



# **A GRAMMAR OF KAYAN LAHTA**

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## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis is about the grammar of Kayan Lahta, the people group who live in eastern Myanmar, Kayan state and Shan state. Its language is under the Tibeto-Burman of Karen branch spoken Myanmar. There are about 40 Kayan Lahta villages in Shan state and Kayah state. Different Kayan Lahta villages speak different variety. This research is based on the Kaung Htu variety spoken in southern Shan state.

This thesis is the first grammatical description of the Kayan Lahta. The thesis consists of seven chapters. The first chapter describes the background information of the language, historical background, population, location, religion, language and the thesis methodology. The second chapter is about the phonology of the language. Chapter three to the chapter six consists of grammatical information about Kayan Lahta. These chapters contain descriptions of the word classes, noun phrase, simple clause, and clause modification. The last chapter provides a summary of the thesis.

Data collection was done in only one village. An initial 500 word wordlist was used for the phonological analysis. It was supplemented by new words discovered through the text analysis. The wordlist was transcribed and recorded from a male speaker but it has been confirmed with the other 3 male speakers and a female speaker. Three Lahta stories and a set of grammatical questionnaire were collected for text and grammar analysis.

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## บทคัดย่อ

วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้เป็นไวยากรณ์เชิงวรรณภาษาคะยันลาห์ตา (Kayan Lahta) ภาษาที่มีผู้พูดในทางตะวันออกของประเทศพม่า บริเวณรัฐคะยาห์ และรัฐฉาน ภาษาคะยันลาห์ตาเป็นภาษาในตระกูลทิเบต-พม่า สาขาภาษากะเหรี่ยง ผู้พูดภาษาคะยันลาห์ตาในรัฐฉานและรัฐคะยาห์มีประมาณ 40 หมู่บ้าน โดยแต่ละหมู่บ้านมีภาษาย่อยเป็นของตนเอง งานวิจัยฉบับนี้ศึกษาเฉพาะภาษาควงหู (Kaung Htu) ที่พูดในทางใต้ของรัฐฉานเท่านั้น

นอกจากจะเป็นการพรรณาระบบไวยากรณ์ในภาษาคะยันลาห์ตาแล้ว วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้ยังบรรยายภาพรวมเรื่องระบบเสียงในภาษาไว้ด้วย ภาษาคะยันลาห์ตามีลำดับคำแบบ SVO โดยคำกริยามักปรากฏในรูปของหน่วยสร้างกริยาเรียง และเติมไปด้วยอนุภาคต่างๆ รวมถึงอนุภาคท้ายประโยค ในทางศัพท์วิทยาพบว่าภาษาคะยันเป็นภาษาที่มีวรรณยุกต์ในระดับคำ วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้อภิปรายเรื่องหมวดคำ โครงสร้างนามวลี โครงสร้างประโยคความเดียว และประเภทของส่วนขยายอนุภาค นอกจากนี้ยังบรรยายถึงภูมิหลังทางภาษา ภูมิหลังทางประวัติศาสตร์ของผู้พูดภาษา ประชากร ถิ่นฐาน และศาสนาด้วย

ด้านการเก็บข้อมูลผู้วิจัยเก็บข้อมูลจากผู้บอกภาษาจำนวนหนึ่งหมู่บ้าน โดยใช้รายการคำศัพท์จำนวน 500 คำและคำจากการวิเคราะห์ศัพท์อีกจำนวนหนึ่งมาวิเคราะห์ระบบเสียง ส่วนการวิเคราะห์ระบบไวยากรณ์และตัวบทผู้วิจัยใช้ข้อมูลจากเรื่องเล่าในภาษาคะยันลาห์ตาจำนวนสามเรื่อง และแบบสอบถามเกี่ยวกับระบบไวยากรณ์หนึ่งชุด

ประโยชน์ที่คาดว่าจะได้รับจากงานวิจัยชิ้นนี้คือเป็นแนวทางสำหรับการศึกษาระบบไวยากรณ์ในภาษาคะฉิ่นลาหู่ตาในอนาคต เนื่องจากยังไม่ม้งานวิจัยทางด้านไวยากรณ์ในภาษานี้มาก่อน นอกจากนี้ยังช่วยสร้างรูปแบบการเขียนที่แตกต่างจากภาษาคะฉิ่นลาหู่ตาอื่นๆ อันเป็นการจำรงไว้ไม่ให้ภาษาคะฉิ่นลาหู่ตาต้องสูญพันธุ์ไป นอกจากนี้ยังถือได้ว่ามีเอกสารสำคัญเกี่ยวกับภาษาที่กำลังจะสูญพันธุ์นี้เพิ่มขึ้นอีกหนึ่งฉบับด้วย

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS**

1 =	first person
2 =	second person
3 =	third person
1s =	first person singular
1pl =	first person plural
2s =	second person singular
2pl =	second person plural
3s =	third person singular
3pl =	third person plural
ABL =	ability
ADJ =	adjective
ADV =	adverb
ASP =	aspect marker
BEN =	beneficiary
Cl =	clause
CLF =	classifier
CO-CONJ =	coordinate conjunction
COMP =	comparative
CONJ =	conjunction
COP =	copula
DECL =	declarative
DEM =	demonstrative
INSTR =	instrument
LOCZR =	localizer
N =	noun

NEG = negative  
NP = noun phrase  
NPROP = proper noun  
NUM = number  
OBJ = object  
PREP = preposition  
POSS = possessor  
PP = prepositional phrase  
PRO = pronoun  
PROP = proper  
PRT = particle  
Q = question  
QNT = quantifier  
RECPL = reciprocal  
REL = relative clause  
REFLX = reflexive  
S = sentence  
S.F = sentence final  
SUB = subordinator  
SUB-CONJsubordinate conjunction  
SUBJ = subject  
SUP = superlative  
TIM = time  
TIT = title  
TOP = topic marker  
V = verb  
VP = verb phrase  
VC = verb complex

# **Chapter 1**

## **Introduction**

### **1.1 Overview**

The thesis is about the grammar of Kayan Lahta. Only a few books are written about Kayan people or culture. The first grammar description of a Kayan language was written by Kenneth Manson as a dissertation in 2010. Manson's dissertation is based on the Phekhon dialect spoken in southern Shan State. This thesis describes the grammar of the Lahta language which is one of the subgroup of the four Kayan groups spoken in southern Shan State and Kayah State. The Phekhon dialect which is under the Kayan Lahwi and the Kayan Lahta language are not mutual intelligible. The Kayan Lahta even speaks different dialects from village to village. The thesis is based on the Kaung Htu variety of Kayan Lahta. Even though, it is based on the Kaung Htu dialect, throughout the thesis, the researcher calls the language as the Kayan Lahta language instead of the Kaung Htu dialect.

### **1.2 Summary**

This thesis is a brief description of Kayan Lahta grammar. It consists of the seven chapters. Chapter one is the introduction of the Lahta people, the language that they are using, the historical background of the people, their religion and beliefs, their population, their location and the traditional costume of Kayan Lahta.

Chapter two describes Lahta phonology. It presents the consonant and vowel inventory, the tones and the syllable structure of the language.

Chapter three starts the grammatical analysis of the Kayan Lahta language. This chapter covers the word classes of the language. Both major word classes and minor word classes are discussed in this chapter. For major word classes, nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverb are discussed. The minor word classes include pronouns, classifiers, demonstratives, numbers, quantifiers, conjunctions, localizers and topic markers.

Chapter four provides a description of noun phrases, adpositional phrases and relative clauses. Noun phrase heads, possessives, adjectives, demonstratives,



quantifiers, numbers and classifiers are discussed in this chapter. Classifiers, appositions and relative clauses are also included in this chapter.

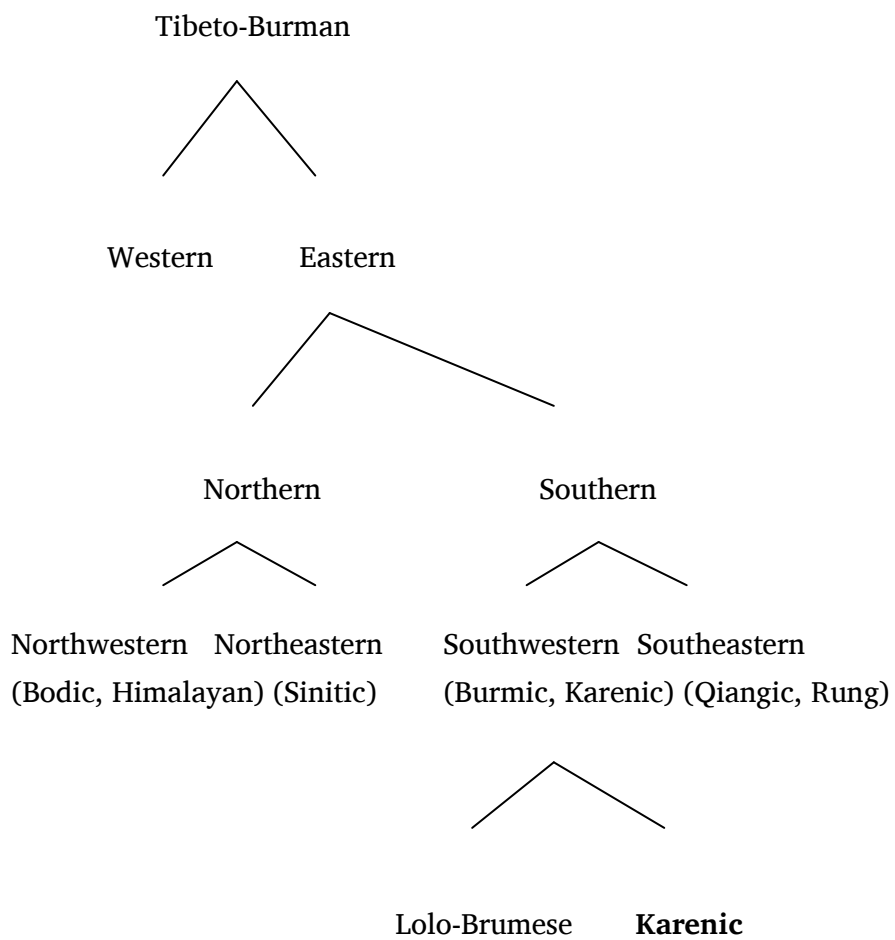
Chapter five is about the simple clauses of the Lahta. Two clause types: non-verbal clauses and verbal clauses are presented in this chapter. The five non-verbal clauses are equative clause, attributive clause, existential clause, clausal possession and quantification prediction. The four verbal clauses are intransitive clause, transitive clause, motion clause and ditransitive clause. This chapter also discusses the coding of semantic roles in the language.

In chapter six, the different kinds of sentence final elements that express the semantic category of illocutionary force in Kayan Lahta are discussed. First, different types of sentences including the declarative sentences, interrogatives sentences, and imperative sentences are presented. The interrogatives are subdivided into content questions and polar questions. Then ability sentences and negation are taken up. Finally the sentence types including coordinate, subordinate, other minor types are discussed.

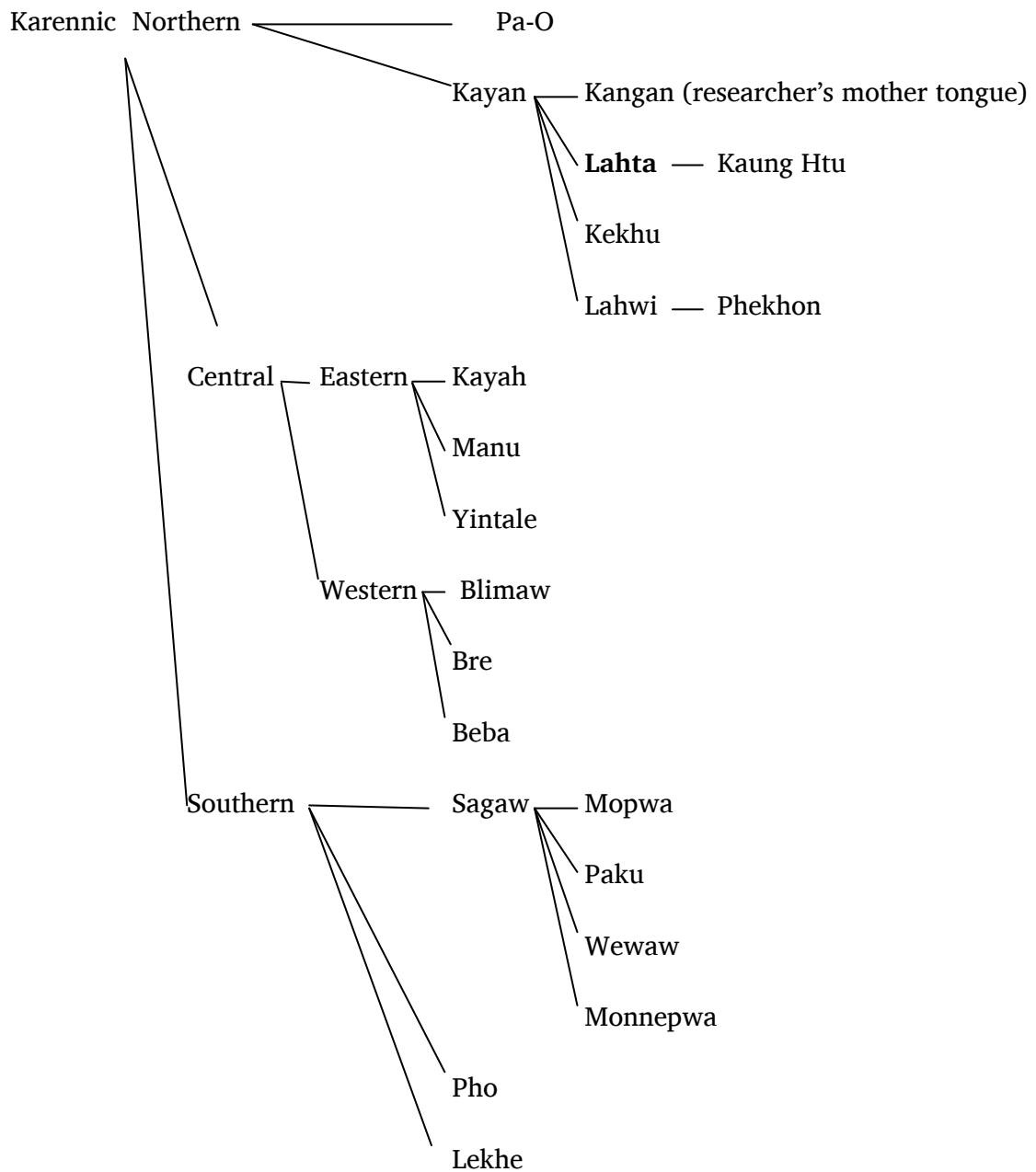
The last chapter is the summary of each chapter and a discussion of the further study that need to be done for Kayan Lahta.

