kayah Monu is the word dó. In this research, dó is glossed and treated as preposition and relativizer. The uses of dó fall into two apparent categories: 1) PP: dó + NP (LCLZR) and 2) S': dó + S, which can be generalized into a single abstract syntactic representation.
2.3.7.1 Preposition

When dô ‘at’ is a preposition, it usually functions as a general location marker which encodes non-core participants. As a preposition, it contributes little semantic content and is usually accompanied by a localizer, or some word that further refines its semantic role – what might be called a semantic role marker (SRM).

Examples (77) and (78) show the location of use of the preposition dô Here, it follows the main verb and occurs with a phrase that includes a post-phrasal localizer.

(77) tʰòpʰàtʰi ʔó dô só kʰi
    bird   be.exist at tree top
    N      COP  PREP N  LCLZR
The bird is on the top of tree.

(78) pʰìtʃá pwàkʰó kʰlè nù dô hídû kó
    child  male run in at house in
    N      N    V   V.DIR PREP N  LCLZR
The boy ran inside of the house.

The location preposition dô also denotes motion from (source), motion to (goal), and beneficiary in prepositional phrase. More discussions are in (5.4.2), (5.4.4), and (5.4.5).

2.3.7.2 Relativizer

Relativizer dô ‘that’ is used to mark S’ constituents. When used as a relativizer, it follows the head noun to introduce a relative clause in a sentence. Examples (79) and (80) show the relativizer dô introducing a relative clause following the head noun.

(79) jí dô ʔà ʔá pʰìtʃá pʰó nù ʔà ʔó
    dog  that 3S.RSMP bite child child topic 3S bark
    N    REL PRO.RSMP V  N   N  TOP  PRO  V
The dog that bit the boy is barking.
The following example (81) shows both relativizer dá and location preposition dó co-occuring together in a single sentence. This prepositional use is used to show a goal without a localizer.

(81) pwàkʰó dá ?à hè ?i hè jì tjó dó jëkūkà
male that 3S.RSMP come give 1S water go at Yangon
N REL PRO.RSMP V V PRO N V PREP NPROP
the man who brings me water went to Yangon.

Example (82) shows the occurrence of prepositional dá marking a non-core argument, the beneficiary with a localizer Semantic Role Marker ?àjá ‘for’ following the noun phrase.

(82) ?à pʰɔʔá háʃf jē jì dó jîtêmè ?àjá
3S cook curry chicken meat at guest for
PRO V N N N PREP N LCLZR
She cooked chicken curry for the guests.

2.3.7.3 Temporal Preposition
Another use of dó is used to introduce adverbial time clauses. In the following example (83), dó introduces a temporal phrase. It may be used to indicate time but it must be a past time; which usually appears at the beginning of a story as standard story-telling opener.

(83) dó nîháninó ?àmúpwá ?àpə?àpʰá ?á tà pwà
when long.time.ago old.man powerful be.exist one CLF.human
PREP ADV N ADJ COP NUM CLF
Long time ago, there was a powerful old man.

When the argument of a time preposition is a clause and the prepositional phrase is functioning as an adjunct to another clause, the temporal clause is delimited by the temporal preposition dó ‘when’ and the clause final temporal marker subordinator
typically in connected discourse, the temporal clause occurs before
the main clause as the following example shows:

(84) \[
\text{[ [ dò hè pʰítʃá ?àkʰá ]}_\text{Subord} hè ?ó dò kʰɛ̌ kά ]}_\text{Main}
\]

\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{when} & 1S & child & while & 1S & live \\
\text{PREP} & PRO & N & SUBORD & PRO & V \text{ PREP NPROP N} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

When I was a child, I lived in China.

The connective uses of dò are listed in Table 22.

Table 22 Different Functions of dò

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Different functions of dò</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Part of Speech</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dò (locative)</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>dò NP (LCLZR)</td>
<td>preposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dò (beneficiary)</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>dò NP ?ajá</td>
<td>preposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dò (source)</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>dò NP (LCLZR)</td>
<td>preposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dò (goal)</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>dò NP (LCLZR)</td>
<td>preposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dò (as relativizer)</td>
<td>that</td>
<td>dò S_RC</td>
<td>relativizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dò (as temporal marker (past))</td>
<td>when ......</td>
<td>dò XP \text{time} \ (XP = NP or S)</td>
<td>preposition</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen in previous analysis, dò functions as a location preposition and it
precedes a noun to form a prepositional phrase whereas the relativizer dò precedes a
relative clause in a noun phrase; the temporal preposition dò appears with an
adverbial at the start position. Among these uses, the location prepositional use of dò
is by far the most common. One possible unifying hypothesis of all uses of dò is as a
general subordinator which marks constituents which modify another head.
Schematically this modification could take the following forms:

\[
\text{[X}_\text{head} (\text{dò} + \text{XP} + (\text{LCLZR}))_{\text{modifier}}] \text{ – for all uses except TIME}
\]

\[
\text{[ [dò + XP + (LCLZR) ] X}_\text{head}] \text{ - TIME}
\]

2.3.8 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are words that are used to connect words, phrases, or clauses. Two
general classes of conjunctions, coordinating and subordinating, are traditionally
distinguished (Shopen, 2007: 45). In this section coordinating conjunctions such as
kó ‘and/with’, ťımè ‘or’, and dò ‘and.then’ are discussed. Subordinating conjunctions
also will be presented following them. The conjunctions of Kayah Monu are listed in
Table 23. See sections (6.2) and (6.3) for more on clausal conjunctions For more on nominal conjunctions see section (3.2.9.2).

Table 23 Conjunctions in Kayah Monu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conjunctions</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Conjunct Type</th>
<th>Relationship</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kó</td>
<td>and/with</td>
<td>Words and NPs</td>
<td>Coordinating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tə mê</td>
<td>or</td>
<td>Phrases or Clauses</td>
<td>Coordinating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dê</td>
<td>and.then</td>
<td>Clauses</td>
<td>Coordinating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mé</td>
<td>if</td>
<td>Clauses</td>
<td>Subordinating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>təlô</td>
<td>until</td>
<td>Clauses</td>
<td>Subordinating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᵁəkʰóəkʰjè</td>
<td>because.of</td>
<td>Clauses</td>
<td>Subordinating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mətītənû</td>
<td>because</td>
<td>Clauses</td>
<td>Subordinating</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3.9 Final Parties

In this section, some sentence final particles which are commonly found in Kayah Monu are presented. Declarative, imperative, and interrogative final particles are discussed in turn.

2.3.9.1 Declarative

There are three declarative final particles appear in Kayah Monu. They are 1) já, 2) hó, and 3) hépê respectively.

2.3.9.1.1 Final Particle já

The particle já has a sentence final function in Kayah Monu. It usually occurs at the end of the sentence. Examples (85) and (86) show the usage of the particle já at the end of sentence.

(85) lôʔa tô tʰáʔ já
   dry bundle PERF collect together SF
   V N ASP V ADV PRT
   After you have dried (the bundles of unthreshed rice) then collect (them).

(86) bû tʰá mà sʰà já
   beat rice.unthreshed PERF do thresh SF
   V N ASP V V PRT
   After beating (them), thresh the unthreshed rice.
Examples (87) and (88) show several clauses embedded in a single sentence constructed with more than one final particle já. However each use is clause final.

(87) ʔà sì hó dý wépwá kó pʰitʃá kɛ já dý mà ʔá já
3S die COMPL and.then man and child see SF and.then do eat SF
PRO V ASP COORD N CONJ N V PRT COORD V V PRT
When it (prey) was died and both men and children saw it, then (they) cut up its meat to eat.

(88) kʰĩkʰũ já tʰɔ wísú já kó didɔ
mix SF PERF mix SF with flat.warren.ladle
V PRT ASP V PRT APPL N
It must be mixed and then mix by using flat wooden ladle.

já has no apparent semantic contribution as it seems to only mark the end of declarative clauses.

2.3.9.1.2 Aspect Marker hó

The particle hó is used to express the completive aspect—that the action is done. It usually co-occurs with perfective aspect markers kɛ ‘finish’ and often with tʰɔ ‘finish’ to show completed action or event. It can occur after the NP Obj and thus often appears clause final.

In examples (89) and (90) the particle hó appears clause final and functions to mark the completive aspect.

(89) ʃi sì kɛ hó
dog die PERF COMPL
N V ASP ASP
The dog just died (recently).

(90) pʰitʃá ʔá tʰɔ dì hó
child eat PERF cooked.rice COMPL
N V ASP N ASP
The children ate the rice.
hó can appear after the verb, and not sentence final, with no apparent change in meaning as in (91).

(91) pʰìtʃáʔá tʰà hó dì
  child  eat  PERF  COMPL  cooked.rice
  N  V  ASP  ASP  N
  The children ate the rice.

2.3.9.1.3 Final Particle hépé
In Kayah Monu, the particle for the future hépé appears sentence final. It expresses the irrealis mood and sometime co-occurs with irrealis aspect marker kà ‘will’ in a sentence. Examples (92), (93), and (94) show the particle for future hépé in sentence final position.

(92) ʔà kà ʔá dì  hépé
  3S  will  eat  cooked-rice  SF.future
  PRO  ASP  V  N  PRT
  She will eat the rice.

(93) hè pwè nǐbá pó mòtákā  hépé
  1S  buy  own  addional  car  SF.future
  PRO  V  V  ADJ  N  PRT
  I will additionally buy and own a car.

(94) hè sálésáì hēpē
  1S  rejoice  SF.future
  PRO  V  PRT
  I will also rejoice.

Examples (95) and (96) show the future particle hépé following an interrogative pronoun in the final position in interrogative sentences.

(95) pèwàpē nà kà mà titè  hépé
  tomorrow  2S  will  do  what  SF.future
  ADV  PRO  ASP  V  INTRG  PRT
  What will you do tomorrow?
2.3.9.2 Imperative

In Kayah Monu, the final particle *né* or *nį* shows that the actor is giving a softened command or polite opinion. Among these two, *nį* is a loan word from Burmese. Examples (97) and (98) show the assertive command usage of *né* or *nį*.

(97) pàkʰʔà hé nú mà támá né
as 3S say be do not IMP.polite
PREP PRO V COP V NEG IMP
Don't do it as he said.

(98) kànɛʔí hè nį
remember 1S IMP.polite
V PRO IMP
Remember me please.

The following example (99) shows the actor is giving quite strong command by using high intonation with imperative negation *má‘ not’ without *né* or *nį*.

(99) mà mà
do not
V NEG
Don't do it!

In examples (100) and (101), the hortative particle *tʃó* and *mó* are used to express polite opinion in a clause.

(100) pà tʃó ló
1P go HORT
PRO V IMP
Lets go.
2.3.9.3 Interrogative

There are only two final question particles lē and ṭvà. Both are discussed below and detail in section (7.4).

In example (102), the interrogative proform mòpè appears in the object position as a recipient of ‘give’ while the final article lē occurs at the end of the sentence.

(102) nà kà lì mòpè lē
2S will give who QP
PRO ASP V INTRG Q
Whom will you give it?

The interrogative form ‘why’ also has two parts. The interrogative proform màiṭṭè appears in the sentence initial position while the final particle lē occurs in the sentence final position.

Example (103) shows the structure of ‘why’ in Kayah Monu.

(103) màiṭṭè nà hè tɔ lē
why 2S come not QP
INTRG PRO V NEG Q
Why don't you come?

For ‘yes-no’ close questions, the final question word particle ṭvà is used in Kayah Monu. Example (104) shows the form of a ‘yes-no’ question. The answer for this type of question would be ‘yes or no’ or the verb phrase. (see also section 7.4.1).

(104) nà sákànà mʊnù jɔ ṭvà
2S understand Monu language QP
PRO V NPROP N Q
Do you understand Kayah Monu language?
2.3.10 Directional Verbs

Directional verbs are an example of complex verb serialization and they are very common in Kayah Monu. They are inseparable from the main verb because if moved they will be understood differently. All directional verbs are still used as independent verbs, although in concurrence with main verbs some have developed more specific meanings.

When the main predicate is a verb of motion, the directional verb describes the direction of motion of theme. The first verb is interpreted as the main verb and the second verb as the directional verb. In these, the second verb gives a directional specification to the action of the first verb. Examples can be seen in the following.

(105) ?à textfield létext dì textfield kàpù
      3S  lift  down cooked.rice  pot
      PRO  V  V.DIR  N  N
She lifts down the pot of rice.

(106) bětřá  jěsú  kè  text těóó  kè  dá  móktíó
      Lord  Jesus  return  up  PERF  at  sky
      N  NPROP  V  V.DIR  ASP  PREP  N
Lord Jesus ascended to the heaven.

(107) ?à  kè  wěktí  wě  kō
      3S  return  cross  yard  in
      PRO  V  V.DIR  N  LCLZR
He crosses through the yard.

(108) ?à  tʃò  nù  tā  dō  hídō  kū
      3S  lift  go.in  box  at  house  in
      PRO  V  V.DIR  N  PREP  N  LCLZR
He carries the box into the house.

The following examples show non-motion action predicates which are followed by directional verbs. When the main predicate is not a verb of motion, the directional verb describes different meanings as in (109), (110), and (111). These uses are more like exhaustive aspectual marking.
We nominated our leaders.

The country will grow.

There were two kinds of animals he created.

In examples (112) and (113), the directional verbs are following state verbs. In the first sentence, the actor looks into the water and sees the fish while in the second example, the actor recalls or brings back the memory of something. The semantics of this usage is difficult to understand.

He saw (down) fish in the water.

He went out from the house.
The following sentences show that directional verbs can also be used as independent verbs as in (115) and (116).

(115) ?à lò dà jïkïkï
3S down at Yangon
PRO V.DIR PREP NPROP
She goes down to Yangon.

(116) ?à nù dò ñidï kô
3S go.in at house in
PRO V.DIR PREP N LCLZR
He enters the house.

The following Table 24 shows some preverbal and post-verbal directional verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preverbal</th>
<th>Main Verb</th>
<th>Postverbal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hât ‘out’</td>
<td>t’h ‘up’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’h ‘up’</td>
<td>lô / lôtë ‘down’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lô / lôtë ‘down’</td>
<td>wïki ‘cross’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nù ‘go.in’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.4 Word Formation
This section presents some morphological features in Kayah Monu. The morphological processes of compounding, affixation, elaborate expression and reduplication are analyzed.

2.4.1 Compoundings
In Kayan Monu’s nominal compounds, the primary head noun may appear as the first member of compound or the second. The possible grammatical relations holding between the two constituents of a compound are basically the relations that hold in syntactic constructions: subordination, coordination and attribution (Bisetto & Scalise, 2005: 326). In Kayan Monu, subordinate compounds are often right-headed; attributive compounds are often left-headed; and coordinate compounds are double-headed.
Timothy Shopen (2007: 30) states:

*Endocentric compounds denote a subclass of items referred to by one of their elements and this element can be treated as the head of the compound. In contrast, exocentric compounds denote something which is different from either of their components. Coordinate compounds consist of two juxtaposed nouns which refer to a unitary concept.*

**The following compound nouns listed in**

Table 25 are endocentric right-headed subordinate compound. These compounds are related to the possessive noun phrase construction. Two nouns combine together to form a single noun, where the first noun functions as the possessor of the second one, and the possessive ?à can be optionally omitted [N (?à) N], as shown and compared in examples (117a) and (117b).

(117) (a)    (117) (b)
só ?à sá    só sá
tree 3S.Poss fruit    tree fruit
‘fruit’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Literal translation</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>só-sá</td>
<td>tree-fruit</td>
<td>‘fruit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>só-pʰɔ</td>
<td>tree-branch</td>
<td>‘branch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>só-lá</td>
<td>tree-leaf</td>
<td>‘leaf’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰɔ-núʃuí</td>
<td>cow-milk</td>
<td>‘milk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>błę-ʃ Şi</td>
<td>tongue-liquid</td>
<td>‘spit (noun)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰà-sʰɔ</td>
<td>chin-hair</td>
<td>‘beard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰó-ʔàsʰó</td>
<td>bird-hair</td>
<td>‘feather’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mísá-pʰɛló</td>
<td>face-seed</td>
<td>‘eye’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰokʰɛ-sábłé</td>
<td>tooth-cover</td>
<td>‘gums’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mít-kʰú</td>
<td>fire-smoke</td>
<td>‘smoke’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The compound nouns listed in Table 26 are endocentric left-headed attributive compounds. They have an attributive (head modifier) relation between the two constituents, where the first word is the head noun and the second constituent
modifies it. The compound words in the following table occur as noun-noun pairs \([N+N]\), noun-adjective pairs \([N+ADJ]\), and noun-localizer pairs \([N+LCLZR]\).

Table 26 Endocentric Left-headed Attributive Compound Nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Literal translation</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>フィ水</td>
<td>water-hot</td>
<td>‘tea/coffee’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>フィ瓶</td>
<td>water-bottle</td>
<td>‘water bottle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ベ腐</td>
<td>bean-rotten</td>
<td>‘soy bean’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>お米</td>
<td>rice-white</td>
<td>‘white rice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>土粉</td>
<td>soil-powder</td>
<td>‘dust’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>女人</td>
<td>child-female</td>
<td>‘daughter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>姊女</td>
<td>sister-female</td>
<td>‘sister (younger)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>部屋下</td>
<td>house-under</td>
<td>‘area under house’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some exocentric or idiomatic compound nouns in Kayah Monu are listed in Table 27 and they are \([N+N]\). In some cases the meaning of the compound seems more transparent than in others but it is not equal to the meaning of its components.

Table 27 Exocentric or Idiomatic Compound Nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Literal translation</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>血水</td>
<td>blood-water</td>
<td>‘energy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>頭硬</td>
<td>head-hard</td>
<td>‘stubborn person’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>石穴</td>
<td>stone-hole</td>
<td>‘cave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>河子</td>
<td>river-child</td>
<td>‘stream’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Coordinate compound nouns are presented in Table 28. They are composed by two elements that have the same meaning or opposite meaning \([N+N]\).

Table 28 Nominal Coordinate Compound Nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compound words</th>
<th>Literal translation</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>母父</td>
<td>mother-father</td>
<td>‘parent’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>男子</td>
<td>child-male</td>
<td>‘son’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>男子</td>
<td>kid-male</td>
<td>‘boy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>子孙</td>
<td>child-grandchild</td>
<td>‘descendants’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>大小</td>
<td>big-small</td>
<td>‘size’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>長短</td>
<td>long-short</td>
<td>‘length’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A compound noun made up of more than two words is shown in example (118) and totally of four nouns are combining together as a single noun \([N+N+N+N]_N\).

(118) ʃi m̩a k̩a p̩à

water mother country father

\[N \quad N \quad N \quad N\]

King (or) leader

### 2.4.2 Affixation

Affixation in Kayah Monu occurs with the ‘ṭa-’ ‘ʔa-’ and ‘p̣wà-’ prefixes appearing on stems that acquire new meanings. These three prefixes are the three primary nominalizers in Kayah Monu. They all attach to verbs and adjectives to create nouns. The nominalizer ‘ṭa-’ is used more for verb nominalizations; both ‘ṭa-’ and ‘ʔa-’ are used for adjectives, while ‘p̣wà-’ is used for agent nominalizations.

