AN AKHA CONVERSATION ON DEATH AND FUNERAL

BY

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The present paper contains an Akha text recorded in 1971 in Lampang, Thailand, with translation and vocabulary.¹

The text is a conversation among three Akhas: Asaw /ˈāsəŋ/, 20 years of age (called A in the text), Amy /ˈām’y/ 28 years of age (B), and Amy /ˈām’y/, 24 years of age (C), all from the Mae Chan area of Chiangrai province, Thailand. The text was explained in Thai and analyzed by our main informant, Asaw. At another visit to Lampang in 1972 we checked the text once again with Asaw and Agy /ˈag’y/, 30 years of age, who comes from the same area and is trained as a spirit priest.

Below we shall briefly outline the phonology and the basic grammar (cf. also Viggo Brun, An English-Akha Vocabulary, AO 35, 1973).

Tones and phonation types

There are two phonation types, A and B (written -q and -0). A is laryngealized (faucalized), over-articulated, “creaky”. B is under-articulated, “breathy”. There are three tones: high, mid, and low. In the high tone A tends to be manifested only as non-breathy. After voiced initial B tends to be manifested only as non-creaky. Tones in A syllables tend to rise slightly towards the end.

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Tones in B syllables tend to fall slightly towards the end. We use
the following notation (x = any vocalic symbol):

A B
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>High</th>
<th>'q</th>
<th>x</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Finals**

i ü y u
e ö ø o
ε m ŋ ø
ai am a aŋ au

**Initials**

A B A¹ B² AB A B AB
p ph b b m
t th d d n
tś tsh dz dz l s sh z
k kh g g ŋ x xh Y
? h
pj pjh bj bzj mj
tj tjh dj dzj nj sj sjh (z)j²

1) tendency towards preglottalization
2) tendency towards prenasalization

**Noun particles**

Ø (zero) unmarked subject and object
à exposure (topic)
âŋ subjugation direction towards (direction, position, goal,
affected object)
ne subjugation direction from (origin, instrument, agent)
ð adjugation (possessive, genitive, modification)

**Verb particles**

ə adjugation and nominalization (joining verb to noun,
and expressing "he who", "that which")
high tone = non-past, low tone = past

² In the text bzj and dzj have for simplicity's sake been written bj and dj
respectively, and zj has been written j.
subjugation (joining verb to verb; also with particle ne 'from', 'after').

**Sentence particles**

One system of sentence particles distinguishes the contrasting features of 'first person prime mover – non-first person prime mover', 'past – non-past', 'expectation – non-expectation', and 'positive – negative':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>positive</th>
<th></th>
<th>negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>expected non-past</td>
<td>mà</td>
<td>mè</td>
<td>mà ... mà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-expected non-past</td>
<td>è</td>
<td>à</td>
<td>mà ... a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>expected past</td>
<td>mà</td>
<td>mè</td>
<td>mà ... à</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-expected past</td>
<td>è</td>
<td>à</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Indirect reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X:</td>
<td>first person</td>
<td>second person</td>
<td>third person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y:</td>
<td>non-first person</td>
<td>non-second person</td>
<td>non-third person</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This set of particles does not specify how the speaker's knowledge was arrived at. Another set of sentence particles does supply such information. The former set we shall call non-sensorial and the latter set sensorial. The sensorial sentence particles exhibit the same system of contrasting features, except that instead of 'first person prime mover – non-first person prime mover' we find the features 'visual – non-visual' pertaining to the manner in which the speaker's knowledge was obtained. Also the category 'past – non-past' comes to include the notion of 'indirect – direct', as when you see a wound or hear a peculiar sound and guess that there has been some fighting going on. The contrast 'expectation – non-expectation' often further specifically includes the notions of 'no surprise – surprise', 'luckily – unfortunately', and 'all the time – intermittently'. When used about the speaker the sensorial particles often imply dreaming (or seeing on television!), 'I saw (in a dream) that I . . .', 'I felt (in a dream) that I . . .'. The sensorial particles are:
The particle /nja/ presents a complication because of the existence of two other words, viz. the post-verb /nja/ ‘able to’ and the sentence particle /njá/ ‘will’. These two words never themselves change through sandhi, but njá may change a preceding high tone into a middle tone. The sentence particle nja is always pronounced as a middle tone, but can only be preceded by a high tone, so that a syllable carrying a middle or low tone before nja adds an extra syllable, consisting of a repetition of the vowel on a high tone, e.g. guq + nja > guqûq nja ‘I am scared’.

The particle njá belongs to a set designating prediction, assumption (non-knowledge), in which the contrasts ‘expectation – non- expectation’ and ‘past – non-past’ are not applicable:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Visual</th>
<th>Non-visual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>expected</td>
<td>non-past</td>
<td>njáá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>past</td>
<td>njáá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-expected</td>
<td>non-past</td>
<td>njá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>past</td>
<td>njá</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sandhi

Sandhi rules for the noun particle ø:

- After H and M: L
- After L : M
- (H = high, M = mid, L = low)

Sandhi rules for the verb particle ø:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>environment</th>
<th>after H</th>
<th>after M</th>
<th>after L</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H is manifested as</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L is manifested as</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sandhi rules for the non-sensorial sentence particles and the sensorial sentence particle /ŋá/:

...
Text

C: tshó-hà sjhí ᵃ nₗₐ, sjhí nₐₐₐ, djáŋ bₜ bₜ ᵃ, ḅₜ ḃₜ ᵃ lₜ, ᵃ ḃₜ sjhéₜ nₜₐ ᵃ ḃₜ mₚₜ lₜ.

When people die—as soon as they have died, the first thing you do, try to tell what that is, can you tell?

B: nó dja nₚ ᵃ thi jₜ ḃₜ djₜₜ.

You tell them [the linguists] everything.

tshó-hà sjhí ᵃ, ìphî tshó-mô phû-lₐₜ sjhí ᵃ, ìdjòq ᵃ ᶻᵉ lₜ lₜₜ, nₚₜ-hₜ moq ᵃ ᶻⁿ tₚṭ.

When people have died—when for instance an old woman has died, they [the linguists] want to hear what you do then.

C: mà ᶻⁿ, ìphî tshó-mô sjhí gₜₚ lₜ-nmₜ-ₚ mà sjhí nₜₜ nₜ ᵃ nₚ.

I don’t intend to talk about what happens when an old woman dies, because I don’t know about that.

B: ᵃ, zₚₜ sjhí gₜₚ çoqₒ ᵃ nₚ ᵃ, má-dₜₚ phû-lₐₜ dqₚ ᵃ tₚq (tₚqₒ)⁹ ᶻⁿ ᵃ.

Well, tell them about what happens in the case of a child having died, as for instance the making of a coffin.

ådjòq djₜₜ ᵃ lₜ lₜₜ, dja nₚ ᵃ.

What kinds of things are involved, tell them about that.

C: sjhí nₘₚ, ñdₜ ìkₜₚ h₢ sjhí nₘₚ, zₚₜ sjhí nₘₚ ᵃ ᵃ, Ḟₜ-dₜ ᵃ (ₜₚ-dₜₜ) sjhí nₘₚ lₜ lₜₜ nₘₚ, When children die, when children die, when it is the first child

⁹ When a pronunciation is indicated in parentheses, it was supplied later as an alternative to the one actually used on the tape.
mè-tshó à nàŋ-poq têq é ja dəq ó bə lé.

who dies in a family, do people have to put their clothes on inside out?

poq-laq têq é, àśjhâŋ myò, zà-djó à mà ñó a là.

They simply turn their clothes inside out, brother-in-law
Amy, when it is the first child
to die, don't they?

B: ñó mé thò.

Yes, so it is.

C: nàa zà-djó mà ñó lé lé nàa,
zà-djó mà ñó sjhí nàa, xhò
γέ poq-laq é mà dm thè.

If it is not the first child to
die—if it is not their first child
who dies, in that case they
don’t put them on inside out.

B: phé-xhâŋ phú-làq, phé-xhâŋ
pjhú phú-làq, gùq gàği nè,
jo-mỳ phà é é nè ñ.

For instance a shirt, for in-
stance the fact that they sew
a white shirt, you should tell
them [the linguists] about it
accurately.

C: phé-xhâŋ pjhú, phé pjhú têq
é ja gùq mà, zà-djó à.

The white shirt, they simply
must sew it from white cloth
for the first child who dies.

B: hàq dzs í o, shm-mí-ô phú-
làq gy ñ taqùq.

They carry (the child) away
on a pole and recite Sem-mí-o
/shm-mí-ô/and all his kin (=
recite the genealogy from
Sem-mí-o to the child).

tsyq gy nè ñ taqùq.

They recite all the generations
for (the dead to hear).

òo, hó (~xhó) dja nè ñ, thì já
djé ho lô γέ ñ, jò jò jo jò dja
nè o à, dja dô nja à nè.

Tell it to them [the linguists],
the whole story, the way it is,
you can tell it briefly to them
but tell them everything.
C: nàa à sjhì o má-tøq tøq yà nàa, shà-phà má-tøq tøq à dzè lá à, xhò ñè âma âda mà gèq xhìmì djà déè.

When somebody has died and they have finished wrapping him, then as for the cloth which is left over after wrapping him, the mother and the father are not permitted to use it, it is said.

àphi tshò-mɔ phû-làq mà ñò à, zà phû-làq mà ñò à, mà gèq xhìmì djà, ñò ø ñà.

If it is not an old woman, if it is not a child, they are not allowed to use it, it is said, that is how it is.

B: ñò me ñò, tøq djà ø mè, àtíhò tshò-mø.

sjhà-xhò phû-làq xhɔ gâ à ne,

That’s right, they say like that, the old people.

As for beating on metals and such things—

C: nàa sjhì nàa, sjhùm-xhò xhà ø bø lè thé.

gà mí djà màò qèq le ø lè.

When somebody dies they beat on metal.

xhò yà tjhè-mjànt mail, xhò yà ooø, lè ø ø ne.

"If you are at a place where you can hear this, come back alive", they say.

sjhùm-xhò ja xhɔ ø bø.

That man’s name, “such and such a person” (i.e. his name), they shout.

nàa sjhùm-xhò xhà yà nàa, f-tjùq bi djyq (dzyq) ø bø lè.

They have to beat on metal.

ó sjhànj zà-dzø à, zà-dzø mà ñò xòqì, zà sjhì nàa lø ø.

When they have finished beating on metal, they wash him with water.

B: ø ø, f-tjùq za (~ja) bi djyq mé thé jø yà naqù.

Brother-in-law (B), as for the first child to die, (or rather) if it is not the first child who dies, when (such) a child dies, what then?

Well, they must wash everybody.
When they have washed him, if it is not the first child who dies, then they touch (put a dot) everywhere (on his white clothing) with indigo color to make it black.

Then it is accepted as black.

Yes, it is (considered) black, in case they don’t have any black cloth.

If there is no black cloth...

When they have tied the thumbs and tied the big toes together, they wrap the shroud around the body.

Then they pierce a hole in the ear lobe, they have yet to pierce.

Yes, they pierce a hole in the ear lobes, they have to pierce.

They pierce the ear lobes and tie thumbs and big toes together—when they have tied thumbs and big toes together, they wrap him.

When they have wrapped him, they have to lay out a small sheet, perhaps, for the child.

Yes, they must lay out a little, one handsbreadth.

They lay out a small sheet, and then, if there is a sister
(of the dead), don't they go and get it at the place where she lives?

I don't know anything about that piece of cloth.

Yes, if there is a blanket (they use) a blanket, if there is a small piece of cloth (they use), a small piece of cloth.

They put a blanket over him, or a shroud, or anything else, they have to go and get it, if there are sisters or relatives through marriage.

When they have wrapped him, in how many places do they tie with thread?

They tie the thread in three places.

As far as I can remember they tie in one . . . one, two, three, four, five, six, seven places.

In seven places, yes they tie in seven places.

They tie with thread in seven places.

Also when they do other things then (they have to consider) odd and even numbers.
B: m, áthè águ ja sóq ashi (sjhî). Yes, they also have to consider odd and even.