### **1.3 Historical background**

The Kayan are one of the Karen groups living in eastern Burma (Myanmar). Linguistically, Kayan is a Tibeto-Burman language (Figure 1). Kayan Lahta is one of the sub-groups under Kayan (Figure 2).



**Figure 1 Classification of Sino-Tibetan (Matisoff 2003)**



**Figure 2 Karen language relationship (adopted from Bradley 1997)**

The Kayan Lahta mostly live in southern Shan state. There are a few Kayan Lahta villages in Kayah state. Kayan Lahta people believe that they originally lived in Babylonia then moved to Myanmar to a place called Tha Hton city together with the Pa O. Tha Hton is situated in upper part of Myanmar. The Kayan Lahta and Pa O were good friends and they lived together in Tha Hton for many years.

Their main occupation was hunting. The Kayan Lahta and the Pa O usually went hunting together and shared what they got with each other. One day, when they went hunting, the Pa O got an elephant and the Kayan Lahta killed a porcupine. The Pa O shared the elephant meat with the Kayan. But the Kayan did not give any porcupine meat to the Pa O as it was too small and not enough to share. Later, the Pa O saw a big quill of the porcupine near the house of the Kayan Lahta. And they thought the Kayan Lahta had gotten a very big animal from hunting and did not share it. So the Pa O got angry. From that time, they could not live together peacefully. So the Kayan Lahta moved to Shan state and Kayah state.

#### **1.4 Location**

The Kayan divide themselves into four groups: Kayan Lahwi, Kayan Ka Khaung, Kayan Lahta and Kayan Ka Ngan. They are found in Karenni (Kayah) State around Dimawso and Loikaw; in southern Shan State; in Mandalay's Pyinmana Township, and Karen state, Than Daung Township. There are also three Kayan villages in Mae Hong Son Province, Thailand.

There are over 30 Lahta villages in Shan state and about 10 villages in Kayah state. Kayan Lahta people mostly live in southern Shan state and they are also found in northern Kayah state. The Kayah Lahta village are located in mountain regions, 3000 feet above sea level. Figure 3 Location of the Kayan Lahta in Myanmar shows the two states in Myanmar where the Lahta people are living.



**Figure 3 Location of the Kayan Lahta in Myanmar**

### **1.5 Population**

The number of Kayan is uncertain. For example, according to U Aung Roe (1993:21) the Kayan population is about 40,000 in Shan State and 20,000 in Kayah State. Eden Phan (2004) estimates the population at approximately 130,000. In Mae Hong Son (Thailand) there are about 600 Kayan residing in the three villages open to tourists, and in the Ban Mai Nai Soi refugee camp. The Ethnologue (Lewis 2009) gives the population of the Kayan as 67,930. The Kayan Literacy Committee (2007) reports that the population of the Kayan is about 200,000 and the Kayan Lahta at about 40,000.

They state that over 20,000 of Kayan Lahta are living in Shan state and about 10,000 are living in Kayah state. In Kaung Htu village, the population is 200 and there are 50 households in the year 2011.

## 1.6 Religion and beliefs

The Kayan Lahta people are mostly Buddhist but they still practice their traditional beliefs. There are about 8 villages which practice a traditional belief system but they are not Buddhist. A few people are Christians, mostly Catholic.

Every year, they celebrate a ceremony called 'Ka Khwan'. It is a celebration to the creator of heaven and earth, 'Nat'. Every year, before planting paddy rice, the Kayan Lahta people gather outside the village, bringing a pig. Then, the ritual leader prays to the creator of the heaven and earth, 'Nat', to bless the planting of paddy rice. Then the pig is killed and sacrificed to 'Nat'.

If someone gets sick, the family members bring a chicken to the ritual leader. Then the ritual leader kills the chicken, and sacrifices to 'Nat', and prays for the sick person to be cured.



Figure 4 The Traditional 'Ka Khwan' festival

## 1.7 Traditional dress and costume

The traditional dress of Kayan is different from group to group. The traditional dress of Kayan Lahta is very different from the other three Kayan groups and it is more similar to the traditional dress of central eastern Kayah. The Kayan Lahta people plant cotton and make it into thread and weave it by hand for clothing. The Kayan

Lahta traditional dress is woven with white and red thread. For men, it is made into a shirt and short pants. For women, a blouse is sewn with white thread into a long piece of cloth having a red stripe. They wrap it around the waist unit under the knee like a Burmese traditional longyi. The shirt and the blouse are decorated by a red thread made like flowers.

Even though the new generation is taught how to weave, they no longer wear their traditional dress. In this present time, the young people mostly wear the modern Burmese dress. The traditional dress is only worn when they have special religious ceremonies.

Kayan Lahta women have long hair grown since they are about ten years old. The hair is knotted on the top of the head. They wear a white scarf decorated by a red thread on the head. They have big, round earrings which are made of the silver. Long strings which are made up of small white metal are put on the neck and also wrapped on the wrist to look beautiful. The men also put it on their necks.

They may have different costumes and each carries different meaning. The tusk of the wild pig is pieced with a white thread and put on the neck of the men. It is used as a weapon when they encounter dangerous animals as they are hunting. Four or five black threads are wrapped on the calf. By using these, they get much energy when they climb the mountain.



**Figure 5 The traditional dress of a Kayan Lahta man**



**Figure 6 The traditional dress of a Kayan Lahta woman**



## **1.8 Language**

Kayan is a language of Tibeto-Burman language of the Karen branch. The Kayan divide themselves into four groups: Kayan Lahwi, Kayan Ka Khaung, Kayan Lahta and Kayan Ka Ngan. All four groups, except for Kayan Lahta, speak mutual intelligible dialects. According to a recent survey (reported in Manson 2010) Lahta has a 25-30% difference in its lexicon to other Kayan dialects.

The Kayan Lahta speak different dialects from village to village—and these are not always mutual intelligible. So when people from the different villages meet each other, they use the Phekhon dialect, which is from the Kayan Lahwi group for communication as it is the standard dialect of Kayan. For the younger generations, they use the Burmese language. But the younger generations still speak their mother tongue in their home and in their village.

The Kaung Htu dialect was chosen for the thesis because of the large population among the Kayan Lahta. The second reason is that most people from Kaung Htu village speak both the Phekhon dialect which is the standard dialect of the Kayan and Burmese so it is easy for the researcher to communicate with them. Another reason is that the research was recommended by the Kayan Literature and Culture Committee which makes it is easy to travel.

## **1.9 Economy**

For their living, the Kayan Lahta mostly plant paddy rice in rainy season. They also plant corn and many kinds of beans. In summer, the women weave cloth and sell it in the Phekhon market. Bamboo is used to make bowls, plates, baskets and mats and to be sold at the market. Kayan Lahta people also breed animals like chickens, pigs and cows at their houses to earn their living.

There is a place called the 'Hall' in a Lahta village. The women's 'Halls' are separated from the men's. There are at least two 'Halls' for the men in every Lahta. 'Halls' for the women are built inside the village and 'Halls' for the man are usually built at the outside of the village. The purpose of building at the outside of the village is to protect the villagers from their enemies. People gather in 'Halls' to work in daytime. The 'Hall' is also used for meetings.



**Figure 7 A Kayan Lahta woman making a bowl with bamboo**



**Figure 8 A 'Hall' where the Lahta people gather**

## **1.10 Education**

The Kayan Lahta children usually go to Burmese government schools. There is at least a primary government school in every Lahta village. After completing the primary school, the children go to cities like Phekhon or Saung Pyaon and live with other families for their education. For some children, they quit school after primary level then work with their families in planting paddy rice as their parents cannot afford to send them to the high school.

There are only a small percentage of Kayan Lahta people who finish high school and attain degrees from university. A Kayan Literacy Committee reports said that only 5% of Lahta people finish high school.

In Kaung Htu village which is where the data collection was done, there is a primary school. The language of instruction in school is Burmese. So it is difficult for the children to understand as only the Lahta language is used in their family. Because of the language problem, the children quit school at the primary level. Up to 2012, there are only two people from Kaung Wa village who have attained a degree from a government university.

## **1.11 Scope and limitation**

A wordlists was collected for phonological analysis and texts (folktales, history, first person narratives, wordless book and procedural), questionnaires were collected and participatory observations were done for grammatical analysis.

The data was collected from only one village, Kaung Htu as it is the easiest village to access. Data collection was done during the 2 months. A 500 word wordlist was used for the phonological analysis supplemented by new words discovered through the text analysis. As the contact time was limited, a targeted grammar questionnaire supplemented the text analysis.

The data was verbally translated into Burmese and the language assistant provided a translation equivalent in Kayan Lahta. As there is no electricity in the village, no computer could be used in a village. So I recorded as much speech as possible on a minidisc recorder.

The researcher speaks the Pa Dan Khu dialect which is under the Kayan Kangan group. But the Pa Dan Khu dialect could not be used to communicate with the villager as the two dialects are not mutual intelligible. For this reason, the Phekhon

dialect and the Burmese language which is the national language of the country were used for data collection. It cannot be determined how widely this dialect is spoken.

### **1.12 Benefits of the research**

The benefits of this research will be to provide data for the Kayan Lahta grammar as there is no research that has been done on this language. As Lahta is lexically different from Pekhoh (at least 25% different), the grammar of Lahta is expected to determine if it is significantly different or not to the other dialects. And it will help for making decisions about creating a different orthography from other Kayan groups. It will also help documenting an undescribed and endangered language.

## Chapter 2

### Phonology

This chapter is about the phonology of Kayan Lahta. A 500 item wordlist was used in this data collection. The wordlist was transcribed and recorded from a male speaker but it has been confirmed with three other male speakers and a female speaker.

#### 2.1 Consonants

##### 2.1.1 Consonant inventory of Kayan Lahta

According to the data analysis there are 24 consonants in Kayan Latha. There are a series of three plosives at four points of articulation, a series of nasals with four points of articulation and eight fricatives with six points of articulation. Two approximants are also found in this data. The consonant system in Kayan Lahta is fairly symmetrical.

**Table 1 Kayan Lahta consonant chart**

	Bilabial		Labio-dental		Dental	Alveolar		Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar		Uvular	Glottal
Plosive	p	b				t	d			k		q	
	p <sup>h</sup>					t <sup>h</sup>				k <sup>h</sup>			
Nasal		m					n		ɲ		ŋ		
Fricative			f	v	θ	s		ʃ	ç				h
						s <sup>h</sup>							
Approximant							l		j		w		

##### 2.1.2 Plosive

In Kayan Lahta, there are a series of three plosives: aspirated, voiceless and voiced; with four points of articulation: bilabial, alveolar, velar and uvular. The plosive

consonants occur with any vowel. They never occur as a second or third element in a consonant cluster and they only occur syllable initial.

/p<sup>h</sup>/ voiceless aspirated bilabial plosive

/p<sup>h</sup>a˥/ ‘father’ /p<sup>h</sup>eʔ˥/ ‘kapok’ /p<sup>h</sup>i˧/ ‘rice husk’ /p<sup>h</sup>ə˥/ ‘cough’

/p/ voiceless bilabial plosive

/pli˧/ ‘sea’ /plo˧/ ‘vomit’ /pla˧t<sup>h</sup>ə˥/ ‘old’ /pli˧ba˧/ ‘tongue’

/b/ voiced bilabial plosive

/bi˥/ ‘paddy rice’ /be˧/ ‘wet rice field’ /baŋ˧/ ‘bamboo shoot’ /bu˧təŋ˥/ ‘wash’

/t<sup>h</sup>/ voiceless aspirated alveolar plosive

/t<sup>h</sup>aŋ˧/ ‘sharp’ /t<sup>h</sup>ə˧/ ‘heavy’ /t<sup>h</sup>u˧/ ‘bird’ /t<sup>h</sup>aŋ˧/ ‘burn’

/t/ voiceless alveolar plosive

/taŋ˧/ ‘ant’ /te˧ŋ˥/ ‘come’ /tə˧qo˥/ ‘hide’ /tə˧ko˧/ ‘swallow’

/d/ voiced alveolar plosive

/de˧ŋ˥/ ‘tight’ /dəŋ˧/ ‘thick’ /di˧/ ‘frog’ /do˧ŋ˧/ ‘village’

/k<sup>h</sup>/ voiceless aspirated velar plosive

/k<sup>h</sup>u˧/ ‘head’ /k<sup>h</sup>a˧/ ‘bitter’ /k<sup>h</sup>aŋ˧/ ‘leg’ /k<sup>h</sup>iʔ˧/ ‘tiger’

/k/ voiceless velar plosive

/ku˧/ ‘warm’ /kaŋ˧ʔ˧/ ‘spider’ /kwaŋ˧ʔ˧/ ‘trousers’ /kaŋ˧θa˧/ ‘eggplant’

/q/ voiceless uvular plosive

/qu˧/ ‘snake’ /qa˧/ ‘gibbon’ /qə˧lla˧/ ‘chin’ /qə˧tʃa˧/ ‘cheek’

The following are selections of minimal sets that show evidence for the different plosive consonant phonemes.