#### 2.4.2.1 Verb nominalization

In Table 29, some de-verbal nouns are presented where the nominalizer ‘ṭa-’ is added to the verbs to create nouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. m̩a</td>
<td>‘make/do’</td>
<td>ṭa-m̩a</td>
<td>‘job/ work’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. ʔa</td>
<td>‘eat’</td>
<td>ṭa-ʔa</td>
<td>‘food’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. d̩otʃe</td>
<td>‘check’</td>
<td>ṭa-d̩otʃe</td>
<td>‘exam’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. h̪e̪ba</td>
<td>‘speak’</td>
<td>ṭa-h̪e̪ba</td>
<td>‘story’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. m̩akúʔa</td>
<td>‘trade’</td>
<td>ṭa-m̩akúʔa</td>
<td>‘trading’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. p̣ʔaẉʔa</td>
<td>‘earn’</td>
<td>ṭa-p̣ʔaẉʔa</td>
<td>‘living’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. s̪ʔa</td>
<td>‘hurt’</td>
<td>ṭa-s̪ʔa</td>
<td>‘disease’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. ṭak̩ʔas̪j</td>
<td>‘hate’</td>
<td>ṭa-ṭak̩ʔas̪j</td>
<td>‘hate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. tʃábá</td>
<td>‘worship’</td>
<td>ṭa-tʃábá</td>
<td>‘worship’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j. tʃoltʃás̪b̪a</td>
<td>‘experience’</td>
<td>ṭa-tʃoltʃás̪b̪a</td>
<td>‘experience’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k. sá</td>
<td>‘bear fruit’</td>
<td>ṭa-sá</td>
<td>‘fruit’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.4.2.2 Adjective nominalization

Adjective nominalization nouns are listed in Table 30 where the nominalizer ‘ʔà-’ and ‘tą-’ are added to an adjective to make a noun.

Table 30 Adjective Nominalizations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. bó</td>
<td>‘white’</td>
<td>ʔà-bó</td>
<td>‘white’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. ī</td>
<td>‘red’</td>
<td>ʔà-ī</td>
<td>‘red’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. múpwą́</td>
<td>‘old’</td>
<td>ʔà-múpwą́</td>
<td>‘old person’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. ʔó</td>
<td>‘tall’</td>
<td>ʔà-ʔó</td>
<td>‘tall person’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. sālèsālā</td>
<td>‘happy’</td>
<td>ʔà-sālèsālā</td>
<td>‘happiness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. sāp’lădó</td>
<td>‘angry’</td>
<td>ʔà-sāp’lădó</td>
<td>‘anger’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. sāplắ</td>
<td>‘sad’</td>
<td>ʔà-sāplắ</td>
<td>‘sadness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. səwą̄</td>
<td>‘shy’</td>
<td>ʔà-səwą̄</td>
<td>‘shame’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.4.2.3 Agent Nominalization

In Kayah Monu, agent nominalizations are also very common when the prefix pwā- ‘person’ is attached to verbs to create nouns. Some agent nominalizations are exhibited in Table 31.

Table 31 Agent Nominalizations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. mà</td>
<td>‘do’</td>
<td>pwā-mà</td>
<td>‘doer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. bó</td>
<td>‘create’</td>
<td>pwā-bó</td>
<td>‘creator’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. dāsījā</td>
<td>‘inform’</td>
<td>pwā-dāsījā</td>
<td>‘informant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. hébā́</td>
<td>‘speak’</td>
<td>pwā-hébā́</td>
<td>‘speaker’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. màkų́tā</td>
<td>‘trade’</td>
<td>pwā-màkų́tā</td>
<td>‘trader’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.4.3 Elaborate Expressions

In this section, different kinds of elaborate expressions, such as elaborate nouns and elaborate adjectives are discussed. For noun elaborate expressions, different kinds of phonetic parallel forms are combined with nouns or verbs which are semantically parallel to form noun elaborate expressions.
Table 32 shows noun elaborate expressions where the first syllable and the third syllable are phonetically identical and the second and the fourth are semantically similar. The following Kayah Monu elaborate expressions have a pattern of ABAC.

### Table 32 ABAC Pattern of Noun Elaborate Expressions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Literal translation</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t̠-pʰú-t̠-wè</td>
<td>NOM-child-NOM-elder</td>
<td>‘animal’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t̠-pʰ-t̠-mà</td>
<td>NOM-work-NOM-work</td>
<td>‘work’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t̠-wè-t̠-kè</td>
<td>NOM-news-NOM-story</td>
<td>‘subject matter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?à-wf-?à-kè</td>
<td>NOM-about-NOM-about</td>
<td>‘subject matter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?à-s³-?à-k³á</td>
<td>NOM-time-NOM-time</td>
<td>‘time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?à-p³-?à-s³á</td>
<td>NOM-difficult-NOM-ache</td>
<td>‘difficulty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?à-plè-?à-wɔ</td>
<td>NOM-clean-NOM-good</td>
<td>‘goodness’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 33 shows adjective elaborate expressions where the first syllable and the third syllable are phonetically similar and the second and the fourth are semantically similar.

### Table 33 ABAC Pattern of Adjective Elaborate Expressions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Literal translation</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sá-lè-sá-lò</td>
<td>mind-happy-mind-happy</td>
<td>‘happy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?à-mò-?à-bá</td>
<td>be-happy-be-pleased</td>
<td>‘content’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?à-tsé-?à-tʃò</td>
<td>3S-difficult-3S-difficult</td>
<td>‘difficult’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?à-pɔ-?à-p³á</td>
<td>3S-powerful-3S-powerful</td>
<td>‘powerful’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kà-tʃú-kà-bá</td>
<td>Ø-cold-Ø-cold</td>
<td>‘cold’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sometimes pronouns are used to form elaborate expressions as in example (119).

(119) ?à  mà  ?à  pʰà  
3S.Poss mother 3S.Poss father  
PRO  N  PRO  N  
his parents

The following Kayah Monu elaborate expressions have a pattern of AABB. Examples (120), (121), and (122) show this kind of AABB elaborate expressions.
(120)  tʃo tʃo pwɔ pwɔ
    ‘forever’

(121)  tʃe tʃe pɔ pɔ
    ‘really hard’

(122)  tʃo tʃo kɛ kɛ
    ‘travel around’

2.4.4 Reduplication
Kayah Monu has reduplicated forms. Sometimes adjectives reduplicate and
sometimes adverbs reduplicate. The reduplication expresses a strong feeling by the
speaker and can often be viewed as an intensifier. The following two examples show
reduplication.

(123)  hɛ  màtʰié  hí  ?àmè  dó  dó  tà  mè
    1S  build  house  CLF.round.big  big  big  one  CLF.round.big
    PRO  V  N  CLF  ADJ  ADJ  NUM  CLF

I build a very big house.

(124)  ğí  kʰlé  pʰwɛ  pʰwɛ
    dog  run  quickly  quickly
    N  V  ADV  ADV

The dog ran very quickly.

2.5 Summary
This chapter presented the word classes including nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs,
pronouns, demonstratives, numerals, classifiers, quantifiers, preposition, localizers,
conjunctions, particles, directional verbs. The morphological processes that are
found in Kayah Monu were also discussed.
Chapter 3
Noun Phrase

3.1 Introduction
This chapter presents the structure of noun phrases in Kayah Monu. Different types of noun phrases are discussed. It deals with several aspects of noun phrase in Kayah Monu including pronouns, possession, quantification, noun phrase coordination, and nominal compounds. This section also outlines the internal structure and constituent order within a noun phrase.

Kroeger defines noun phrases as “phrasal constituents whose head is a noun and it can function as subjects, primary or secondary objects, and objects of prepositions” (2005: 87). A Kayah Monu noun phrase is head initial, except that a possessive can precede the head noun. The following schema is the general structure for noun phrases in Kayah Monu:

\[ NP \rightarrow (\text{PossNP}) \text{N}_{\text{Head}} (\text{ADJ}^*) (\text{RC}) \begin{cases} (\text{ClfP}) \\ (\text{QntP}) \end{cases} (\text{DEM}) (\text{TOP}) \]

According to this phrase structure rule, the head noun can be preceded by an optional possessive noun phrase (PossNP) and followed by an optional adjective phrase (AP) or relative clause (RC). The last part of the noun phrase would be either a quantifier phrase (QntP) or classifier phrase (ClfP) followed by an optional demonstrative (DEM) and optional topic marker (TOP).

3.2 Sub-constituents of Noun Phrase
In total, there are seven sub-constituents of NP in Kayah Monu. They are 1) Possessive Noun Phrase, 2) Adjective Phrase, 3) Relative Clause, 4) Quantifier Phrase (usually Numeral), 5) Classifier Phrase, 6) Demonstrative, and 7) Topic Marker respectively.

The following example shows a noun phrase in Kayah Monu with most of these.
3.2.1 The Head of the Noun Phrase

There are four types of words which function as head-nouns in Kayah Monu. They are: 1) common noun, 2) pronoun, 3) proper noun, and 4) demonstrative respectively. Below are examples of head-nouns in Kayah Monu.

3.2.1.1 Common Noun as Head-Noun

In Kayah Monu, common nouns often occur as the head-noun. The common noun hí ‘house’ functions as head and is followed by the adjectives, numeral and classifier in example (126).

(126) ?à  hí  ?àlí  dó  sù  mè

3S.Poss house red big three CLF.round.big

POSS N ADJ ADJ NUM CLF DEM

His father's three red big houses

In example (127), fí ‘the dog’ is a common noun which functions as the subject argument of the verb sì ‘die’. It appears without any modifiers.

(127) fí  sì  kè  hó

dog die PERF COMPL

N V ASP ASP

The dog just died (recently).

The head-noun ‘dò pòká’ used in this example also illustrates a [NN] string used as compound and not as a nominal modifier.

(128) dò  pòká  pɔ̀  fí

village head.man beat dog

N N V N

The headman hits the dog.
3.2.1.2 Pronoun as Head-Noun

When a pronoun functions as a head-noun it can be only modified with numerals. A pronoun is in the subject position in example (129).

(129) ?àsè sò sù tfépwè ?á dì

\[
\begin{array}{l}
3P \text{ CLF.human three try eat cooked.rice} \\
\text{PRO CLF NUM V V N} \\
\text{They, these three, try to eat rice.}
\end{array}
\]

3.2.1.3 Proper Noun as Head-Noun

A proper noun can also function as a head-noun in the subject and object positions in (130).

(130) pʰàbò pàjá pʰôtú

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Phabaw hit Phalu} \\
\text{NPROP V NPROP} \\
\text{Phabaw hits Phalu.}
\end{array}
\]

3.2.1.4 Demonstrative as Head-Noun

In Kayah Monu, a demonstrative can be a noun and appear at either subject or object position as in (131) and (132).

(131) hè ?á hênù

\[
\begin{array}{l}
1S \text{ eat that} \\
\text{PRO V DEM} \\
\text{I eat that.}
\end{array}
\]

(132) hèʔù mí ?á tà

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{this be 3S.Poss thing} \\
\text{DEM COP PRO N} \\
\text{This (thing) is hers.}
\end{array}
\]

In the following example (133), the demonstrative pro-form locative is a head-noun and it functions as a subject in a zero copula existential clause (see section 5.2.2 for more on existential clauses).
3.2.2 Possessive Noun Phrase

There is no special possessive form for any pronoun in Kayah Monu. Possessors are pronouns, possessive ?à and nouns preceding the head-noun. Types of possessive noun phrases are commonly seen as (1) [PRO + N_{Possessed}], (2) [NP_{Poss} + N_{Possessed}], (3) [NP_{Poss} ?à/?àsè N_{Possessed}].

3.2.2.1 [PRO + N_{Possessed}] type Possessive Noun Phrase

In example (134), the pronoun hè which is the same as all other 1S pronouns is followed by the head noun to form a possessive noun phrase.

(134) hè mọ́

1S.Poss mother
PRO N
my mother

3.2.2.2 [NP_{Poss} + N_{Possessed}] type Possessive Noun Phrase

The following example (135) shows the possessed noun hí ‘house’ possessed by ?à pʰà ‘his father’ which is itself a possessor noun phrase.

(135) ?à pʰà hí

3S.Poss father house
PRO N N
his father’s house

3.2.2.3 [NP_{Poss} ?à/?àsè N_{Possessed}] type Resumptive Possessive Noun Phrase

?à and ?àsè also functions as resumptive pronouns in possessive phrases. They only occur between the third person possessor noun phrases (singular or plural) and the possessed noun as in (136) and (137).
The three boys' dog

The three boys' dog

Example (138) shows the resumptive pronoun ?à co-occur with the head of the possessed noun in a complex noun phrase.

It is ungrammatical to have combinations of a 1S possessive pronoun or 2S possessive pronoun with the resumptive pronoun ?à together in a phrase. Examples (139) and (140) show ungrammatical phrases with the resumptive pronoun ?à.

3.2.3 Adjective Phrase

Adjective modifiers in Kayah Monu normally occur after the head noun. Thus the basic order of constituent in the Kayah Monu NP is: N_{head} (AdjP) as seen in the following examples.
Examples (141) and (142) show adjectives (with an optional ?à-) which modify head nouns.

(141) hí ṭàdó
   house big
   N ADJ
   big house

(142) tà hí àsà ṭàdó
   3S.Poss house new big
   POSS N ADJ ADJ
   his new big house

(143) hè mí ṭàhó
   1S be tall
   PRO COP ADJ
   I am tall.

Interestingly, ṭà- is not possible when it is used as a predicative adjective followed by perfective and completive aspect markers as in (144).

(144) ditjá nū (*tà) lì kè hó
   spoon topic red PERF COMPL
   N TOP ADJ ASP ASP
   the spoon became red (color).

It is unusual but possible for more than one adjective to occur after the head noun in Kayah Monu as in example (145).

(145) ditjá ṭàli àsà àkó
   spoon red new hot
   N ADJ ADJ ADJ
   the red new hot spoon
Adverbs often function as adjective intensifiers, conveying a greater or lesser degree. In the following examples, all adverbs intensify the preceding adjectives. Each can only be used with the appropriate semantic type of adjective.

In example (146), both intensifier adverbs ‘lidé’ and ‘dillé’ intensify a degree of temperature or environment state.

(146) sèbα dó ?ãkó lidé / dillé
   glass that hot very very
   N REL ADJ INTS INTS
   the very hot glass

The three intensifier adverbs ‘tjélèwá’, ‘dómåti’, and ‘nótfåkå’ intensify degrees of emotion in (147).

(147) hè sáplå tjélèwá / dómåti / nótfåkå
   1S dejected deeply very extremely
   PRO ADJ INTS INTS INTS
   I am very dejected

The following two intensifier adverbs ‘kåpi’ and ‘dómåti’ modify degrees of size.

(148) hì mè dó dómåti / kåpi tå mè
   house CLF.round.big big very very one CLF.round.big
   N CLF ADJ INTS INTS NUM CLF
   A very big house

The following two intensifier adverbs ‘drillè’ and ‘tjöprötfjilè’ modify events of speed.

(149) ?à hébå pʰwè drillè / tjöprötfjilè
   3S speak quickly very very
   PRO V ADV INTS INTS
   He speaks very quickly.
3.2.4 Relative Clause

A relative clause is a kind of subordinate clause which modifies the head noun within a noun phrase (Kroeger 2005: 230). Details are discussed in the complex clauses section 6.3.2. The frame of a Kayah Monu relative clause is:

\[
\text{[N}_\text{Head} [d\dot{o}.......(?\dot{a}_1).......(n\dot{u})]_\text{NP} (?\dot{a}_2).........]
\]

?\dot{a}_1 marks a relative clause internal resumptive pronoun referring back to the head noun and

?\dot{a}_2 marks NP if NP in relative clause has been topicalized.

Example (150) illustrates five basic parts of a relative clause construction: the head noun (jî ‘dog’), the modifying clause (p\textsuperscript{h}îtf\textsuperscript{a} p\textsuperscript{h}ô p\textsuperscript{a}_j\textsuperscript{å} n\dot{u} ‘the boy hit’), the topic marker (n\dot{u}) and the relativizer (d\dot{o} ‘that’) which links the modifying clause to the head and the resumptive pronoun (?\dot{a}) after the relative clause. The head noun actually has two different roles in this example: it functions as the subject of the main clause, but at the same time it is interpreted as being the object of the modifying clause. As this example illustrates, the relative clause in Kayah Monu is a post-nominal relative clause, with the modifying clause always following the head noun.

3.2.5 Quantifier Phrase

In Kayah Monu, lôbô ‘all’, dôwê ‘many’, tâk\textsuperscript{h}î/ tâsîlî ‘few’, and tâk\textsuperscript{h}ô ‘some’ function grammatically as quantifiers. In Kayah Monu, there cannot be both a ClfP and a quantifier in the same NP (see more in 2.3.5). Examples (151) and (152) show quantifiers in noun phrases.

(151) hî dôwê
    house many
    N QUANT
    many houses
In Kayah Monu, the quantifier tâkʰlɔ́ ‘some’ is normally added to a noun to create a non-specific plural as in examples (153) and (154).

(153) já tâkʰlɔ́
    dog some
    N QUANT
    dogs (or) some dogs

(154) há tâkʰlɔ́
    house some
    N QUANT
    some houses (more than few less than many)

3.2.6 Classifier Phrase

Classifier phrases usually individuate nouns in a noun phrase. Classifier phrases can also use measure classifiers to show quantities of a mass noun. Lists of different types of classifiers are in section (2.3.3). The frame for a classifier phrase is:

ClfP ——> N Num CLF

Classifier phrases use a numeral and a specific sortal classifier based on the semantic properties (shape, size, humanness, etc.) of the head noun to individuate a specific number of objects as in examples (155) and (156).

(155) já sù dò
    dog three CLF.animal
    N NUM CLF
    three dogs

(156) tɔ̀ kànì bá
    fish two CLF.flat
    N NUM CLF
    two fishes
The classifier usually follow adjectives and numbers in NP but it can also precede them as in (157) and (158).

(157) ?à  hí  ?ámè  dó  
    3S.Poss  house  CLF.round.big  big  
    POSS  N  CLF  ADJ  
    his big house

(158) hí  dó  ?ámè  lì  só  
    house  big  CLF.round.big  four  pair  
    N  ADJ  CLF  NUM  N  
    eight houses

In example (159), the head noun and classifier have the same classifier word form. These are called auto-classifiers (‘self-classifiers’ Solnit 1997: 200) where the head noun is repeated in the classifier phrase for counting (Manson 2010: 220).

(159) dò  sù  dò  
    village  three  Clf  
    N  NUM  clf  
    three villages

In examples (160) and (161), the number and classifier cannot appear together with the quantifier.

(160) tì  (* tákhlà)  sù  dó  (ungrammatical)  
    dog  some  three  CLF.animal  
    N  QUANT  NUM  CLF  
    some three dogs

(161) tì  sù  dó  (* tákhlà)  (ungrammatical)  
    dog  three  CLF.animal  some  
    N  NUM  CLF  QUANT  
    some three dogs

Sometimes more than one classifier phrase appears in order to express a partitive meaning. Examples (162) and (163) show more than one classifier in clause.
two of four houses are red

We each cook each curry per person (Lit: one person cooks one curry).

**Clause final classifier phrases**

In Kayah Monu, the classifier phrase often appears clause final position if it is not a negative sentence. It can occur far away from its head noun. Consider the following examples from Kayah Monu:

(164) ṭè mbè klà kànlì mè mì ?àlì
         house four CLF.round.big among two CLF.round.big be red

(163) pà pH|R| hàsí tà pwà tà tjó
         1P cook curry one CLF.human one CLF.non-human

Two of four houses are red

We each cook each curry per person (Lit: one person cooks one curry).

There were two kinds of animal he created.

One animal crawls and goes with its belly.

The old man built a house in the field.

These ‘moved’ classifier phrases come from object (164), (166) and from subject (165). More investigation is needed.
3.2.7 Demonstrative
Demonstratives are deictic modifiers of nouns that point to the time, place, or situation in which the speaker is speaking. This class consists of héʔù 'this' and hénù 'that'. The position of this type of modifier is after the head noun.

In example (167), the two demonstratives héʔù 'this' and hénù 'that' follow the head noun.

(167) há hénù dó kʰlò há héʔù
house that big more.than house this
N DEM ADJ ADV N DEM
that house is bigger than this house

Example (168) shows the distal demonstrative hénù 'that' follows many NP constituents but still modifies the noun.