C: sjhà-khàn pàq gàá ne ja sóq me nàa, xhô djàn ýà djí nàa bâq, shà-djaq toq ā phà me lo. From the time of tying thread they have to think about it. Having finished all that, maybe they cut bamboo into splits.

B: ãà. Yes.

shà-djaq toq i ô, ja jú thà mé thè làq-ôq ān. When they go to split the bamboo, they have to take the splits with their fingers and put them in the corner.

nàa gö ja bàq daq mé ló. Then they have to carry (the body) up (and place it on top of the bamboo).

bàq daq le ô, bàq daq le ô. “Come and carry, come and carry” (they shout).

thì ýà têq è mà bàq xhàm djé òe. One person should not carry alone, they say.

B: âkhý án thì ýà, ùq-dù án thì ýà. One at the feet, one at the head.

C: âkhý thì ýà, ùq-dù án thì ýà bàq ô ne. One lifts the feet, one the head.

bàq ô la-nùm-à bàq tjhó à ne xhô ô, bàq tjhó xoqì, âkhý án thì ýà, ùq-dù án thì ýà bàq ô ne à. Even though (one person) would be able to carry it, even though (one person) could carry it one person carries at the feet and one at the head.

ja bàq thà â, nàa bàq thà nàa ò à, dàn-xhà dàn (~dan)-sjhó sjhó phà me thè. They have to carry it there and having done that, they must purify the body.
They take one container of rice liquor, simply one container of rice liquor.

Yes, only one container.

At the time of beating the ceremonial chicken to death there, they always go and beat it to death there (where the dead is).

Tell them (the linguists) everything about coffins for instance, about how to make them, for instance.

When they have performed the purification ceremony— (oh, I forgot) three chickens are used and their feathers burnt.

Yes, there are three.

Amy (B), son of Ko, who lives in the Akha village Yahang, is good at traditions, and Amy (C), son of old man Go, from the Akha village Lawlo, is a wise man, knowledgeable about traditions.

(You two, i.e. B and C, should) tell it here (into the tape recorder).

Then they burn feathers of three chickens and always when they have finished beating (the chickens) to death, they must pluck the feathers.
tjhe-gy tjhe-tjhu ma le a e.

Doesn't pounded rice in banana leaves enter (into the ceremony)?

B: tjhe-gy tjhe-tjhu ma le a a ne.

Rice in banana leaves does not enter at all.

C: ma le a e djëi (djëi).

It enters in no way.

A: hú (~xhó, hó)-djë djà (~djë)-gô jà gá dja é djë deè àha njàq.

Those two should tell about the sacrifice of one male and one female buffalo.

C: òë, tjàq-hm tjìq kha ɔ ne a...

Well—[does not want to change the subject] having pulled the feathers out...

A: nji mó jà ɔ gá-køq dja nè a allì mỳ a.

Tell them about sacrificing two buffaloes, my friend Amy (i.e. C).

C: dàñ-xhà dàñ-sjhó sjhó e deè,

dàñ-xhà xhà è deè, lè ja è m djë thé.

As for performing the purification ceremony, they must say "burn chicken feathers!"

A: dàñ-xhà xhà è deè, è ɔ mà phà ñó a.

dèq ñë mà sjhó à, sjhï ñë sjhó nè njà lè.

It is not correct to say "burn chicken feathers!"

(They ought to say) "While alive you were not clean, now that you have died I will clean you".

sjhó nè a bë lè.

They have to clean the dead.

C: òë, mà ñó e sjhï, dàñ-xhà xhà ø bo lè thë a.

That is still not right, (what you say) about the ceremony of burning chicken feathers.

nàa dàñ-sjhó òma di sèq ø më thë.

Then they beat a non-white chicken to death.
âkhý łaq sjhê ô, ǜq-dù áñ sjhê ô.

(Before killing it, they) sprinkle water on its feet, wings, and head.

ŋô me ô tjô sjhê boô.

It is so in the ceremony for the dead, isn't it?

B: ǜq-dù pho ne sjhê kha lá.

They sprinkle downwards from the head.

C: dañ-sjhô sjhô à ne ê, sjhê sjhô . . .

As for the purification of the dead, the cleaning of the dead . . . (B interrupts).

B: jô djê (~djê) naqû (~naqûq) upertino pho ne tëq ê sjhê kha ô mé.

In all sacrifices they sprinkle from the head downwards.

A: no-màq ñ à, dèq sjhô sjhô nê phâ ê ye ô à ne.
   ñazâq phâ tëq nê phâ ê ye ô bo.

We ought to wash you while you are alive.

We ought to fine you a boar.

C: mà ñô, sjhê záñ m-mjô, jo-
   myû ñ ñë m-mjô djaq ô à ne.

No! When performing death rituals, and performing good ceremonies, there are rules to follow.

B: ê ô mà xhô, tjô-hà sjhê záñ
   ê mía, upertino pho ne tëq ê
   sjhê á lé.

As I was saying—I was telling about the traditions for the dead, that they sprinkle only from the head.

C: upertino pho ne sjhê ô ne ô.

They sprinkle from the head.

B: jô djê naqû shìm poq ja djàñ
   mà thê.

They have to do everything three times.

C: dì ñeq nàa tjâq-hm tjiq kha
   mà thê, xhô ye dèq ñë mà
   sjhô à, sjhê ñë sjhô njá deè lê.

When the chicken has been beaten to death and the feathers pulled out, then (they say): “While you were alive
you were not clean, now that you have died I will clean you".

I doubt that it is like that.

Of course it is.

It is not like that in (the ceremony).

When they have finished they boil (the chicken) in water.

There is one egg in the ceremony of burning feathers.

Yes, there is one egg.

The egg of the ceremony of burning feathers, that egg, if an old man dies, they put it in a bamboo section and must go and hang it outside (on the porch).

When a child dies, they make a small basket, and weave a piece of bamboo, and tie (these things) tightly together and go and hang them outside.

"It is forbidden for one person to go there alone", they say.

"The spirits are watching there", they say.

Two persons at a time have to go (out there) cutting firewood (for light).
A: mà ŋə ŋaŋ è.

B: ŋə ŋə dzè ᵃŋqì mà i phè Ɂ nja.

C: ŋə ŋə Ɂe mà i phè Ɂ nja.

B: nəq guqù nja gò nəq djò à lé è míe.

A: mà ŋə, dəq Ɂe mà sjhó Ɂ, dəq Ɂe djèl mà laq sjhó xoqì, ɣà ŋə mà lö i sjhàŋ òò, asjhù ɣà Ɂn ìàŋ bàŋ xoqì, atjhò Ɂ Ɂaqma Ɂn.

C: dəq Ɂe sjhó Ɂ à, xhó dà Ɂn sjhó Ɂ bə lé.
sjhì Ɂe mà sjhó Ɂ bə.

A: dəq Ɂe mà sjhó Ɂ à, sjhì Ɂe sjhó nə njá lé, sjhó Ɂ bə thè.

C: Ɂə me Ɂ, Ɂə Ɂ bə.

A: thə mbə, thì ɣà Ɂ gỳ-ɒq phù-
làŋ djèl mà doq xoqì, ɣà Ɂ phà Ɂ Ɂa lé.

C: nàŋ Ɂ à xhò ɣà nəq è Ɂ Ɂn-Ɂo tjàŋ thè.

No (I want to say something...).

I am more afraid (than other people), I wouldn't dare to go at all.

I don't dare to go either.

I am afraid because they say that there are spirits there.

Never mind, even though you are not purified while alive, even though no (purification) is performed while you are alive, you are clean enough, brother-in-law, even if you wrong somebody, even if it is somebody's wife.

To be purified while alive is one kind of purification.

When you are dead you are still not clean.

While alive you are not clean, when you die we purify you, that is what is called purification.

That's right, that's how it is.

Therefore if anybody who is fined doesn't pay at all, then it doesn't matter.

Then (going back to the funeral story) that person together with (another person) cooks some food.
When the food is cooked, in order to put it down there, they must insert it on a bamboo stick, one piece of each kind (wing, foot etc.).

C: gó laq-kha nè ṣ daŋ-sjhó xhó mó.

dáŋ-xhà xhó lo-nm-à dzà nja á dà, dzà má thè.
mà dzà nja á dà à, mà bi dzà xhm'm thè.
náa tjàq ø yè mà ja tjàq djì m.

xhó daŋ-sjhó ja-ma, xhó mó dzan-jó thì paq ja thà m.

B: náa xhó-gó nè náa, má-dình phú-làq daq í ø.

ãqðjóq è yè ø daq í a hòó.

C: náa dja-jó hò thì paq à, hò bi dzà ø lè, thà thém' le hè.

xhó jè ø nè thè pyq ø djì-hù.

ja-tjìq sjhà-djì thè mì, mà thè pyq xhm'm ø.

Is that so?

They put down that purification hen (as food) for (the dead) there.

As for the hen for humans, some can eat it, and they eat.

Those who may not eat are not allowed to be given to eat.

When they prepare the food they must not cook all (of the hen).

From that purification hen, they must keep half of the breast.

Then, afterwards, they go to cut out a coffin.

How do they go about making it?

Then one half of the hen's breast is given as food (to the spirits), it is kept as food.

First (before giving it to the spirits) they slice it and roast it on skewers.

Because the hen's meat (is roasted) in such a way, (you) are not allowed to roast on
skewers (outside of this ceremony).

That piece must be roasted on skewers.

We Akhas say like that.

Yes, they must first roast that piece on skewers.

When they have roasted it on skewers they give it to (the spirits) to eat.

Till then we must not eat anything ourselves.

We, on our side, when it has become midnight, must give food (to the spirits).

Because the night is the middle of the day for spirits, we give (the spirits) a midday meal.

If we don’t give them that meat to eat, the dead can come and howl, they say.

When that ceremony is all over, they announce the death—that is when the purification ceremony is finished.

How do they announce (the death)?

What did you say?

I said, how do they announce it.
C: xhée, tshó-hà sjih à deè lè gú ø bø lé.

A: tjúq døq m phõ pqhó tjúq thé m phõ pqhó deè.

C: jɔ ña nqù ð ð deè lè tøq lõq ø qù ø bø lé thè.
sjhe (~she)-dá dà ø dà, phài di ø dà, phài di le ø deè, di mɔq nàā lè ø bø thè.
dáñ-xhà dañ-sjhó mà sjhó xhòø ø, phài mà di njà lè.
nàa hà løqé djáñ yà dìj ø, m bja bja lá nàa, m bja bja lá nàa ø ø, sjhi-né thè mó ja tìq nè m.

àqtihø màq doq lá nàa, àqtihø y lá nàa, sjhi-né thè mó tìq thè.

zà-djó (~zà-dzó) ø, àzaq mà djó nàa, ja-tìq tìq xòqì djá mà nàø.

zà-djó mà nà øxòqì ja-tìq pjhú xòqì tìq njà mà thè.

Oh! “Somebody has died”, they shout.

(And they shout:) “He holds his penis in his hand pointed towards the sky, he points the back of his penis towards the sky”.

“Everybody come”! They shout like that.

Those who want to gamble..., those who want to play cards, come and play cards”.

Before performing the purification ceremony they cannot play cards.

Then when they have finished (that ceremony) and the sky has become bright, when the sky has become bright (at dawn), they must kill a sacrificial animal for (the village to eat).

When they have come out (from their own houses) and when they have assembled (in the house of the dead), they sacrifice one animal.

In the case of a first-born child, if they don’t have a pig, they sacrifice a chicken, it doesn’t matter.

If it is not a first-born child, then they can sacrifice a white chicken.
B: è. Is that so?

C: sjhí-né tîq ə à, ja-uq thi sjhí djaq mî gö, ja-tîiq mê, ja-tîiq mî náa ə à. When they kill a sacrificial animal there is one egg (as part of the ceremony) — (no, that’s not right), there is a hen, a baked hen.

sjhí-né tîq gà náa, àqîjhò màq doq lá náa. When they have killed the sacrificial animal, they come out (from the house).

sjhí-né tîq náa, dá-khò døq i nja ə mà thè. When the sacrificial animal has been killed, they go and cut the coffin.

náa mî-tîq (~mî-tseq) thi hmî ja dza mî gö. So they must measure (the body) with a measuring stick.