/p/ and /b/

/pla˥/ ‘person’	/plu˥/ ‘child’	/paŋ˥/ ‘gong’
/bla˥/ ‘lazy’	/blu˥/ ‘dry’	/baŋ˥/ ‘bamboo shoot’

/p<sup>h</sup>/ and /b/

/p <sup>h</sup> a˥/ ‘father’	/p <sup>h</sup> ə˥/ ‘cough’
/ba˥/ ‘at’	/bə˥/ ‘rest’

/p<sup>h</sup>/ and /p/

/p <sup>h</sup> i˥/ ‘rice husk’	/p <sup>h</sup> a˥/ ‘father’	/ta˥p <sup>h</sup> i˥/ ‘saliva’
/pi˥/ ‘small’	/pa˥/ ‘kick’	/ta˥pi˥/ ‘fly’

/p/ and /t/

/pe˥iŋ˥/ ‘forget’	/pa˥/ ‘kick’	/paŋ˥/ ‘gong’
/te˥iŋ˥/ ‘porcupine’	/ta˥/ ‘fish’	/taŋ˥/ ‘ant’

/p<sup>h</sup>/ and /t/

/p <sup>h</sup> ə˥/ ‘cough’	/p <sup>h</sup> a˥/ ‘father’
/tə˥/ ‘from’	/ta˥/ ‘fish’

/t<sup>h</sup>/, /t/ and /d/

/t <sup>h</sup> a˥/ ‘iron’	/t <sup>h</sup> ə˥/ ‘heavy’	/t <sup>h</sup> u˥/ ‘bird’
/ta˥/ ‘fish’	/tə˥/ ‘scorpion’	/tu˥/ ‘firewood’
/da˥/ ‘can’	/də˥/ ‘and’	/du˥/ ‘big’

/t/ and /k/

/tja˥/ ‘owner’	/te˥iŋ˥/ ‘porcupine’	/ta˥/ ‘fish’
/kja˥/ ‘market’	/ke˥iŋ˥/ ‘thing’	/ta˥/ ‘ask’

/k/, /q/ and /k<sup>h</sup>/

/ku˥/ ‘warm’	/ka˥/ ‘ask’
/qu˥/ ‘snake’	/qa˥/ ‘gibbon’
/k <sup>h</sup> u˥/ ‘head’	/k <sup>h</sup> a˥/ ‘bitter’

### 2.1.3 Nasal

Kayan Lahta has a series of nasals with four points of articulation, bilabial, alveolar, palatal and velar. All the nasal consonants occur syllable initial in this data.

However, the voiced velar nasal /ŋ/ is mostly found as a final consonant in Kayan Lahta.

/m/ voiced bilabial nasal

/me<sup>i</sup>ŋ/ 'correct' /ma/ 'wife' /mu/ 'sky' /mo/ 'do'

/n/ voiced alveolar nasal

/ne<sup>i</sup>ŋ/ 'year' /naŋ/ 'sit' /nəŋ/ 'sweet' /naŋ<sup>i</sup>muʔ/ 'betel nut'

/ɲ/ voiced palatal nasal

/ɲa/ 'I' /ɲəŋ/ 'weep' /ɲwaŋ/ 'neck' /ɲçəʔ/ 'mushroom'

/ŋ/ voiced velar nasal

/ŋo/ 'cost' /ŋa<sup>i</sup>qi/ 'sarong' /θə<sup>i</sup>ŋa/ 'laugh' /ə<sup>i</sup>ŋuʔ/ 'boil'

All the nasal consonants can function as minor syllables. (See section 2.4.2)

See the examples below:

/m/ bilabial nasal

/m<sup>i</sup>pli/ 'buy' /m<sup>i</sup>ba/ 'shoulder' /m<sup>i</sup>bi/ 'feed' /m<sup>i</sup>je/ 'cat'

/n/ alveolar nasal

/n<sup>i</sup>di/ 'weave' /n<sup>i</sup>ta/ 'grass', /ə<sup>i</sup>ŋləi/ 'choose'

/ɲ/ palatal nasal

/ɲ<sup>i</sup>çəʔ/ 'mushroom' /ə<sup>i</sup>ɲçwi/ 'speak' /ɲ<sup>i</sup>çwi/ 'stick'

/ŋ/ velar nasal

/ŋ<sup>i</sup>kwaŋ/ 'find' /ŋ<sup>i</sup>qo/ 'shave'

The pre-nasalized consonants are restricted. Except the bilabial nasal /m/ and the velar nasal /ŋ/, the other nasals only occur with vowels or with the consonants which have the same point of articulation. Nasal /m/ occurs with the consonants /p/, /b/ and also with the approximants, /j/ and /w/. The velar nasal occurs with the consonant /k/ and also with the voiceless uvular plosive /q/.



/m/ - [bilabial/approximant]

/n/ - [alveolar]

/ɲ/ - [palatal]

/ŋ/ - [velar/uvular]

The following are minimal sets that show evidence for the different nasal consonant phonemes.

/m/, /n/ and /ɲ/

/məŋɪ/ 'drunk'	/maɪ/ 'wife'	/mɛɪ/ 'if'
/nəŋɪ/ 'smelly'	/naɪ/ 'listen'	/nɛɪ/ 'and'
/ɲəŋɪ/ 'two'	/ɲaɪ/ 'I'	/ɲɛɪ/ 'crocodile'

/m/ and /ŋ/

/maɪ/ 'disappear'	/moɪ/ 'make'	/kəɪmiɪ/ 'tail'
/ŋaɪ/ 'top part'	/ŋoɪ/ 'cost'	/kəɪŋiɪ/ 'now/

### 2.1.4 Fricative

There are voiced, voiceless and aspirated fricatives with six points of articulation: labiodentals, dental, alveolar, post-alveolar, palatal, and glottal. They all are contrastive. They always occurs syllable initial and never occur as the second or the third element in a consonant cluster.

/f/ voiceless labiodental fricative

/foɪ/ belly /faɪ/ 'throw' /fiɪ/ 'light'

/v/ voiced labiodentals fricative

/vaɪ/ 'bamboo' /vaŋɪ/ 'smooth' /voɪ/ 'make dry' /veɪ/ 'bee'

/θ/ voiceless inter-dental fricative

/θiɪ/ 'alcohol' /θəɪɪ/ 'straight' /θaŋɪ/ 'tree'

/s<sup>h</sup>/ voiceless aspirated alveolar fricative

/s<sup>h</sup>aɪ/ 'star' /s<sup>h</sup>oɪ/ 'hard' /s<sup>h</sup>aŋɪ/ 'elephant' /s<sup>h</sup>aŋɪs<sup>h</sup>aɪ/ 'sell'

/s/ voiceless alveolar fricative

/siːtsaɪŋ/ 'carry' /sɚntʰiː/ 'run' /sɚlqoʊ/ 'rough'

/ʃ/ voiceless post-alveolar fricative

/ʃoʊ/ 'take' /ʃaʔ/ 'chicken' /ʃwi/ 'dog'

/ç/ voiceless palatal fricative

/çoʊ/ 'wet' /çuːtqaː/ 'cold' /çwe/ 'pull'

/h/ voiceless glottal fricative

/hwi/ 'whistle' /heʔ/ 'spicy' /haŋ/ 'soil'

The following are minimal sets that show evidence for the different fricative consonant phones.

/f/ and /v/

/foʊ/ 'steal'      /faː/ 'throw'

/voʊ/ 'dry'      /va/ 'shiver'

/f/ and /θ/

/fi/ 'light'

/θi/ 'alcohol'

/s/ and /s<sup>h</sup>/

/sçoʊ/ 'needle'      /swaʔ/ 'six'

/s<sup>h</sup>oʊ/ 'hard'      /s<sup>h</sup>a/ 'sew'

/s/ and /ʃ/

/swaʔ/ 'six'      /sɚllu/ 'crawl'

/ʃwi/ 'bone'      /ʃɚːlan/ 'flow'

/s<sup>h</sup>/ and /ʃ/

/s<sup>h</sup>a/ 'hurt'      /s<sup>h</sup>oʊ/ 'hard'      /s<sup>h</sup>u/ 'eight'

/ʃa/ 'chicken'      /ʃoʊ/ 'take'      /ʃu/ 'suck'

/s<sup>h</sup>/ and /θ/

/s<sup>h</sup>aɪ/ 'sour'      /s<sup>h</sup>aŋ/ 'elephant'

/θaɪ/ 'heart'      /θaŋ/ 'tree'

/f/ and /ç/

/fa<sup>i</sup>/ 'throw'      /foɪ/ 'steal'

/ça<sup>i</sup>/ 'louse'      /çoɪ/ 'wet'

/v/ and /ç/

/veɪ/ 'brother'      /voɪ/ 'dry'

/çeɪ/ 'skinny'      /çoɪ/ 'wet'

/s/ and /ç/

/swa<sup>ʔ</sup>/ 'six'      /kətsəɪ/ 'comb'

/çwaɪ/ 'spoon'      /qəɪçəɪ/ 'cheek'

/s<sup>h</sup>/ and /ç/

/s<sup>h</sup>uɪ/ 'six'      /s<sup>h</sup>oɪ/ 'hard'

/çuɪ/ 'land leech'      /çoɪ/ 'wet'

/ʃ/ and /ç/

/ʃwiɪ/ 'dog'      /ʃwaɪ/ 'go'      /ʃoɪ/ 'take'

/çwiɪ/ 'blood'      /çwaɪ/ 'spoon'      /çoɪ/ 'wet'

/v/ and /h/

/ve<sup>ʔ</sup>/ 'full'      /vaŋ/ 'clean'

/he<sup>ʔ</sup>/ 'spicy'      /haŋ/ 'soil'

/θ/ and /h/

/θəɪ/ 'people'      /θaŋ/ 'tree'

/həɪ/ 'perfect'      /haŋ/ 'soil'

/s/ and /h/

/so<sup>u</sup>ŋ/ 'mountain'

/ho<sup>u</sup>ŋ/ 'call'

/s<sup>h</sup>/ and /h/

/s<sup>h</sup>aŋɿ/ 'elephant'

/haŋɿ/ 'soil'

### 2.1.5 Approximant

Kayan Latha has three approximants, /j/, /w/ and /l/. They all are voiced consonants and they are contrastive. They are found syllable initial. They are also found as the second and the third element in consonant cluster.

/j/ voiced palatal approximant

/joɿ/ 'swollen' /jəɿ/ 'wind' /jaɿ/ 'give' /jəŋɿ/ 'house'

/w/ voiced labial-velar approximant

/wiɿ/ 'delicious' /lwaɿ/ 'tired' /mwaŋɿ/ 'pillow'

/l/ voiced alveolar lateral approximant

/lwiɿ/ 'think' /leɿ/ 'wide' /laɿ/ 'descend'

The following are a selection of minimal sets that show evidence for the different approximant consonant phones.

/j/ and /w/

/mjaŋɿ/ 'soft'

/mwaŋɿ/ 'pillow'

/j/ and /l/

/pjaŋɿ/ 'get'

/mwaŋɿ/ 'pillow'

/j/ and /h/

/jəɿ/ 'fly'

/həɿ/ 'perfect'

### 2.1.6 Approximants in clusters

Approximants are found initially. They are also found as a second element. They mostly occur with plosive and nasal consonants. The approximants /j/ and /w/ can be found as a third element in consonant cluster.

The following examples are the approximants that can be found as a second element in a consonant cluster.

/l/

/plaɪ/ 'feet'

/bluɪ/ 'dry'

/k<sup>h</sup>loŋ/ 'then'

/nlə<sup>i</sup>/ 'choose'

/j/

/pjaŋ/ 'like'

/mjaŋ/ 'mouth'

/tjaɪ/ 'owner'

/kjaɪ/ 'market'

/w/

/pwa<sup>i</sup>/ 'festival'

/mwaŋ/ 'pillow'

/t<sup>h</sup>waɪ/ 'pig'

/swaʔ/ 'six'

/lwiɪ/ 'think'

/ʃwiɪ/ 'dog'

The following two consonants /j/ and /w/, can be found as a third element in a consonant cluster.

/pljuɪmaɪ/ 'lightning'

/ŋçwiɪ/ 'stick'

/s<sup>h</sup>aŋʔɪplwəɪboŋ/ 'elephant task'

## 2.2 Vowels

There are 14 vowels - 9 monophthongs and 5 diphthongs. They all are voiced. The vowel system is symmetrical. Kayan Lahta provides evidence for 10 monophthongs with three degrees of vowel height for the front, central and back position. The front and central vowels are unrounded and the back vowel is rounded. The vowel inventory of Kayan Lahta is in table 2.