(168) ʔà pʰà há ʔàlì dó sù mè hénù
3S.Poss father house red big three CLF.round.big that
POSS N N ADJ ADJ NUM CLF DEM
that three red big houses of his father

3.2.8 Topic Marker
Lambrecht states that “the topic of a sentence is the thing which the proposition expressed by the sentence is ABOUT” (1994: 118). Example (169) shows the topic marker nū co-occur with the copula mī in an equative copula clause.

(169) sásá héʔù nū mí jósá
fruit this topic be banana
N DEM TOP COP N
This (type of) fruit is a banana.

Example (170) shows topic marker follows a demonstrative to mark the dependent clause and it is followed by the main independent clause.

(170) tá màltʰä ʔaná héʔù nū dy ḡë sāpʰlô pjé kê
thing happen itself this topic and.then 1S.Poss mind be.d destroyed PERF
N V REFL DEM TOP COORD POSS N V ASP
(When) it happened like this then I was very disappointed (Lit: my mind was destroyed).
In Kayah Monu, when a noun phrase is used to identify the topic, this noun phrase is usually marked by the topic marker nū, especially when it is a contrastive topic.

3.2.9 Complex Noun Phrase
Two complex noun phrases: 1) apposition noun phrase and 2) coordinate noun phrase appear in Kayah Monu. Each is discussed below.

3.2.9.1 Apposition Noun Phrase
An appositional phrase consists of two phrases of the same category which are placed next to each other to make more definite or explicit the meaning of one or the other. In Kayah Monu, a second noun phrase (NP₂) follows another noun phrase (NP₁) to clarify the meaning; and both nouns have the same relationship to the whole sentence. The following is the structure of an appositional noun phrase in Kayah Monu.

\[
\text{NP}^{\text{Appositional}} \rightarrow \text{NP}_1 \text{ NP}_2
\]

Specific nouns which expand or clarify the meaning of the generic nouns can have different structures such as elaborate expressions, descriptive noun phrases or possessive noun phrases. The following examples show apposition phrases in Kayah Monu.

In example (171), the first noun phrase is a proper name and is further specified by the following noun phrase to form appositional noun phrase where the 3rd singular pronoun ?à looks like a resumptive pronoun and is optional.

(171) mótú ?à wē ?à ph̩̀̃ʔá hą́̑sí wí
  Motu 3S.Poss wife 3S cook curry delicious
  NPRO  PRO N PRO.RSMP V N ADJ
  Motu, his wife, cooks good curry

In examples (172), the first descriptive noun phrase is further specified by the following proper noun to form appositional noun phrase.

(172) hè kʰà ph̩̀̃álú ?à mí tʃō sàrā
  1S.Poss friend Phalu 3S be school teacher
  PRO N NPROP PRO.RSMP COP N N
  My friend, Phalu, is a teacher
3.2.9.2 Co-ordinate Noun Phrase

A co-ordinate noun phrase usually consists of two similar head constituents joined by a conjunction: ‘and’ or ‘or’. In examples (173), (174), and (175), two head nouns are joined by a conjunction to form a co-ordinate noun phrase.

(173) tʰajáʃikə kó pùʔu
   earthworm and termite
   N CONJ N
   Earthworm and termite

(174) lûmû támè mî
   sun or fire
   N CONJ N
   sun or fire

(175) pwàkʰó kó pwàmó
   male and female
   N CONJ N
   the boy and the girl

In Kayah Monu, a serial coordinate phrase which includes three or more noun phrases can occur. The conjunction links only the first three noun phrases. Example (176) shows the serial noun phrase construction.

(176) hè kó hè mä kó hè pʰó hè lî
   1S and 1S.Poss wife and 1S.Poss child 1S.Poss grand children
   PRO CONJ POSS N CONJ POSS N POSS N
   ?ámäʔobá ʔjótfópwàpwar hëpë
   content forever SF.future
   ADV ADJ PRT
   I and my wife with my children and grandchildren will stay together in contentment forever.
3.3 Summary
This chapter presented the internal structure of a noun phrase. As can be seen, there were various structures in a noun phrase. All sub-constituents including relative clause, plural pronoun and topic marker were also presented. Two complex noun phrase constructions, appositional phrases and co-ordinate noun phrases, were also discussed.
Chapter 4
Verb Phrase

4.1 Introduction
This chapter focuses on complex verb phrase structure and how different pre-verbal and post-verbal markers combine with the verb to form a phrase. It presents an overview of positions in a verb phrase and discusses various particles that fit the different verb phrase positions.

The verb phrase in Kayah Monu optionally starts with an auxiliary (AUX₁) which is followed by the head verb (V*), and one or more auxiliary (AUX₂) which are usually aspect markers and modality, and lastly by an optional constituent (XP), which is often adverbial. Finally a negation marker may appear.

The following is a typical verb phrase structure in Kayah Monu. The rule below does not include the positions of objects, obliques, or sentential complements because they appear in many different positions. Also, multi-verbs are indicated by the Kleene star operator in this formula.

\[ VP \rightarrow (AUX₁) \ V \ (V*) \ (AUX₂*) \ (XP) \ (NEG) \]

Example (177) shows a typical verb phrase which is in brackets.

(177) hē [ kà tʃō màkúʔá tʃɔ tʃɔ ] hēpē
1S will go trade able.can not SF.future
PRO ASP V V MOD NEG PRT
I would not be able to go trade.

The verb phrase structure expresses various events according to the meaning of the head verb. In above (177), the main verbs function serially together as the head of the verb phrase to express an event happening at the present time.

Example (178) shows a sentence in which two verb phrases use both main verbs tʰɔ klɔ ‘climb up to cut’ and kɔ ‘break’.
I climb up to cut a tree and I fell down then my leg was broken.

The first clause has two serial verbs and an object NP in the VP, the second clause has a directional verb, a main verb, an aspect marker and an object NP.

4.2 Auxiliaries

Auxiliaries are words that specify the tense, aspect, mood, voice, or polarity (future, perfect, and conditional respectively) of the verb with which they are associated (Shopen, 2007: 41). Auxiliary is a “helping verb” or particle which expresses verbal inflectional categories such as tense, aspect, modality, and/or agreement, but does not have lexical semantic content like a normal verb (Kroeger, 2005: 342). Since Kayah Monu has no agreement or verbal inflection, auxiliaries are defined mostly by their lack of semantic content.

Auxiliaries usually accompany the main verb to form a complex verb phrase. They cannot be the head which provides the main semantic content of the verb phrase and they cannot occur alone without the main verb. They generally precede or follow the verb. In this thesis, the term auxiliary is used for any aspects or modalities that are not full verbs. Although they are all auxiliaries, in the part of speech line of the interlinear, the more specific ASP or MOD marking is provided.

Directional verbs are considered full verbs in this analysis.

Table 34 shows preverbal and postverbal auxiliaries which precede and follow the main verb in Kayah Monu.
Table 34 Preverbal and Postverbal Auxiliaries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preverbal Auxiliary</th>
<th>Main Verbs</th>
<th>Postverbal Auxiliary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Modal ɓá/tábá ‘must’</td>
<td></td>
<td>Modal ñə ‘able.can’ (unmovable)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irrealis aspect ƙà ‘will’</td>
<td></td>
<td>Modal tʃɔ ‘able.can’ (unmovable)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inceptive aspect klé ‘about.to’</td>
<td></td>
<td>Imperfective aspect ñə ‘still’ (unmovable)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Perfective aspect ƙà ‘just finish’ (movable)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Perfective aspect tʃɔ ‘finish’ (movable)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Completive aspect hó ‘complete’ (movable and occur clause final)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Aspect concerns the temporal features of an event including whether it is started, ongoing or completed. Modals express other features of an event situation including ability and obligation among others.

4.2.1 Preverbal Auxiliaries

In Kayah Monu, ɓá/tábá ‘must’, ƙà ‘will’, and klé ‘about.to’ are the preverbal auxiliaries.

Example (179) shows the auxiliary ɓá/tábá ‘must’ in Kayah Monu.

(179) nà tábá ʔá dì
   2S must eat cooked.rice
   PRO MOD V N
   You must eat the rice.

Example (180) shows the auxiliary ɓá ‘must’ in Kayah Monu. ɓá is used as an abbreviated form of tábá and both have same meaning.

(180) sàkʰolò pà bá tfjɔ pʰtú
   first 1P must go take rice.unthreshed
   ADV PRO MOD V V N
   Firstly, we must go deliver the unthreshed rice.
The auxiliary kà 'will' functions as future marking to express an action that will be done in the future. The following examples (181) and (182) show an irrealis situation construction in Kayah Monu.

(181) ?à kà tʃó hępé tàʃəbí
3S will go next week
PRO ASP V ADV N
He will leave next week.

(182) ?à kà ?á dí hępé
3S will eat cooked-rice SF.future
PRO ASP V N PRT
She will eat the rice.

The sentence final particle hępé is optional and it also expresses future.

The auxiliary klé is used to express that an action is going to happen very soon as in example (183).

(183) hè kè tó ?àkʰä ?à klé ?á dí
1S return arrive while 3S about.to eat cooked.rice
PRO V V SUBORD PRO ASP V N
When I arrive, he is near to eat rice.

4.2.2 Postverbal Auxiliaries
Kayah Monu has several post verbal auxiliaries. There are two patterns 1) V AUX NP_OBJ and 2) V NP_OBJ AUX. Some can appear in both positions—usually aspect markers (called movable AUX); but others cannot (unmovable AUX). The moveable aspect markers have variable positions within the clause and they are only used when the speaker is emphasizing a particular aspectual view.

The non-moveable auxiliary pège 'able/can' appears directly after the main verb. Examples (184) and (185) show it is indicating inability to perform an action when it co-occurs with a negation marker.
(184) hè klǎnú pè hè mì tó
1S hoe able.can 1S.Poss grass not
PRO V MOD PRO N NEG
I am not able to hoe the grass.

(185) hè màʔánú pè hè bú tó
1S do.sth.for.living able.can 1S.Poss rice.unthreshed not
PRO V MOD PRO N NEG
I am not able to work on my unthreshed rice field for living.

Another auxiliary that appears after the main verb is tfɔ ‘able.can’ and it is non-moveable as in examples (186) and (187).

(186) nà hébá tfɔ mùnù jà ?yà
2S speak able.can Monu language QP
PRO V MOD NPROP N Q
Can you speak Monu language?

(187) àpwàlkʰó dó ?átkʰó bē tʰɔ tfɔ sàsà dó sàmû lɔ
boy that tall pick up able.can fruit at tree from
N REL ADJ V V.DIR MOD N PREP N LCLZR
The tall man, he is able to pick the fruit from the tree.

Another non-moveable postverbal auxiliary in Kayah Monu is the imperfective aspect marker pê ‘still’. Examples (188) and (189) show usages of pê ‘still’ in Kayah Monu.

(188) hè bú sà pê tó
1S.Poss rice.unthreshed bear.fruit still not
POSS N V ASP NEG
My unthreshed rice still does not bear fruit.

(189) bá hè tfɔ tʰɔ tfɔ ?àkʰǎ ?à pʰɔʔá pê dì
when 1S go up school while 3S cook still cooked.rice
SUBORD PRO V V.DIR N SUBORD PRO V ASP N
When I went to school, she still was cooking rice.
The next postverbal auxiliary that functions as a perfective aspect marker in Kayah Monu is the moveable perfective aspect marker *kè* ‘just finish’. That the action was done recently is also expressed with it. It is shown in the following two examples (190) and (191).

(190) jì sìn kè hó
   dog die PERF COMPL
   N  V  ASP  ASP
   The dog just died (recently).

(191) kàpû hápʰó kè hó
   pot break PERF COMPL
   N  V  ASP  ASP
   The pot just broke.

In examples (192) and (193), the action which was done or completed is expressed by the moveable perfective aspect marker *tʰà* ‘finish’. Evidence for moveability is discussed with examples (196) and (197).

(192) ká tʰà kəmɨ já kəmɨ tʰà lǒʔa tō
   reap PERF tie up SF tie up PERF dry bundle
   V  ASP  V  PRT  V  ASP  V  N
   After reaping, tie them into bundles, then dry the bundles of unthreshed rice.

(193) lǒʔa tō tʰà ?á płu já ?á pлу tʰà pə bù
   dry bundle PERF collect together SF collect together PERF beat rice.unthreshed
   V  N  ASP  V  ADV  PRT  V  ADV  ASP  V  N
   After you have dried the bundles of unthreshed rice then collect (them) and then beat them.

Another post-verbal auxiliary is moveable aspect marker *hó*, which functions as a completive aspect marker and usually appears in the final position. In examples (194) and (195), the action which was done or completed is expressed by *hó*. Evidence for moveability is discussed with examples (196) and (197).

(194) hè kè tō dỳ ?à tʃó dó tʰà jì hó
   1S return arrive and.then 3S go draw PERF water COMPL
   PRO  V  V  COORD  PRO  V  ASP  N  ASP

   When I arrived, he had already drawn the water.
The woman went to the market.

In Kayah Monu, sequences of two or more auxiliaries are allowed, in which case their order in relation to one another is generally fixed. They express the event or action which was done or completed and can move around in a sentence as in the following examples. In first sentence (196), the two perfective aspect markers kè and tʰə are interchangeable but the completive aspect marker hó cannot because it usually follows these two. Likewise in second sentence (197), hó can move forward to precede the NP and the meaning does not change. As moveable markers, either tʰə or kè can occur after the object NP too.

(196) pʰiʔʃaʔ ʔà kè tʰə di hó
    child eat PERF PERF cooked.rice COMPL
    N V ASP ASP N ASP
    The children ate the rice.

(197) pʰiʔʃaʔ ʔà kè tʰə hó di
    child eat PERF PERF COMPL cooked.rice
    N V ASP ASP ASP N
    The children ate the rice.

The moveable and unmoveable auxiliary verbs are listed the following Table 35.

Table 35 Movable and Unmovable Auxiliaries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Moveable AUX</th>
<th>Unmoveable AUX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perfective kè</td>
<td>Modal tʃɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfective tʰə</td>
<td>Modal pɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completive hó</td>
<td>Imperfective Aspect pɛ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3 Copula

Copula verbs are defined as those verbs which link a noun phrase and a non-verb predicate. There are three different copulas ‘mfi’, ‘ʔə’, and ‘zero’ in Kayah Monu. Each are discussing with some of their properties in the following section. Additional discussion is in the non-verbal clause section (5.2).
4.3.1 mí Copula

In examples (198) and (199), the first type of copula ‘mí’ is shown linking two noun phrases in an equative clause.

(198) pà mùnù kã mí kã ?amà
1P.Poss Monu country be country happy
POSS NPROP N COP N ADJ
Our Monu land is a happy land.

(199) sàsà héʔù nù mí jòsá
fruit this topic be banana
N DEM TOP COP N
This (type of) fruit is a banana.

The following example (200) shows an ungrammatical structure using mí with an aspect marker; without the aspect marker, it is okay.

(200) * hèʔá wí kàtù mí jòsá pě
1S eat delicious superlative be banana still
PRO V ADJ ADV COP N ASP
My favorite food is banana.

The negation of the copula mí is shown in (202) and compared with affirmative in (201). The predicate mē is obligatory to be natural.

(201) ?à mí tjó sàrămē
3S be school teacher
PRO COP N N
She is a teacher.

(202) ?à mí tjó sàrămē *(mē) tã
3S be school teacher right not
PRO COP N N ADJ NEG
She is not a teacher.
4.3.2 ʔõ Copula

In examples (203) and (204), the second type of copula ʔõ ‘be.exist’, related to the verbs ‘live’, ‘stay’ and ‘have’, joins an adverbial phrase in (203), or a prepositional phrase in (204) to a subject NP.

(203) pwē ʔõ  pèwəpē
    party  be.exist  tomorrow
N    COP    ADV
    The festival is tomorrow.

(204) tʰõ ʔõ  dô  wē ʔakō
    pig  be.exist  at  yard  in
N    COP    PREP N    LCLZR
    The pig is in the garden.

The following examples (205), (206), and (207) show ʔõ can also function as the main verb ‘stay’, ‘have’, and ‘live’.

(205) nā ʔõ  bātē
    2S  stay  where
PRO V    INTRG
    Where do you stay?

(206) rā  rū  ʔõ
    3S  money  have
PRO N    V
    He has the money.

(207) pā  ʔõ  dō  pʰəbəbə  sʰ ō  kʰ ō
    1P  live  at  Pha Baw  mountain  foot.base
PRO V    PREP NPROP N    POST
    We live at the foot of the Pha Baw Mountain.

The negation of the copula ʔõ is shown in (208). There the negation marker occurs far away from the copula at clause final position to negate the clause. The adjective mē is not required as in equative clauses (215).
4.3.3 Zero Copula

The last and the third type of copula is no copula or zero copula. The head noun is denoted by optional topic marker or demonstrative and followed by adjective or adverb as in (209) and (210).

(209) tədətʃɛ kʰtənî
   exam today
   N ADV
   The exam was today.

(210) ʃ water n u ʔəkətʃó
   water topic cold
   N TOP ADJ
   The water is cold.

In zero copula clauses, the subjects are usually modified by a topic marker or demonstrative following them as in the below example sentences.

(211) ʔà n u h ë kʰò
   3S topic 1S.Poss friend
   PRO TOP POSS N
   She is my friend.

(212) ʔà n u tʃò sàrəmò t à pwà
   3S topic school teacher one CLF.human
   PRO TOP N N NUM CLF
   She is a teacher.

(213) səsá hëʔu jósá
   fruit this banana
   N DEM N
   This fruit is banana.
(214) sãkʰọsá hénù mì hó
mango that ripe SF.past
N DEM ADJ PRT
That mango is ripe.

To negate a zero copula clause, the predicate më ‘right’ is obligatory (215) like in the copula mì (see 4.3.1). But if there is a predicate in a zero copula sentence there is no need to use më ‘right’ as in the second example (216).

(215) tãdôtʃe kʰtɔnì * (më) tɔ
exam today right not
N ADV ADJ NEG
The exam was not today.

(216) sãkʰọsá hénù mì tɔ
mango that ripe not
N DEM ADJ NEG
That mango is not ripe yet.

The different patterns of negation of those four copulas are display in Table 36.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Copula</th>
<th>Negation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mì</td>
<td>më tɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɔ</td>
<td>tɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>më tɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø ADJ</td>
<td>ADJ tɔ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4.4 Adverb Phrase

Adverbs are heads of adverb phrases Adverb phrases are constituents of the VP and modify the event denoted by the verb. Adverbs follow main verbs, post-verbal auxiliaries and appear near or at the end of sentences. They can both precede and follow the NP_{Obj}. The two different position of adverb phrase which co-occur with complex verb phrase are: 1) [(AUX) V_{complex} (AUX) (AdvP) NP_{obj} (NEG)] and 2) [(AUX) V_{complex} (AUX) NP_{obj} (AdvP) (NEG)]. Adverbs can follow NP_{Obj} optionally but aspect markers cannot (except hó). Details on particular adverbs are provided in section (2.2.4).
Examples (217) and (218) show the adverb phrase position, which directly follows the main verb complex in a transitive clause structure.

(217) ḍè ʔà nā sāth₁⁵ bó wi kö tʰājáʃlikà

3S order.ask start create first with earthworm

PRO V V V ADV APPL N

He (the old man) orders the earthworm to start create the soil first.

(218) dɤ and.then ḍè láɫtèbahá pùʔù hāh⁴⁶ðì

and.then eat completely termite soil

COORD V ADV N N

Then (the earthworm) completely eats the termite’s soil.

Examples (219) and (220) show adverbs following the NP_{Obj} but still modifying the main verb even though they occur away from it in a sentence.

(219) ḍè ʔà pʰāʔá háší tátʰôtálʃì

3S cook curry carefully

PRO V N ADV

She cooked the meat carefully.

(220) kʰstānì hè kà tʰwākā tʃō pēlē

today 1S will attend school maybe

ADV PRO ASP V N ADV

Today, maybe I will attend the school.