B: ja-tîiq zà thi mó ja pøq tøq ə phàà le. They have to tie a little chicken tightly (to the stick), isn’t that so?

shà-khàñ lòo mî-tseq âŋ, gö pøq tøq ə më è, bô-lo nèq è. They tie (the chicken) tightly with thread to the measuring stick together with a bamboo container.

C: ja-uq ge thi sjhí (~shí) mî sjhí, ja-uq thi sjhí, ja-tîiq zà thi mó, hú-sjhí (~hú-shí) lè le mî thè. Then there is also an egg; one egg, one chicken and cowrie shells enter (into the ceremony).

náa tshó-xaq tshó-mî sjhí lòò le náa, tøq è mà nà. When middle-aged and old people die it is not like this.

tshó-mî sjhí náa, àzàq mî náa. When old people die then (they use) a pig.

B: døq døq ə phà bə âsjhí lîø. Further, they also have the ceremony of being the first to cut.
Yes, they must choose a good day.

Having chosen a good day while still in the house (of the dead), they must go.

"Who has a good day today", they say.

"What day is it today", they say.

"Do you relatives have this day (as a bad day)?

Is there one person who does not have (this day as a bad day)?

Today is tiger-day, what about tigers, today is a mule-day, what about mules?

You relatives, isn't there a single one who doesn't have a mule-day"?

You have to say (like that).

If somebody doesn't have (a bad day today) then for that person it is a good day.

In case somebody has died (on a certain day), his day of death is not considered (to be a bad day).

As for somebody's day of death, those who have a relative who has died on this day, they can perform the death day ceremonies on the occasion of death.
When we want to pound down stakes, we cannot do it on death days, the days on which somebody has died.

Then they go for the ceremony of cutting first.

Even if it is not a big tree but a small tree and they would not (usually) fell it with an ax, they must take an ax (in this case).

The first to cut has to cut at the base of the tree three times, on this side and that side.

You told it right about the person who cuts first.

The person who cuts says: 
“Look after your own tree well, (you, the spirit of the dead, should see how the tree falls) look after your own coffin well”

“Don’t let it topple over and get entangled anywhere”, he says.

He says like that.

It all is the way I said it.

When that (tree) has fallen down, brother-in-law, and they have finished cutting (the coffin), if it is a child like this, only this big, they don’t eat in the forest.
B: mà dzà nja ṇá é ló.

C: mà dzà nja, tshó-xaq sḫí lá ṇ mà ṇá náa.

They must not eat, isn’t that so?

C: tshó-xaq sḫí lá náa, átjḥó (~áqjḥó) i-kháň ne tjáq á ne tži lèq ò bá.

That’s right. They cannot eat unless it is a grown-up who has died.

C: áq-zaq zà xhó mó yè xhó-dám-xhà xhó-dám-xhà è ò pháá è.

If it is a grown-up who has died, they cook food and bring it from the house (to the forest).

B: mìn, xhó-dám-xhà è ò mé.

That small pig, isn’t it called “xhó-dám-xhà”?

C: xhó mó yè ja thè pyq dzà mà thè, tshó-xaq náa.

Yes, they call it “xhó-dám-xhà”.

C: thè yè dzà nja ṇ dà à . . . xhó-gó ḏaq ḏaq ò yà, ja-ńq xhó sḫí (~sḫi) dzà ò mé è.

They have to roast it on skewers (the part of the pig which is given to the dead as food), if it is a grown-up (who dies).

B: dë è.

Those who are allowed to eat . . . (unfinished).

C: ja-ńq xhó sḫí.

The person who cuts first eats that egg.

B: náa ḏaq yà ò báq ò ḏq lá náa è ló.

What?

C: mà náa ḏaq yà náa ò ì, dá-khò xoq-pjëq pjëq ò nè.

That egg!

They have finished cutting they carry (the coffin) back, don’t they?

Yes, when they have finished cutting, they make biforked sticks.
The must pound down two biforked sticks there.

Did you say two biforked sticks?

Yes, when they have pounded two biforked sticks down, they carry it (the coffin) up there, (corrects himself)—they don't carry it up . . . (B interrupts).

Then maybe they have to go and break bamboo for a frame.

Yes, they cut the bō-nm̀ (kind of tree) and bring it, and then they break off the bamboo for a frame.

Even if they have not finished cutting (the bō-nm̀) they can go and break off bamboo for the frame, it doesn't matter.

They go and break bamboo for a frame and then they must choose a good day.

When they have come back, having finished cutting, they return carrying it (the coffin), don't they?

When they have come back, when they have finished cutting, they return carrying it back.
When they have finished cutting, before they prepare to go back, there, at the base of the tree (the stump of the tree used for the coffin), they put (an egg) down which they must crush, (corrects himself) which they must break open, brother-in-law.

When they have broken it open they return home.

Then there is something more to be done when they have returned home.

B: ju-lañ (~jū-lañ) āñ phà mé ê. They put (the dead body in the coffin), don’t they.

C: hò dzà phà mé thè. They should eat (first). If it is a child then they can put him (in the coffin) without having eaten.

B: xhō-gā . . .

C: γo njo djāŋ-saq thà ò bə . . . There . . . (C interrupts).

B: tjhi doq lëq á, sjhi lō xhō-gō. The food has been cooked . . . (B interrupts).

C: . . . lë bàq kəq lëq nāa, gō lòq mâ njim-dzè thī yā lòq mâ le, mī-tjē ja doq mâ mī thī doq nji doq. They lift up (the food) and go out there.

and when they arrive carrying (the coffin), an old man is on guard at the edge of the village, who must make as if he is cutting with a knife, once or twice.
gò lòg ʒ ne ja đaq mö m thè.
On guard there he must pretend to cut.
náa ɔ kàq nàa, sjhà (~shà) tjhè nè é m ˚atlhò.
When they come, they must say: "(Where is) the red pickled meat?".

A: mà ŋà, gò đaq mö ø atjhà pho bàq ʒ đaq mö lâ lōo,
No, no (not so fast!). While
amá pho bàq ʒ đaq mö lâ lōo.
pretending to cut there, does he pretend to cut with (the

C: atjhà pho bàq ʒ ná-xhà pho ne lè đaq mö thím thè lè.
he should pretend to cut
náa sjhà (~shà) tjhè nè tjhi đaq lèq è thím thè.
backwards with the knife in
náa tjhi đaq lèq náa, i-tjàq hɔø sjhà tjhè nè tjhi đaq lèq ʒ . . . mi-dzà tjhì đaq lèq ʒ lè,
his left hand.
ja γe mé ló le.
Then they should say, "Bring

B: i-tjàq phè ne.
the red pickled meat".
They use a broken-off piece

C: pho ne lè γè ʒ ja bi dзе mé ló.
of a gourd water dipper.

hɔ pho é ãdy màq đøq lá ø
They must throw it away in
pho i-tjàq pjihè ne.
this way (speaker showing

A: ąa, dja xɔqi sù nò zà ŋ
In this way, towards the
dà bà mà-bá mìa deè.
direction from which we return,
talking and thinking of this
and that has not dispelled the
unhappiness for this child [me].
ni-sjhò àdjòq è mà mé àdf màq.

How tomorrow will be we can't be sure about (thinking of coming home to his village with his new girl friend).

C: nàa xhò djàn gà dji nàa, hò dzà deq nàa dzái thì mò phà sèq phà mè, àqzàq lé-tjhò lào lé-tjhò.

When they have finished all that, and have had their fill of eating, they must kill one pig which is going to be a companion (to the dead).

nàa lé-tjhò sèq nàa, áa, lé-tjhò mà sèq miè, tsyq è sèq gà ó ñe gy lá lá.

When they have killed the companion, eh, do they recite the genealogy before killing the companion or does that come afterwards?

B: sèq gà ó ñe gy lá.

They recite after killing it.

C: nàa bó-mò nàq mà thò lò lé lé nàa, jo-shàn pjhà á, jo-shàn pjhà doq le ó, mi-tjhë djà-baq thì hmà lè-hmà ó, lè thò thò è lè thò ó ñe à, tsyq ja gy á djà, áma àda èphi àbò djà gà sjhò kaq.

If the spirit priest does not call the spirits, the relatives who take care of the dead—the relatives...the relatives come out (to perform the ceremony themselves) and keep a small knife ready, while pointing (with the knife) like this (showing how) and must recite the genealogy leading (the dead) backwards to the place where his mother, father, grandmother, and grandfather are.

B: gy nè ó nó gy nja mài.

You (C) recite it for us if you can.

C: mà gy mà gy tsysq à.

I will not recite it.
A: tsyq gy nja mái gy ú sjhá è.
   mà é mà tjhò gy ó sjhàn à.
   nó dzò-dan gy náa, àlì my
gà dzò-bó gy tho à ne.

If you can recite the genealogy try to recite it into (the
tape recorder).

If he (B) had not said it I
would not have urged you,
Brother-in-law.

When you (B) have recited
your genealogy then you (C)
recite yours in the same way.

C: jà-my è mà loqó nja.
   àbó lo-nnà-loq à ne, àphì
   jo-mỳ è mà loqó nja.
   náa xhò lóq è djàn ñà náa,
tsyq gy ñà náa pyq ó mà thè.
   pyq náa, jà-mỳ pyq náa,
   àtjhò (âàqòjìhò) shè-dà gá ò
djaq m xhò.
   djè-zà jà-njì lo-nnà-mà, mà gá
   xòqi djèì mà ñò á ne è.
   hò djè hè djè le lè laq-yè náà
   ò à . . .

I'm not good at it.

I know some on my grand-
father's side but on my grand-
mother's side I don't know it
at all well.

When they have finished that,
finished reciting the gene-
alogy, they scorch (a pig).

When they have scorched it,
when they have scorched it
well, then there is a distribu-
tion there.

If it is a small animal (a small
pig) then it doesn't matter if
there is no distribution.

They gather (the pieces cut
from the pork) saying "like
this, like this" (while dis-
tributing) and then . . . (B in-
terrupts).

B: baq-djì djęq phù-làq lé.

The blacksmith gets the ribs,
for instance.

C: baq-djì djęq, dzò-mà ò dzò-
zà à phù-làq lé.

The blacksmith gets the ribs,
and the head priest and as-
sistant priest likewise (get
their part).
The one who cut first (when making the coffin) (gets) the lower jaw, the one who cut first takes the lower jaw.

Then those who went and broke off the bamboo for the frame take perhaps hind legs and forelegs.

Those who go and break off the black wing fern, what do they get?

As for those who go and break off the black wing fern, they cut off some of those ribs, the ribs (given to) the blacksmith, and give it to them.

As for the blacksmith’s ribs they don’t necessarily have to cut anything off at all. As for the blacksmith’s ribs, as I said, all of it is given to him for sure—the blacksmith’s ribs, I mean.

The head priest’s meat cannot be shared.

All of the head priest’s meat must be given to him—the head priest’s meat, that is.

Then, of the whole pig only those parts are divided (to the participants from the village).
náa gó-ne náa, jò-ha jò-ha
tōq ò ṭq i mè ló.

C: náa gó-ne náa, naŋ mỳ tshé
phà mé ló gó pjaq ṭe.

iŋ-nan ᵀ dōq o, ʔashú
(~āqshú) yà mỳ lè lè.

“Who is a person with a good
day for digging first”, they
say.

áa, thi yà i mà mỳ ná lè,
náa dāq dōq o, ājōq (~āqjōq)
yà, dāq dōq o, ājōq yà yè
mà mỳ náa, jo-sháŋ xōqì dū
i nja lè.

If there is no one with a good
day, then (they choose) the
person who cut first. If the
person who cut first does not
have a good day, then the
owner of the body can go and
dig.

A: tho jo-sháŋ yà dū i nja o è.

Can the owner of the body go
and dig?

C: mì.

Yes, he can.

A: nà-ŋò mó-gù, jò djè naqù mỳ
è, lè è ò.

The assistant headman, whose
name is Mo Gu, says “what-
ever we do is good”.

āqjōq tēq ê tōq djì i mè nóò.

He simply takes whatever he
can get.

mjó-xhé i āqjōq să-phà-thá.

As a helper he gets into every-
thing.