**Table 2 Kayan Lahta vowels**

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i	ɨ	u
Close-mid	e	ə	o
	e <sup>i</sup>		o <sup>u</sup>
Mid		ə	
		ə <sup>i</sup>	
Open-mid	ɛ		ɔ
Open	a		
	a <sup>i</sup>		

### 2.2.1 Monophthongs

Examples of each of the monophthongs is provided below.

/i/ close front unrounded vowel

/lwiŋ/ 'think' /p<sup>h</sup>iŋ/ 'rice husk' /miŋ/ 'face' /pliŋ/ 'sea'

/e/ close-mid front unrounded vowel

/peŋ/ 'cut' /çweŋ/ 'pull' /heŋ/ 'spicy' /ʃweŋ/ 'seven'

/ɛ/ open-mid front unrounded vowel

/səŋɛŋ/ 'what' /lɛŋ/ 'go' /jeŋ/ 'cooked rice' /ɲweŋ/ 'name'

/a/ open back unrounded vowel

/jaŋ/ 'wind' /paŋ/ 'pot' /θaŋθaŋ/ 'fruit' /t<sup>h</sup>aŋ/ 'iron'

/i/ close central unrounded vowel

/bi/ 'paddy rice' /miŋ/ 'mother' /ki/ 'slip' /mbi/ 'feed'

/ə/ close-mid central unrounded vowel

/ʃə/ 'die' /jə/ 'old' /jəŋ/ 'house' /p<sup>h</sup>əŋ/ 'near' /jə/ 'sleep'

/ə/ close-mid back unrounded vowel

/p<sup>h</sup>ə/ 'cough' /məli/ 'morning' /məŋ/ 'sun' /tə/ 'scorpion'

/u/ close back rounded vowel

/t<sup>h</sup>u/ 'bird' /pu/ 'cow' /ntu/ 'smooth' /t<sup>h</sup>uθa/ 'rabbit' /s<sup>h</sup>u/ 'leaf'

/o/ close-mid back rounded vowel

/fo/ 'steal' /tso/ 'wet' /mo/ 'make' /p<sup>h</sup>o/ 'tie' /boŋ/ 'pole'

/ɔ/ open-mid back rounded vowel

/vɔk<sup>h</sup>u/ 'brother' /pɔ/ 'hit' /k<sup>h</sup>ɔ/ 'another'

Apart from the close back rounded vowel /u/, all vowels occur with the velar nasal.

### 2.2.2 Diphthongs

There are four diphthongs in Kayan Lahta and they all are contrastive with the monophthongs. They can occur with any consonants.

/e<sup>i</sup>/ starts as a closed-mid front unrounded vowel and concludes as a close front unrounded vowel [e<sup>i</sup>]:

/me<sup>i</sup>ŋ/ 'correct' /e<sup>i</sup>ŋʔ/ 'ginger' /θe<sup>i</sup>ŋ/ 'weave' /ke<sup>i</sup>/ 'road'

/a<sup>i</sup>/ starts as a slightly advanced open unrounded vowel and concludes as a close front unrounded vowel [a<sup>i</sup>]:

/fa<sup>i</sup>/ 'throw' /çā<sup>i</sup>/ 'louse' /lwa<sup>i</sup>/ 'slow' /əŋka<sup>i</sup>/ 'wing'

/o<sup>u</sup>/ starts as a close-mid back rounded vowel and concludes as a close back rounded vowel [o<sup>u</sup>]:

/lo<sup>u</sup>ŋki/ 'sarong' /lo<sup>u</sup>ŋ/ 'stone' /do<sup>u</sup>ŋ/ 'village' /saŋno<sup>u</sup>/ 'thumb'

/ə<sup>1</sup>/ starts as a mid central unrounded vowel and concludes as a close central unrounded vowel [ə<sup>1</sup>]:

/bə<sup>1</sup>l/ 'rest' /θə<sup>1</sup>l/ 'straight' /ŋə<sup>1</sup>ŋ<sup>+</sup>/ 'cry' /tə<sup>1</sup>ŋ<sup>+</sup>/ 'three'

One more diphthong /a<sup>u</sup>/ is found in the data. But it only occurs in loan words from Burmese and in proper names. For example:

/pja<sup>u</sup> ŋ<sup>+</sup>/ 'move' (loan word from Burmese)

/ka<sup>u</sup>ŋ<sup>+</sup>l<sup>h</sup>u<sup>+</sup>l/ 'Kaung Htu' (the name of the village)

### 2.2.3 Evidence for vowel contrasts

The following are selections of minimal sets that show evidence for the different vowel phonemes.

/i/ and /e/

/pi<sup>l</sup>/ 'small'      /li<sup>l</sup>/ 'book'      /çwi<sup>l</sup>/ 'blood'

/pe<sup>+</sup>/ 'cut'      /le<sup>l</sup>/ 'wide'      /çwe<sup>l</sup>/ 'pull'

/i/ and /ɛ/

/li<sup>+</sup>/ 'shine'      /ŋi<sup>+</sup>/ 'long'      /ŋjwi<sup>l</sup>/ 'snail'

/le<sup>+</sup>/ 'go'      /ŋɛ<sup>+</sup>/ 'crocodile'      /ŋjwɛ<sup>l</sup>/ 'this'

/i/ and /i/

/pi<sup>l</sup>/ 'small'      /qi<sup>l</sup>/ 'rattan'

/bi<sup>+</sup>/ 'paddy rice'      /ki<sup>+</sup>/ 'slip'

/i/ and /u/

/i<sup>l</sup>/ 'excrement'      /mi<sup>l</sup>/ 'face'      /di<sup>l</sup>/ 'frog'

/u<sup>l</sup>/ 'drink'      /mu<sup>l</sup>/ 'sky'      /du<sup>l</sup>/ 'big'

/i/ and /o/

/i/ 'excrement'      /p<sup>hi</sup>l/ 'give'      /fi<sup>l</sup>/ 'light'

/o<sup>l</sup>/ 'have'      /p<sup>ho</sup>l/ 'tie'      /fo<sup>+</sup>/ 'belly'

/i/ and /ə/

/ŋi<sup>+</sup>/ 'long'      /ŋiŋ<sup>l</sup>/ 'five'

/ŋə<sup>l</sup>/ 'sleep'      /ŋəŋ<sup>+</sup>/ 'weep'



/e/ and /ɛ/

/leɪ/ 'wide'      /eʔɪ/ 'able'  
/lɛɪ/ 'go'      /ɛʔɪ/ 'angry'

/e/ and /eʲ/

/eʔɪ/ 'able'      /leɪ/ 'wide'  
/eʲʔɪ/ 'ginger'      /leʲŋɪ/ 'thousand'

/ɛ/ and /a/

/ntɛɪ/ 'slip'      /lɛɪ/ 'go'  
/ntaɪ/ 'gress'      /laɪ/ 'hot'

/i/ and /ə/

/pʰiəɪ/ 'short'      /diəɪ/ 'shallow'  
/pʰəŋɪ/ 'near'      /dəŋɪ/ 'thick'

/i/ and /o/

/biɪ/ 'paddy rice'      /kiɪ/ 'slip'  
/boŋɪ/ 'pole'      /kʰoŋɪ/ 'chair'

/u/ and /o/

/uɪ/ 'drink'      /puɪ/ 'cow'      /sʰuɪ/ 'eight'  
/oɪ/ 'have'      /poɪ/ 'blunt'      /sʰoɪ/ 'hard'

/u/ and /ɔ/

/kʰuɪ/ 'warm'      /kʰuɪ/ 'head'      /puɪ/ 'cow'  
/kʰɔɪ/ 'then'      /kʰɔɪ/ 'another'      /pɔɪ/ 'hit'

/u/ and /oʷ/

/sʰuɪ/ 'leave'      /luɪ/ 'all'  
/soʷŋɪ/ 'mountain'      /loʷŋɪ/ 'stream'

/o/ and /ɔ/

/poɪ/ 'blunt'  
/pɔɪ/ 'hit'

/o/ and /o<sup>u</sup>/

/doɭ/ 'that'      /loɭ/ 'follow'      /s<sup>h</sup>oɭ/ 'hard'  
/do<sup>u</sup>ŋɭ/ 'say'      /lo<sup>u</sup>ŋɭ/ 'stream'      /so<sup>u</sup>ŋɭ/ 'mountain'

/i/ and /əi/

/biɭ/ 'paddy rice'  
/bəiɭ/ 'rest'

/ə/ and /a/

/nəŋɭ/ 'smelly'      /ləŋɭ/ 'fat'      /jəɭ/ 'old'  
/naŋɭ/ 'sit'      /laŋɭ/ 'down'      /jaɭ/ 'hundred'

/ə/ and /a/

/p<sup>h</sup>əɭ/ 'cough'      /təɭ/ 'scorpion'      /qəɭ/ 'turtle'  
/p<sup>h</sup>aɭ/ 'father'      /taɭ/ 'fish'      /qaɭ/ 'rice seedling'

/ə/ and /ə<sup>i</sup>/

/ləɭ/ 'tall'      /təɭ/ 'from'  
/nlə<sup>i</sup>ɭ/ 'choose'      /tə<sup>i</sup>ŋɭ/ 'three'

/a/ and /a<sup>i</sup>/

/t<sup>h</sup>aɭ/ 'iron'      /laʔɭ/ 'moon'      /lwaɭ/ 'tired'  
/t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>i</sup>ɭ/ 'weave'      /la<sup>i</sup>ʔɭ/ 'always'      /lwa<sup>i</sup>ɭ/ 'slow'

## 2.3 Tones

Kayan Lahta is a tonal language. There are 4 tones in Kayan Lahta and they are contrastive. A glottal is considered as a tone instead of a phoneme as it only occurs with a high tone. It is also called a cut tone. When the tones are changed, the meaning changes also.

Low (ɿ)

Mid (ɨ)

High (ɿ)

High glottal (ʔɿ)

### 2.3.1 Contrasts

(↓) low tone

/qa↓/ ‘gibbon’ /θa↓/ ‘know’ /me<sup>i</sup>η↓/ ‘fire’ /vaη↓/ ‘clean’

(↑) mid tone

/te<sup>i</sup>η↑/ ‘come’ /jeη↑/ ‘narrow’ /baη↑/ ‘cup’ /do<sup>u</sup>η↑/ ‘say’

(↑) high tone

/pe<sup>i</sup>η↑/ ‘forget’ /ə↓wa<sup>i</sup>↑/ ‘termite’ /ɲwaη↑/ ‘neck’ /ηko<sup>u</sup>η↑/ ‘sing’

(ʔ) high glottal

/s<sup>h</sup>aηʔ↑/ ‘look’ /ʃaʔ↑/ ‘chicken’ /e<sup>i</sup>ηʔ↑/ ‘ginger’ /veʔ↑/ ‘full’

### 2.3.2 Evidence

The following are a selection of minimal sets that show evidence for the different tones in Kayah Lahta.

(↓) and (↑)

/qa↓/ ‘gibbon’	/baη↓/ ‘bamboo shoot’	/li↓/ ‘book’
/qa↑/ ‘rice seedling’	/baη↑/ ‘cup’	/li↑/ ‘shine’

/↓/ and /↑/

/vaη↓/ ‘clean’	/t <sup>h</sup> aη↓/ ‘up’	/ʃwi↓/ ‘dog’
/vaη↑/ ‘smooth’	/t <sup>h</sup> aη↑/ ‘sharp’	/ʃwi↑/ ‘bone’

/↓/ and /ʔ↑/

/t <sup>h</sup> aη↓/ ‘up’	/θi↓/ ‘alcohol’	/t <sup>h</sup> a↓/ ‘iron’
/t <sup>h</sup> aηʔ↑/ ‘bear’	/θiʔ↑/ ‘know’	/t <sup>h</sup> aʔ↑/ ‘gold’

/↑/ and /↑/

/jeη↑/ ‘narrow’	/θe <sup>i</sup> η↑/ ‘again’	/do <sup>u</sup> η↑/ ‘say’
/jeη↑/ ‘cooked rice’	/θe <sup>i</sup> η↑/ ‘weave’	/do <sup>u</sup> η↑/ ‘village’

/↑/ and /ʔ↑/

/kaη↑/ ‘fast’	/ve↑/ ‘brother’	/s <sup>h</sup> a↑/ ‘star’
/kaηʔ↑/ ‘spider’	/veʔ↑/ ‘full’	/s <sup>h</sup> aʔ↑/ ‘hurt’

/l/ and /ʔl/

/s<sup>h</sup>aŋl/ 'elephant'      /mbal/ 'shoulder'      /joɫ/ 'deep'

/s<sup>h</sup>aŋʔl/ 'look'      /mbaʔl/ 'porcupine'      /joʔl/ 'lift'

The following sets provide the minimal contrasts for all tones in Kayan Lahta. The first set is with the approximant /l/ and the second is the voiceless alveolar fricative.

/ʃ/

/la/

/ʃə/

/la/ 'under'

/ʃəɫ/ 'insect'

/laɫ/ 'hot'

/ʃəɫ/ 'on'

/laɫ/ 'time'

/ʃəɫ/ 'ten'

/laʔl/ 'hot'

/ʃəʔl/ 'water'

## 2.4 Syllable structure

The most common syllable structure of Kayan Lahta is CV. When a CVC syllable is found, the voiced velar nasal /ŋ/ is the only consonant that occurs in the coda. A single vowel could form a syllable but very few words are formed by V in my data. In the onset position, more than one consonant can occur.

In Kayan Lahta, there are two types of syllable structures: major syllables and minor syllables.

### 2.4.1 Major syllable

The following is the maximum major syllable structure of the language. In the structure, the consonant is represented by [C] and the vowel is by [V].