The two following examples show the two different positions of adverbs after verb or after NP_{Obj}. Both have same meaning, thus there is no meaning change associated with the different adverb positions.

(221) ḍè ʔà jō̆ dì

3S eat slowly cooked.rice

PRO V ADV N

He eats rice slowly.

(222) ḍè ʔà dì jō̆

3S eat cooked.rice slowly

PRO V N ADV

He eats rice slowly.
4.5 Multiple Verb Constructions

Multiple verb constructions are commonly found in Kayah Monu. Multiple verbs consist of a sequence of two or more verb roots. This sequence is in the form of immediate concatenation like a string of verbs. An object NP can sometime separate the verbs. In a multiple verb construction, normally the first verb is a head. They express one simple event or a complex event.

There is no limitation on how many verbs are permitted in multiple verb construction within a single clause. Different types of semantic relationship among multi-verbs, such as, simultaneous, sequential, resultative, directive, causative are discussed in the following sub-sections.

4.5.1 Simultaneous

In simultaneous motion multiple verb constructions, events happen at the same time or about at the same time. Examples (223) and (224) demonstrate the multiple verb constructions that indicate simultaneous motion. The actions of ‘going’ and ‘searching’ happen at about the same time.

(223) sākʰōlô tjo kēbâ hâkʰô

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ADV</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>first</td>
<td>go</td>
<td>search</td>
<td>land</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Firstly, go search a land (to cultivate).

The actions of ‘shouting’, ‘blowing’ and ‘returning’ happen at about the same time.

(224) kūtâwô zūtû kê dô dâ kô

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>PREP</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>LCLZR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>shout loudly</td>
<td>blow</td>
<td>return</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>village</td>
<td>in</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(We) shouted, blew loudly and returned to the village.

4.5.2 Sequential Motion

Sequential motion is expressed with two verbs in a verb phrase where they share the same subject. The first verb denotes an action; the second verb denotes an action performed after or as the purpose of the first as in (225) and (226). In second sentence, kô ‘hot’ functions like a changeable predicate ‘to heat’. Thus, the sequence of the verbs mirrors the sequence of events.
(225) hè tʰɔ klɔ sɔ dɔ hè lɔtʰ kə kə hè kʰələpə
1S climb.up cut tree and.then 1S down break ASP.PERF 1S.Poss foot
PRO V V N COORD PRO V.DIR V ASP POSS N
I climb up to cut a tree and I fell down then my foot was broken.

(226) mı kɔ hàpʰɔ kə kàpù hɔ
de fire hot break PERF pot COMPL
N V/ADJ V ASP N ASP
Fire did heat and cracked the pot.

4.5.3 Resultative
In a resultative string of verbs, the first verb denotes an action; the second verb gives the changed state result of that action described by the first as in (227) and (228). The mə ‘do’ verb is also discussed in the causative section (4.5.5) below.

(227) tà mà kʰələ jǐ kə jǐ
3S do run away PERF dog
PRO V V V.DIR ASP N
He made the dog run away.

(228) kàlisà mà kə kə só
wind do break PERF tree
N V V ASP N
The wind broke the tree.

4.5.4 Directive
In directive multiple verb construction, the first verb denotes an act of ordering or permitting, the second verb denotes the content of that act, the action ordered or permitted as in (229) and (230). In both examples the subject of the embedded clause appears after the embedded verb.

(229) tà nɔ hàmɔʔɔ tà pʰɔpwɔkʰɔ dɔ tàkʰlɔ
3S order sleep 3S.Poss son at out
PRO V V POSS N PREP LCLZR
He ordered his son to sleep outside.
The old man again allows the termite to create the soil.

### 4.5.5 Causative

Kayah Monu causatives are complex verb serializations where the first verb is an activity and the second is a state or an event. Most causative predicates are based on the activity verbs *mà ‘do’* and *nā ‘order’* respectively. The causer takes a position before the complex predicate while the causee follows it and functions with patient-like properties.

#### 4.5.5.1 *mà ‘do’* Causatives

This *mà ‘do’* causative is used when the causer physically does something that directly results in the cause doing something or changing state. The causers can be both animate and inanimate as in the following examples. Again if there is an embedded subject it now appears after the embedded verb.

(231) ?à mɔ mà si kè wó tà bò

3S.Poss mother *do* die PERF snake one CLF.long and thin

POSS N V V ASP N NUM CLF

His mother killed a snake.

(232) kālisā mà kā kè sā

wind *do* break PERF tree

N V V ASP N

The wind broke the tree.

#### 4.5.5.2 *nā ‘order’* Causative

In a *nā ‘order’* causative, the causer does not physically cause an action to happen. It is indirect causative type. The causee in *nā ‘order’* causative needs to be animate either human or animal. The embedded subject again moves to a position following the embedded verb. An object (also an embedded subject) NP can sometime separate the verbs as in (233) compare to (234).
He ordered his daughter to wash the fruit.

He ordered his son to sleep outside.

As mentioned earlier, the multiple verb constructions in Kayah Monu can be more than two verbs in a string. Below is an example of a multiple verb constructions that takes a single noun phrase argument for four verbs. This may be multi-clausal but it illustrate how extensive multiple verb constructions can be.

He wanted his son to try to eat the rice.

4.6 Negation

In Kayah Monu, negation is marked by a negation marker, tõ ‘not’ placed after the predicate or predicative adjective that is to be negated. It normally appears at the clause final position. All verbs of indicative sentences can be directly followed by this negation marker. In contrast, the negative imperative mú/tàmá ‘not’ precedes the imperative illocutionary force marker né in imperative sentences.

4.6.1 Declarative Negation

Below are examples of negation in Kayah Monu. In examples (236) and (237), the verb and adjective are directly followed by the negation marker tõ ‘not’.

He does not come.
The following sentences are negated where the negation marker occurs far away from the predicate separated by NP objects, post-verbal auxiliaries, and aspect markers as in (238) and (239). In (239) the ‘ability’ and not the event is negated.

(238) ?à tà bàwɔ̀ ?à sāpʰlɔ̀ tɔ̀
3S.Poss thing please 3S.Poss mind not
PRO N V PRO N NEG
His thing (soil created by earthworm) does not please his (the old man’s) mind.

(239) mà hénù dỳ hè j̥pènà pè pè tà kʰɔ̀ tɔ̀
do that and.then 1S forget able.can still one CLF.time not
V DEM COORD PRO V MOD ASP NUM CLF NEG
By doing that, I can still never forget about that day.

To negate the copula mì and topic marker nû the negative marker appears at the end preceded by obligatory adjective ʔàmɛ̀ ‘right’ as in example (240). See section (4.3) for more on copula negation.

(240) ?à mì / nû tʃɔ̀ sàr̥mɔ̀ *(ʔàmɛ̀) tɔ̀
3S be topic school teacher right not
PRO COP TOP N N ADJ NEG
She is not a teacher.

4.6.2 Imperative Negation
The negative imperative takes a different form where the negative element precedes imperative illocutionary force marker. It is used in prohibitive (negative command) and optionally co-occurs with the imperative illocutionary force marker nɛ̀ as in (241) and (242). mä̀ is used as an abbreviated form of təmä̀ and both have the same meaning.
(241) mà mà / támá
    do not not
    V NEG NEG
Don't do it.

(242) p3k5  ?à é nũ é mà nê
    as 3S say topic say not ASRT
    SUBORD  PRO  V TOP  V NEG  IMP
As he said, don't tell it.

4.7 Summary
In this chapter, various structures of verb phrases were discussed. The verb phrase was shown to consist of the main verb, preverbal and post-verbal auxiliaries. Brief discussions of copula, adverb phrase, multi-verb construction, and negation were also included in this section.
Chapter 5
Simple Clauses

5.1 Introduction
The purpose of this chapter is to describe the structure of simple clauses. This section will focus on non-verbal and verbal clauses, and clausal constituents. Kayah Monu basically has two types of clauses based on the type of predicate that occurs and they are 1) non-verbal clauses and 2) verbal clauses.

5.2 Non-verbal Clauses
Clauses which are built around nominal predicates or adjectives are known as non-verbal clauses. Equative clauses, existential clauses, possessive clauses, locative clauses, and attributive clauses are all kinds of non-verbal clauses. They are composed of a noun phrase followed by a copula. Kayah Monu has three copulas 1) mí, 2) ?ś, and 3) zero. In some cases the copula is optional.

5.2.1 Equative Clauses
An equative clause is one in which the semantic predicate is expressed by a noun phrase. The semantic function of the clause depends on whether the predicate NP is definite or indefinite (Kroeger, 2005:175). In Kayah Monu, equative clauses are used to identify some nominal with the subject. The sentence structure of an equative clause is [NP mí NP (ClfP)].

If the predicate NP is definite and it basically states that the two NPs refer to the same individual as in (243).

(243) pʰàbò  mí  hè  pʰà
Phabaw  be  1S.Poss  father
NPROP  COP  POSS  N
Phabaw is my father.
In the following clauses, the equative copula *mí* functions as a predicate to join the two noun phrases, one denoting an indefinite NP. The result is that the subject NPs are members of the classes named by the predicate NPs as in (244) and (245).

(244) hè  mê  tʃɔ̀  sàrà  tà  pwà
   1S  be  school  teacher  one  CLF.human
   PRO  COP  N  N  NUM  CLF
I am a teacher.

(245) pà  munù  kà  mê  kà  dójò
   1P.Poss  Monu  country  be  country  rich
   POSS  NPROP  N  COP  N  ADJ
Our Kayah Monu land is a rich land.

Equative clauses can also be used to attribute a name to the subject. Example (246) shows an equative clause which attributes a name to the subject.

(246) hè  kʰɔ̀  ʔàpʰú  kàtù  mê  pʰàlú
   1S  friend  close  most  be  Phalu
   PRO  N  ADJ  ADV  COP  NPROP
My closest friend is Phalu.

5.2.2 Existential Clauses

There are three main existential clauses:

i) [NP ʔá (XP)],

ii) [NP ʔá ClfP], and

iii) [DEM soc NP].

5.2.2.1 [NP ʔá (XP)]

There is no complement in existential clauses, only the NP subject and the copula ʔá ‘be.exist’ occur in examples (247) and (248).
The festival is tomorrow.

She fled because there is a snake.

Example (249) has both the topic marker nū and the copula ṭó present in an existential copula clause (here ṭà is optional).

Our rice field, it is on the mountain.

5.2.2.2 [NP ṭó ClfP]
In the following example (250), the existential copula co-occurs with a classifier phrase to express the existence of two animals.

There were two kinds of animal.

Example (251) shows an existential clause introducing a powerful old man in the past.

Long time ago, there was a powerful old man.
5.2.2.3 \([DEM_{loc} \ NP]\)

A zero copula appears in existential clause if there is a demonstrative functioning as a subject at the start position as in example (252) and (253).

(252) dónù kàpwàkō
there forest
DEM.Loc N
There is a forest.

(253) báʔù lì tā bá
here book one CLF.flat
DEM.Loc N NUM CLF
Here is a book.

5.2.3 Clausal Possession

Clausal possession expresses that the subject has possession of an object noun phrase which follows the subject but precede the verb. In Kayah Monu, the possession clause is denoted by the same existential copula \(ʔ\) ‘be.exist’. The following examples show two types of possessive clauses.

5.2.3.1 \([NP_1 \ NP_2 \ ʔ\]_{sposs}\)

In example (254), the regular possessive clause structure is found without a possessive prefix on the possessed noun or a possessive marking anywhere in the noun phrases.

(254) ʔà rù ʔô
3S money have
PRO N V
He has the money.

5.2.3.2 \([NP_1 \ NP_2 \ ʔ\ (ClfP)]_{sposs}\)

In second type of clausal possession, a classifier phrase optionally follows \(ʔ\) ‘be.exist’ where the classifier phrase is part of \(NP_2\) as in the following examples (255) and (256). Other examples of classifier phrases in a sentence final position are in section (0).
They have five children.

Some of the red houses have two windows.

Locative Clauses

Locative clauses refer to the location of some referent in space. The linear order is [NP ʔs lə ə child have CLF.human five]. It can be seen in examples (257) and (258).

(257) lī tà bā ʔō dó sàbwɛ kʰó

book one CLF.flat be.exist at table on

There is a book on the table.

(258) pʰitʃá ʔō dó hidō kō

child be.exist at house in

A child is in the house.

Attributive Clauses

Attributive clauses predicate a noun phrase with an adjective. Subject NPs in these constituent are usually marked with the topic marker nū or a demonstrative. The copula verb is not obligatory for this type of clauses. The sentence structure is [NP (TOP) ADJ].

The following two attributive sentences show the comparison between a zero copula clause (259) with a mī copula clause (260). These have the same meaning.
(259) ñì nū ñòkõtʃó
water topic cold
N TOP ADJ
.The water is cold

(260) ñì mì ñòkõtʃó
water be cold
N COP ADJ
.The water is cold

In example (261), the clause is an intransitive clause with a zero copula that has a
noun phrase and an adjective as a predicate.

(261) sàkʰósá hēnù mì hó
mango that ripe SF
N DEM ADJ PRT
That mango is ripe.

Another zero copula clause is with times as in (262).

(262) t̥ədɔtʃè kʰstənì
exam today
N ADV
The exam was today.

For negation of all above non-verbal clauses see section 4.3 under the verb phrase
chapter.

5.3 Verbal Clauses
This section deals with the structure of simple clauses with verbal predicates. In
Kayah Monu, clause alignment is shown by word order. In a clause, the subject
(most agent-like argument) occurs preceding the verb complex and the direct object
(most patient-like) occurs immediately after the verb complex; and if there is a third
argument then it normally follows the object. The basic distinction among verbal
predicates is between intransitive verbs which take a single argument and transitive
verbs which take two or more arguments. Clauses that have a direct object are
syntactically transitive while all others are syntactically intransitive.
A slightly finer definition of basic clauses in Kayah Monu, says that clauses can consist of intransitive clauses, which are the combination of a subject and a verb phrase; semitransitive clauses, which include a subject, verb phrase, and location; transitive clauses, which consist of a subject, verb phrase, and object; and, finally, ditransitive clauses, which include a subject, verb phrase, object, and location respectively.

### 5.3.1 Intransitive Clauses
An intransitive clause consists of a noun phrase argument followed by a predicate. The predicate can be an intransitive verb, a predicative adjective, or a complex verb phrase. Below are examples of intransitive clauses with different verb types.

#### 5.3.1.1 Activity Verb
In example (263), an activity verb follows the argument in an intransitive clause.

(263) ?ąpwàkʰo  pʰitʃá  hámàʔó

```
boy  child  sleep
```

The boy is sleeping.

#### 5.3.1.2 Achievement Verb
Achievement verbs are frequently intransitive verb as in example (264).

(264) kàpù  hápʰó  kê  hó

```
pot  break  PERF  COMPL
N   V   ASP  ASP
```

The pot just broke (recently).

#### 5.3.1.3 Stative Verb
An inverted subject construction is also possible in Kayah Monu. If the subject is inverted in a clause, the word order is SV, and the subject is more patient-like and affected by an unspecified agent. Examples (265) and (266) show attributive clauses that denote a changeable state. Both clauses denote the same event but they have a different emphasis.
My finger has been hurt.

My finger is hurting.

In (265) the agent is unspecified but implied, but in (266) there is no implied agent, only the fact of the pain.

5.3.2 Semitransitives Clauses

A motion or semitransitive clause in Kayah Monu consists of a motion verb and a distinctive location element. The motion clause structure would be NP<sub>Sub</sub> V<sub>Motion</sub> OBL.

Example (267) shows a motion or semitransitive clause that consists of a subject, motion verb, directional verb, and an obligatory locative. The agent <i>pʰɪtʃá</i> <i>pwàkʰó</i> and the goal <i>hìdõ</i> are the subject and oblique.

The boy ran inside of the house.

As can be seen in above examples, intransitive verbs can be followed by directional verbs (267), aspect markers (264), and locative prepositional phrases (267).

5.3.3 Transitive Clauses

A transitive clause involves two participants. Semantically, the subject normally functions as the agent and the object prototypically functions as the patient.

---

4 In this thesis, all locative words are glossed as localizers. They usually co-occur with preposition <i>dó</i> and are used to express the specific location of NP object in PP. The localizer <i>já ‘for’</i> might be called semantic role marker or postposition because it does not necessarily mark a specific location.
In example (268), a transitive clause structure is shown and the sentence structure is S V O.

(268) də pòká pə ʃí
   village head.man beat dog
   N N V N
   The headman hit the dog.

It is impossible to change the sentence structure to SOV as in example (269).

(269) * də pòká ʃí pə (ungrammatical)
   village head.man dog beat
   N N N V
   The headman hit the dog.

It is also impossible to change the sentence structure to VSO as in example (270).

(270) * pə də pòká ʃí (ungrammatical)
   beat village head.man dog
   V N N N
   The headman hit the dog.

5.3.4 Ditransitive Clauses

Ditransitive clauses involve three noun phrase arguments. Sometimes ditransitive is loosely defined such that one of these noun phrases may be part of an oblique PP, or an indirect object.

Example (271) shows a locative transitive clause with an obligatory location PP following the NP object. In this example the final ClfP is a discontiguous part of the NP object.

(271) ?àmúpwá matʰ hí dɔ lɔ kɔ tà mè
    old.man build house at field in one CLF.round.big
    N V N PREP N LCLZR NUM CLF
    The old man built a house in the field.

It is impossible to move the object after the locative phrase as in example (272).
The old man built a house in the field.

Ditransitive clauses are varied and they show different construction types as in the following examples (273) and (274). In (274), the preposition ḏó is required regardless of the word order.

(273) ḙi pwàmọ̀ lì tā bá
boy give female book one CLF.flat
N V N N NUM CLF
The boy gave the girl a book.

(274) ḙi lì tā bá ḏó pwàmọ̀ ḙó
boy give book one CLF.flat at female to
N V N NUM CLF PREP N LCLZR
The boy gave a book to the girl.

Usually, the indirect object in a ditransitive clause follows the verb phrase but sometimes the word order changes. Example (275) shows the indirect object (recipient) preceding the direct object which is followed by a benefactive phrase. With this alternate order SVO OBL, the OBL must include the localizer /jā/.

(275) pwàmọ̀ ḙi pwàkʰó bólò ḏó pà jā
female give male ball at IP for
N V N N PREP PRO LCLZR
The girl gave the boy a ball for us.

### 5.4 Oblique Constituents

Clause constituents presented in this section are the semantic notions of location, source, recipient, benefactive, instrument, accompaniment, time, topic, and ability.

In Kayah Monu, the location preposition ḏó combines with noun phrases to form prepositional phrases. The structure of a prepositional phrase is:

\[
\text{PP} \rightarrow \text{PREP NP (LCLZR)}
\]
5.4.1 Location

The location preposition *dá* is used to show location at a point (place), motion to (goal), and from (source). When location constituents are oblique as arguments, they usually occur near the end of the sentence and there a localizer is obligatory to specify a particular locational meaning as in example (276).

(276) ṭàpwàmô ʧó tʰá ɗó ƙlá ƙô ƙô
     woman  go PERF at market in COMPL
     N  V  ASP  PREP  N  LCLZR  ASP

The woman went to the market.

Kayah Monu uses a number of localizers in the PP final position. In a prepositional phrase, the location preposition expresses the general place followed by the main noun while the localizer further defines the location eg. 'to', 'in' and 'on'. Thus the location preposition *dá* is a general location marker which can have the meaning ‘at’ followed by a noun with localizers following which might give more specific locational information.

The following examples show the structure of the location preposition and the localizers. The preposition *dá* comes before the noun which is followed by the localizers *kʰô* and *ƙô* to clarify the specific place.

(277) li ṭó ɗó ƙâbwe kʰô
     book  be.exist at table on
     N  COP  PREP  N  POST

The book is on the table.