C: jo-sháŋ mà mỳ náa, jò phú-
làq ṭí (~án) ló è, làŋ phú-
làq lè tshà-lá náa, jo-sháŋ bì
dù lè, āqtjhò dū o mà djó o
bë.

If it is not a good (day) for
the owner of the body, if it
happens to be for instance the
sheep’s day or the rabbit’s
day (bad days for everybody),
then they let the owner of the body dig because they have no one else to dig.

Whatever (bad) things will happen come to the owner of the body.

When they have finished dividing the heap of meat well, they must call out once (who got what).

If it is a first-born child maybe they don’t call out—oh yes, in the case of a first-born child they still do call out.

They have to call out when somebody dies, whether a first-born child or anybody else.

When they are about to eat, they have to call out “eat”.

Yes, they always have to call out.

Don’t talk about death anymore.

If you talk about death (somebody) will die.

They (the linguists) told us to talk about this.

They said for us to talk like that.

As for talking, go on talking, but don’t talk too much about death.
dja ö ny djè zāŋ dja à ló à. Talk, but talk about some other traditions.

C: náa . . . Then . . . (A interrupts).

A: sjhī ø é náa, nò phà ø γέ mīa ø sjhàŋ. When you talk about death it’s apt to make you think about it, brother-in-law.

C: náa shà-bjùn bjùn γà djí náa, jò-ha shà bjùn jò-ha toq lá ø deè, lè thi poq ja gǔ asjhì lōø. When they have finished dividing the heap of meat, they have to call out once: “Everybody come and get his own share”.

A: tho-la-lèeg phá ø miē, nò phà ø γέ ø bø ø sjhàŋ. Because also there was a telegram for me and that makes you think, brother-in-law.

C: náa gù náa, è lòq è toq le ø. When they have called out, as I said, they come and get it.

      toq le náa, jò-ha jò-ha sjhà djí jò-ha toq ø a, jò γà naqù doq lá ja dù phàŋ i ø, lè ja ø mē lōø. When they have come and gotten it, they have to say: “Everybody has shared all of the meat, everybody has to go out and dig and bury”.

náa bàq ø ja ì me ø. Then they have to go, taking (the coffin) with them.

A: nà ðjó (~ðjø) gá γè tho-la-
    lèeg ø kæq nàá. It seems that a telegram had come to my place.

C: náa bàq ø ñ náa, náa bàq ø
    ñ náa, dù døq ø lè bo mié lò ø, xhò γà ja dù døq mé djè. When they have carried it (the coffin) away—when they have carried it away—since there is the (ceremony of) digging first, therefore the person (chosen) must dig first, they say.
Even if it is a small child (who is chosen) they must take him along (and make him dig first). He has to dig three times.

When he has finished digging and when everybody has finished digging together, they sweep (the earth down into the tomb), close (the tomb), and then sprinkle pepper (on it).

They have to sneeze like this, "ha-choo".

Then there is the ceremony of spreading leaves on the road to keep spirits away.

They let one person go ahead and they hold each other's hands.

"Let's open the deaf ears (of the dead)", they must say and then return.

By then the one who has gone ahead will have prepared the leaves there (to step over) at the fork in the path.

Those who have ceased holding hands (have severed their relationship), yes, those who have ceased holding hands, those who have ceased holding hands step over (the leaves).
Those who have not ceased holding hands (being relatives) cannot step over the leaves.

When you return home it is forbidden to turn your head backwards and look.

Yes, it is forbidden to turn back and look.

It is forbidden to step on each other’s feet or to touch (each other’s feet).

Don’t get wounded.

If you get a wound then you will be afraid of being sick for a long time.

That’s right.

When you have returned ...

(A interrupts).

Before they carry it (the coffin) away, they put the table in position and what do they do then?

When they have prepared to carry it away they have to eat the separation meal.

It is true as you said it, a moment ago I forgot it.

Don’t they have to eat the separation meal together?

Yes, they eat the separation meal together and say: “Don’t
let us meet ever again, don't let us see each other".

When they are about to eat the separation meal they put an egg there (on the table).

Once She-lo took everything and ate it all up.

Who had died, brother-in-law, when She-lo took all the chicken meat and stuffed it into his mouth?

When those who have gone to dig come back, the relatives boil water and put tea and ginger root into it.

They must carry it to the doorway and put it there.

After putting it there, then, having washed or not, they (at least) touch (the water) and rub it in like this, touch and rub a little into feet and hands, they must do this to return, isn't that so, brother-in-law?

They must touch (the water or) wash themselves (a little bit).

Do you all do like this?

We do like this, since we are Akhas we do like this.
C: nàa tôq ê djàn ãà nàa, nèq thó mà thó sjhì ñe gó, xhò ñe ñ djòq paq thì him ja thà nù xhò, sjhì-né tiq ë mó ë djòq paq.

àqdjè ñe ó lo ã sjhì sjhàï sjhàï o thë.

When they have finished doing like this, whether they call on the spirits or not, they must keep one half of that flank from before, half of the flank of the animal which was sacrificed.

B: mà sjhì á hó ã, àqdjè ñe á ë ë ë mà sjhì.

What do they say they do with it, brother-in-law?

I don’t know about that, I don’t know what they say they do.

C: xhò djè ñe á ë la, djòq paq xhò thà ë á, xhò djè dò-la.

They say like this: As for the half flank which they keep, there is this significance.

shà-jàï (~shà-zàï) lañ ë, shà-zàï lañ ë nò me.

They abstain from (eating) the half loin as a token of mourning, they abstain as a token of mourning, that’s how it is.

B: shà-zàï lañ ãà nàa, lè-njò sjha ë phà mé ë.

When they have finished the mourning abstinence they perhaps make the lè-njò ceremony (i.e. throwing a mixture of tea leaves and ginger on the ground for the spirit of the dead).

C: shà-zàï lañ ãà nàa, lè-njò sjha ë bë.

When they have finished the mourning abstinence they make the lè-njò ceremony.

Dja dja ë, mà dja nàa, mà nò doq lá nja nò.

Tell it! If we don’t tell about it we cannot figure it out.
When we tell it to each other we can figure it out.

When there has been no case of a first-born child who died, then the mother and the father of the first one to die are not allowed to scoop up rice with their hands, brother-in-law.

They must not scoop up rice.

So they cannot scoop up rice, they cannot scoop up rice from the steamcooker, until they have passed the days of abstinence.

Once when somebody had died, She-lo ate the chicken which had been cooked and put out there for (the spirits) to eat—it had been made ready.

All of the chicken was eaten by She-lo, he stuffed all the eggs into his mouth, and he chewed all the chicken legs "crunch, crunch".

Very funny!

When the mourning abstinence is finished, eh, when they have finished the mourning abstinence, they wash their clothes again, I think.

They go out together to wash clothes and divide the fields.
náa i já bi bí í à . . .

When they have gone to share the fields . . . (A interrupts).

A: xhó mà phá nghà.

xhó djè-hù hú-djè do-khú
dó-njó ja sjha m sjhi,
djè-hù, è, adjè (àqdjè) è lo
á sjhi . . .

Maybe it’s not so.

Before that they have to send an ill-omened gibbon (to the spirits), (this is a joke, he should have said lè-njó ‘name of a ceremony’ instead of ‘ill-omened gibbon’), and before that . . . what am I saying . . .

C: sjha ngà djí mà,

When they have finished the lè-njó ceremony . . .

A: hú-djè lóo phè-thán khá-ja
phi ô tjhaŋ ô djè lé.

As for how they do it, they walk with knitted bags suspended over their foreheads.

C: lè-njó sjha ô è la.

They call this the lè-njó ceremony.

B: thø à è nè djí mà.

We have told all there is to say about this.

C: lè-njó sjha ô à, jò-ha så-mi
ja sjha ô bo.

In the lè-njó ceremony the daughter (i.e. the husband of the daughter of the dead) has to perform it.

khù-ja phi ô mi-tjhé bàq-
phu úq-dù án bàq daq ô.

He carries a bag over his forehead and carries a knife on his shoulder.

thø mìe mi-tjhé bàq-phu úq-
dù án mà bàq daq xmì ø
má.

Because of this, one is not (ordinarily) allowed to carry a knife on the shoulder.
When at this ceremony the performer enters the house (of the dead), no matter how many we are, we must turn our backs towards the direction (from which he enters).

We must not look and must be quiet until he clears his throat.

When he has cleared his throat everybody jumps up, and then follows the ceremony of drinking the ground leaves.

When he has returned home ... (there is nothing more to do).

This ceremony takes place when they have all come back from dividing the fields.

No, dividing the fields is the last (ceremony).

As for the ceremony of dividing the field, they can only do it two or three days after (the læ-njó ceremony).

(How) can you tell it like this (you should know better)!

When you divide the fields, when reaching the fields, how do you go about it?
AN AKHA CONVERSATION ON DEATH AND FUNERAL

B: xhē, tjhē tjhē bō xhō sjhīm
(~shūm) bō laq lān nāa, tsoq
lān nāa, γā ə hə.

Oh, when they have sur-
rounded three clusters of
paddy, when they have sur-
rounded them with sticks,
them it's all over.

C: âqtjhō à tōq é mà ŋlo ṇa lé.

djā-tjhā (~djā-tjhē) shy shy
ē tjhā tjhā, já-γm já-dān thō
thō é.

Other (Akhas) don't do like
that.

They whistle and point to-
wards the upper and lower
part of the field (indicating
to the spirit where his field
is going to be located).

B: ᵇə, xhō à âqtjhō tshō-mō sjhī
ə ŋ xhō ə.

Oh, this is what they do when
old people die.

C: zā xāqī tōq é ŋnā lé.

If it is a child they do the
same.

B: âdy (~âqdy) à tōq é mà γə.

We don't do like that (i.e.
whistle).

C: ŋnā tōq é γə ə mà mō hə ə.

I have never seen them do
anything like that.

B: já bī bī e deè, lé tsoq lān ō
gō laq-kha ō, òq lá sjho i mà
thē.

“We give this field to you”,
they say and pound down the
sticks and drop some food
there, then they return home
with everything in order.

thī já djē jō djē naqū gō bī ō.

All kinds of things (which
they brought with them) are
divided there (with the spirit
of the dead).

C: nāa mē-tshō lēq-tshi ᵇ μə,
âqdjē djē jū γə lé həə.

When they go to wash the
clothes (of the dead) what do
they bring with them?
B: më-tshò lèq-tshi ñe à, ja-xhò hòe mi-gó khò 5 i ñe à. When they go to wash clothes they bring along tobacco and smouldering sticks.

A: hú-shì lóo. What about cowrie shells?

B: hú-sjì thì hm gò î-gò ñà lò-bà ñà gò lèq-tshi ñà. They have a cowrie shell on a table by the river where they wash the clothes.

òq lá sjhò i má thè, thì đië mà djaq. Then they return home, (everything) is in order, and that's all.

A: hú-shì ădjë (~àqdjë) ñà dú lé ñ ñá le. What do the cowrie shells look like? (jokingly referring to their resemblance with female sexual parts).

C: hú-shì ñà dú miqà lé, hú-shì à, nàa ăjí ñáà è. Cowries look like cowries, you fool! And that is that!

B: ăjí ñàà thè. That's all.

C: nèq mà thó gá-kòq à ăjí mà. The rituals with no spirit incantations are over.