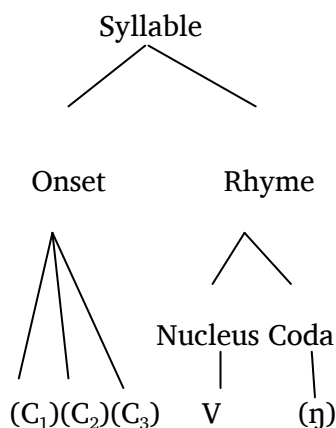


Figure 9 Kayan Lahta syllable structure

The following observations are terms of Kayan Lahta syllable structure: (symbols refer to figure 7).

- (i) C<sub>1</sub> all consonant from Table 1 Kayan Lahta consonant chart occur in this position.
- (ii) C<sub>2</sub> /l/ /j/ and /w/ occur in this position.
- (iii) C<sub>3</sub> /j/ and /w/ occur in this position.
- (iv) V Every vowel occurs in this position.
- (v) Only the velar nasal occurs syllable final
- (vi) The glottal stop is considered a tone feature.
- (vii) Every syllable has tone. (not shown in diagram)

The following examples show different types of syllable structures in Kayan Lahta.

V

/i/ 'excrement' /ε/ 'question' /u/ 'drink' /o/ 'have'

Vŋ

/e<sup>h</sup>ŋ/ 'ginger' /aŋ/ 'eat' /ə<sup>h</sup>liŋ/ 'shadow'

CV

/t<sup>h</sup>ə/ 'heavy' /ke<sup>h</sup>/ 'road' /na/ 'listen' /qa/ 'gibbon'

CVŋ

/k<sup>h</sup>aŋ/ 'leg' /laŋ/ 'down' /poŋ/ 'wait' /dɔŋ/ 'with'

CCV

/pli<sup>h</sup>/ 'sea' /qwa/ 'scratch' /kja/ 'market' /lwi/ 'think'

CCVŋ

/ple<sup>h</sup>ŋ/ 'bottle' /pjaŋ/ 'like' /mwaŋ/ 'pillow'

CCCV

/plwə<sup>h</sup>boŋ/ 'elephant tusk' /plju<sup>h</sup>ma/ 'lightning'

## 2.4.2 Minor syllable

There are two types of minor syllable structures: initial nasal, and the first syllable of two-syllable word.

Initial nasal

Nasal [/m/ or /n/ or /ɲ/ or /ŋ/]	
/mbaɫ/	‘shoulder’
/ŋqaɫ/	‘shave’
/ɲwaɫ/	‘play’

First syllable of two syllables

[C]	ə	syllable
/səɫnɛɫ/		‘what’
/təɫpiɫ/		‘fly’
/ləɫkwɛŋɫ/		‘east’
/məɫçiɫ/		‘friend’
/kəɫ s <sup>h</sup> əɫ/		‘comb’
/əɫp <sup>h</sup> iɫ/		‘skin’

## 2.5 Distribution of phones

### 2.5.1 Initial consonant-tone distribution

Table 3 Initial consonant-tone distribution provides a summary of the distribution of initial consonants and tones. According to my data, all the tones are distributed with all the consonants.

**Table 3 Initial consonant-tone distribution**

	<i>p</i>	<i>p<sup>h</sup></i>	<i>b</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t<sup>h</sup></i>	<i>d</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup></i>	<i>q</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>θ</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s<sup>h</sup></i>	<i>ʃ</i>	<i>ç</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>w</i>
ɿ	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
ɿ̄	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
ɿ̂	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
ɿ̃	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

### 2.5.2 Monophthong vowel-tone distribution

Table 4 Monophthong vowel-tone distribution summarises the distribution of vowels and tones. In Kayan Lahta, the close central unrounded vowel /i/ and the open-mid back rounded vowel /ɔ/ do not occur with the high glottal /ɿ̃/. The mid central unrounded vowel /ə/ does not occur with the low/ɿ̄/ and /ɿ̃̃/ tone.

**Table 4 Monophthong vowel-tone distribution**

	i	e	ɛ	a	ɨ	ə	ə	u	o	ɔ
┘	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+
┘	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
┘	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
┘?	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	

**Table 5 Kayan Lahta nasal rhymes distribution**

	Front	Central	Back
Close	iŋ	iŋ	
Close-mid	eŋ	əŋ	oŋ
Mid		əŋ	
Open-mid	ɛŋ		ɔŋ
Open	aŋ		

### 2.5.3 Diphthong vowel-tone distribution

Table 6 Diphthong vowel-tone distribution shows the summary of the distribution of diphthongs and the tones. According to the data, the high glottal /┘?/ does not occur with the two diphthongs /e<sup>i</sup>/ and /a<sup>i</sup>/. Moreover the mid tone /┘/ is not found with the vowel diphthong /e<sup>i</sup>/.

**Table 6 Diphthong vowel-tone distribution**

	e <sup>i</sup>	a <sup>i</sup>	o <sup>u</sup>	əi
┘	+	+	+	+
┘		+	+	+
┘	+	+	+	+
┘?		+	+	

#### **2.5.4 Consonant vowel sequences**

The table shows the distribution of consonants and vowels. There are many gaps for /ε/, /ə/ and /ɔ/. The open-mid front vowel /ε/ never occurs with any fricatives nor aspirated stop except /k<sup>h</sup>a/. The mid central vowel /ə/ and the open-mid back vowel /ɔ/ do not occur with most of the fricatives. The distribution chart indicates that the fricative consonant is quite restricted. There is also many gaps for diphthongs and they are also rare in the data.



**Table 7 Consonant vowel**

	p <sub>-</sub> <sup>*</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> <sub>-</sub> <sup>*</sup>	b <sub>-</sub> <sup>*</sup>	t <sub>-</sub> <sup>*</sup>	t <sup>h</sup> <sub>-</sub> <sup>*</sup>	d <sub>-</sub> <sup>*</sup>	k <sub>-</sub> <sup>*</sup>	k <sup>h</sup> <sub>-</sub> <sup>*</sup>	q <sub>-</sub> <sup>*</sup>	m <sub>-</sub> <sup>*</sup>	n <sub>-</sub> <sup>*</sup>	ɲ <sub>-</sub> <sup>*</sup>	f <sub>-</sub> <sup>*</sup>	v <sub>-</sub> <sup>*</sup>	θ <sub>-</sub> <sup>*</sup>	s <sub>-</sub> <sup>*</sup>	s <sup>h</sup> <sub>-</sub> <sup>*</sup>	ʃ <sub>-</sub> <sup>*</sup>	h <sub>-</sub> <sup>*</sup>	l <sub>-</sub> <sup>*</sup>	j <sub>-</sub> <sup>*</sup>	w <sub>-</sub> <sup>*</sup>	
i	3	6	1	1	0	3	2	1	2	11	0	4	1	2	3	3	0	0	0	0	11	4	20
e	3	1	1	0	0	0	3	1	0	1	1	2	0	0	8	0	1	1	2	1	3	1	5
ɛ	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	2	0	5	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	9	8
a	4	7	19	27	17	9	17	12	5	22	12	5	5	0	5	29	6	17	1	6	35	29	40
i	1	1	5	1	5	3	1	1	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	1
ə	0	2	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	1	3	8	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	1	2	0
u	6	4	4	3	9	3	7	12	3	3	2	0	1	2	0	0	0	4	1	0	11	4	0
o	4	3	3	0	1	13	3	2	4	14	2	3	3	8	1	0	0	1	2	2	17	5	0
ɔ	1	0	0	2	0	1	7	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
e <sup>i</sup>	2	1	1	7	1	1	2	0	0	7	2	0	1	0	0	2	1	1	0	1	6	0	0
a <sup>i</sup>	2	1	0	1	2	2	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	1	7
o <sup>u</sup>	3	0	1	1	0	2	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	4	4	0	0
əi	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0

## **2.6 Conclusion**

This chapter discussed the analysis of the Kayan Lahta phonology. It presented the consonant and vowel inventory, the tones and the syllable structure of the language.

Plosive, nasal, fricative, approximant and approximant in clusters were presented in the consonant section. Monophthongs and diphthongs were presented in the vowel section. Major syllable structure and minor syllable structure were discussed under the syllable structure. Finally, the distribution of phones that include initial consonant-tone distribution, monophthong vowel-tone distribution, nasal rhymes, diphthong vowel-tone distribution and consonant vowel sequences were presented.

## Chapter 3

### Word Classes

This chapter describes different word classes in Kayan Lahta. There are two primary word class categories, major word class and minor word classes. Nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs are considered the major word classes. Pronouns, classifiers, demonstratives, numerals, quantifiers, conjunctions, localizers and topic marker are considered the minor word classes.

#### 3.1 Major word classes

The four major classes: nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs are discussed in this section. In the noun section, proper nouns, common nouns, compound nouns, abstract nouns and nominalizers are included. Compound nouns are sub-divided into subordinate compounds, attributive compounds, coordinate compounds and idiomatic compounds. Transitivity, aspect and modals are included in the verb section.

##### 3.1.1 Nouns

In Kayan Lahta, a noun is a word class that refers to both of concrete and abstract ideas. It is a word class whose members function as a head in a noun phrase. The head noun is modified by the other elements such as adjectives, numerals and classifiers. It refers to the same entity that the whole phrase refers to. Examples (1) and (2) show noun phrases in which a common noun functions as the head.

(1) *fwi* | *du* | *təiŋ* | *dəʔ*  
*dog* | *big* | *three* | *clf*  
N | ADJ | NUM | CLF  
'three big dogs'

(2) *jəŋ* | *du* | *lwi* | *ma*  
*house* | *big* | *four* | *clf*  
N | ADJ | NUM | CLF  
'four big houses'

In these two noun phrases, (1) and (2), the nouns, *ʃwiː* ‘dog’ and *jəŋː* ‘house’ function as heads and they are followed by adjectives, numerals and classifiers.

The schema for a noun is:

$[N_{\text{HEAD}} (\text{ADJ}) (\text{QNT}) (\text{NUM}) (\text{DEM}) (\text{CLF})]_N$

This means that nouns are optionally followed by these elements: adjectives, quantifiers, numbers, demonstratives and classifiers.

### 3.1.1.1 Proper noun

In Kayan Lahta proper nouns express the name of the person or place. They do not occur with numerals. A proper noun refers to a specific individual person or place. Examples below show proper nouns that express the name of a specific person.

(3)	<i>aʔʔ</i>	<i>θəːviː</i>
	<i>Ai</i>	<i>hungry</i>
	N.PROP	V
	‘Ai is hungry.’	

The nouns that express a place can co-occur with a common noun such as a place, village, mountain etc.

The following are examples of proper nouns that express a place.

(4)	<i>doʔŋʔ</i>	<i>pəːpaː</i>
	<i>village</i>	<i>Papai</i>
	N	NPROP
	‘the village Papai’	

(5)	<i>doʔŋʔ</i>	<i>tjuː</i>
	<i>village</i>	<i>Tju</i>
	N	NPROP
	‘the village Tju’	

In Kayan Lahta, proper nouns can be associated with titles. For people, the title precedes the proper noun. But, for the other proper nouns, the title can either precede or follow the noun.

(6) *mu* | *aʔ* |  
*miss* *Ai*  
 TITLE N.PROP  
 ‘Miss Ai’

(7) \**aʔ* | *mu*  
*Ai* *miss*  
 N.PROP TITLE  
 ‘Mu Ai’

In example (6), the title precedes the proper noun that expresses a person, *aʔ*. It is unnatural for the proper noun that expresses a person to precede the title as shown in example (7). The title can precede or follow the other proper noun as in examples (8) and (9).

(8) *do*<sup>h</sup> | *pa* | *pai* |  
*village* *Papai*  
 N N.PROP  
 ‘Papai village’

(9) *Pa* | *pai* | *do*<sup>h</sup> |  
*Papai* *village*  
 N.PROP N  
 ‘Papai village’

### 3.1.1.2 Common nouns

In Kayan Lahta, a common noun names people, places, things, or ideas. Different from proper nouns, a common noun is usually found with a classifier or with both number and classifier. Sometimes it can be found with a possessive pronoun. The following examples show common nouns that occur with related classifiers.

(10) *fwi* | *lwi* | *də*ʔ |  
*dog* *four* *clf*  
 N NUM CLF  
 ‘four dogs’

(11) *θə* | *kwa* | *θa* | *lwi* | *ma* |  
*mango* *four* *clf*  
 N NUM CLF  
 ‘four mangos’

(12) *plaʔbəʔtaʔ* *nəŋʔ* *plaʔ*  
*child* *two* *clf*  
 N NUM CLF  
 ‘the two children’

In example (10), the classifier *dəʔʔ* is used for the large, four-legged animal. The classifier *maʔ* is for the fruit as shown in example (11). The human classifier, *plaʔ* is associated with a human in example (12).

In example (13), a common noun occurs with a possessive pronoun.

(13) *veʔ* *maʔ*  
*2s* *wife*  
 PRO N  
 ‘your wife’

In Kayan Lahta, a common noun can be found with only a classifier and no number if it denotes the number one or when the noun has been previously introduced. See the example below.

(14) *plaʔbəʔtaʔ* *plaʔ*  
*child* *clf*  
 N CLF  
 ‘the/a child’

In the example above, the common noun, *plaʔbəʔtaʔ* ‘child’ is directly followed by the classifier *plaʔ* without any number. The meaning is that there is only one child. Or if it is in a story, the child has been previously introduced.

### 3.1.1.3 Compound nouns

A compound noun in Kayan Lahta is made up of two or more words. Most compound nouns in Kayan Lahta are formed by nouns modified by other nouns or adjectives. These are very common in this language. Compound nouns can be divided into subordinate compounds, attribute compounds, coordinate compounds and idiomatic compounds.