(278) ʃí ṭó ɗó ƙê ƙô
     dog  be.exist at yard in
     N  COP  PREP  N  LCLZR

the dog in the yard

(279) ṭà keʃí tʰó ɗó ƙô
     3S  see pig at field in
     PRO  V  N  PREP  N  LCLZR

He saw the pig at the river.
Prepositional phrases can modify a noun only by being part of a relative clause. Below are examples of prepositional modifications inside a relative clause. The relative clause is in brackets in (280) and (281).

(280) tʃ̆ubɔ [ʔɔ dó sàbwɛ kʰɔ] ?à laka
pencil be.exist at table on 3S.RSMP break
N COP PREP N LCLZR PRO.RSMP V
the pencil on the table is broken (Lit. the pencil that is on the table, it is broken)

(281) tʰakɔbɔ [ʔɔ dó hakɔ kɔ lɔ] ?à hamɔʔɔ
bear be.exist at cave hole under 3S.RSMP sleep
N COP PREP N N LCLZR PRO.RSMP V
the bear in the cave slept (Lit. the bear that is in the cave, it slept)

5.4.2 Source
As in location clauses, the location preposition dó is used to show sources in Kayah Monu. In this case, the directional verb is a particular word to denote where the theme is originated from and followed by the source prepositional phrase as in example sentence (282). The semantics of source are mostly derived from the directional verb.

(282) pʰi tʰɔ bɔlɔ dó tɔ kɔ
take up ball at box inside
V V.DIR N PREP N LCLZR
Take the ball out of the box.

Sometimes source is coded by a static location copula clause “ʔɔ dó NP” which occurs immediately before the verb complex to show the source as in (283).

(283) ?à ʔɔ dó jɔkɔkɔ ʔà hè
3S live at Yangon 3S come
PRO V PREP NPROP PRO V
He lives in Yangon and comes here.
5.4.3 Recipient
In Kayah Monu, the recipient is normally marked by word order and it is the first NP object after the verb complex in a ditransitive clause as in (284).

(284) ?à hè ḭí hé ḟì
3S come give 1S water
PRO V V PRO N
She brings me water.

Example (285) shows a typical prepositional phrase structure. In this case it is a goal or recipient where the oblique marker dó occurs between the verb phrase and the GOAL NP + LCLZR.

(285) ?àpwàkʰó ḟí lì tà bá dó pwàmó ḟó
boy give book one CLF.flat at female to
N V N NUM CLF PREP N LCLZR
The boy gave a book to the girl.

5.4.4 Goal
Kayah Monu also encodes goals with the location preposition dó accompanied by a localizer. Examples of both animate and inanimate goals coded by the preposition dó prepositional phrase are shown below:

(286) ?àpwàkʰó wí tjó bóló dó pwàmó ḟó
boy throw go ball at female to
N V V N PREP N LCLZR
He threw the ball to her.

(287) pà tjó dó mì klà
1P go at forest among
PRO V PREP N LCLZR
We went into the forest.

The localizer is optional with some motion goals as in the following example (288).
Phalu goes to Mandalay (city).

5.4.5 Benefactive

The benefactive constituent is a kind of indirect object constituent. Beneficiaries are always animate and usually human. It can be oblique when it occurs with the locative preposition dā and with the localizer (beneficiary marker) ?ājā or jā as in first example (289). The beneficiary can also occur as an indirect object recipient as in second example (290).

(289) ?ā pʰāʔá hāsí jē jī dā jītēmē ?ājā
3S cook curry chicken meat at guest for
PRO V N N N PREP N LCLZR
She cooked chicken curry for the guests.

(290) hè jī pʰālū ?ā má rū kānī jī bā
1S give Phalu 3S.Poss mother money two ten CLF.flat
PRO V NPROP POSS N N NUM NUM CLF
I gave Phalu's mother twenty kyat.

5.4.6 Instrument

Instrument constituents occur in transitive and ditransitive clauses. In example (291), the instrument constituent follows both the direct object and the applicative marker kō ‘with’. Unlike the beneficiary, there is no localizer or marker following the instrument.

(291) ?ā mà sī tʰā kō tāʔʰō
3S do die pig with knife
PRO V V N APPL N
He killed the pig with a knife.
5.4.7 Accompaniment
The accompaniment constituent is expressed by the conjunction kó ‘and’ and followed by the core verb in a clause. Example (292) shows how accompaniment is shown in Kayah Monu.

(292) ʔà kó ʔà pʰó tʃó dá mì klà
3S and 3S.Poss child go at forest among
 PRO CONJ POSS N V PREP N LCLZR
He and his son went into the forest.

5.4.8 Time
Time constituents also occur in Kayah Monu. If the noun phrase denotes some temporal meaning it may be unmarked. The time constituent appears at both initial and final positions of a clause. Examples (293) and (294) show time constituents in peripheral positions. See section (6.3.3.1) for more on time adverbials.

(293) pɛhánɔ ʔà hɛ dá bùlá kʰó
 yesterday 3S come at rice field to
 ADV PRO V PREP N LCLZR
Yesterday, he went to the rice field.

(294) pwɛʔá pɛwɔpɛ
party be.exist tomorrow
N COP ADV
The festival is tomorrow.

5.4.9 Ability
In Kayah Monu, ability is normally denoted by a post-verbal auxiliary. There are two words which encode ability: pɛ and tʃɔ. The negation of an ability clause always results in the negation marker occurring at final position as in other clauses. See section (4.2.2) for more on ability. Examples can be seen below:
(295) hè klōńu pè hè mì tō
1S hoe able.can 1S.Poss grass not
PRO V MOD POSS N NEG
I am not able to hoe the grass.

(296) ?à hébà tʃɔ̀ múŋù jó
3S speak able.can Monu language
PRO V MOD NPROPN
She can speak Kayah Monu language.

5.5 Summary
Nonverbal clauses consisting of equative clause, existential clause, clausal possession, locative clause, and attributive clause were discussed in this chapter. Moreover, verbal clauses such intransitive, semitransitive, transitive and ditransitive were also discussed. Oblique constituents (prepositional phrase) such as location, source, recipient, goal, benefactive, instrument, accompaniment and then ability were also described.
Chapter 6
Complex Clauses

6.1 Introduction
This chapter describes complex clauses that are found in Kayah Monu, including coordinate clauses and subordinate clauses. Coordinate clauses are discussed then three different types of subordinate clauses 1) complement clauses, 2) relative clauses, and 3) adverbial clauses are also discussed.

6.2 Coordination
The coordinated units may be words, phrases, clauses or sentences (Haspelmath, 2007: 1). In Kayah Monu, coordinate clauses are two independent clauses and can be joined by coordinating connectives such as dợ ‘and.then’, and tơmè ‘or’. Coordination refers to syntactic constructions in which two or more units of the same type are combined into a larger unit and still have the same semantic relations with other surrounding elements. In the case of coordinate clauses, the combined unit is a clause. The two coordinate clauses are often related by 1) logic and 2) temporal sequence. If the subjects of both clauses are the same, the subject is not normally mentioned in the latter sentence.

In (297), dợ ‘and.then’ conjoins two independent clauses. The subject of the verb-plú ‘gather’ in the first clause and tfó ‘go’ in the second clause is the same and the subject is drop in the second clause.

(297) pà kộjọ plú nóʔọ dợ tfó dọ mì klà
1P.Poss people together each.other and.then go at forest among
POSS N ADV RECP COORD V PREP N LCLZR
Our people gathered together and (we) went into the forest.

In (298), dợ ‘and.then’ conjoins two independent clauses. The subject for both verbs sáplódó ‘angry’ and wị lịtẹ ‘throw down’ is the same and dropped in the later clause.
He was angry and threw the book down.

Two clauses with two different NP subjects tə ‘thing’ and hè ‘I’ are conjoined by a coordinating connective to form coordinate clause as in (299). In this case both subjects are presented.

(299) tə màtʰiʔ ?ànə hēʔu nū dʃ hè səpʰlə pʃə ke ke

thing happen itself this topic and.then 1S.Poss mind be.destroyed PERF

N V REFL DEM TOP COORD PRO N V ASP

(When) it happened like this then I was very disappointed (Lit: my mind was destroyed).

In the following example (300), more than two independent clauses occur where the subjects Sub₁ ?à ‘prey’ is not the same with Sub₂ wèpwá kô pʰitʃá ‘men and children’ while Sub₂ and the zero Sub₃ ‘they’ are the same. Coordinate NPs conjoined by the conjunction kô ‘and’ is also shown but kô ‘and’ cannot be used to coordinate clauses.

(300) ?à sì hó dʃ wèpwá kô pʰitʃá k’já dʃ màʔ já

3S die COMPL and.then man and child see SF and.then do eat SF

PRO V ASP COORD N CONJ N V PRT COORD V V PRT

When it (prey) was died and both men and children saw it, then (they) cut up its meat to eat.

Another coordinate conjunction təmə ‘or’ conjoins two independent clauses in (301).

(301) nà kà tʃó dá kłá təmə kè də hiʔ ?yà

2S will go at market or return at house QP

PRO ASP V PREP N CONJ V PREP N Q

Will you go to the market or return to the house?

6.3 Subordination

A subordinate clause is one which functions as a dependent modifier or argument of a main clause. Three different types of subordinate clauses 1) complement clause, 2) relative clause, and 3) adverbial clause are discussed in the following.
6.3.1 Complement Clauses

A complement clause is a type of clause which fills an argument slot in the structure of another clause where one clause is included within another (Dixon 2010: 370). Complement clauses occur as subject or object arguments of other clause, which are called matrix clause (Kroeger 2005: 219). There is a possible complementizer kó that only precedes the object complements of verbs of speech in Kayah Monu. Sometimes complement clause looks similar to multiple verb construction. All dependent clauses are in square brackets.

\[[NP_{Sub} \ S [ (kó) \ ] S_{Comp} ] \ S_{Main}\]

6.3.1.1 Verbs of Desire

The two following examples (302) and (303) illustrate core complement clauses. One sentence has the matrix verb desire sájù ‘want’ in (302) and the other has the imperative verb nō ‘order’ in (303).

(302) ?à sájù [ ?à pʰópwàkʰó ?á dì ]
  
 3S want 3S.Poss son eat cooked.rice
  
PRO V POSS N V N
He wanted his son to eat the rice.

(303) ?à nō [ ?à pʰópwàkʰó hámɔʔɔ dó ?àkʰlɔ ]
  
 3S order 3S.Poss son sleep at out
  
PRO V POSS N V PREP LCLZR
He ordered his son to sleep outside.

6.3.1.2 Verbs of Speech

The example sentences in (304) and (305) show sentential complements associated with verbs of speech where the complement clause has imperative illocutionary force from the [2P/1P kbd] construction in the embedded clause (see section (7.3)). In direct speech structure, the complementizer kó ‘that’ always precedes the complement clause in order to introduce it.

\[[V_{speech} [kó ] S_{Comp} ] S_{Main}\]
The old man said, "Now, you have to settle at a specific place."

The old man said, "Now, we must start to create a few of soil."

6.3.1.3 Verbs of Perception

The perception verb kɛfɛ ‘see’ needs a complement clause as in (306).

6.3.1.4 Subject Complement

The following example shows a subject complement through event nominalization. The complement clause includes a topic marker, pointing to the complement being a sentential complement as in (307).

6.3.2 Relative Clauses

Relative clauses are clauses which function as modifiers to the head nouns within an NP (Kroeger 2005: 219). Matrix clauses and relative clauses share an argument; it may be stated in both clauses, or in just one, or in neither. The relative clause has the basic structure of a clause – involving a predicate and the core arguments required by that predicate (Dixon 2010: 314).
Kayah Monu has postnominal relative clauses and the relativizer immediately precede the relative clause. There is no specific relative pronoun in Kayah Monu instead the relativizer də (same as the preposition də) is used to modify the head noun and sometimes the pronoun ṭà optionally functions as a resumptive pronouns referring back to the head noun in an NP. The frame of a Kayah Monu relative clause is:

\[
[N_{\text{Head}} [də......(ṭà)........(nū)]_{\text{NP}} (ṭà)_{2}.........]
\]

.tooltip

\(ṭà\) marks relative clause resumptive pronoun referring back to the head noun in NP

\(ṭà\) marks NP if NP in relative clause has been topicalized.

The following examples show the relative clauses modifying the head noun ḥè ᱋₅ ‘my friend’ and ᱂jò ‘people’ where the pronouns ṭà optionally functions as a resumptive pronouns referring back to the head noun as in (308) and (309).

(308) [ ḥè ᱋₅ [ də ṭà ᱋₅è dó kàtù ]_{\text{NP}} mí ṭàbò

1S.Poss friend that 3S run big most be Phabaw

POSS N REL PRO V ADJ ADV COP NPROP

My friend who runs the most is Phabaw.

(309) [ jòjò [ də ṭà ᱋₅è sò sù ]_{\text{NP}} tʃó tʃó hó

people that 3S stand.up CLF.human three go able.can COMPL

N REL PRO V CLF NUM V MOD ASP

The three who stood up can leave.

In (310) and (311), the post-nominal relative clauses modify the head nouns pwàk₅ḍó ‘male’ and pwàmò ‘female’ where they take optional topic markers nū at final position and both relative clauses are followed by the resumptive ṭà ‘3S’ in (310) and (311).

(310) [ pwàk₅ḍó [ də ṭà ḥè ʔ hè jì nū ]_{\text{NP}} ṭà ná tɛ̄ kàpì

male that 3S come give 1S water topic 3S.RSMP body tall very

N REL PRO V V PRO N TOP PRO.RSMP N ADJ ADV

The man who brings me water is very tall.
In the following two examples (312) and (313) are parallel examples where the first head noun functions as a subject in the relative clause whereas the second one is an object. The optional resumptive pronoun ?à is dropped inside the relative clause in second example where the relativized position is an object.

(312) [ʃi [də ?à ?á pʰtʃá pʰó nū ]₃NP ?à ?ó]
dog that 3S bite child child topic 3S.RSMP bark
N REL PRO V N N TOP PRO V

The dog that bit the boy is barking.

(313) [ʃi [də pʰtʃá pʰó pʰá nū ]₃NP ?à ?ó]
dog that child child hit topic 3S.RSMP bark
N REL N N V TOP PRO V

The dog that boy hit is barking.

In example (314), there are two relativizers modifying the same head noun.

(314) [ [pwàkʰó [də ?à ná də ]₃₃₁ [də ?à hɛ hɛ jí nū ]₃₃₁]
male that 3S.Poss body big that 3S come give 1S water topic
N REL POSS N ADJ REL PRO V V PRO N TOP
só sù ]₃₃₁ tʃó də klá kò
CLF.human three go preposition market in
CLF NUM V PREP N LCLZR

The three men who are big and who bring me water went to the market

6.3.3 Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses are modifiers of verb phrases or whole clauses (Kroeger 2005: 227). Subordinate adverbial clauses usually modify the main clause and adverbial conjunctions (here called subordinating conjunctions) are used to introduce
adverbial clauses. They can be considered a kind of adjunct. The canonical constituent order is adverbial clause followed by main clause.

6.3.3.1 Temporal Clauses and Expressions

There are several clauses which express temporal adverbial clauses expressing concepts like ‘when’, ‘before’, ‘after’ and others. These adverbial clauses appear at the beginning of a subordinate clause and usually precede the main clause.

6.3.3.1.1 ‘When’ Clauses

In examples (315) and (316), the subordinate conjunction bá ‘when’ is used to introduce the adverbial clause and another marker for temporal phrases (clause final subordinator) ?àkʰɑ ‘while’ stands at final position of that clause. The adverbial clauses precede the main clauses. In both sentences, the two events are interpreted as occurring at the same time.

\[(bá) \ldots \ldots \ ?àkʰɑ (nů)\]_{Sub} \ S_{main} \n
(315) [ bá hè kę tọ dọ hì ?àkʰɑ ]_{s} ?à dìʔá

\begin{align*}
\text{SUBORD} & \quad \text{PRO} & \quad \text{V} & \quad \text{PREP} & \quad \text{N} & \quad \text{SUBORD} & \quad \text{PRO} & \quad \text{V} \\
pē & \quad ?à & \quad pʰó & \quad dì
\end{align*}

still 3S.Poss child cooked.rice

ASP POSS N N

When I arrived home, she still was feeding her baby rice.

(316) [ bá hè tjó tʰs tʃó ?àkʰɑ ]_{s} pʰʔá pē dì

\begin{align*}
\text{SUBORD} & \quad \text{PRO} & \quad \text{V} & \quad \text{V.DIR} & \quad \text{N} & \quad \text{SUBORD} & \quad \text{PRO} & \quad \text{V} & \quad \text{ASP} & \quad \text{N} \\
\end{align*}

when 1S go up school while 3S cook still cooked.rice

When I went to school, she still was cooking rice.

In (317), the subordinate adverbial temporal marker bá ‘when’ is drop and ?àkʰɑ ‘while’ alone occurs phrase final. In this phrase, the event has not happen yet, as shown by the future sentence final marker hēpē which show future time reference on the main clause.

---

5 Many temporal adverbials are either event-denoting clauses or time-denoting noun phrases. But they are both similarly marked.
In example (318), the event is completed but the temporal adverbial clause has only an indirect relationship with both perfective and completive aspect markers tɔ and hó in the main clause.

(318) [ bá hè kè tó ?àkʰá ]s ?à tʃó dó tʰà jí hó
when 1S return arrive while 3S go draw PERF water COMPL
SUBORD PRO V V SUBORD PRO V V ASP N ASP
When I arrived, he had already drawn the water.

(317) and (318) show that the temporal meaning of the subordinate clause is often dependent on the main clause.

6.3.3.1.2 ‘Before’ Clauses

In contrast to ‘when’ adverbial clauses, the adverbial temporal marker nókʰá ‘before’ appears often at the end of the adverbial clause but inside ?àkʰá ‘while’ which takes a position at a clause final position in (319).

[......nókʰá NEG( ?àkʰá) (nū)]S_sub S_main

(319) [ nà mả támà nókʰá ṭó ?àkʰá ]s kɛnɛ wó wó
2S do work before not while think suitable suitable
PRO V N SUBORD NEG SUBORD V ADJ ADJ
Before you work, think carefully.

The subordinate adverbial temporal marker nókʰá ‘before’ occurs with the topic marker nū at clause final position as in (320).

(320) [ ?à hámɔʔɔ nókʰá ṭó nū ]s ?à tʃàbà
3S sleep before not topic 3S pray
PRO V SUBORD NEG TOP PRO V
Before he sleeps, he prays.
6.3.3.1.3 ‘After’ Clauses

‘After’ adverbial clauses usually co-occur with temporal aspect markers such as perfective aspect marker tʰɔ ‘finish’, completive aspect marker hó, and the topic marker nū in a sentence. These three combine together and mean ‘after that’. The coordinative connective dɔ́ ‘and.then’ also means ‘after’ in coordinate clause. They usually occur in discussions of sequential events as in procedures. Example sentences are shown below.

\[\ldots\ t^h_3 (h_0) (n_3)]_{\text{Sub}} \ S_{\text{Main}}\]

(321) [ʔà kʰwè tʰɔ hó nū ]₃ bè nū dó jútj₃ kō
\[3\text{S dry PERF COMPL topic put go.in at mortar in}\]
\[\text{PRO ADJ ASP TOP V V.DIR PREP N LCLZR}\]
After drying (the paddy), put (it) into the mortar.

(322) [ʃpʰá tʰɔ hó ]₃ wɔ tʰ₃ dɔk₃ kō
\[\text{pound PERF COMPL scoop out round.bamboo.tray in}\]
\[\text{V ASP ASP V V.DIR N LCLZR}\]
After pounding, scoop out to put into the round bamboo tray.

(323) [t₃ màtʰ₃ ?ànà héʔù nū dy ]₃ hè sàpʰ₃ pję kè
\[\text{thing happen itself this topic and.then 1S.Poss mind be.destroyed PERF}\]
\[\text{N V REFL DEM TOP COORD POSS N V ASP}\]
(When) it happened like this then I was very disappointed (Lit: my mind was destroyed).