Vocabulary

á non-sensorial sentence particle: non-expect ed, non-past, positive context, in statements (non-first person), questions (non-second person), indirect reference (non-third person)
a sandhi form of á
a non-sensorial sentence particle: non-expect ed, non-past, negative context, in statements (non-first person), questions (non-second person), indirect reference (non-third person)
à non-sensorial sentence particle: non-expect ed, past, in statements (non-first person), questions (non-second person), indirect reference (non-third person)
à noun particle: exposure (topic)
áa exclamation
áa final particle
ábó tree
ábó old man, grandfather (on both sides)
áby blanket
áda father
ádí māq = ády māq
ádjè = ádjè
ádjè (djè, ádjè) what
ádjóq how
ádjóqdjóq = ádjóq
ády = ády
ády we (inclusive), used of larger groups (e.g. we Akhas)
ády māq (ádi māq) we (inclusive), used of smaller group, including at least one person besides the speaker and the person spoken to
águ even
áha njàq the two of them; used of persons known to the speaker, but absent or engaged in some other activity than the speaker’s group
ájóq he, she; used of person known to the speaker
ákhà (khà) Akha
ákhà zà the Akha people
ákhyth foot
álàq wing, foreleg
álí son, friend
áli sandhi form of álí
amá right
áma mother, female, wife
ámbaŋ always
âmjaŋ = ámbaŋ
âmjaq (mjaqi) how many
ámỳ (mỳ) man’s name, Amy
ánaŋ day
ánaŋ dzé other things
áŋ to have
án noun particle: subjugation, direction towards (direction, position, goal, affected object)
àphi sandhi form of àphi
àphi old woman, grandmother (on both sides)
àphiíi sandhi form of àphi
àqđè = àdjè
àqđíóq = àdíóq
àqdy màq = àdy màq
àqjáq = àjáq
àqkhà zà = àkha zà
àqkhà ñ = àkhñ
àqlàq = àlàq
àqma = àma
àqshú yà = àshñú yà
àqśhò = âtśhò
àqzaq sandhi form of àqzaq
àqzàq = âzàq
àshà shà last
ashí = âshí
àshú yà = àshñú yà
àsjhàq (sjhàq) cousin, brother-in-law
àsjhí again
àsjhi (sjhí) sandhi form of ásjhi
àsjhú yà anybody
áthè odd
atjá left
âtjhò 3rd person pronoun, singular and plural (person or persons unknown to the speaker)
àtjhò màq the group of them (not plural of àtjhò), the others (used in ceremony)
àtjyq a little
à(t)-tjhò-i sound of sneezing
àzaq pig
bá go away, dispell, dispell unhappiness, comfort, be happy
bàq to wrong
bàq to carry
haq-dji  blacksmith
bàq-phu  shoulder
bê  first
bé-djêq  rib
bô  final particle, used in statements
bô  to take with hands
bî  to distribute
bî  sandhi form of bí
bi  to cause, give
bî  to throw away
biq  to give
bô  to have
bô  cl. for tjhê
bô-dâŋ  forest
bô-dû  chicken leg
bô-lo  bamboo section
bô-tshâŋ  forest
bô-mô  spirit priest
bô-nâm  kind of tree

bja  clear
bjaŋ  full
bjîn  heap
dá  to lay down
dà  to gamble
dà-khô  piece of wood, stick, coffin
dâŋ-naq  black wing fern
dâŋ-xhâ  to burn chicken feathers, ceremonial chicken
dâŋ-xhâ dâŋ-sjhô  to purify a person
dâŋ-sjhô  non-white chicken, ceremonial chicken
daŋ-sjhô sjhô  sandhi form of dâŋ-sjhô
daŋ-sjhô sjhô  to purify a dead
daq  up
da-sjhî  small pointed bamboo stick
da-tâq  stake
de  = deê
dêe  final particle
dé to topple over
dé-paq to break open
dé-pjeq to crush
deq to be full, to eat one's fill
dèq alive
dò some
daq to cut
daq place
daq-hà ax
dì to beat
dm to put on
dó-la significance
doq to come out, go out, out
dò to drink
dò-khú do-njó ill-omened gibbon
dò-phè base
daq to put on
dòq first
dú to be alive
dú final particle; perhaps
dù to dig
dú-ma sister (when spoken of by brother)
dò all
dja to tell
djà-gó (djè-gó) sacrificial buffalo
djajó see dzàŋ-jó
djàŋ to do
djàŋŋ -= djàŋ ø
djàŋ-saq to fix, prepare
djaq to have, to harbor (bad feelings), (bad things) to happen
djà-tjhá (djà-tjhè) to whistle
djé particle indicating what another person has said
djèl at all (negative context)
djè-zà animal
djé some
djè
kind
djè = àdjè
djè-baq small and pointed knife
djè-hù first, before
djè = djè
djè mà ṭô it doesn’t matter
djèq rib
djèq piece
djí all; finished
djí time; then
djí-bà rice liquor
djí-tjuq jar
djòq flank
djó to stay, to live, to have
djỳq to wash
djỳ-xhøi clean, nothing left
djò head priest, cf. dzò-ma
dza to measure
dzà to eat
dzái more
dzâq = djâŋ
dzaŋ-jó (dja-jó) hen’s breast
dze away
dzè left over
dzè indicates superlative
dzò to pass
dzò-bo the name of the genealogical line of informant C
dzò-daŋ the name of the genealogical line of informant B
dzò-ma head priest, cf. djò
dzò-zà assistant priest
é non-sensorial sentence particle: non-expected, non-past, positive context, in statements (first person), questions (second person), indirect reference (third person)
ë sandhi form of é
è  non-sensorial sentence particle: non-expected, past, positive context, in statements (first person), questions (second person), indirect reference (third person)
è  final particle
è  to tell
é  adverbial particle
è  exclamation (= èè)
è á  that’s so
è ē  exclamation
è ē  exclamation of surprise (“is that so?”)
è-hēè kha  to clear one’s throat
ó  verb particle: adjugation and nominalization, non-past
ə  sandhi form of ó or ò
ò  verb particle: adjugation and nominalization, past tense
ò  noun particle: adjugation (possessive, genitive, modification)
ò  expression of confirmation, exclamation
òə  exclamation
gá  to divide
gá  place, at
gá  about
gà  to hear
gàá  case (item, phenomenon)
gá-kəq  about, concerning
gā-tshlm  a fork in the path
gāq  to use, take, accept
gó  there
gò  man’s name, Go
gó-ne  afterwards
gú  to cry, call out
guq  afraid
guq  to sew
gy  to count, recite
gy-ðq  to be fined
够 enough, to finish
人 person
ア final particle
中 middle
午餐 midday meal
做 to do
则 then
點 particle
嚼 to chew
很长 long time
take
转 to turn (oneself)
分 to separate
食物 food
送 a separation meal (taking leave of the dead)
这 this
这样 like this (here)
啊 exclamation
这 here
格 classifier for mó-ìeq, mì-ìhê, shà, hù-sjh
做 to try, to see
饭 rice, meal
桌子 table
, and
煮 to cook rice
点 final particles
做 sandhi form of hò
那 kind
壳 cowrie shell
甲 = hý
大 big
豆 = xhô
瓜 = xhô-gá
去 to go
你 = ni
我 = ni
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i-ga</td>
<td>shelf, stand, table</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-khāŋ</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-lāŋ lāŋ</td>
<td>to boil water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-naŋ</td>
<td>today</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iq-naŋ</td>
<td>= i-naŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-tjaŋ</td>
<td>gourd water dipper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-tjūŋ</td>
<td>water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jā</td>
<td>hundred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jā</td>
<td>field</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja</td>
<td>must</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jà</td>
<td>to sacrifice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jà</td>
<td>small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jā-dāŋ</td>
<td>lower part of a field</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jā-djū</td>
<td>first child to die</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja-ma</td>
<td>hen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaq</td>
<td>to sweep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja-tjīŋ</td>
<td>chicken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja-uj</td>
<td>egg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jā-xhāŋ</td>
<td>name of an Akha village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja-xhō</td>
<td>tobacco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jā-yīŋ</td>
<td>upper part of a field</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jā</td>
<td>to cut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jō</td>
<td>sheep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jō dē naqû (jā dē naqû)</td>
<td>every kind, every case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jo-dỳ</td>
<td>very</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jō-ha</td>
<td>own</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jo-mỳ</td>
<td>= jo-mỳ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja-mỳ</td>
<td>good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja-njî</td>
<td>small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jō yā naqû</td>
<td>everybody</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja-shāŋ</td>
<td>owner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja-xaq</td>
<td>much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja-zā</td>
<td>small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jō</td>
<td>to take with fingers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ju-lāŋ</td>
<td>to put</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jō jō jo jə</td>
<td>briefly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
kàq, to tie
kaq-thé-thé, to weave bamboo
kaq, reach
kaqì, until
koq, man’s name, Ko
kòq, six

khà, down
kha, to close
kha, see lè-hè-kha
khà, see lèhò
khà-ja, bag made from vines
khò, to make fire, to carry fire
khò-ja, bag made from vines

là, to come
la, non-sensorial sentence particle, excluding
one explicit assumption, non-past, in state-
ments (non-first person), questions (non-
second person), indirect reference (non-third
person)
là, final particle for questions
là, to get
làg, to surround
laq, to abstain
làq, rabbit
làq-i, all
laq, to do
làq, time, side
làq, to bring
laq-kha, put down, drop down
laq-nà, married, through marriage
laq-bò, corner
laq-sàq tàq, to hold hands
laq-xhò, inside
laq-ý, to gather
lè, to go
lé  non-sensorial sentence particle, excluding one explicit assumption, non-past, in statements (first person), questions (second person), indirect reference (third person)
le  to come, enter
lè  sandhi form of lé
lèq  to come
lè-tjhè  companion
lè  particle for quotation
lè  = lé
lè-hùn  to prepare
lè-njó sjha  a ceremony where a mixture of tea leaves and ginger is thrown on the ground for the spirit of the dead
lèq  to rub
lèq-tshè  to wash
lò  = lèq
lò  = lèq è
lòo  final particle for questions
lòq  as, like
lòq  = lòq
lòq  to guard
lòg è  like
lò  to fall over
lò  final particle
lò  sandhi form of lò
lò  final particle
lò  à sjhè  final particle for questions
lò-hù  river
lò-hù  tea
lò-lò  name of an Akha village, Law-Lo
lò-njó-à  if, in case, in such a case
lò  = lò
lò  particle
lò  = lò
lòq  to be good at
lò  powder
to do
non-sensorial sentence particle, non-first
person prime mover: ought to, must
sandhi form of mí
sky
- im
to bake
non-sensorial sentence particle: expected,
non-past, in statements (first person), ques-
tions (second person), indirect reference
(third person)
sandhi form of mà
this
non-sensorial sentence particle: expected,
past, in statements (first person,) questions
(second person), indirect reference (third
person)
not
do nothing serious
coffin
if, as for
shroud
to wrap in a shroud
non-sensorial sentence particle: expected,
non-past, in statements (non-first person),
questions (non-second person), indirect re-
ference (non-third person)
to be sure about
sandhi form of mé
non-sensorial sentence particle: expected,
past, in statements (non-first person), ques-
tions (non-second person), indirect reference
(non-third person)
to spread leaves on the road to keep spirits
away
in front, before
in front
më-phô  lower jaw
më-tshô  clothes
mî  at
mîa  sensorial sentence particle: expected, non-
past, non-visual
mîa  if
mîa  sensorial sentence particle: expected, past,
non-visual
mî-doq  firewood
mî-dzhà  piece of burning wood
mîs  because, even if
mîè  because
mî-gô  smouldering sticks
mîqâ  final particle, used when scolding
mî-tjëhè  knife
mîm  exclamation of confirmation
mîn  — mîn
mîn-mjô  actions
mô  to see
mô  piece, classifier for ja-tjëq, âzâq
mò  to pretend
mô-do  body
mô-gô  man's name, Maw-gu
mô-nâ  wound
mô-nâ nà  to get a wound
môq  want to
mô-tjëq  measuring stick
mô-tjoq  see mâ-tjoq
mî sjîhè  before
mîy  good
mîy  — âmîy

mîjâq má  indigo
mîjâq  see âmjàq
mîjô  things
mîjô-xhè  helper
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nā</td>
<td>to be sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāa</td>
<td>when, if</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāa ə à</td>
<td>then</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nā-hō</td>
<td>ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nā-hō</td>
<td>deaf ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nā-hō nā-thāq</td>
<td>to pierce the ear lobe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nā-hā</td>
<td>to listen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāq</td>
<td>behind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naq</td>
<td>day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naq-ŋā</td>
<td>assistant headman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naq-pōq</td>
<td>to turn inside out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naq</td>
<td>black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naq-ŋi</td>
<td>that much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nagū</td>
<td>see jō djē and jō yā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na-yāq</td>
<td>middle of the day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nā-xaŋ</td>
<td>back, behind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nē</td>
<td>red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nē</td>
<td>noun particle: subjugation, direction from (origin, instrument, agent); also used after verb particle ə with sense of ‘after’, ‘when’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nē</td>
<td>final particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nē</td>
<td>to, for; to cause, give</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nēq</td>
<td>spirit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nēq</td>
<td>together with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nēq thō</td>
<td>to call on spirits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nī</td>
<td>adverbializing particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nī-ŋjīn</td>
<td>tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nēq</td>
<td>to stuff into</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nō</td>
<td>thou, you; singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nō</td>
<td>– nō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nō</td>
<td>final particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nō</td>
<td>in nō ŋū ‘thee, you, to you etc.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nō-māq</td>
<td>you; ’plural’ (more than two)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nōō</td>
<td>final particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nōq</td>
<td>thy, your; singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nō-thē</td>
<td>to step on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nō-ŋjīq</td>
<td>to touch, step on</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ny  other
nò  to think

njá  non-sensorial sentence particle: first person prime mover; shall, will
can, able to
nja  sensorial sentence particle: non-expected, non-past, non-visual
njà  sensorial sentence particle: non-expected, past, non-visual
njì  out
njì  two
njm-dzé  edge of a house, close to a house, edge of a village