#### 3.1.1.3.1 Subordinate compound

Subordinate compounds are derived from relationships that often are marked by the possessive in English. There are many relationships included in the idea of subordination.

- a) Both elements are nouns and the first noun functions as the larger whole of which the second noun is a part of. [N-N]<sub>N</sub>

(15) *θəŋ]-θa]*

*tree-fruit*

N-N

‘fruit’

(16) *θəŋ]-kwi]*

*tree-root*

N-N

‘root’

(17) *t<sup>h</sup>u]-rwi]*

*bird-sparrow*

N-N

‘sparrow’

- b) The first element is noun and the second element is also noun that occurs as a localizer. They are historically nouns but now in Kayan Lahta they only occur as locations. [N-LOCZ]<sub>N</sub>

(18) *jəŋ]-k<sup>h</sup>u]*

*house-top*

N-LOCZR

‘roof’

(19) *lo<sup>u</sup>ŋ]-ku?]*

*stone-inside*

N-LOCZR

‘cave’

- c) The first element is a noun and the second element is a verb with the resulting nominal specifying one type of action normally denoted by the verb. [N-V]<sub>N</sub>

(20) *ta]-mo]*

*thing-do*

N-V

‘work/job’

### 3.1.1.3.2 Attributive compounds

Attributive compounds are derived from a modified noun phrase where one element modifies the head element. [N-ADJ]<sub>N</sub>

(21) *ʃəʔʔ-nəŋʅ*  
*water-sweet*  
N-ADJ  
'coffee'

(22) *baŋʅ-t<sup>h</sup>uʅ*  
*weapon-long*  
N-ADJ  
'spear'

(23) *biʅ-poŋʅ*  
*bean-rotten*  
N-ADJ  
'soybean'

### 3.1.1.3.3 Coordinate compounds

A coordinate compound is composed by two elements that have the same meaning or the opposite meaning and neither can be clearly identified as the head.

(24) *vɔʅ-veʅ*  
*younger-elder*  
N-N  
'sibling'

(25) *məiŋʅ-p<sup>h</sup>aʅ*  
*mother-father*  
N-N  
'parents'

(26) *p<sup>h</sup>iəʅ-ləʅ*  
*short-tall*  
ADJ-ADJ  
'high'



### 3.1.1.3.4 Idiomatic compounds

Idiomatic compounds are those whose meaning cannot be predicted from the internal parts. There are very few examples of idiomatic compounds in this Kayan Lahta data.

- (27) *çwił-fəʔʔ*  
*blood-water*  
N-N  
'energy'

### 3.1.1.4 Abstract nouns

Another class of nouns is abstract nouns. Abstract nouns might express emotion. In Kayan Lahta abstract nouns are formed by adding the nominalizer *ta/* to verbs or adjectives. They cannot be used with classifiers or numerals. The following are examples of abstract nouns.

- (28) *ta/ʂ<sup>h</sup>aŋ ʔp<sup>h</sup>u.veʔ*  
*love*  
N  
'love'

- (29) *ta/lwiʔ*  
*think*  
N  
'thinking'

- (30) *ta/blat*  
*lazy*  
N  
'laziness'

In examples (28) and (29), *ta/* is added to the verbs, *ʂ<sup>h</sup>aŋ ʔp<sup>h</sup>u.veʔ* 'love' and *lwiʔ* 'think' to form the abstract noun. Similar to this, *ta/* is added to the adjective *blat* 'lazy' to form the abstract noun *ta/blat* 'laziness' in example (30). The nominalizing use of this prefix is discussed in section 3.1.1.5.

### 3.1.1.5 Nominalizers

*ta/* and *ə/* are two nominalizers in Kayan Lahta. The *ta/* nominalizer is used for verb nominalization. *ə/* changes not only an adjectives but also verbs into a noun.

**Table 8 Verb nominalization**

	Examples	Gloss	Example	Gloss
a.	<i>moʔ</i>	‘make/do’	<i>taʔmoʔ</i>	‘job/ work’
b.	<i>aŋʔ</i>	‘eat’	<i>taʔaŋʔ</i>	‘food’
c.	<i>iŋʔ</i>	‘shadowy’	<i>əʔiŋʔ</i>	‘shadow’
d.	<i>sʰaŋʔʔ</i>	‘join’	<i>əʔsʰaŋʔʔ</i>	‘joint’

**Table 9 Adjective nominalization**

	Examples	Gloss	Examples	Gloss
a.	<i>buʔ</i>	‘white’	<i>əʔbuʔ</i>	‘whiteness’
b.	<i>bwaŋʔ</i>	‘fat’	<i>əʔbwaŋʔ</i>	‘grease’
c.	<i>ləʔ</i>	‘tall’	<i>əʔləʔ</i>	‘highness’
d.	<i>pʰiəʔ</i>	‘short’	<i>əʔpʰiəʔ</i>	‘shortness’

In other Kayan dialects, a nominalizer nominalises not only the word but also a phrase. But no example is found in this Kayan Lahta data.

### 3.1.2 Verbs and verb morphology

In this section, verb and verb morphology are discussed.

#### 3.1.2.1 Copula

In Kayan Lahta, copulas are used to link the subject to the complement. The following table give the different copula used in different situation. See 5.3.1.

**Table 10 Copulas in Kayan Lahta**

Locative copula	<i>oʃ</i>
Existential copula	<i>oʃ</i>
Equative copula	<i>mwa<sup>i</sup>ʃ</i>

### 3.1.2.2 Aspect and modals

Kayan has no grammatical tense marking. Aspects and modals are used to make temporal distinctions in Kayan Lahta. This section shows different aspects and modals in Lahta. Aspect and modals are discussed in chapter 6.

**Table 11 Aspect in Kayan Lahta**

Aspect	Meaning	
<i>həʃ</i>	complete	See 6.3.1
<i>ka<sup>i</sup>ʃ</i>	negative result	See 6.10.7
<i>oʃ</i>	on going	See 6.3.3
<i>mjəŋ ʃt<sup>h</sup>əʃ</i>	finish	See 6.3.2
<i>daʃ</i>	ability	See 6.3
<i>moʃ</i>	cause	See 6.6

### 3.1.3 Adjective

In Kayan Lahta, adjectives are the words that modify nouns or noun phrase in a sentence. They identify, describe or qualify the nouns. They are preceded by the head noun that they modify and followed by the classifier or a quantifier phrase in a noun phrase. The following examples are adjectives that modify nouns.

- (31) *pluʃ piʃ plaʃ*  
*child small clf*  
 N ADJ CLF  
 ‘a small child’

(32) *jəŋʌ duʌ lwiʌ maʌ*  
*house big four clf*  
 N ADJ NUM CLF  
 ‘four big houses’

In examples (31) and (32) the adjectives *piʌ* ‘small’ and *duʌ* ‘big’ follow the nouns, *pluʌ* ‘child’ and *jəŋʌ* ‘house’ and precede the classifier *plaʌ* and the quantifier phrase *lwiʌ maʌ* ‘four house’.

The following examples are predicative uses in sentences.

(33) *p<sup>h</sup>uʌʌ plaʌ mɛʌ blaʌ*  
*son clf top lazy*  
 N CLF TOP ADJ  
 ‘The son is lazy.’

(34) *fwiʌ kəʌmiʌ ləʌ*  
*dog tail long*  
 N N ADJ  
 ‘dog’s long tail’ or ‘The dog’s tail is long.’

In example (33), the adjective follows the topic marker *mɛʌ*. In the example (34), the topic marker is omitted.

### 3.1.4 Adverb

In Kayan Lahta, adverbs are the words that modify verbs in a sentence. They can also modify adjectives and other adverbs.

In example (35), the adverb modifies the verb and it follows the verb.

(35) *p<sup>h</sup>uʌ dəʌ p<sup>h</sup>aʌ ŋaŋʌ laʌkwaʌloʌ*  
*father conj father sit together*  
 N CO.CONJ N V ADV  
 ‘The father and the son are sitting together.’

Most of the adverbs are reduplicated. In this case, having two adverbs means ‘very’. see example (36).

(36) *bəʌluʌ lwaŋʌ lwaʌʌ lwaʌʌ s<sup>h</sup>aŋʌ*  
*PaO run slowly slowly elephant*  
 N.RPOP V ADV ADV N  
 ‘PaO runs very slowly after the elephant.’

## 3.2 Minor word class

The minor word classes: pronouns, classifiers, interrogatives, demonstratives, quantifiers, conjunctions and localizers are discussed in this section.

### 3.2.1 Pronoun

A pronoun is a pro-form that can replace a noun, noun phrase or another pronoun. If the noun has been already mentioned, a pronoun is used to avoid repetition in the discourse.

(37)	<i>a'iʔl</i>	<i>ŋəʔmanʃ</i>	<i>muʃ</i>
	<i>Ai</i>	<i>dream</i>	<i>Mu</i>
	NPROP	V	N.PROP
	'Ai dream of Mu.'		

(38)	<i>veʔ</i>	<i>ŋəʔmanʃ</i>	<i>naʔ</i>
	<i>2s</i>	<i>dream</i>	<i>1s</i>
	PRO	V	PRO
	'You dream of me.'		

In example (38) the second person singular pronouns *veʔ* substitutes for the proper noun *a'iʔl* of example (37) and the first person pronoun *naʔ* substitutes the proper noun *muʃ*.

#### 3.2.1.1 Personal pronouns

A personal pronoun refers to a person or thing. A pronoun form may change according to the gender, number or person of the pronoun referent. In some languages, subject personal pronouns have to be changed in order to be used as object personal pronouns. In English, personal pronouns are distinguished by person and their grammatical roles as subject or object. Different from English, subject personal pronouns cannot be lexically distinguished from object person pronouns in Kayan Lahta.

(39)	<i>naʔ</i>	<i>ŋəʔmanʃ</i>	<i>veʔ</i>
	<i>1s</i>	<i>dream</i>	<i>2s</i>
	PRO	V	PRO
	'I dream of you.'		

(40) *veʔ*      *ŋəʔmaŋʅ*   *naʔ*  
 2s          dream      1s  
 PRO        V            PRO  
 ‘You dream of me.’

By looking at the two examples (39) and (40), it is clear that the subject personal pronoun for the first person singular is *naʔ* and the object personal pronoun is also *naʔ*. Likewise, the subject personal pronoun for the second person singular is *veʔ* and the object personal pronoun is also *veʔ*.

In Kayan Lahta, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>th</sup> personal plural pronouns are derived by adding the suffix *ŋdoʅ* to the singular form. And the 1<sup>st</sup> personal plural pronoun is derived by adding the *puʔ* to the singular form.

**Table 12 Personal pronouns in Kayan Lahta**

	Singular	Plural
First person (Inclusive)	<i>naʔ</i>	<i>naʔpuʔ</i>
Second person	<i>veʔ</i>	<i>veʔŋdoʅ</i>
Third person	<i>ŋplaʅ</i>	<i>ŋplaʅdoʅ</i>

In Kayan Lahta, pronouns replace not only noun phrase, they can replace a single noun. In these examples, the noun (42) and noun phrase (43) are replaced by the personal pronoun.

(41) *pəʅkʰuʔʅ*   *ŋəŋʔ*   *plaʅ*   *oʅ*   *ləʅkwaʔloʅ*   *jəŋʅ*   *kuʔʅ*  
*man*    *two*   *clf*   *exist*   *together*   *house*   *in*  
 N        NUM   CLF   V        ADJ        N        LOCZR  
 ‘The two men live together in a house.’

(42) *ŋplaʅdoʅ*   *ŋəŋʔ*   *plaʅ*   *oʅ*   *ləʅkwaʔloʅ*   *jəŋʅ*   *kuʔʅ*  
*3pl*            *two*   *clf*   *exist*   *together*   *house*   *in*  
 PRO            NUM   CLF   V        ADJ        N        LOCZR  
 ‘The two of them live together in a house.’

- (43) *mplaʔdoʔ oʔ laʔkwaʔloʔ jəŋʔ kuʔʔ*  
*3pl exist together house in*  
 PRO V ADJ N LOCZR  
 ‘They live together in a house.’

### 3.2.1.2 Interrogative pronouns

Interrogative pronouns are used to ask questions. The following are the interrogative pronouns in Kayan Lahta.

**Table 13 Interrogative pronouns in Kayan Lahta**

Form	Gloss
<i>səʔmɛʔ</i>	who
<i>səʔnɛʔ</i>	what
<i>tʰuʔ doʔ məʔ kʰɛʔ</i>	when (future)
<i>pjŋʔ doʔ məʔ kʰɛʔ</i>	when (past)
<i>ŋbɛʔ</i>	where
<i>ŋwɛʔ</i>	why
<i>aʔʔsʰaʔ</i>	how many

The follow examples show interrogative pronouns which are used in questions.

- (44) *veʔ moʔ səʔnɛʔ*  
*2s do what*  
 PRO V Q  
 ‘What are you doing?’

- (45) *veʔ ŋəiŋʔ ɛʔ baʔ səʔnɛʔ*  
*2s cry quest happen why*  
 PRO V Q V Q  
 ‘Why do you cry?’

In Kayan Lahta, *ɛʔ* is the interrogative marker which is used to ask questions that have a ‘yes’ or ‘no’ answer.

(46) *fʊʔʌkʰiŋʌ*    *njoŋʌ*    *ɛʌ*    *θiʔʌ*  
*Phekhon*    *language*    *quest*    *know*  
 N.PROP    N    Q    V  
 ‘Do you know Phekhon language?’