6.3.3.1.4 Other Temporal Adverbial Expressions

The adverbs like kʰn₃ ‘now’, sàkʰôló ‘firstly’, and other words denoting ‘today/tomorrow/yesterday’ indicate dependent adverbial expressions and usually precede the independent main clause but sometimes the adverbial clause appears clause final. There is a lot of variation with the subordinators used, as can be seen in the following set of examples.

\[\ldots k^h₃n₃/sàk^h₃ôl₀\ldots (n₃)]_{\text{Sub}} \ S_{\text{Main}} \text{ or } S_{\text{Main}} \ [t^h₃l₃ k^h₃n₃]_{\text{Sub}}\]
At now, you must settle at a (specific) place.

Nowadays, it is really difficult for me.

First, we must go take the rice paddy.

Today, maybe I will attend the school.

The earthworm continues eating the soil until now.

6.3.3.2 Result Adverbia
tonal Clauses
Adverbal clauses for ‘result’ use the subordinate conjunction māttēnù ‘because’. In examples (329) and (330), subordinate and matrix clauses are joined by the subordinate conjunction māttēnù ‘because’ to form a coordinate clause where two NP subjects are different.

S_{Main} \ldots [\ldots māttēnù] S_{sub}

They were poor because he drank alcohol.
6.3.3.3 Cause Adverbal Clauses

Adverbal clauses for ‘cause’ use the subordinate conjunction \( \text{ʔákʰóʔákʰjè} \) ‘because.of’. Sentences (331) and (332) provide examples of ‘cause’ adverbial clauses joined by the subordinating connective \( \text{ʔákʰóʔákʰjè} \) ‘because.of’ as in the following.

\[
\begin{align*}
(331) & \quad [ \text{ʔà tjépwe mà ḋákʰóʔákʰjè } ]_s \text{ ?à } \text{ rè } \text{ dòwè} \\
& \quad 3S \text{ try } \text{ do } \text{ because.of } 3S.\text{Poss money have many}
\end{align*}
\]

Because of trying to work (hard), he has money a lot.

\[
\begin{align*}
(332) & \quad [ \text{hè kějibá hěnù ḋákʰóʔákʰjè } ]_s \text{ hè sáplá tjéjéwá} \\
& \quad 1S \text{ encounter that } \text{ because.of } 1S \text{ dejected deeply}
\end{align*}
\]

Because of encountering that (difficult) experience, I am deeply dejected.

6.3.3.4 Conditional Adverbal Clauses

Conditional adverbal clauses are also composed of a dependent conditional clause and an independent main clause. The subordinate conjunction that is used in conditional clauses is \( \text{mē} \) ‘if’ where the topic marker \( nù \) optionally occurs clause final. The subordinate conjunction \( \text{mē} \) ‘if’ occurs after the NP subject. And if there is no subject then it is clause initial. Examples can be seen in the following set of sentences.

\[
\begin{align*}
(333) & \quad [ \text{mē mà ḋì dó nù } ]_s \text{ bë nù dá pʰòká kò} \\
& \quad \text{if do PERF COMPL topic put go.in at basket in}
\end{align*}
\]

If (you are) done then put (them) into the basket.
If I sell them, I would get money.

If our brothers and sisters' minds are united, let's found together our own country.

### 6.3.3.5 Reason Clauses

Reason adverbial clauses are also composed of a dependent subordinate clause and an independent main clause. The subordinate conjunction that is used in reason clause is *pśkʰs* ‘as’ where the topic marker *nū* optionally occurs clause final. An example can be seen in the following.

\[
[pśkʰs \ldots nū]_{Sub} \ S_{Main}
\]

If he said, don't tell him!

### 6.3.3.6 Counter Expectation Clauses

Counter expectation clauses are used to denote a denial of expectation. The subordinator *mētā* ‘although’ is used to express counter expectation clauses it appears clause final. The subordinate clause always precedes matrix clause as in (337) and (338).

\[
[\ldots mētā]_{Sub} \ S_{Main}
\]
Although he plays, he is not happy.

Although she returned, her parents were not home.

6.4 Summary

In this chapter, coordinate clauses and three kinds of subordinate clauses 1) complement clauses, 2) relative clauses, and 3) adverbial clauses were discussed. The constituent order for each type of clause was also described.

In coordinate sentences, coordinating connectives are used to connect two independent clauses. There is the optional kó ‘that’ complementizer in Kayah Monu complement clauses. Relative clauses in Kayah Monu are post-nominal. The relativizer dò is used to introduce a relative clause within an NP and resumptive pronouns are common in relative clause constructions.

Dependent adverbial clauses usually come before the independent main clauses. Temporal adverbial clauses such as: 1) ‘when’ clause, 2) ‘before’ clause, 3) ‘after’ clause, and 4) other temporal adverbial subordinate clauses were described. Result adverbial clause, cause adverbial clause, conditional clause, reason clause, and counter expectation clause were also briefly discussed.

The variations in subordinator positions with their related examples are discussed. They occur on both sides of subordinate clauses eg. bá ‘when’ occurs clause initial as in (316), temporal markers kóhⁿ ‘now’, sákʰóló ‘firstly’, and kóhˌtتحدي ‘today’ also appear clause initial as in (324) and (326), result subordinator mǔtʰɛn ‘because’, conditional subordinator mɛ ‘if’, and reason subordinator pɔkʰ ‘as’ stand clause initial as in (329), (334), and (336).

In contrast, nɔkʰ ‘before’ occurs inside the clause together with negation marker tɔ ‘not’ in (319). The subordinator tɔkʰ ‘while’ occurs clause final in (316) as well as tɔ ‘finish’ and dɔ ‘and.then’ appear clause final sometimes with topic marker nũ in (321) and (323). Cause subordinator tɔkʰ ndɔʔkʰ ‘because.of’, and counter expectation subordinator mɛt눠 ‘although’ occur clause final as in (331), and (337).
Chapter 7
Sentence Types

7.1 Introduction
This chapter looks at different sentence types in Kayah Monu. It provides several illustrative examples for declarative, imperative, and interrogative sentences and describes the patterns for each type. Most languages have specific grammatical patterns that are used to indicate which of these actions the speaker intends to perform: declarative for statements; imperative for commands, and interrogative for questions (Kroeger 2005: 196). Sentence final particles normally are added to declarative sentence to make them express some other illocutionary force.

7.2 Declarative (Statements)
In Kayah Monu, the most basic kind of sentence structure is a simple statement, a declarative sentence. The \( \text{NP}_{\text{obj}} \) follows both \( \text{NP}_{\text{sub}} \) and \( \text{VP} \); PP and ClfP optionally occur at the end of the clause. The typical structure of a declarative sentence is schematized as below.

\[
S: [\text{NP}_{\text{sub}} \text{VP} \text{NP}_{\text{obj}}(\text{PP}) (\text{ClfP})]
\]

Sentence (339) illustrates a simple declarative sentence in Kayah Monu. It consists of \( \text{NP}_{\text{sub}} \) 'àmúpwà' ‘the old man’, a verb màtʰɔ́ ‘build’, \( \text{NP}_{\text{obj}} \) hí ‘house’, \( \text{PP}_{\text{Loc}} \) dɔ̀ lō ʔɔ́ ‘in the field’ and ClfP tà mè ‘one/a house’.

\[
(339) \text{àmúpwà màtʰɔ́ hí dɔ̀ lō ʔɔ́ tà mè}
\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>old.man</th>
<th>build</th>
<th>house at</th>
<th>field in</th>
<th>one</th>
<th>CLF.round.big</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

The old man built a house in the field.

Declarative sentences have been extensively discussed in previous chapters.
7.3 Imperative (Commands)

Imperatives are clause construction types that directly command the addressee to perform some action. They are usually understood to refer to second person subjects. In Kayah Monu, the addressee who is being told to do something is usually omitted and the imperative can be strong or softened by changing intonation.

7.3.1 Regular Imperatives

A regular imperative is usually a declarative clause optionally without both addresser and addressee. Examples below show imperative sentences in Kayah Monu. All sentences are spoken strongly to express command.

(340) hè ʔá báʔù
      come eat here
      V  V DEM.Loc
      Come and eat!

(341) tʃó pwè kè tɛtɛ
      go buy return property
      V  V  V  N
      Go and buy things!

Sometimes proper nouns can occur in imperative clauses when the addressee is being told to do something with increased urgency or impatience as in (342).

(342) pʰàbɔ mà pʰwɛ pʰwɛ
      Phabaw do quickly quickly
      NPROP  V  ADV  ADV
      Phabaw, hurry up!

A bare verb can also form an imperative structure. For example, tʃó ‘go’ in example (343) has only a verb to form an imperative clause and it was used with a strong voice in giving a command.

(343) tʃó
      go
      V
      Go!
7.3.2 Prohibitive Imperatives
Prohibitive (negative imperatives) have the same form as positive imperatives, except that the clause includes the negation marker. The following examples (344) and (445) compare declarative and imperative clauses. In (344), the actor is giving quite strong command by using imperative negation mà ‘not’ whereas in (345), it is not a prohibitive instead the addressee responds by using general negation marker tąd ‘not’.

(344) mà mà (strong command)
do not
V NEG.IMP
Don’t do it!

(345) mà tà (refuse to do)
do not
V NEG
I won’t do it!

7.3.3 Polite Imperatives
Another possible way of marking imperative sentences in Kayah Monu is by using special final imperative markers. The polite imperative is not necessarily used towards a speaker of higher status, but is used to demonstrate a kind of positive attitude towards the addressee. This is a softer, less direct form of command than the regular imperative and frequently used in hortatory discourse.

The polite imperative is marked by the particle nõ and nê. Examples below show that the speaker can soften the force of an imperative with both final element imperative markers. The first one nõ seems to be a Burmese loan word.

(346) kànèʔí hè nõ
remember 1S ASRT
V PRO IMP
Remember me please!
Sometimes the polite term kalwà ‘please’ is used in request clauses as in (349).

(349) kalwà ?ì hè

please give 1S

IMP V PRO

Give me please!

7.3.4 Hortative Imperatives

The first person always occurs in a hortative construction as an agent of the suggested action. It involves at least two people but the number is not explicitly marked. In these examples (350) and (351), the hortative particle lò and mó are used to express suggested opinion in a clause. The second one mó seems to be a Sgaw Karen loan word.

(350) pà tjó lò

1P go HORT

PRO V IMP

Let us go!

(351) ?àsè tjó mó

3P.poss go HORT

PRO V IMP

They go!
7.4 Interrogative (Questions)

Three basic types of interrogative sentence structures are found in Kayah Monu. The first is the yes-no question, the second is the content question, and the third is the disjunctive-negative question. These broad types are distinguished by the occurrences of sentence final interrogative marker ?yà for yes-no questions lē for content questions and ṭhìmè ‘or’ for disjunctive questions.

7.4.1 Yes-No Questions

Yes-No questions are sometimes referred to as ‘closed questions,’ because set of possible answers is closed, containing just two members (yes and no) (Kroeger 2005: 203). In Kayah Monu, the interrogative particle ?yà occurs at the end of the clause to signal a yes-no question as the answer the speaker expects is either ‘yes’ or ‘no’. The following are examples of the interrogative yes-no structure.

(352) nà phàʔá tʰà hó ?yà
   2S cook PERF COMPL QP
   PRO V ASP ASP Q
   Have you finished cooking?

(353) nà sákànà mùnù jó ?yà
   2S understand Monu language QP
   PRO V NPROP N Q
   Do you understand Kayah Monu language?

This kind of question would have the answer "yes" or "no".

7.4.2 Content Questions

Content questions are sometimes referred to as ‘open questions,’ because the set of possible answers is open, with (theoretically) no limit to the number of potential responses and also called ‘Wh-questions’ (Kroeger 2005: 203). Two parts are required to make content questions in Kayah Monu. The first part is a question proform and the second part is the question particle lē. The content question particle lē optionally co-occurs with māti ‘why’ and mòpè ‘who’. As the question word identifies the sentence as a question, the final question particle is frequently omitted. Table 37 shows the interrogative proforms in Kayah Monu.
Table 37 Interrogative Pro-forms in Kayah Monu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question Words</th>
<th>Interrogative proform</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>who</td>
<td>m López</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>where</td>
<td>bátè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>what</td>
<td>títè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>when</td>
<td>bdk’hítè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>how</td>
<td>hûtè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>how much</td>
<td>pwétè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>why</td>
<td>màttè</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Usually, the questions words are found clause final except m López ‘who’ and màttè ‘why’. If the question particle lè occurs, it is clause final after the question word. Each question word has a specific function. For the pro-forms, the positions given are strong preferences but not always the only option.

7.4.2.1 Who

The use of m López ‘who’ indicate that the speaker thinks that the referent they want to identify is human. In the following examples, the question word m López ‘who’ occurs with the optional question particle lè at clause final. The final particle only appears in (357).

(354) nà mì mí m López
   2S.Poss name be who
   POSS N COP INTRG
   What is your name?

(355) ?à hénù mí m López
   3S that be who
   PRO DEM COP INTRG
   Who is he/she?

(356) m López hè dò búng kʰó
   who come at rice field on
   INTRG V PREP N LCLZR
   Who went to the rice field?
(357) nà kà ṭi mápè lè
2S will give who QP
PRO ASP V INTRG Q
Whom will you give it?

7.4.2.2 What
When the speaker thinks that the unknown referent is non-human, the question word ṭiṭè ‘what’ is used. It usually occur clause final sometimes with future marker hēpè to show the future tense.

(358) hénù mì ṭiṭè
that be what
DEM COP INTRG
What is that?

(359) pēwāpè nà kà mà ṭiṭè hēpè
tomorrow 2S will do what SF.future
ADV PRO ASP V INTRG PRT
What will you do tomorrow?

7.4.2.3 Why
The question word mātītè ‘why’ usually appears clause initial, and the question particle lè is clause final. This question word is used when the speaker does not know the reason for some state or event and is requesting the hearer to provide that information.

(360) mātītè nà hè dà būlā k̕ó tɔ
why 2S come at rice field to not
INTRG PRO V PREP N LCLZR NEG
Why don't you go to the rice field?

(361) mātītè nà pwè ?á hú tɔ lè
why 2S buy eat rice not QP
INTRG PRO V V N NEG Q
Why don't you buy rice?
7.4.2.4 When
A speaker will choose the question word bàkʰatè ‘when’ to request the specific time of an event. The future marker ḫepē is added clause final for ‘when in the future’.

(363) nà tʃó dó mádálé bàkʰatè
2S go at Mandalay when
PRO V PREP NPROP INTRG
When did you go to Mandalay?

(364) nà kà hè bàkʰatè ḫepē
2S will come when SF.future
PRO ASP V INTRG PRT
When will you come?

7.4.2.5 Where
The place question word bátè ‘where’ is used when the speaker is uncertain of a location. It usually occurs clause final.

(365) nà ?ɔ bátè
2S stay where
PRO V INTRG
Where do you stay?

(366) kʰtànì nà tʃó bátè
today 2S go where
ADV PRO V INTRG
Where do you go today?
7.4.2.6 How

The manner question word hîtè ‘how’ also always appears clause final.

(367) hà bá mà hîtè
1S must do how
PRO MOD V INTRG
How should I do (it)?

(368) bà pʰʃʔá dî hîtè
must cook cooked.rice how
MOD V N INTRG
How do (I) cook rice?

7.4.2.7 How many

Kayah Monu uses the same question word to request the quantity and number of referent. When the amount or the number of something is unknown, the quantity extent question word pwêtè ‘how much’ or the number question word pwêtè ‘how many’ are used and these are both the same.

(369) ?á dó pwêtè
be.exist big how.many
COP ADJ INTRG
How many?

(370) nà nē ?á pwêtè
2S.Poss year have how.many
POSS N V INTRG
How old are you? (Lit: How many years do you have?)

7.4.3 Disjunctive (Negative) Questions

Kayah Monu also has disjunctive questions that are more frequent in conversation than in monologues and narratives. This type of question is formed by combining two parts where the verb followed by the coordinator tômè ‘or’ or subordinator mé ‘if’ then the verb is repeated and optionally followed by negation marker. The schema for disjunctive (negative) question formation is as below.
**Disjunctive-Negative Question**: […..V1 (támè/mé) V1 (tô)]

The following examples show a disjunctive-negative question in Kayah Monu by using támè ‘or’ and mé ‘if’. The answer could be 'one of them' or 'both of them' or 'neither of them'.

(371) nà hébá mùnù jô támè hébá tô ?yà

2S speak Monu language or speak not QP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRO</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>NPROP</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>CONJ</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>NEG</th>
<th>Q</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
Do you speak Kayah Monu or not?

(372) tâlâ nu wô mé wô tô dô bá tô pû jâ

place topic suitable if suitable not and.then must cut test SF

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N</th>
<th>TOP</th>
<th>ADJ</th>
<th>SUBORD</th>
<th>ADJ</th>
<th>NEG</th>
<th>COORD</th>
<th>MOD</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>PRT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
You must cut to test if the land is good enough for hill-side cultivation or not.

Sometimes the disjunction can involve an entire VP as in (xx).

(373) nà kà tʃó dô klâ támè kê dô hî ?yà

2S will go at market or return at house QP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRO</th>
<th>ASP</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>PREP</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>CONJ</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>PREP</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Q</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
Will you go to the market or return to the house?

**7.5 Summary**

In this chapter, three major sentence types, declarative, imperative, and interrogative were presented. Within each category several subtypes are identified. The interrogative forms for yes-no questions, content questions, and disjunctive-negative questions were also discussed.
Chapter 8
Conclusion

8.1 Introduction
In this chapter, the findings from previous chapters are summarized and suggestions for further research are provided.

8.2 Summary of Findings
This research is made up of eight chapters and is based on research carried out on the Taw Khu dialect in Kayah State, Myanmar.

Chapter one introduced the classification of the language, the people, geography, demography, general information, scope of the research, methodology, literature review on previous studies, and an overview of previous phonological study.

Chapter two described different types of major word classes, minor word classes, and morphological process. The grammatical basis for each word class was described, which included nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, pronouns, demonstratives, classifiers, numerals, quantifiers, preposition and relativizer, localizers, conjunctions, question words, particles, and directional verbs.

Verbs were divided into main verbs and auxiliaries which occur with the main verbs. Some auxiliaries appear regularly after the verbs and others before the verb. Directional verbs occur as helping verbs to the main verb to show the direction of the actor. Adjectives were discussed to be similar to verbs in negation and modification by post-verbal auxiliaries. But adjectives are distinct from verbs in tå-adjective nominalization, the position of modifying head noun in NP, the use of the relativizer dō with modifiers, and the comparative and the superlative constructions. Adverbs typically follow the verb and modify the verb, adjective or another adverb.

Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns follow the main verb to form reflexive or reciprocal clauses. Demonstratives are used to point out a particular thing and they usually follow the head noun, and can be linked by a copula. Conjunctions link two words, phrases or clauses and the question words sometimes occur as discontinuous forms. Final particles distinguish illocutionary forces such declarative, imperative,
interrogative by following each. Classifiers are divided into a number of different subclasses based on grammatical distribution. Auto-classifiers are also nouns. The general locative preposition do always precedes the noun to express the general location and the localizers are obligatory occur at final position to point out a specific place.

Chapter three described noun phrase structure. NP can be head nouns preceded by an optional possessive noun phrase and followed by optional adjectives, numeral, quantifier, classifier, demonstrative, and topic marker. In appositional noun phrases, the specific noun phrase follows the general noun phrase. Coordinate noun phrases consist of two similar head constituents joined by a conjunction. Classifiers accompany nouns to mark a specific class of nouns and form classifier phrases. The quantifier phrase or classifier phrase are optional. The classifier phrase sometimes can displace to a sentence final position.