ò  = àò

ña  sensorial sentence particle: non-expected, non-past, visual

ñá  1st person pronoun, ‘I’

ñà  sandhi form of ñá

ñà  1st person pronoun in ñà àò, ‘me, to me, etc.’
five

ñå  sensorial sentence particle: non-expected, past, visual

ñåa  sensorial sentence particle: expected, non-past, visual

ñåà  sensorial sentence particle, expected, past, visual

ñåq  1st person pronoun ‘my’

ñåq  final particle: wait a minute (don’t change the subject)
to be
to get entangled

ñåql  not to be so
to forget

ñë  when

ò  exclamation
ó  = ó
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ð</th>
<th>= ó</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ðð</td>
<td>= ó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ðq</td>
<td>to have, possess, get</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ðq</td>
<td>to return</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ðq lé</td>
<td>to return</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ðq-xhê</td>
<td>doorway</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ð</td>
<td>to come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ð</td>
<td>four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ð-mì i</td>
<td>relatives on wife's side</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ñ</th>
<th>verb particle: subjugation (joining verb to verb)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ñ ñ</td>
<td>final particle for imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñ nê</td>
<td>after, when</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pàq</th>
<th>half</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>paq</td>
<td>to cut, share</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pàq</td>
<td>to tie, hold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pàq-ma-tjûq</td>
<td>to tie thumbs and big toes together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poq</td>
<td>time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poq-laq</td>
<td>turn inside out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pàqi</td>
<td>a little bit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pûq</td>
<td>to cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pyq</td>
<td>to roast, scorch</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>phá</th>
<th>also, again, necessary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>phâ</td>
<td>male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phá</td>
<td>ought to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phá</td>
<td>perhaps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phá</td>
<td>= phâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phài dì</td>
<td>to play cards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phaj</td>
<td>open</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phài</td>
<td>to hurry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phê</td>
<td>cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phê (phê)</td>
<td>broken-off piece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phê-thân</td>
<td>shoulder bag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phê-xhê</td>
<td>jacket, shirt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phê</td>
<td>to dare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phi</td>
<td>to wear suspended over head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pho</td>
<td>side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phu</td>
<td>village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phs</td>
<td>to meet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phù-làq</td>
<td>for instance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pjaq</td>
<td>to cut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pjèq</td>
<td>xq-pjèq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pjhà</td>
<td>relatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phè</td>
<td>phè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phó</td>
<td>to turn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phù</td>
<td>white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sàq-bàq</td>
<td>steam-cooker, cooking pot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sèq</td>
<td>to kill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sòq-jòq</td>
<td>bamboo frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sóq</td>
<td>to consider</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shà</td>
<td>meat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shà-bjàn bjàn</td>
<td>to divide a heap of meat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shà-djòq</td>
<td>bamboo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shà-jàq</td>
<td>sadness, mourning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shà-khàq</td>
<td>thread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shà-phà</td>
<td>cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shà-phà-thà</td>
<td>everything</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shà-phí</td>
<td>pepper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shà-zàq</td>
<td>shà-jàq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sè</td>
<td>to spread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shè-dà</td>
<td>to distribute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shì</td>
<td>piece, classifier for dji-tjuq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shł</td>
<td>shł</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shùn</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shùn</td>
<td>sandhi form of shù before high and middle tones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shùn-mi-ô</td>
<td>name of mythical ancestor, Sem-mi-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shù</td>
<td>anything, anybody</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shy</td>
<td>sound of whistling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sjèk-tö</td>
<td>man’s name, She-lo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sjìq</td>
<td>seven</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
sjhá to try
sjhá to doubt
sjha to send
sjhá = shá
sjhá-dáŋ to place
sjhá-díŋ meat
sjhāŋ see šjháŋ
sjhá-ýáŋ midnight
sjhá-xhó metal
sjhè particle for imperative
sjhè kind
sjhè to sprinkle water
sjhè-dá money; satang (Thai)
sjhè to consider
sjhè to lead
sjhè-dín to put on
sjhè-xhó small sheet (for the dead body)
sjhu to die
sjhí to insert
sjhí to know
sjhí classifier for jə-uŋ, also pronounced shí
sjhí ajhí
sjhí-né sacrificial animal
sjhí-xhó see sjhó-xhó
sjhí-xhó xhó to spread out a small piece of cloth
sjhí metal; also used = shin
sjhí-xhó metal objects beaten together
sjhó to clean
sjhó in order
táŋ to be related
táŋ = taŋqú
taŋqú all, always
táŋ only, simply
táŋ to fine
táŋ to kill
tóŋ like this
tóŋ to split
toq lóq è mái  in that case

thà  to take
tòq  tight

thà  don't
thà  to keep
thàq  to pierce
thàng-laq  mule
thé  sound
thë  mutually
thè  final particle
thê  scewrs
thò  that
thò mëÈ  therefore
thò mëí  therefore
thì  one
thì djël mà djaq  that's all
thì djël  one time, together
thì głe  anywhere
thì já djë  everything
thì kàq lóq è  together
thùn,  = thùn
thùnn  final particle
thó  to call
thó  handsbreadth
thò  final particle
thò  or
thò-la-lëeg  telegram (Thai)
thò  to cut down a tree
thò  to touch, point

tjàq  to boil in water
tjàq-hm  feather
tjàq  to pluck
tjàq-daq  glans penis
tjàq tàq bilingual
thàq-thë  back of penis

thà  to whistle
tjhaŋ  to walk
tjhe  to reach
tjhe  sour
tjhe  clump of paddy stalks
tjhe-gy  pounded rice (after one pounding and sifting)
tjhe-mjaj  name
tjhe-tjhu  rice wrapped in a banana leaf
tjhi  to lift
tjhi-tjho  to turn around
tjhi-tjhò  to hang up
tjhi-tjhù  quiet

tjhi  person

tjhi  to urge

tjhi  be capable, able
tsoq  to pound down
tsyq  generation, genealogy
tshâ-lâ  to happen
tshê  choose
tshê-hâ  people

tshê-mô  old person
tshê-thû  to jump up
tshê-tsyq  ginger root
tshê-xaq  middle-aged

û  to enter, put into
ûq-dû  head
ûq-shô  a moment ago
ûq-tjûq  night

xaq-lô  open basket
xaq-lô lô  to make a basket
xlq  to break off
xonq-pjîq  biforked stick
xonq-pjîq pjîq  to make a biforked stick
xqî  also, even if, or
| x̩q-ní  | = x̩q̩l |
| x̩q-ní  | = x̩q̩l |

| xhá   | when |
| xhá   | all which |
| xhá-là | tiger |
| xhâq-dzô | to step over |
| xhâ   | exclamation |
| xhê   | = xhê |
| xho   | to beat |
| xhúñ  | = xhùn |
| xhùnùn | permissible |
| xhô   | to spread |
| xhô   | that, yon |
| xhô-dm-xhà | name of a ceremonial pig |
| xhô-gá  | there |
| xhô-gá  | = xhô-gá |
| xhô-gô  | over there |
| xhô-gô  | = xhô-gô |
| xhô-ye  | then |
| xhôò  | still |
| xhôò  | = xhôò |

| ŋ  | to assemble |
| ŋ-jô` | to laugh, be funny |

| za    | = ja |
| zà    | child |
| zà    | = jà |
| zà-djô | = jà-djô |
| zà-dzô | = jà-dzô |
| zà-míl | daughter, girl |
| zàŋ   | traditions |
| zàŋ dzô | one who knows about traditions |
| zög-zöq-zöq-zöq | sound of eating crispy things. |
THE TATTOOING OF WOMEN
An Atayal Text with Vocabulary

BY
SØREN EGEROD
University of Copenhagen

1. Introduction

The Atayal text which is published here was recorded on the 3rd of March, 1962, in the village of Tampia, close to Wulai, south of Taiping in the general area known in Atayal as Tranan (which is more specifically the name of a village between Wulai and Gogan). It is part of a conversation between a 38 year old man (called A in the text) from the Gogan area and an old woman about 70 years of age (called B in the text) from somewhere in the Bstunux (~ Bstunux ~ Stunux) area, South of Tranan (east of Tachl). A is identical with the person also designated A in the Atayal text 'The Origin of Headhunting' published in the Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, 39.2 (1969) 291-326.2

The vocabulary records all words and a number of affixes occurring in the text. Quite a few words included have not been recorded before.

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1 My work on Atayal was carried out under two grants from the Carlsberg Foundation of Copenhagen, one in 1961-62, one in 1969.
2. Text
su? pi isu?, aki?.
B: iagu? siat.
A: aa, iagu? siat ga.
B: aau.
    nkiu ku? la ru.
A: pitu? pgan nga.
B: agu la ru.
A: aa, kahul inu?, kahul inu?, ii, inkhulan su? hia?.
B: stunux.
A: stunux inu?.
B: stunux kia, ii, shasa qalaq nga.
A: aau, baqun mu stunux hia ga?, qalaq su? qenu?
    son nisu?.
A: ha ha.
B: aau ga. bal ku? muha? mkal ana qutux kria la pi. ual
    mhoqil mnki maku? reral la ga. ini? maku? baqi la ru. ini?
B: aki aau, niux ini? baqi.
B: liat kuzin, k?nia? mu.
maki? sqani.
B: ual mhoqil reral la.
B: uu, kbuqa?.
A: kbuqa?. 
A: Old woman, I would like to talk a little with you. What is your name, old woman?
B: Iagu? Siat.
B: Yes.
A: And how old are you?
B: Oh, I do not know. Maybe seventy or something like that. I am very old.
A: Seventy?
B: Yes.
A: Where was your original home?
B: At Stunux.
A: Where in Stunux.
B: In Stunux, in the villages over there.
A: Yes, I know Stunux. I am asking you which village.
B: I am not sure. I do not know where.
A: Ha ha.
B: I do not know it.
A: How could you forget your own village?
B: Oh yes. I have never been back there to visit a single time. My old relatives have died a long time ago. I do not know that place. I could not know it, since we were children then.
A: Perhaps it was Ulai, I mean the Ulai in Stunux [B lives in Tampia, close to another Ulai], or Ziken, or Kopen, or . . .
B: Maybe. I do not know.
A: Did you not come from there?
B: Not I, my (deceased) mother.
A: Your mother came from there and you got to be born here?
B: Yes, I am her child from here.
A: Oh. Where is your husband?
B: He died a long time ago.
A: What was his name?
B: Eh, Buqa?.
A: Buqa??
B: aau.
A: iasa ubui kahul, ii, rua ga.
B: kahul stunux uzi sa, kahul, ii, gogan.
B: iiat, kahul stunux uzi. kahul stunux iasa uzi, nanu qu?
quian nia ga? maki? stunux, kuatan buta? ga?.
iasa qu? iaha? ngha?.

B: aai. baquu ta? mrhuu rarah hia?, nanu? sika? ptaseu lasa
egqel squilq uzi ma.
A: aau.
ralah.
ptasi uzi ma rua.
B: sua? baha ini? ptasi lasa hia?, ptafeu tasah hia?, ana qu?
ini? qbaq eminun.