(47) *veʌ*    *ɛʌ*    *aŋʌ*    *mjəŋʌtʰəʌ*    *jɛŋʌ*  
*2s*    *quest*    *eat*    *finish*    *cooked-rice*  
 PRO    Q    V    V    N  
 ‘Have you finished eating?’

In the examples (46) and (47), *ɛʌ* is used to ask the question. The interrogative marker *ɛʌ* is always followed by the verb in both examples.

### 3.2.1.3 Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns are used to indicate possessing by a person of things or another entity.

Table 14 Possessive pronouns in Kayan Lahta

Person	Number	Possessive pronouns
1 <sup>st</sup>	singular	<i>naʌ</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup>		<i>veʌ</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup>		<i>ŋplaʌ</i>
1 <sup>st</sup>	plural	<i>naʌŋdoʌ</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup>		<i>veʌŋdoʌ</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup>		<i>ŋplaʌŋdoʌ</i>

In Kayan Lahta, the words used for personal pronouns and possessive pronouns are the same. As with personal pronouns, the singular form can be change into the plural form by adding the suffix, *ŋdoʌ* to the singular possessive pronouns.

(48) *naʌ*    *jəŋʌ*    *duʌ*    *lwiʌ*    *maʌ*  
*1s*    *house*    *big*    *four*    *clf*  
 POSS    N    ADJ    NUM    CLF  
 ‘my four big house’



(49) *m̄plaŋdoʔ jəŋʌ duʌ lwiʌ maʔ*  
*3pl house big four clf*  
 POSS N ADJ NUM CLF  
 ‘their four big houses’

The examples (48) and (49) show possessive pronouns in noun phrases. In a noun phrase the possessive pronouns occur before the possessed noun, typically in the initial position. (see section 4.1.2)

### 3.2.2 Classifiers

Many languages from South East Asia are languages that have classifiers. Kayan Lahta is also a language that has classifiers. Classifiers are used when the nouns are being counted or specified. Several types of classifiers: sortal classifiers, measure (mensural) classifiers, collective classifiers and auto classifiers are discussed.

#### 3.2.2.1 Sortal classifiers

Sortal classifiers occur with a numeral or quantifier: they rarely occur with demonstratives. This type of classifiers forms a semantically based system of classifying nouns base on some distinctive feature.

The follow example shows different nouns that associated with the different sortal classifiers. The gloss associated with the classifier suggests what the distinctive semantic feature is.

*jaŋʌtaʔʌboŋʌ/qiʌ/ntaʌ/pleʔkuʌ*      **boŋʌ**  
 candle/cane/grass/house lizard      **clf-long**

(50) *jaŋʌtaʔʌboŋʌ əʌ-boŋʌ*  
*candle one-clf*  
 N NUM-CLF  
 ‘a candle’

*məiŋʌ/pʰuʌ/pʰaʌ/veʌ/pəʌmoʔ*      **plaʌ**  
 mother/child/father/elder brother/woman      **clf-human**

(51) *pəʌmoʔ əʌ-plaʌ*  
*woman one-clf*  
 N NUM-CLF  
 ‘a woman’

*mjɛ/|t<sup>h</sup>wa/|taŋ|kaʔ/|t<sup>h</sup>u|θa/|fwi|*  
 cat/pig/monkey/rabbit/dog

*dəʔ*  
*clf-animal*

(52) *fwi| ə|-dəʔ*  
*dog one-clf*  
 N NUM-CLF  
 ‘a dog’

**Table 15 Sortal Classifiers in Kayan Lahta**

Classifiers	Alternative lexical use	Common semantic elements	Examples
<i>ma/</i>		-round things -fruit -insect -thing made of wood/house	-ring, pot, mortar -mango, egg plant -spider, louse, ant -door, house, table
<i>ba/</i>		-small animals -body part on head -weapons	-frog, fly, bird -teeth, ear, tongue -knife, spear
<i>boŋ/</i>		-long things	-bamboo, snake, leg, hand, needle, spoon
<i>dəʔ</i>		-animal	tiger, barking deer, rabbit, gibbon, rat, dog, cat, pig, cow
<i>f<sup>v</sup>aŋ</i>	body hair	-body hair	-hair, eyebrow, feather
<i>p<sup>h</sup>loŋ</i>	seed	-small round things	-seed, eye
<i>bla/</i>		-flat things	-blanket, clothing, trousers, mat
<i>pla/</i>	person	-person	-person, spirit
<i>p<sup>h</sup>a/</i>	ashes	?	-fire, rice field,

### 3.2.2.2 Measure (measural) Classifiers

Measure classifiers occur with a numeral or quantifier: they rarely occur with demonstratives. Semantically, measure classifiers measure nominals as containers, lengths, weights, parts and time periods. In this case, nouns denoting quantities are used as the classifiers.

- (53) *p<sup>h</sup>iŋ*            *təiŋ<sup>+</sup>*    *e<sup>i</sup>*  
*rice.husk*        *three*    *bag*  
 N                    NUM    CLF  
 ‘three bags of rice husk’

**Table 16 Measure Classifiers in Kayan Lahta**

Classifiers	Meanings
<i>e<sup>i</sup>ŋ?</i>	basket/bag
<i>ka/lan/</i>	bucket
<i>loŋ/</i>	load

### 3.2.2.3 Collective Classifiers

Collective classifiers are used to show the group of the nouns. These could be considered a type of measure classifiers. This is the most common way that the Kayan Lahta codes the count-mass distinction. Collectives normally occur with the numeral one.

- (54) *ŋtsəʔŋ*            *ə/ -bloŋ<sup>+</sup>*  
           |  
           *mushroom*    *one-pile*  
 N                    NUM-CLF  
 ‘a pile of mushroom’

- (55) *pla/*            *ə/ -pu<sup>+</sup>*  
           *people*    *one-group*  
 N                    NUM-CLF  
 ‘a group of people’

### 3.2.2.4 Auto-classifiers

Auto-classifiers are very common in Kayan Lahta. Auto-classifiers mean the classifiers that are formed by repeating the head noun or the last syllable of the head noun.

Manson (2010:220) defines auto-classifiers as a semi-open class with any monosyllabic word occurring as the head noun being able to be used as a classifier.

Restrictions depend on how well known the generalised classifier is for that referent. Often the head noun is omitted when it is classified with an auto-classifier.

The followings are examples that show auto-classifiers.

(56) *mi-tʰaʃ*      *təiŋʃ*    *mi-tʰaʃ*  
*forehead*      *three*    *forehead*  
 N                  NUM    CLF  
 ‘three foreheads.’

(57) *lo<sup>u</sup>ŋʃ-kuʔʃ*    *təiŋʃ*    *kuʔʃ*  
*stone-hole*      *three*    *hole*  
 N-N                  NUM    CLF  
 ‘three caves’

**Table 17 Auto-classifiers in Kayan Lahta**

Classifier nouns	Meaning
<i>fwiʃ</i>	rib
<i>ŋaŋʃtuʃ</i>	forest
<i>θaŋʃ</i>	tree
<i>laʃ</i>	leaf
<i>mi-tʰaʃ</i>	forehead
<i>miʃ pʰɿʃ</i>	eyelid
<i>fo-tʰpliʃ</i>	intestines
<i>do<sup>u</sup>ŋʃ</i>	village
<i>tsoʃ diəʃ</i>	elbow
<i>pʰoʔʃ</i>	flower

### 3.2.3 Demonstratives

Two demonstratives are found in Kayan Lahta. The plural forms are derived by adding the prefix *jə* to the singular form. The demonstrative adjectives are used to point out the specific nouns in the context.

(58) *fwi* | *ɲwɛ* | *dəʔ*  
*dog*     *this*     *clf*  
 N         DEM     CLF  
 ‘this dog’

(59) *fwi* | *jəɲwɛ* | *lwi* | *dəʔ*  
*dog*     *these*     *four*     *clf*  
 N         DEM         NUM     CLF  
 ‘these four dogs’

In example below, the demonstrative pronoun replaces the noun.

(60) *jəɲwɛ* | *mɛ* | *ɲpla* | *fwi*  
*these*     *top*     *her*     *dog*  
 DEM         TOP     POSS     N  
 ‘These are her dogs.’

The demonstrative pronouns can be seen in Table 18.

**Table 18 Demonstrative pronouns**

this	<i>ɲwɛ</i>
these	<i>jəɲwɛ</i>
that	<i>do</i>
those	<i>jədo</i>

### 3.2.4 Numbers and Quantifiers

This section describes numbers and quantifiers.

#### 3.2.4.1 Numbers

In Kayan Lahta, the numbers 1 to 9 have a monomorphemic form. They can be combined with the numeral bases to form the larger numbers. For example, if they appear before the numeral base *ʃəʔ* '10', then the result is 10 times the numbers value as in example.

- (61) *təiŋ+ʃəʔ*  
*three-ten*  
NUM-NUM  
'thirty'

The frame for numbers is:

[N clf]

Table 19 Number in Kayan Lahta

Number	Gloss
əʔ	one
ŋəŋʔ	two
təiŋʔ	three
lwiʔ	four
ŋiŋʔ	five
s <sup>w</sup> aʔ	six
ʃ <sup>w</sup> eʔ	seven
s <sup>h</sup> uʔ	eight
k <sup>h</sup> wiʔ	nine
ʃəʔ	ten

Number	Gloss
əɭʃəɭ	eleven
ʃəɭpəŋɔ	twelve
ʃəɭtəiŋɔ	thirteen
ʃəɭlwiɭ	fourteen
ʃəɭpiŋɭ	fifteen
ʃəɭs <sup>w</sup> aʔɭ	sixteen
ʃəɭʃ <sup>w</sup> eʔɭ	seventeen
ʃəɭs <sup>h</sup> uɭ	eighteen
ʃəɭk <sup>h</sup> wiɭ	nineteen

### 3.2.4.2 Quantifiers

Quantifiers in Kayan Lahta are as shown in Table 20.

Table 20 Quantifiers in Kayan Lahta

Quantifiers in Kayan Lahta	Gloss
<i>əɭpuɔ</i>	every
<i>qoɔtaɭ</i>	many
<i>luɔ</i>	all
<i>ŋɲaɔ</i>	some
<i>əɭkwaɔ</i>	half
<i>bəɭçəɭtaŋɔ</i>	few

The quantifier *əɭpuɔ* ‘every’ precedes the verb or follows the verb with a slight change in meaning.

(62) ə-ŋəŋʃ      kuʔʃ   əʃpu   əʃpu   ʃəʃ   loʃ  
*one-day      within every every die together*  
 NUM-N      LOCZR QNT   QNT   V      ADV  
 ‘Every person dies within one day.’

(63) ə-ŋəŋʃ      kuʔʃ   ʃəʃ   loʃ      əʃpu   əʃpu  
*one-day      within die together every every*  
 NUM-N      LOCZR V      ADV      QNT   QNT  
 ‘Every persons die within one day.’

In the two examples, the quantifier precedes the verb in the first example and follows the verb in the second example. In the first example, the speaker emphasizes on the quantifier ‘every’ when the second example emphasizes the verb ‘die’. Similarly in (63), everything is destroyed but no degree of distinction is entailed.

(64) baʃlanʃ      ŋkaʃ      luʃ  
*things      destroy all*  
 N              V              QNT  
 ‘All things are destroyed.’

### 3.2.5 Conjunctions

Conjunctions connect two words, two phrases, two clauses or two sentences. Conjunctions can be divided into two subclasses: coordinators and subordinators. Words that connect conjuncts with the same function in the sentence are coordinators. Words that connect conjuncts with different functions are subordinators.

#### 3.2.5.1 Coordinators

Coordinators connect conjuncts with the same functions in the sentence. In Kayan Lahta, *dəʃ* is the coordinator that is mostly often used.

(65) tʰaŋʔʃ      dəʃ      ʃwiʃ  
*bear      and      dog*  
 N              CO.CONJ      N  
 ‘the bear and the dog’



(66) *pla/ pla/ aŋ/ jɛŋ/ də/ u/ θi/*  
*person clf eat cooked-rice and drink alcohol*  
 N CLF V N CO.CONJ V N  
 ‘The man eats rice and drinks alcohol.’

(67) *ta/|pi/ ba/ jə/ də/ fwi/ dəʔ/ lɛ/ s<sup>h</sup>aŋʔ/*  
*fly clf fly and dog clf go see*  
 N CLF V CO.CONJ N CLF V V  
 ‘The fly flew and the dog looked.’

In the above examples show the conjunction *də/* is used to connect the different elements that have the same syntactic category. In the example (65), the conjunction connects the two nouns. In the example (66), it connects the two verb phrases and it connects two sentences in the example (67).

### 3.2.5.2 Subordinators

Words that connect conjuncts with different functions are subordinators. The two subordinators, *kɔ/* and *ma/|ra/|mɛ/* introduce the clause that shows either result or reason. See the examples below.

(68) *pə/|mo/ pla/ jə/ vaŋ/ kɔ/ t<sup>h</sup>aŋ/ aŋ/ maŋ/|o/*  
*girl clf not clean so.that ascend eat wrong*  
 N CLF NEG ADJ SUB.CONJ V V ADJ  
 ‘The girl is inappropriate to sacrifice.’ (Lit: The girl was not clean so that the spirit ate inappropriately.)

(69) *pla/|bə/|ta/ jə/ pɛŋ/ ma/|ra/|mɛ/ jə/ ŋbi/ lo/|kaŋ/*  
*children not feeling-well because not sacrifice spirit*  
 N NEG V SUB.CONJ NEG V N  
 ‘Children are not feeling well because (the villagers) do not sacrifice to the spirit.’