Chapter four provided the structures of the verb phrase. The verb phrase optionally starts with an auxiliary (AUX₁) which is followed by the head verb (V*), and an auxiliary (AUX₂) usually aspect marker, and lastly by an optional constituent (XP), which is often adverbial. Finally a negation marker may appear. Adverb phrases always follow the predicate. Multiple verb constructions consist of the combination of two or more verb roots. In a multiple verb construction, usually the first verb is a head. They express one simple event or a complex event. Different types of multiple-verbs constructions such as simultaneous, sequential, resultative, and directive were discussed.

Chapter five presented simple clauses. Equative clauses, existential clauses, possessive clauses, locative clauses, and attributive clauses are all kinds of non-verbal clauses. They are typically composed of a noun phrase followed by a copula and an optional copula complement. For verbal clauses, the subject is almost always obligatory. There are three different copulas ‘m’, ‘θ’, and ‘zero’ in Kayah Monu. A benefactive constituent can follow or precede the indirect object constituent. Time constituents can appear at both initial and final of the sentence. A location constituent is an oblique argument; they usually occur at the end of the sentence and often a localizer is obligatory. Instrument constituents occur in transitive and ditransitive clauses. Unlike the beneficiary, there is no localizer or marker next to the instrument.

Chapter six analyzed complex clauses in Kayah Monu. Coordinate clauses are two independent clauses and can be joined by coordinating connectives such as do
‘and.then’, and ɲámè ‘or’. If the subjects of both clauses are the same, the subject is not normally mentioned in the latter sentence. There is a complementizer for object complements and sometimes they look similar to multiple verbs construction. Kayah Monu has postnominal relative clauses and the relativizer follows any attributive modifying the head noun to indicate a relative clause. There is no specific relative pronoun instead the relativizer ɗó (same as the preposition ɗó) is used to modify the head noun. Adverbial conjunctions (subordinating conjunctions) are used to introduce adverbial clauses or follow them.

Chapter seven described sentence types and there are different types such as declarative, interrogative, and imperative. Sentence final particles are normally added to declarative sentence to create some other illocutionary force. There are three basic types of interrogative sentences: yes-no questions, content questions, and disjunctive-negative questions. These broad types are distinguished by the occurrences of sentence final interrogative marker ?yà for yes-no questions lè for content questions and ɲámè ‘or’ for disjunctive question.

8.3 Further Research
A grammatical analysis of a language is never perfect. This section provides applicable suggestions that still need further research. Verb and adjective can only be separated on some tests, but most tests do not make this separation. Therefore, it is recommended to do further study on distinguishing verbs and adjectives because at clause and sentence level the distinction between these two is weak.

It is also recommended to do further investigation on the word ?à. It functions as adjective nominalizer, third person singular pronoun and sometimes it is not clear that whether it is prefix or not.

The two aspect markers tɔŋ ‘perfective’ and hó ‘completive’ appearance in the verb complex need to be explained in more detail. The role of ɗó needs more research as it can function as a locative preposition by preceding a noun, as a relativizer following the head noun in relative clause, and as temporal preposition appear at start position introducing adverbial time clause.

Classifier usages and the displacement of classifier phrases also need more data and research. For simple and complex sentences, the most interesting area to focus on is subject-verb intransitivity and their alternation into verb subject sentences.
The discourse-pragmatics with a discussion of topic, focus and various discourse markers are also invaluable features for further research. As this thesis is an initial work on the descriptive grammar of Kayah Monu, many features may need to be investigated in more detail.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


**Online Resources:**

Joshua Project: ‘Manumanaw’


APPENDIX A

EARTHWORM AND TERMITE

1. dá nihäninô ?ámúpwá ?añ̂añ̂ àp̟àp̟àp̟ ?ó tà pwá
   when long.time.ago old.man powerful be.exist one CLF.human

Long time ago, there was a powerful old man.

2. ?à bó lê tâp̟ótâwê ?ó kâní prô
   PRO V V.DIR N COP NUM CLF

There were two kinds of animal he created.

3. ?à ló tjó kó ?à hîp̟̀ù ?ó tà prô
   PRO V V APPL PRO N COP NUM CLF

One animal crawls and goes with its belly.

4. ?à tjó kó ?à kâšlâpâ mî tà prô
   PRO V APPL PRO N COP NUM CLF

One animal goes with its foot.

5. bánù ?âk̟â ?à tjôlêlù pê ?âk̟â
   that while 3S travel still while

At that time, he (old man) is still travelling.

   old.man say 3P that now topic 2P must settle place one
   N V PRO COMPZR ADV TOP PRO MOD V N NUM

kô
   CLF.land

CLF
The old man said to them, "Now, you have to settle at a specific place."

7 ʔâmú-pwá hé kó kʰância pà bá sàtʰ₅ bō lɔ̀ hãkʰ₀ tàkíþú
  old.man say that now 1P must start create down soil few

The old man said, "Now, we must start to create a few of soil."

8 ʔà nã sàtʰ₅ bó wí kó tʰàjá-jíkà
  3S order start create first with earthworm

He (the old man) orders the earthworm to start create the soil first.

9 ʔà bó tʰ₆ hó nũ ʔâmú-pwá tʃó kéké já
  3S create PERF COMPL topic old.man go look SF

When he (earthworm) finishes creating the soil, the old man goes to check it.

10 ʔà tɔ̀ báwɔ̀ ʔà sãpʰ₇ɔ̀ tɔ̀ dý ʔâmú-pwá nã bó tàplësã
  3S.Poss thing please 3S.Poss mind not and.then old.man order create again

His (of earthworm) thing (creating soil) does not please his (the old man's) mind then the old man orders termite to start create the soil again.

11 dý ʔà dì bó tàplësã pùʔu hãkʰ₀
  and.then 3S allow create again termite soil

He (the old man) again allows termite to create the soil.

12 dý ʔà bá tʰ₆ hó ʔâmú-pwá tʃó kéké sõ já
  and.then 3S create PERF COMPL old.man go look again SF

When he (termite) finished creating (the soil), the old man went to check it again.
After giving finishing touch then he (the old man) nominates termite to create the soil.

The earthworm does not happy and then he (earthworm) completely eats the termite's soil.

The earthworm continues eating the soil until now.
APPENDIX B
HOW TO COOK RICE?

1 bá pʰátá dì hîtè
must cook cooked.rice how
MOD V N INTRG

How to cook rice?

2 kʰnó hè kà pʰátá dì tà kàpù
now 1S will cook cooked.rice one pot
ADV PRO ASP V N NUM N

Now, I will cook a pot of rice.

3 sákʰo ló pá bá tʃó pʰí bù
first 1P must go take rice.unthreshed
ADV PRO MOD V V N

Firstly, we must go to take paddy.

4 tʰá hó nū pà bá lókʰwè já kó lùmú támè mì
PERF COMPL topic 1P must dry SF with sun or fire
ASP ASP TOP PRO MOD V PRT APPL N CONJ N

After that we must dry (the paddy) with sun or fire.

5 ?à kʰwè tʰá hó nū bé nù já dó sùtʃ kò sùjá kó
3S dry PERF COMPL topic put go.in SF at mortar in pound with
PRO ADJ ASP ASP TOP V V.DIR PRT PREP N LCLZR V APPL
klì
pestle
N

After (the paddy) had dried then put into mortar to pound with pestle.

6 wà tʰá já dá dɔkò kò
scoop up SF at round.bamboo.tray in
V V.DIR PRT PREP N LCLZR
Scoop them out to put into round bamboo tray.

7 ﲤ à hoc nû kʰábəkè ʔà pʰɨpwā
PERF COMPL topic remove Poss.Marker paddy.husk
ASP ASP TOP V PRO N

After that remove the paddy husk.

8 à mé tʰə hoc nû be nù sô já dá jútô kô
3S if PERF COMPL topic put go.in again SF at mortar in
PRO SUBORD ASP ASP TOP V V.DIR ADV PRT PREP N LCLZR
d'y ipʰá já
and.then pound SF
COORD V PRT

If finish then put (the paddy) into mortar to pound (it) again.

9 ipʰá tʰə hoc wá tʰə dákò kô
pound PERF COMPL scoop up round.bamboo.tray in
V ASP ASP V V.DIR N LCLZR

After pounding, scoop out to put in round bamboo tray.

10 tʰə hoc nû kʰábəkè pʰimû
PERF COMPL topic remove bran
ASP ASP TOP V N

After that remove the brans.

11 kʰábô tʰə wí tʰə ʔà kâmâ tʰúkè ʔà kâmâ
remove PERF throw up 3S.Poss grain.paddy take.out 3S.Poss grain.paddy
V ASP V V.DIR PRO N V PRO N

After removing, pick out and take out grains of paddy.

12 tʰə hoc nû ʔà tʰə kô hú hó
PERF COMPL topic 3S become about rice COMPL
ASP ASP TOP PRO V APPL N ASP

After that it becomes rice.

13 mé mà tʰə hoc nû be nù dá pʰökâ kô
if do PERF COMPL topic put go.in at basket in
SUBORD V ASP ASP TOP V V.DIR PREP N LCLZR
If (you are) doen then put (them) into basket.

Start the fire then put clean water on the oven.

When the water is hot and boiled then put in rice.

It must be mixed and then mix using flat wooden ladle.

Pile up charcoals then lay down to dry water.

When the water is dried, turn around (the pot) to dry again.

When it (the water) is dried then lift up (the pot of rice).

By doing that it becomes a pot of white cooked-rice.
APPENDIX C
HOW TO PREPARE A RICE-FIELD?

1 tʰè hú klà hɪtè
cut rice field how
V N N INTRG
How to prepare a rice-field?

2 sàkʰõlõ tʃjó këbá hãkʰõ
first go search land
ADV V V N
Firstly, (you must) go to look a land (to cultivate).

3 tɔlã nũ wò mè wò tɛ dʏ bá tʰè pũ já
place topic suitable if suitable not and.then must cut test SF
N TOP ADJ SUBORD ADJ NEG COORD MOD V V PRT
You must cut to test if the land is good enough for hill-side cultivation or not.

4 tʰè pũ tʰɔ tʰè hɛnɛ jã lɔkʰwè jã
cut test PERF cut continue SF dry SF
V V ASP V ADV PRT V PRT
After cutting to test the land then continue to clean and then dry it.

5 lɔkʰwè tʰɔ jú mì jù tʰɔ wò pwá wò tʰɔ tʰɔ pwá
dry PERF fire fire fire PERF clean.up farm clean.up PERF harrow farm
V ASP V N V ASP V N V ASP V N
After drying (the land), start fire (it) then clean the farm, then harrow that farm.
After weeding the weeds, hoe the coarse grass again then hoe the young grass and then hoe the mature grass.

After finishing to hoe the mature grass then remove to throw away them all.

If the mature grass were removed away then the unthreshed rice is ripe.

Now, the unthreshed rice is ready to reap.

After reaping, tie them into bundles.

After tying (them), dry the bundles of unthreshed rice.
After you have dried the bundles of unthreshed rice, collect (them).

After collecting them, beat the unthreshed rice.

After beating, thresh them.

After threshing (the unthreshed rice), pour to put into the basket.
APPENDIX D
THE HAPPIEST DAY

1 ?àmò ló lùmù́nì tà nì

happy most day one CLF.day

ADJ ADV N NUM CLF

The happiest day.

2 pà kòjò tʃó wóʔá nóʔó tɔmì tà nì

1P.Poss people go hunt each other prey one CLF.day

PRO N V V RECP N NUM CLF

One day, our people went for a hunting.

3 pà kòjò plú nóʔó dʃì tʃó dò mì klà .

1P.Poss people together each other and then go at forest among

PRO N ADV RECP COORD V PREP N LCLZR

Our people gathered together then (we) went into the forest.

4 wèpwá ʔò dò ?àk’ò dʃì wèpwá dɔsijá p’itʃá dʃì wó t’h

man stay at place above and then man warn child and then chase out

N V PREP N COORD N V N COORD V V.DIR

tɔmì

prey

N

The men took up a place above and warned the children then (they) chased the prey.

5 tɔmì hàt’hó dʃì wèpwá k’há jà

prey out and then man shoot SF

N V.DIR COORD N V PRT

When the prey came out, men shot it.
When it (prey) was died and both men and children saw it, then (they) cut up its meat to eat.

(We) divided up meat then we returned with joy.

(We) shouted, blew loudly and returned to enter into the village.

We brought back the meat and returned to share it (with others).

Today, not only my wife but also my kids rejoiced with joy.
This is the day we rejoiced for getting prey.

By doing that, I can still never forget about that day.
APPENDIX E
A DIFFICULT LIVING

1 təpʰʔáwɛʔá doʔ ʔatsɛʔatsó
   living that difficult
   N REL ADJ

The difficult living.

2 təʔasʰʔákʰä kʰʔnó nuʔ ʔapɔʔasʰä tʃɛʔʃɛpəpə doʔ hɛ jä
   time now topic difficult really at IS for
   N ADV TOP ADJ ADV PREP PRO LCLZR

Nowadays, it is really difficult for me.

3 tà mətʰʔàná hɛʔu nuʔ dəʔ hɛ səpʰlə pjɛ kə
   thing happen itself this topic and.then 1S.Poss mind be.destroyed PERF
   N V PRO.RFLX DEM TOP COORD PRO N V ASP

(When) it happened like this then I was very disappointed (Lit: my mind was destroyed).

4 dəʔ hɛ təʃtʃòntubakʰɓáʔakó hɛ kɛʃibá hɛnùʔ ʔakʰʔakʰjɛ hɛ
   and.then 1S experience in 1S encounter that because.of 1S
   COORD PRO N LCLZR PRO V DEM SUBORD PRO
   səplə tʃɛlɛwá
   dejected deeply
   ADJ ADV

Because of encountering that (difficult) experiences, I am deeply dejected.

5 kʰʔnó hɛ kà ʃɛbɛʔi kó hɛ təʃtʃòntubakʰɓá tá tʃó
   now 1S will tell about 1S.Poss experience one CLF.non-human things
   ADV PRO ASP V APPL PRO N NUM CLF

Now, I will tell about my one experience.
I start come to cut a rice field.

.I climb up to cut a tree and I fell down then my leg was broken.

And I am not able to hoe the grass.

My unthreshed rice still not good at all.

My unthreshed rice still not bear fruit.

I am not able to work on my unthreshed rice field for living.

And then I try to earn still nothing is being still with me.
and then I tried hard, I was still poor.

Even though I (tried) hard, (I) was still poor.

I am very dejected so I do not want to stay to be still alive on the earth.
APPENDIX F
IMAGINE BEING A RICH PERSON

1 kënë dójá ná
   imagine rich body
   V     ADJ N

Imagination of being a rich person.

2 hë kënë tâsájî ŋà ŋà tà tʃó
   1S imagine intense.desire 3S have one CLF.non-human things
   PRO V  N     PRO V  NUM CLF

I imagine and I have one intense desire that I want to be.

3 hë sâjû mà t³ô t³ô já
   1S want do become up SF
   PRO V  V  V   V.DIR PRT

I want to do to become true.

4 hë sàt⁵ sʰú pʰâlà tà kḷà
   1S start plant Phala one CLF.land
   PRO V  V  NPROP NUM CLF

I start to plant a plot of Phala.

5 tà nē kó tà nē bè tâsá
   one year and one year pick fruit
   NUM N  CONJ NUM N  V  N

I pick the fruits year by yea

6 hë më sʰájà nü hë kà nêbà rù
   1S if sell topic 1S will get money
   PRO SUBORD V  TOP PRO ASP V  N

If I sell them, I would get money.
I will have a lot money to become growth year by year.

One year, I will buy many properties for me.

Year by year, my happiness will increase.

I will also rejoice.

If I have bought a car, I would be able to go for a trade.

If my trading succeed, I will also build a very big house.
I and my wife with my children and grandchildren will stay together in contentment forever.
APPENDIX G
FUTURE GROWTH

The Future which becomes growth.

Nowadays, if our brothers and sisters' minds are united, we can support sky even it collapse, we can grasp the earth even it prolapse.

If our brothers and sisters' minds are united, let's found together our own country.

We are a kind and a specific group of people.
We would call ourselves Monu's people.

6 pà ?á dó pʰəbə sʰə là pà ?á dó pʰəbə sʰə
1P be.exist at Pha Baw mountain beside 1P be.exist at Pha Baw mountain
PRO COP PREP NPROP N LCLZR PRO COP PREP NPROP N

We stay beside and at the foot of the Pha Baw mountain.

7 pà mùnù kā mì kā ?âmə
1P.Poss Monu country be country happy
PRO NPROP N COP N ADJ

Our Monu land is a happy land. Our Monu land is a rich land.

8 pà mùnù kā mì kā dójə
1P.Poss Monu country be country rich
PRO NPROP N COP N ADJ

9 pà bέ tʰə jîmâkəpʰə
1P put up leaders
PRO V V.DIR N

We nominated our leaders.

10 kā pʰə dó ?âtʰə tʰə jîmâkəbâ
country king big rise PERF progress
N N ADJ V ASP V

After the great king had risen, the land become progress.

11 mî pî dó kənùr jô sî dó mōpwâ
fire run.out at jungle language die at aged.people
N V PREP N N V PREP N

As fire ran out in the jungle, language will die at old age.

12 jô ?âtʰə dó jîlâkə kô
language arise at community in
N V PREP N LCLZR
Language has arisen in the community.

If you have relationship with firefly, you will down in a hole; if you have relationship with butterfly, you would being hot by fire.

Baby horse body is being cleaned with wather, baby elephant's body is being beautiful with soil.

A clever daughter will get up to look after her village while bright son will take care of his country.

A clever daughter's house would be clean, while intelligent son's country would become progress.
APPENDIX H
ELICITED SENTENCES

Noun Phrases

1 ?à hí
   3S.Poss house
   PRO N

His house

2 ?à phà hí
   3S.Poss father house
   PRO N N

His father's house

3 pwâkù '?à hí ?àlì
   male 3S.Poss house red
   N PRO N ADJ

The man's red house

4 kòjò hênù ?à hí hênù
   man that 3S.Poss house that
   N DEM PRO N DEM

That man's that house

5 hí hê?ù
   house this
   N DEM

This house

6 hí hênù
   house that
   N DEM

That house
7 hí hénù ?ó dónù
    house that be.exist there
N  DEM  COP  DEM.Loc

That house is (way) over there

8 hí dówè
    house many
N  QUANT

many houses

9 hí tákípʰú
    house few
N  QUANT

few houses

10 hí tákí tákí
    house few  few
N  QUANT  QUANT

some houses

11 hí lóbõ
    house all
N  QUANT

every house

12 hí lóbõ
    house all
N  QUANT

all houses

13 hí ?àlí hénù dówè
    house red that many
N  ADJ  DEM  QUANT

many of those red houses

14 hí ?àlí
    house red
N  ADJ

red house
that red house

that new red house

that house is bigger than this house

he lives in the biggest house

very many kids (a lot of kids)

his big house

his father's big house

three houses
those three houses

three red houses

three big red houses

his three big red houses

his father's three red big houses

The pencil on the table is broken.

The dog in the yard.

The cat with sharp teeth
the boy and the girl

the boy and girl

my finger

my bicycle

my mother

that finger hurt

that new bicycle

that mother is nice
the man who brings me water went down to Yangon.

the woman who cleans my house

the three big men who bring me water

The three men who are big (and) bring me water went to the market.

**NP Appositive**

my friend, Phalu, is a teacher

Motu, his wife, cooks good curry
He saw the pig in the yard.

The boy ran inside of the house.

The pig is in the garden.

The book is on the table.

The party is in Yangon.

A child is in the house.
Cooked rice is on the table.

The child climb up to the mountain.

The child climb up to the top of tree.

The bird is on the top of tree/ there is a bird on the top of tree.

The child is under the house.

The child is at home.

The tree is under the mountain/ there is a tree under the mountain.

He saw the pig is in the yard.
Take the ball out of the box.