A: ketun nia? nanu?.
haz? qalux gau.

A: aau.
B: Yes.
A: Was his lineage from that same place, whatever its name is?
B: They were also from Stonux. From Ogan.
A: Did they arrive [in Ulai] with Iauli? Puna??
B: No, [directly] from Stonux. His people were also from Stonux. His older brother lived at Stonux. Uatan Buta?.
A: Was Uatan Buta? his brother?
B: Yes. He was his brother. Buta? Nau? was their father.

A: Oh. Well, I would like to ask about the position of women in the old days. Why did they want to tattoo them here [on the forehead] [A shows where]?
B: Aha! What do we know of the intentions of the ancestors. Only those who were tattooed could be married. Those who were not tattooed could not be married.
A: I see.
B: It was not like the customs of today. I suppose the customs of our ancestors were like that.
A: If they did not know how to weave, they did not permit them to be tattooed, was not that so?
B: No. They did not keep them from being tattooed. They permitted them to be tattooed, whether they knew how to weave or not [This does not tally with the usual story].
A: Anyhow, what instrument did she [the tattooer] use for tattooing?
B: She fastened pieces [of wire] as thin as needles, [on a bamboo stick], for teeth this short, fastened [< wound] them on the hammer [with thread], and then she hammered with it.
A: What did she use for fastening [the teeth]?
B: I am not sure. The usual method was like weaving [putting thread back and forth between the teeth and round the shaft] them on with something like black thread.
A: I see.
B: She fastened them well by weaving the thread, whatever kind it was, [in and out and around].
A: How did she do, when she started applying [this instrument]?

A: oo. nanu laq? si qalux nia? bia?.
B: iziu? na rua na? haiuñ mataq rarað ga. u kia haiuñ mataq rarað rua.
A: oo. haiuñ mataq.
A: kgsuñ nia? lga?.

B: a. aia, isaq, qutux riax ru?.
B: ini?.
A: pbiun nia?, pbiun nia? rua ma rua, aa.
B: aau. m?ahi?.
A: m?ahi? innu?.
B: mosa? m?ahi? izik khu?
B: aau.
B: ini?.
B: I am not sure how she hammered. Anyhow she punched following the outline of the tattooing here [B shows the tattoos on her own face]. That is, this pattern [points to her own tattoos]. Maybe she did it first this way, then that way [B shows how the hammer was placed], so that in between there was a drawing [the outline shows the whole design].

A: Oh. What is the black stuff used in tattooing?
B: The drug from, you know, the pine logs used in the old days. You know in the old days they used pine logs.
A: Oh. [Soot from] pine logs.
B: Yes. She made a fire and placed [a pot] over it, and waited for the soot to settle on the pot, then she scraped it off.
A: And then?
B: Then she rubbed it in there [on the face].
A: So first she smeared the soot on, and then . . .

B: No. First they hammered, she hammered without any further preparations. She simply hammered without further preparations. She just marked the outline with a special kind of black string. She measured the outline here like this first. Then she hammered along the string so it bled, then she smeared on the soot like this. Then she had a special razor, something like bamboo, which she used like this, she scraped the blood away, then she hammered again and scraped again, all the time like that.

A: How many times did she hammer?
B: Oh, a long time, a whole day.
A: At the very beginning, when they started hammering, did they not worship and perform magic?
B: No.
A: They had them lie down (and sleep), did they not?
B: Yes. They lay down.
A: Where did they lie?
B: They went to lie down under the storage house.
A: I see. They were under the storage house.
B: Yes.
A: They did not permit them to lie in the house?
B: No.
B: liat.
A: qlan ga.
B: suqun nia? gbjan lga? quaaxan la ru? iasa qu?
mosa? nasal la.
B: ia? na? qani balai nhuq nia?. ini? qbaq maniq mami?
la ai.
A: oo.
B: ini? qbaq maniq ai. mxal ai.
A: si nia? suqi qutux riax ga.
B: aau. ai. qutux riax.
namu? squax nia? pi.
B: qisia? balai.
A: qisia? ga.
B: aau. pman nia? na ...
B: aau. ii, rua la. smgom lasa la.
A: aau.
B: son sqa hmau na? pal?, son sqani lmqul la.
A: ru? tshuk nha? ga qu? ...
B: liat. tru?. aau.
A: ini? shahog ga.
B: baqau ta? lasa la. kia pzaq nanak isaqen lasa la. ki?a hi?
nas qia? isaqen lasa la.
B: aau.
A: I see. And did they not sleep out there the night before [being tattooed]?

B: No.

A: [They only lay there] in the daytime.

B: In the evening when she [the tattooer] had finished, she washed the face [of the tattooee] and then she [the tattooee] went home.

A: I see. Probably it would swell.

B: Her mouth was like this [B shows how extensive the swelling was]. She could not eat.

A: Oh.

B: She could not eat. It hurt.

A: Was she through in one day?

B: Yes. Certainly. In one day.

A: And when she was through she washed her face with water. When she applied the water, what did she wash with.

B: Just water.

A: I see.

B: She washed her by means of . . .

A: . . . chicken feathers. Is that not right?

B: Yes. That is it. They wiped [the face with feathers].

A: How did they wipe?

B: The water is put in a bottle gourd scoop.

A: Oh yes.

B: She scooped up the water with the feathers, and rinsed away [the badness].

A: Did they boil the water?

B: No. It was cold. Of course.

A: Was there no pus.

B: No. There might be some badness. If there was badness the tattoos would be entangled [with uneven, rough scars].

A: What would be the reason why pus formed? I have heard it was because of previous bad behavior.

B: I do not know about that. Maybe the person has deliberately been bad. Maybe her body is bad.

A: Oh. So that is what their tattooing was like in the old days.

B: Yes.

A: Then how many days did it last before they got up?

B: oo.
A: libu? naru?.

B: sua?, aau sa.
A: ru?, masoq matas lga?.
B: ktan uzi ha. mima? ha.
B: ini? ru?.
B: ini?.
A: sika? hamkut qnaniq ga?, iasa mits?.
B: aau.

A: ciuqan nha?.
B: kiohan nha? la qu? libu? nia?.
B: aau.

B: ini?.
A: baq su? hmgup aki?.
B: Oh! A long time! They stayed inside their house for a whole month and lived in an enclosure [within the house] for perhaps more than ten days, or perhaps more than twenty days, before they opened the enclosure so everybody could see her. Before nobody saw her.
A: Oh. They tattooed her, and when they had finished tattooing her, they put her in an enclosure.
B: Yes.
A: What kind of an enclosure?
B: They closed off a place like this bed [B points to her own bed] with cloth.
A: Then they did not permit people to see her even once? They did not let them see her?
B: No. Only a person who brought her something could open the curtain and look, when she gave her food or water.
A: Oh. At the time of hammering [tattooing], could people look?
B: Oh yes.
A: And after the tattooing is finished?
B: At first people could look. First they washed her face.
A: So first they washed her face and when they were through they put her in an enclosure, and then she could not come out even once.
B: That is right.
A: And also people could not see her.
B: That is right.
A: Only if somebody brought her food could she look.
B: Yes.
A: After how many days did she come out?
B: I am not sure. Maybe after ten days people could look and open the curtain.
A: [hears cingan instead of klohan] They could spit?
B: They opened the curtain.
A: When they pulled the curtain aside and she came out, had the swelling gone down by then?
B: Yes.
A: I see. So that was what that custom [ritual] was like. They did not use any witchcraft?
B: No.
A: Do you know any witchcraft?
B: Well, in the old days I did.
3. **Vocabulary**

- **a**
  - maybe
- **-a**
  - suffix forming active subjunctive from the reduced stem, sometimes preceded by the prefix m-. With stems ending in -a and -a? we find -a <*-aa
- **aa**
  - interjection, hesitation syllable
- **ani**
  - interjection; alas
- **anu**
  - interjection; yes
- **aba?**
  - father. Used in direct address only, otherwise iaba? if alive, k?aba? if dead
- **agala?**
  - (magal, galan) to take
- **agu**
  - interjection; yes (cf. aau)
- **ai**
  - final particle; interjection
- **-ni**
  - suffix forming first passive subjunctive from reduced stem. With stems ending in -a and -a? we find -ai <*-aal, cf. -i
- **aia**
  - interjection
- **aia?**
  - mother. Used in direct address only, otherwise iais? if alive, k?ais? if dead
- **aki**
  - will; preverb construed with the indicative; maybe; cf. aki?
- **aki?**
  - grandmother; mother-in-law; old woman. Used in direct address only, otherwise iaki? if alive, k?aki? if dead
- **aki?**
  - (maki?, ki?an) to be, to be there, to live at, dwell in; to be pregnant, to be born; ki?an aquil a married person
- **an**
  - preverb used to make a periphrastic negotable indicative and an imperative, especially of the third passive
- **-an**
  - suffix forming first passive indicative from the reduced stem. With stems ending in -a and -a? we find -an <*-aan
- **-an**
  - suffix forming first passive perfect from the reduced stem when co-occurring with the infix -n-. With stems ending in -a and -a? we find -an <*-aan
ana

even, even if, if, whether, whatever, whoever;
frequently constructed as preverb (cf. an and anai)

anai

preverb used to mark a periphrastic subjunctive,
especially of the third passive

ariq

(?riqan) begin, originate from

atuk

chipping knife; instrument used for tattooing
(matuk, lukan) to hack, to chip off, to hammer
with tattooing instrument

baha

of course, how

balai

very, verily, true, truly

preverb construed with indicative indicating
emphatic negation,
certainly not
cf. balai

baq (baqan)

know, can

baqan

second passive subjunctive of baq

baqi

first passive negatable indicative of baq

baqun

second passive indicative of baq

bincot

moon, month

bir

night

biq

(miq, biquan) give

biru?

(miro?, bruan) to draw, make a drawing, paint,
decorate, write; drawing, pattern, writing, char-
acters, letters, letter, book

blaq (biquan)

good, well

bisaq

a long time

bstnux

= sbtnux

bq?u

personal name for man

bqut?

personal name for man

bqut? nau?

bqut? the son of nau?, personal name for man

hu?

arrow, shoot, peak, goal

(hu?, huan) to shoot, to punch; to climb a peak

cilai

a little, a few, please

(chun, chunun, tenun)

weave

ciaqun

see: tuloq
cminun ~ tminun see: cian
second passive perfect of cian
clux preverb construed with indicative, indicating
recent or present progressive, away from
speaker (cf. niux)
cziul thirty
cziu? six
cziu? pgan sixty
ga a weakened form of ga? particle of precentral
exposure; a final particle indicating that the
story or the conversation is to continue
gaga? ritual, custom, customary law, headhunting,
social group
gaq? particle of precentral exposure
gasil string
gbian late afternoon, evening
cf. m?abi? to sleep
giahn see: gnych
gluu (mlua, lga) follow, share, go by (conveyance)
gnoch (giahn) to open (seemingly from *geh)
gnian see: iuji?
gogan place name
gran see: grgul
grgul (gran) to rub, rub in, smear on
ha final particle:
before, formerly, first;
preverb indicating a suggestion, let us . . .
 cf. mha;
let us go, cf. moha?
haan interjection, I see
ha ha interjection; ha ha
halaŋ pine
halaŋ mataq a kind of pine
hau? somewhat, rather, maybe
hbgan see hgup
hbggi first passive negatable indicative of hgup
primary and nominalized pronoun III+III
they

(hmgup, hbgan) to perform magic

unaccented form of hia?

primary and nominalized pronoun III
he, she, it

flsh, body, person, self

(hmilau, hlagan) to cover oneself, put over oneself, a cover, a cloth

(hmakut) carry, icing (seemingly from *hakut)

(hma?un) ladle, scoop up

see: hgp

(hqu) to clean, rinse, remove dirt (seemingly from *hqul)

nighttime

magic; to put under an evil spell, bewitch

(mhoqil, hqilaln) die

(mhtn, hqgan) come out

-i

suffix forming first passive negatagble indicative and imperative from the reduced stem. With stems ending in -i and -i? we find -i <-*-ii.
With stems ending in -a and -a? we find -ai coinciding with first passive subjunctive.

big; father

see: aba?

personal name for woman

Iago? the daughter of Siat

see: aia?

see: aki?

bad, evil

<aia? + qu

the thing in question, that, then cf. iia? the like of, like that, like and sa particle of subjugation, at, in, by, that, there

unaccented form of iia?

personal name for man
iaut? puna?  Iaut? the son of Puna?
personal name for man
iibstunux  = sbtunux
ii  hesitation syllable
iiait  is not . . . ; iiat nia? inba? it is not his father;
preverb construed with the future indicating
negated future tense, will not . . . ;
preverb construed with the perfect indicating
negated past tense, have not . . . ;
preverb construed with the negatable indicative
indicating that which should be avoided, will
not . . . ; do not want to . . . ; in order not to . . . ;
(kia?, nia?; me?u, ne?n) the like of, like that,
like
ilia?  who, which one, which, any one, any
ini?  preverb construed with negatable indicative
indicating negated past tense, did not . . . ,
have not . . . , cannot . . . ; no; maybe, perhaps
inkhulan  first passive perfect of kahul
inu?  where
iokai  thin thread
istunux  = sbtunux
isu?  nominalized pronoun II
you
iuri?  (muri?, giian) forget
iutas  see: utas
izik  = zik
izil?  drug, medicine, poison
k-  prefix for deceased persons (cf. ka)
k-  prefix forming an active negatable indicative of
intransitive verbs
ka  that there . . . , yonder; maybe (short for
kia?)
kahul  (mkahul, khulan) come from
kaial  (kaial, kialan) speak, talk
kal  (mikal, pkan) to visit
kauas  year
kbuqa? the way a man named Buqa? is referred to after his death
  cf. k- and buqa?

kbuta? the way a man named buta? is referred to after his death
  cf. k- and buta?

ket (kmet, ketun) plait, wind, coil
  cf. kobi

ketun see: ket

kgus an see: kugus

kh? thin

khu? probably for kho?i?, negatable indicative of h?oni?

khu? storage house, storage hut

ki unaccented form of ki?

kia there is, there, now, at

kiaqu? = kia + qu?

kia? the like of, like that, like (cf. iia?)

kina just about, maybe, perhaps

kiohan first passive indicative of a verb that means to open, move aside a curtain

kiopan place of entering (Chinese territory), place name

kita? (mita?, kta?) see

k? particle of inclusion, and (also)

k?a let it be, maybe if, I wonder; active subjunctive of aki?

ki?an see: aki?

kmugus see: kugus

kmobit see: kobit

kneri? woman

kobit (kmobit, kbetun) plait, wind, coil
  cf. ket

kriax time(s), ever, forever, all the time, always
  cf. riax

ktai first passive negatable indicative of kita?

ktan see: kia?

kuara? all
kuatan  the way a man named Ustan is referred to after
        his death
ef. k- and ustan

kusus  (kmugus, kgusan)
to scrape, to shave (beard)
razor

kun  - kuzin
kuzin  nominalized pronoun I
      I
ku?  - saku?

kziup  (mziup, lopen) enter

k?aba?  see: aba?
k?ala?  see: aia?
k?aki?  see: aki?
k?utas  see: utas

la  final particle of completed action or new
      situation

lalu?  name

laqi?  child (minor), child (offspring), descendant

lasa  that, those, there, then;
lga?  = la ga?

libu?  (plbuun) surround, enclose, set a trap; trap,
      enclosure

liqun  second passive indicative of blaq

lom  (lomun) make a fire, burn

lozi  = la uzi

lpi  = la pi

lut?  short

lux  (mlux, lxan, xun) insist on . . . , do against
      propriety, foolishly . . . , of all things . . .

m  affixes containing m are mostly used referring
      to animates or atmospheric and other natural
      phenomena

m-  prefix forming an active indicative indicating
      reciprocity, corresponding to active negatable
      indicative in p-.
m-

prefix forming an active indicative of intransitive verbs, corresponding to active negatable indicative in k-
m-

prefix forming active subjunctive from the reduced stem when followed by the suffix -a
-m-
infix forming an active indicative corresponding to active negatable indicative without affixes

ma

final particle indicating that the speaker is repeating somebody else's story
'I am told, according to what I hear'

maki'?

see: aki'
maku?

secondary pronoun I

my, I

mamí?

(cooked) rice

mamu

secondary pronoun II+III

maniq

see: qaniq

mana?

see: pàna?

masaq

(suqan) finish

matas

see: patas

matuk

see: atuk

mbiru'?

intransitive indicative in m- from biru?

mgluu

inducive of reciprocity from gluu

mha

do thus, say thus, think thus

used in some areas as the equivalent of muci,

see: uci

mhóqil

see: höqil

mhtuu

see: htuu

mián

secondary pronoun I+III

miq

see: biq

míssu

nowadays, at the moment, at once

mi'su?

secondary primary pronoun I+II

you are my . . . , you . . . by me, I . . . you

mita?

see: kita?

mangà?

see: naqà?

mkis

old, of old, forefather

mu?

see: bu?

mohà?

= mosa?
mosa? an active indicative of usa?
mpuu (pgan?) to count; ten
mnhuu chief, ancestor
msiau more than
mu = maku?
muah see: uuah
muc see: uci
muha? = musa?
musa? see: usa?
xal (kxal) to hurt
mzliup see: kziup
miabi? (?bian) to lie down, to sleep
mi?ba? to swell

n- prefix equal to mu-
-n- (~ -in-) infix forming second passive perfect
-n- (~ -in-) infix forming first passive perfect from the reduced stem when co-occurring with the suffix -an
na unaccented form of na?
naga? (nnaga?, ngon) to wait
nanak (knak) apart, alone, only, own, self, simple, strange, different, other
nanu unaccented form of nanu?
nanu? why, anyhow, what, anything
nasa thereof
cf. na? and sa
nau? personal name for man
na? particle of adjugation
ngon see: naga?
 nhu? secondary pronoun III+III
their, they
nia? secondary pronoun III
nii hesitation syllable
nii? to be like
niux preverb construed with the indicative, indicating recent or present progressive, close to the speaker (cf. ciux)
nûs = mnûs
nûqa = na? + qa
nûquaq = mouth
nûhqui = pus
nûsâl = house, home
nûta? = chicken
nû = interjection
p- = prefix forming an active negatable indicative
indicating reciprocity
p- = prefix forming active future
p- = prefix forming causative verbs
pûli? = feather
paña? = (maña?) carry, bring
paqùt = (maqùt, pqùt) to ask
patas = (matas, ptasàn ~ lasàn) tattoo
pbùn ~ p?bùn = second passive indicative of m?abi? with
causative prefix p-
pùgàn = used in forming the numerals éziu? pùgàn, pîtu?
pùgàn, spat pûgàn, qeru? pûgàn (cf. mpuûu)
pì = final particle of exclamation
pìma? = (mi mà?, pìma) wash
pìpìra? = second passive perfect of pìra? (pìra?)
pìra? = how many, how many times
pitu? = seven
pìtu? pìgàn = seventy
pìkàl = discuss, discussion, dispute
pìkàl = first passive negatable indicative of kita? with
causative prefix p-
plûgàn = first passive indicative of glu with causative
prefix p-
pìman = see: pìma?
pìqûtai = first passive subjunctive of pìqût
ptûsûn = see: patas
ptûsùl = first passive negatable indicative of patas
pûna? = personal name for man

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pusal
pzian ~ spzian
p?bi

qa
qaia?
qala
qalux
qani
qaniq
qasa
qbaq
qem?
quer?
qeru? pgan
qian
qammas
qmuss
qmariq
qmsai
qms?
qsia?
quia
quax
quaxan
quax?
quia?
qzin?

rakis
rural
ramu?
riax
rom

twenty (cf. mpuu)
(spzia?n) especially, deliberately, intentionally
first passive negatable indicative of m?ari?
with causative prefix p-

here, there
thing
village, town
black
this, here
(maniq, niqan) eat
that, there
partially reduplicated form of baq
which, where (seemingly from qa + inu?)
nine
ninety
daytime
(qmasan) rub, smear (seemingly from *qamas)
(qsaian)
to stretch a string, to string a frame
second passive perfect of qariq
second passive perfect of qmsai
water
older sibling
(qmuax, quaxan) wash
see: quax
one, another; once
nominalizing particle
(qmzin?, qziaan) to transfer, transmit, apply
(drug), contagious, contagion, infection, tradition

habit, custom, method
old times, the old days, formerly, a long time ago
blood
day
needle
ru
final particle; you know, of course
rua
that one (which you know, but which we do not
mention by name, or whose name escapes me
right now); you know, of course
ruu
lengthened form of ru?
ruu?
lengthened form of ru?
ru?
particle of coordination
s-


prefix forming third passive indicative
s-


prefix for instrumentative verbs
sa


particle of subjugation; at, in, by
that, cf. Iasa
there, cf. qasa
sakau
bed; place name
saku?
primary pronoun I
I
san
see: son and uci
sbtunux
place name
shasa
over there
shgup
third passive indicative of bgup;
an shgup third passive negatable indicative of
bgup
si
preverb construed with negatable indicative
(rarely with indicative) indicating punctual
realization, actual manifestation
actually..., directly, just... cf. son, san
sian
unaccented form of si?
siat
see: si?
sika?
personal name for man
siku
only, just
simu
primary and nominalized pronoun II+III
you and he/she
sium
second passive indicative of si?
(sihu, sian)
si?
to put
si? lhui
to tattoo the forehead (cf. si? and lhui)
skobil
third passive indicative of kobil
smgom — lmom
(soman) rub, smear, wipe
sni?
see: si?
smpn
see: spn
snahoq
there is pus
cf. sahoq
soman
see: smgon
(first passive perfect insonan or snonan)
say, call, institute
also for ?son from usa?
sometimes seems to function as second passive indicative of uci, with a first passive indicative form san
spat
eight
spatas
third passive indicative of patas
spat pgan
eighty
spigan
first passive indicative of glu with instrumentative prefix s- and causative prefix p-
spn
(simpn, spnan) to measure, evaluate, judge
sqa
= sa qa
sqan
= sa qani
sqasa
= sa qasa
sqleh
(for flood, swellings, etc.) to subside
squ?
= sa qu?
squax
third passive indicative of quax
squilq
human being
(smramu?)
to bleed
cf. ramu?
sua?
(husua?, sua?un)
to do it how, to do it why, how, why
supeh
small iron pot
suqi
first passive negatable indicative of masoq
suqun
see: masoq
su?
primary and secondary pronoun II
s?atuk
third passive indicative of atuk
ta?
primary and secondary pronoun I+II
I and you, mine and yours, we, our
taku?
bottle gourd, scoop made from bottle gourd
tasan  see: patas
thuan  see: thu?
thui  first passive negatable indicative of thu?
tiibu?  (thuan)
surround, enclose, set a trap, form a circle,
cf. libu?
tmai  first passive negatable indicative of tma?
tma?  (tma?, tmon)
for no good reason, simply, just
tmon  second passive indicative of tma?
tnahuk  boil (water)
tranan  place name
trtu?  cold
tuoq  (mtuoq, ciuqan) spit
tukun  see: atuk
tuliq  (mtuliq) get up
u  unaccented form of uu
uah  final particle of mild exclamation and exhortation
usial  to go
uel  to go = usial
usqi  canine tooth, fang, tusk, tooth of instrument
ustan  personal name for man
utatan  personal name for woman
utatan buta?  personal name for woman
uci  (muci, tusan ~ san)
do thus, say thus, think thus
cf. son and si
ui  [?ui] final particle, I dare say
u  [?ui] interjection, maybe
cf. uai
ulai  hot springs; place name
ubui  continuation, result, part, lineage, system
ubui  (mubui, buian) to continue, join
-un  suffix forming second passive indicative from
    the reduced stem. With stems ending in -a and
    -a? we find -on <*-aun
usa?
Musa?, µsan) to go
utás
penis; grandfather; father-in-law; old man; husband
As relationship term used in direct address only, otherwise utás if alive, k?utás if dead
particle,
as you know, you know;
also construed as preverb with indicative
(muah, uahan) come
also
xun
second passive indicative of lux
ziáu
space between, in between, circumstance
ziheŋ
place name
zik
underside, underneath, before
ziuau
— ziau