**PP Prepositional Modification**

1 tʃùbò ʔá ɗá sàbwé kʰó ʔà läkà
   pencil be.exist at table on 3S.RSMP break
   N COP PREP N LCLZR PRO.RSMP V
   the pencil on the table is broken

2 fí ʔá ɗá wë kó
   dog be.exist at yard in
   N COP PREP N LCLZR
   the dog in the yard

3 mìkʰóʔó ʔà kʰókʰí tʰú
   cat 3S.Poss teeth sharp
   N PRO N ADJ
   the cat with sharp teeth

4 nà tàhëbà mìkʰóʔó ʔàwëkë nű sàpʰlópà
   2S.Poss story cat subject.matter topic interesting
   PRO N N N TOP ADJ
   your story about the cat is interesting

5 tʰàkàbò ʔó ɗá hàkó kó là ʔà hàmàʔó
   bear be.exist at cave hole under 3S.RSMP sleep
   N COP PREP N N LCLZR PRO.RSMP V
   the bear in the cave slept

6 bàlëfjìwë ɗá nà mú lò hàpʰú ɗó kʰàtó kʰó
   dish at 2S.Poss mother from break at floor on
   N PREP PRO N LCLZR V PREP N LCLZR
   the dish from your mother broken on the floor
PP Instrumental

1 ʔà mà sì tʰó kö tʰpʰō
3S do die pig with knife
PRO V V N APPL N
He killed the pig with a knife.

2 ʔà pə jǐ kö nɔʔpə
3S beat dog with stick
PRO V N APPL N
She swatted the dog with a stick.

3 ʔà kö ʔà pʰó tjó dò mì klà
3S and 3S.Poss child go at forest among
PRO CONJ PRO N V PREP N LCLZR
He and his son went into the forest.

PP Benefactive

1 ʔà pʰɔʔà háʃí jë jì dò jítəməʔàjá
3S cook curry chicken meat at guest for
PRO V N N N PREP N LCLZR
She cooked chicken curry for the guests.

2 ʔà bútú sá dò pà jà
3S cut wood at 1P for
PRO V N PREP PRO LCLZR
He cut the wood for us.

3 hè ʔí pʰəlú ʔà mə rù kàní jí bá
1S give Phalu 3S.RSMP mother money two ten CLF.flat
PRO V NPROP PRO.RSMP N N NUM NUM CLF
I gave Phalu's mother twenty kyat.

Causal

1 ʔà sì kö mì ?eʔdìʔè tətʰá
3S die with be AIDS disease
PRO V APPL COP NPROP N
He died of AIDS.

They were poor because he drank alcohol.

She fled because there was a snake.

**Causatives**

1. ?à mà kàlé jí kè jí
   3S do run away PERF dog
   PRO V V V.DIR ASP N
   He made the dog run away.

2. kálisá mà kà kè só hoc
   wind do break PERF tree COMPL
   N V V ASP N ASP
   The wind broke the tree.

3. ?à mà mà sì kè wó tà bò dá mìpò kō
   3S.Poss mother do die PERF snake one CLF.long and thin at kitchen in
   PRO N V V ASP N NUM CLF PREP N LCLZR hoc
   COMPL
   ASP
   His mother killed a snake in the kitchen.

4. ?à nā tjābò ?à phōpwāmò sāsā
   3S order wash 3S.Poss daughter fruit
   PRO V V PRO N N
   He ordered his daughter to wash the fruit.
Fire did heat and cracked the pot.

He ordered his son to sleep outside.

He is young (person).

That mango is ripe.

The water is cold.

The water is not cold.
5 fì mí ṭàkòrtṣô
water be cold
N COP ADJ
The water is cold.

6 * ʔà nū phitjá tôt
3S topic young not
PRO TOP ADJ NEG
He is not young.

**Existential**

1 dönù kàpwákō
there forest
DEM.Loc N
There is a forest.

2 dönù lì tā bā
there book one CLF.flat
DEM.Loc N NUM CLF
There is a book.

3 bāʔù lì tā bā
here book one CLF.flat
DEM N NUM CLF
Here is a book.

**Identification/Equative**

1 hè kʰò ?aʔhù kàtù mì pʰàlu
1S.Poss friend close most be Phalu
PRO N ADJ ADV COP NPROP
My closest friend is Phalu.

2 hè ʔā wì kàtù mì mɔkʰέsá
1S eat delicious most be pineapple
PRO V ADJ ADV COP N
My favorite food is pineapple.

3 * hè ʔá wí kàtù mí mòkʰésá pĕ
1S eat delicious most be pineapple still
PRO V ADJ ADV COP N ASP

My favorite food is pineapple.

4 sásá hèʔù nù mí jósá
fruit this topic be banana
N DEM TOP COP N

This (type of) fruit is banana.

5 pʰàbô mí hè pʰà
Phabaw be 1S father
NPROP COP PRO N

Phabaw is my father.

6 hè mí tjô sàrà tà pwà
1S be school teacher one CLF.human
PRO COP N N NUM CLF

I am a teacher.

7 pà bú klà nù ʔà ʔɔ dá shʰá kʰó
1P rice.unthreshed field topic 3S.RSMP be.exist at mountain on
PRO N N TOP PRO.RSMP COP PREP N LCLZR

Our rice field is on the mountain.

8 ʔà nù hè kʰà
3S topic 1S.Poss friend
PRO TOP PRO N

She is my friend.

9 * ʔà nù hè kʰà tă
3S topic 1S.Poss friend not
PRO TOP PRO N NEG

She is not my friend.

10 ʔà nù hè kʰà ʔàmɛ tă
3S topic 1S.Poss friend right not
PRO TOP PRO N ADJ NEG
She is not my friend.

**VP Intransitive**

1  hè kànèʔíʔ  ?àsè
   1S   remember  3P
   PRO  V       PRO

I remember them.

2 jí sì kè hó
do  die  PERF  COMPL
N    V   ASP   ASP

The dog just died (recently).

3  ?àpwàkʰó pʰitʃá hámàʔá
   boy  child  sleep
N    N    V

The boy is sleeping.

4  ?à hámàʔá sápwé
   3S  sleep  snore
   PRO  V       V

He is snoring.

5  kàpù kù hápʰó kè hó
   pot  break  PERF  COMPL
   N    V   ASP   ASP

The pot just broke.

6  ?à mà hápʰó kàpù
   3S   do  break  pot
   PRO  V     V     N

The pot is broken.

7 jí nùmá
   dog  stink
   N    V

The dog stinks.
The boy is hot.

The boy is not hot.

**VP Transitive**

1 kòjɔ tà pwɔ́ bútú kè só
   man one CLF.human cut PERF tree
   N NUM CLF V ASP N
   The man cut the tree.

2 pʰitʃá ḳá kè tʰà dì ho
   child eat PERF PERF cooked.rice COMPL
   N V ASP ASP N ASP
   The children ate the rice.

3 dɔ́ pɔká pɔ́ ñí
   village head.man beat dog
   N N V N
   The headman hit the dog.

4 ?àmópwɔ́ màtʰɔ́ hí dá lɔ́ kò tà mè
   old.man build house at field in one CLF.round.big
   N V N PREP N LCLZR NUM CLF
   The old man built a house in the field.

**VP Ditransitive**

1 ?àpɔwɔ̀kò fì pwàmò ḳà lì tà bá
   boy give female 3S.Poss book one CLF.flat
   N V N PRO N NUM CLF
The boy gave the girl his book.

2 ?àpwàk³ó ʔí lì tà bá dó pwàmó ʔó
   boy           give       book        one       CLF.flat at   female to
   N            V            N            NUM        CLF        PREP   N         LCLZR

The boy gave a book to the girl.

3 ?àpwàk³ó wí pwàmó kó bólò
   boy     throw   female   with     ball
   N       V       N        APPL       N

He threw her with the ball.

4 ?àpwàk³ó wí tsó bólò dó pwàmó ʔó
   boy     throw  go  ball    at   female to
   N       V       V       N        PREP     N         LCLZR

He threw the ball to her.

5 pwàmó ʔí pwàk³ó bólò dó pà já
   female  give    male   ball    at  1P for
   N       V       N        N        PREP     PRO       LCLZR

The girl gave the boy a ball for us.

VP Auxiliaries

1 ?à tsépwé ʔá di
   3S   try    eat    cooked.rice
   PRO  V      V      N

He tried to eat the rice.

2 ?à sá ʔá di
   3S   want  eat    cooked.rice
   PRO  V      V      N

He wanted to eat the rice.
He wanted his son to eat the rice.

He wanted his son to try to eat the rice.

You should eat the rice.

She must eat the rice.

She will eat the rice.

The tall man, he is able to pick the fruit from the tree.
VP Manner

1 ⃧ kʰlé pʰwè pʰwè
   dog run quickly quickly
   N  V  ADV  ADV

The dog ran quickly.

2 ḉà pʰóʔá hásí tátʰótàlʃ
   3S  cook  curry carefully
   PRO  V  N  ADV

She cooked the meat carefully.

3 ḉà kʰlé tjó pʰwè pʰwè
   3S  run go quickly quickly
   PRO  V  V  ADV  ADV

He runs quickly.

VP Motion

1 ṣàpʷàmómó tjó tʰá dó klá kò hó
   woman  go  PERF  at  market  in  COMPL
   N  V  ASP  PREP  N  LCLZR  ASP

The woman went to the market.

2 ⃧ kʰlé hè dó kʰàmùkʰàlɔ
dog  run  come  at  forest
   N  V  V  PREP  N

The dog ran to the forest.

3 ḉà bɛ tʰó kɛ li dó sàbwɛ kʰó
   3S  put  up  PERF  book  at  table  on
   PRO  V  .DIR  ASP  N  PREP  N  LCLZR

He put the book on the table.
The dog ran from the tiger.

He descended from the heaven.

Lord Jesus ascended to the heaven.

He went out from the house.

He enter to the house.

He cross through the yard.

They lift up the box.
She lifts down the pot of rice.

He carry the box into the house.

She pour out water from the bottle.

He was angry and threw the book down.

**AP Adjectives-simple**

1 hí ?àlì
   house red
   N ADJ red house

2 hí ?àlì ?énù
   house red that
   N ADJ DEM that red house

3 hí ?àlì ?àsà
   house red new
   N ADJ ADJ

11 ʔà rʃō lɔtɛ dì kàpù
3S lift down cooked.rice pot
PRO V V.DIR N N

She lifts down the pot of rice.

12 ʔà tʃō kɛ nù tā də hídō kō
3S lift return go.in box at house in
PRO V V V.DIR N PREP N LCLZR

He carry the box into the house.

13 ʔà lʃ h₄tₕʦ kɛ fì də fì kɔ kɔ
3S pour out PERF water at water bottle in
PRO V V.DIR ASP N PREP N N LCLZR

She pour out water from the bottle.

14 ʔà sāpʰlɔdɔ dɛ wi lɔtɛ kɛ lì
3S angry and.then throw down PERF book
PRO ADJ COORD V V.DIR ASP N

He was angry and threw the book down.
the new red house

4 pʰiːʃə pʰàːkʰó kʰàːtsjúːkàːbá só sù
child male cold CLF.human three
N N ADJ CLF NUM

the three cold boys

5 hí ?àlì ?àsà sù mè
house red new three CLF.round.big
N ADJ ADJ NUM CLF

the three red new houses

6 ditʃó ?àlì ?àsà ?àkó
spoon red new hot
N ADJ ADJ ADJ

the red new hot spoon

**AP Adjective-complex**

1 pʰàːlú hébá dó kʰìlù pʰàːbò
Phalu speak big more than Phabaw
NPROP V ADJ ADV NPROP

Phalu speaks more than Phabaw.

2 ?à ?à só hí ?àdó kàːtù ?àkó
3S live at house big most in
PRO V PREP N ADJ ADV LCLZR

he lives in the biggest house

3 sèbà dó ?àkó lidé / dîlê
glass that hot very very
N REL ADJ ADV ADV

the very hot glass
4 pʰɪtfá wátəló
  child very.many
  N ADV

very many kids (a lot of kids)

5 ?à hí mè dó
  3S.Poss house CLF.round.big big
  PRO N CLF ADJ

his big house

6 ?à pʰà ?à hí mè dó
  3S.Poss father 3S.Poss house CLF.round.big big
  PRO N PRO N CLF ADJ

his father's big house

7 hí ?àdó
  house big
  N ADJ

big house

8 ?à hí ?àsà ?àdó
  3S.Poss house new big
  PRO N ADJ ADJ

his new big house

9 hè mí ?àdó
  1S be big
  PRO COP ADJ

I am big

Adv P Temporal

1 pwè ?ó pèwɔpɛ
  party be.exist tomorrow
  N COP ADV
The festival is tomorrow.

2 tədómɛ kʰstoni
	enam ADV

The exam was today.

3 bá hɛ kɛ tɔ dɔ hɪ ?àkʰɑ ʔà dɪʔa pɛ ?à
	when 1S return arrive at house while 3S feed still 3S.Poss

When I arrived home, she still was feeding her baby.

4 bá hɛ kɛ ʔò pʰo dì
	when 1S return arrive while 3S go draw water COMPL

When I arrived, he had already drawn the water.

5 hɛ kɛ tɔ ?àkʰɑ ʔà klɛ ʔà dì
	1S return arrive while 3S about.to eat cooked.rice

When I arrive, he is near to eat rice.

6 bá hɛ tʃo tʰo tʃo ?àkʰɑ ʔà pʰʔaʔa pɛ dì
	when 1S go up school while 3S cook still cooked.rice

When I went to school, she still is cooking rice,

7 ʔà hámɔʔa nɔkʰa tɔ nʊ ʔà tʃəbə
	3S sleep before not topic 3S.RSMP pray

Before he sleeps, he prays.
Before you work, think carefully.

When I was a child, I lived in China.

He will leave next week.

She arrived yesterday.

He extremely angry at me.

today 1S will attend school maybe
Today, maybe I will attend the school.

5 ?à hé tâwétâkè nū ?âmē wâhô
3S say subject.matter topic right probably
PRO V N TOP ADJ ADV

The subject matter that he said is probably right.

6 hè tâ ?âmē nū hè hé bû kâlê
1S thing right topic 1S say certainly SF.affirmative
PRO N ADJ TOP PRO V ADV PRT

I certainly can say this is mine.

7 ?à hébâ pʰwè drîlê
3S speak quickly very
PRO V ADV ADV

He speaks very quickly.

8 ?à tjôklê ?âjô tʃôprôtʃîlê
3S walk slow very
PRO V ADJ ADV

She walks very slowly.

9 ?à hébâ jô jô
3S speak slowly slowly
PRO V ADV ADV

She speaks very slowly

10 pʰâbô nū ?à kʰlé jî kʰlô pʰâlû
Phabaw topic 3S.RSMP run away more.than Phalu
NPROP TOP PRO.RSMP V V.DIR ADV NPROP

Phabaw runs further than Phalu.

11 ?à kʰlé dó kâtû bô
3S run big most SF.affirmative
PRO V ADJ ADV PRT

He runs the most.
My friend who runs the most is Phabaw.

He has lots of money rather than me.

Phabaw hits Phalu.

Extra Notes

Our Monu land is a rich land.

The living is not difficult.

three villages

water four
four cups of water
5 sùbè sù mè
water.container three CLF.round.big
N NUM CLF

three water containers
6 bú sù pó
rice.unthreshed three CLF.measure
N NUM CLF

three baskets of paddy
7 bú tà pló
rice.unthreshed one heap
N NUM N

a heap of paddy
8 ?èsá lí ?é
salt four CLF.measure
N NUM CLF

four packs of salt
9 Chí sù dò
dog three CLF.four legs animals
N NUM CLF

three dogs
10 Chí ?àdò sù só
dog Clf.four legs animals three pair
N CLF NUM N

six dogs
11 tò kànì bá
fish two CLF.flat
N NUM CLF

two fishes
two bottles of alcohol

a trouser

a bicycle

three spoons

a tree

a tree

eight houses
19 ʔə məməbábá né
stay polite.gentle IMP.polite
V ADJ IMP
Be polite/ be gentle!

20 ʔə məməbábá n5
stay polite.gentle IMP.polite
V ADJ IMP
Be polite/ be gentle!

21 pà tsó lā
1P go HORT
PRO V IMP
Let us go!

22 pà tsó mō
1P go HORT
PRO V IMP
Let us go!

23 kànəʔi hē n5
remember 1S IMP.polite
V PRO IMP
Remember me please!

24 mà mà
do not
V NEG
Don't do it!

25 pɔkʰ5 ʔà hē nū kó hē mà né
as 3S say topic that say not IMP.polite
SUBORD PRO V TOP COMPZR V NEG IMP
As he said, don't tell (it)!
26 pškʰɛ̀ ?à hé nụ́ hé tāmá né
    as 3S say topic say not IMP.polite
       SUBORD PRO V TOP V NEG IMP

(it)tell 'don, As he said

27 hɛ̀ ?á báʔù
   come eat here
      V V DEM

Come and eat!

28 tʃo pwè kè tětĕ
   go buy return property
      V V V N

Go and buy things!

29 mà hénù né
   do that IMP.polite
      V DEM IMP

Do like that!

30 pʰàbɔ̀ mà pʰwɛ̀ pʰwɛ̀
   Phabaw do quickly quickly
      NPROP V ADV ADV

Phabaw, hurry up!

31 ?owé sákànů
eclamation brain
       IMP N

Oh my God!

32 tɛ̀ títɛ̀
eclamation what
       IMP INTRG

Oh! what!
33 ʔá ʔà shà
exclamation 3S hurt
IMP PRO V
Oh! it's hurt.

34 ʔà ʔó dó jìkùkè ʔà hè
3S live at Yangon 3S come
PRO V PREP NPROP PRO V
He came from Yangon.

35 jì má kā phà
water mother country father
N N N N
king/ leader

36 ʔà mà ʔà phà
3S.Poss mother 3S.Poss father
PRO N PRO N
his parent

37 ʔà kéjí lá tó dó jì kò
3S see down fish at water in
PRO V V.DIR N PREP N LCLZR
He saw (down) fish in the water.

38 hè kànèʔí thó tákí tákí
1S remember up few few
PRO V V.DIR QUANT QUANT
I remember (up) a little bit.

39 hè tʃǔmúplà shà
1S.Poss finger hurt
PRO N V
My finger hurts.
40 ʔà̀sʰà hè tʃûmûplâ
   hurt 1S.Poss finger
   V PRO N
My finger hurts.

41 pà mà sî ʔàsè
   1P do die 3P
   PRO V V PRO
We kill them.

42 ʔà pâ tàʔó jî
   3S beat alone dog
   PRO V PRO.RFLX N
He himself hits the dog.

43 ʔà pâ tàʔó só jî
   3S beat alone again dog
   PRO V PRO.RFLX ADV N
He himself hits the dog again.

44 ʔà ʔá jô dî
   3S eat slowly cooked.rice
   PRO V ADV N
He eats rice slowly.

45 ʔà ʔá dî jô
   3S eat cooked.rice slowly
   PRO V N rice ADV
He eats rice slowly.

46 nà kà tʃô dá klá tǝmè kè dá hî ʔyà
   2S will go at market or return at house QP
   PRO ASP V PREP N CONJ V PREP N Q
Will you go to the market or return to the house?
Do you speak Kayah Monu or not?

Give me please!

He saw the dog bite the snake.

Because of trying to work (hard), he has money a lot.

Although he plays, he does not happy.

I live in Yangon but he lives in China.

. her parents were not home. Although she returned
I build a very big house.

I try a lot.

The old stink dog bit me.

The old stink dog bit me.
RESUME

Name: Wai Lin Aung

Date of Birth: 24 February 1981

Place of Birth: Myanmar

Institutions Attended: 2005, B.A. (English), University of Distance Education, Taunggyi University, Myanmar.

2008, M.Div (Master in Divinity), Myanmar Institute of Theology, Yangon, Myanmar

2013, M.A. Linguistics, Payap University, Chiang Mai, Thailand