In the example (68), the subordinator connects the two clauses where the one is the result of the other. In example (69) the the two clauses are connected by the subordinator while the one is the reason of the other.

Also no conjunction only juxtaposition, can also be used to connect the two elements. In example (70) no conjunction is used to connect the two clauses.

- (70) *plu˧ plu˧ so˧ sə˧ŋwɛ˧ ba˧ vaŋ˧ ta˧pi˧ ba˧*  
*child clf take chair clf hit fly clf*  
 N CLF V N CLF V N CLF  
 ‘The child took the chair then hit the fly.’

### 3.2.6 Localizers and prepositions

Localizers provide specific location information. In Kayan Lahta, localizers appear at the end of locational phrases.

Frame for localizers:

[NP LOCZR]

- (71) *tʰu˧ ba˧ o˧ θaŋ˧ ʃə˧*  
*bird clf exist tree on*  
 N CLF V N LOCZR  
 ‘The bird is on the tree.’

- (72) *jeŋ˧ o˧ kə˧llaŋ˧ kuʔ˧*  
*rice exist plate inside*  
 N V N LOCZR  
 ‘The rice is inside the plate.’

- (73) *mje˧ dəʔ˧ o˧ tə˧maŋ˧ la˧*  
*cat clf exist basket under*  
 N CLF V N LOCZR  
 ‘The cat is under the basket.’

These three examples show the localizers in Kayan Lahta.

Kayan Lahta has only three prepositions. Two prepositions *də˧* or *ba˧* can co-occur with a localizer in a locational phrase to indicate the location. They precede the locational phrase and follow the verb. Example (71) and example (74) have the same in meaning.

- (74) *tʰu˧ ba˧ o˧ də˧ θaŋ˧ ʃə˧*  
*bird clf exist prep tree on*  
 N CLF V PREP N LOCZR  
 ‘The bird is on the tree.’

Or

<i>tʰu</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>θaŋ</i>	<i>ʃə</i>
<i>bird</i>	<i>clf</i>	<i>exist</i>	<i>prep</i>	<i>tree</i>	<i>on</i>
N	CLF	V	PREP	N	LOCZR

‘The bird is on the tree.’

Similar to example (74), *də* or *ba* can occur in examples (72) and (73), before the locational phrases and after the verbs. The third preposition *də* is used for instruments and accompaniment. It is discussed more in section 5.3.3.7.

### 3.2.7 Topic marker

*mɛ* is a topic marker which specifies what argument is the old information. The topic marker marks the topic in a sentence. In example below, the topic *ŋə* *sʰə*-*tə* *kla* is marked by the topic marker, *mɛ*. It is ungrammatical to mark the complement as in example (77).

(75)	<i>ŋə</i>	<i>sʰə</i> - <i>tə</i>	<i>kla</i>	<i>mɛ</i>	<i>sə</i> / <i>kaŋ</i>
	<i>sleep</i>	<i>dark</i>	<i>inside</i>	<i>top</i>	<i>afraid</i>
	V	ADJ	LOCZR	TOP	V

‘Sleeping in the dark makes me afraid.’

(76)	* <i>sə</i> / <i>kaŋ</i>	<i>mɛ</i>	<i>ŋə</i>	<i>sʰə</i> - <i>tə</i>	<i>kla</i>
	<i>afraid</i>	<i>top</i>	<i>sleep</i>	<i>dark</i>	<i>inside</i>
	V	TOP	V	ADJ	LOCZR

‘Sleeping in the dark makes me afraid.’

The topic marker can not occur between head noun and adjective in a noun phrase. In example (77) the whole noun phrase is marked by a topic marker. It is ungrammatical for the topic marker to insert the head noun and the adjective as in example (78).

(77)	<i>sʰaŋ</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>də</i> ?	<i>mɛ</i>	<i>bə</i> / <i>u</i>	<i>lwaŋ</i>	<i>ŋi</i>
	<i>elephant</i>	<i>big</i>	<i>clf</i>	<i>top</i>	<i>PaO</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>get</i>
	N	ADJ	CLF	TOP	N.PROP	V	V

‘The big elephant was hunted by PaO.’

(78)	* <i>sʰaŋ</i>	<i>mɛ</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>də</i> ?	<i>bə</i> / <i>u</i>	<i>lwaŋ</i>	<i>ŋi</i>
	<i>elephant</i>	<i>top</i>	<i>big</i>	<i>clf</i>	<i>PaO</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>get</i>
	N	TOP	ADJ	CLF	N.PROP	V	V

‘The big elephant was hunted by PaO.’

Example (79) is the clearest example as the pronoun *naʔ* is resumed after *mɛʔ*.

(79)	<i>naʔ</i>	<i>mɛʔ</i>	<i>naʔ</i>	<i>səʔkaŋʔ</i>	<i>kʰiʔʔ</i>
	<i>1s</i>	<i>top</i>	<i>1s</i>	<i>afraid</i>	<i>tiger</i>
	PRO	TOP	PRO	V	N

‘I am afraid of a tiger.’

### 3.3 Conclusion

This chapter discussed many of the word classes in Kayan Lahta. The word classes were divided into two groups: major word class and minor word class. In the first section, major word class including nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs were discussed. The minor word classes: pronouns, classifiers, demonstratives, numbers, quantifiers, conjunction, localizers and prepositions were then discussed in another section.

## Chapter 4

### Noun Phrase

This chapter focuses on different types of noun phrases. It will describe how nouns and other constituents are structured within noun phrases.

#### 4.1 Noun Phrase

A noun phrase only requires a noun in Kayan Lahta. Demonstratives, possessive pronouns, quantifiers, classifiers, numbers and adjective are optional. It is most natural for a noun to be followed by classifier in Kayan Lahta. There can be more than one adjective in a noun phrase.

The noun phrase schema in Kayan Lahta is:

**[(NP<sub>poss</sub>) N (REL CL) (ADJ Phrase)\* (DEM) (QNT) (NUM) (CLF)]<sub>N</sub>**

**[ADJ (INTS)]<sub>AP</sub>**

In this noun phrase structure rule, the noun is the head of the noun phrase and all other elements are optional. The head noun can be preceded by a possessive noun phrase and followed by an adjective, demonstrative, quantifier or classifier. Example (81) shows a complex noun phrase in Kayan Lahta.

(80)	<i>naʔ</i>	<i>ʃaʔʔ</i>	<i>piʔ</i>	<i>doʔ</i>	<i>sʰuʔ</i>	<i>baʔ</i>
	<i>1s</i>	<i>chicken</i>	<i>small</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>six</i>	<i>clf</i>
	POSS	N	ADJ	DEM	QNT	CLF
	‘those six small chickens of mine’					

In this structure, *ʃaʔʔ* ‘chicken’ is the head of the noun phrase. It is preceded by the possessive pronoun *naʔ* ‘my’ and modified by the adjective *piʔ* ‘small’, demonstrative pronoun *doʔ* ‘that’, quantifier *sʰuʔ* ‘six’ and classifier.

Seven noun phrase structures are shown below. Each sentence represents a different noun phrase structure.

### Noun phrase structure 1

[N]<sub>NP</sub>

(81) *jəŋʃ*

*rice-cooked*

N

‘rice-cooked’

In this structure, a single noun functions as a noun phrase. The noun is a head of the noun phrase.

### Noun phrase structure 2

[N CLF]<sub>NP</sub>

(82) *ʃwiʃ*      *dəʔʃ*

*dog*      *clf*

N

CLF

‘a/the dog’

In this structure, the noun precedes the classifier. The noun is the head of the noun phrase. In informal speech, it is more natural for a noun to be followed by classifier than to have a bare noun.

### Noun phrase structure 3

[N NUM CLF]<sub>NP</sub>

(83) *jəŋʃ*      *lwiʃ*      *maʃ*

*house*      *four*      *clf*

N

NUM

CLF

‘four houses’

Another structure of the noun phrase is shown in example (83). In this structure, a noun is followed by number and classifier.

### Noun phrase structure 4

[N ADJ NUM CLF]<sub>NP</sub>

(84) *jəŋʃ*      *duʃ*      *lwiʃ*      *maʃ*

*house*      *big*      *four*      *clf*

N

ADJ

NUM

CLF

‘four big houses’

In this noun phrase structure, the noun head is followed by the adjective, number and classifier.

Noun phrase structure 5

[N<sub>poss</sub> ADJ NUM CLF]<sub>NP</sub>

(85) *na˧*      *jəŋ˧*      *du˧*      *lwi˧*      *ma˧*  
*1s*      *house*      *big*      *four*      *clf*  
 POSS      N      ADJ      NUM      CLF  
 ‘my four big houses’

In this noun phrase, *jəŋ˧* ‘house’ is a head and it is modified by an adjective *du˧* ‘big’. So it is called modified noun phrase.

Noun phrase structure 6

[N *tə˧*-NUM]<sub>NP</sub>

The morpheme, *tə˧* is used as a classifier for people and it attaches to the number. Different from other noun phrase structures, this classifier precedes the number in a noun phrase. This structure is used in informal speech.

(86) *pla˧*      *tə˧-lwi˧*  
*people*      *clf-people*  
 N      CLF-NUM  
 ‘four people’

Noun phrase structure 7

[N ADJ DEM NUM CLF]<sub>NP</sub>

(87) *jəŋ˧*      *du˧*      *jə˧do˧*      *lwi˧*      *ma˧*  
*house*      *big*      *that*      *four*      *clf*  
 N      ADJ      DEM      NUM      CLF  
 ‘that four big houses’

Adjective, demonstrative, number and classifier are included in this structure and they all follow the head noun.

### 4.1.1 Head Noun

A noun is typically the head of the noun phrase. A single noun can function as a noun phrase in the sentence.

- (88) *p<sup>h</sup>a˧*      *pe˧*      *ne˧ŋ˧*  
father      cut      leaf  
N            V            N  
‘The father cuts the leaf.’

- (89) *pla˧˧bə˧˧ta˧*      *s<sup>h</sup>aŋ˧˧s<sup>h</sup>a˧˧*      *t<sup>h</sup>u˧*      *ba˧*  
child                  sell                  bird      clf  
N                      V                      N          CLF  
‘The child sells a bird.’

In examples (88) and (89), *p<sup>h</sup>a˧* ‘father’ and *pla˧˧bə˧˧ta˧* ‘child’ are single nouns that are noun phrases in the sentences and they are the heads of noun phrases. They also function as the subject in both examples.

- (90) *mu˧*      *də˧*      *la˧ʔ˧*      *k<sup>h</sup>a˧*  
sun          and      moon      shine  
N            CONJ    N          V  
‘The sun and the moon shine.’

In example (90), the two nouns *mu˧* ‘sun’ and *la˧ʔ˧* ‘moon’ are connected by the coordinate conjunction *də˧* ‘and’. In this noun phrase structure, both nouns are the heads of the subject noun phrase.

- (91) *plu˧*      *pla˧*      *aŋ˧*      *jɛŋ˧*  
child      clf      eat      rice-cooked  
N          CLF    V          N  
‘The child eats rice.’

In example (91), single noun, *jɛŋ˧* ‘rice’ is the head of the noun and it functions as the object in this sentence.



#### 4.1.1.1 Proper noun

A proper noun can be a head noun in a noun phrase. In (92) and (93), the two proper nouns *aiʔʔ* and *k<sup>h</sup>uʔ* occur as a single noun in each sentence in noun phrase positions. They are the head nouns of each noun phrases. They function as the subjects of the sentences.

(92)	<i>a<sup>i</sup>ʔʔ</i>	<i>s<sup>h</sup>aŋ-ʔs<sup>h</sup>a-ʔ</i>	<i>t<sup>h</sup>uʔ</i>	<i>baʔ</i>
	<i>Ai</i>	<i>sell</i>	<i>bird</i>	<i>clf</i>
	N.PROP	V	N	CLF
	‘Ai sells a bird.’			

(93)	<i>k<sup>h</sup>uʔ</i>	<i>pe-ʔ</i>	<i>ne<sup>h</sup>ŋʔ</i>
	<i>Khu</i>	<i>cut</i>	<i>leaf</i>
	N.PROP	V	N
	‘Khu cuts the leaf.’		

In example (94), the proper noun, *bəʔ.uʔ* ‘Pa O’ functions as the object.

(94)	<i>jəʔ</i>	<i>p<sup>h</sup>iʔ</i>	<i>aŋʔ</i>	<i>bəʔ.uʔ</i>
	<i>not</i>	<i>give</i>	<i>eat</i>	<i>PaO</i>
	NEG	V	V	N.PROP
	‘(Kayan) do not give Pa O to eat.’			

#### 4.1.1.2 Pronoun

In a sentence, the head noun can be a pronoun. It can be modified by an adjective or classifier or number. The follow examples show the pronouns that function as heads.

(95)	<i>na-ʔ</i>	<i>pjan-ʔ</i>	<i>təʔmaŋʔ</i>	<i>ma-ʔ</i>
	<i>1s</i>	<i>weave</i>	<i>basket</i>	<i>clf</i>
	PRO	V	N	CLF
	‘I weave a basket.’			

(96)	<i>na-ʔ</i>	<i>ŋəʔmaŋʔ</i>	<i>ve-ʔ</i>
	<i>1s</i>	<i>dream</i>	<i>2s</i>
	PRO	V	PRO
	‘I dream of you.’		

In the above examples, there is a single pronoun in a noun phrase in each example and they are the heads of the noun phrases in each sentence. They function as subjects and an object.

- (97) *mpla* *l**do* *jəŋ* *pl**a* *o* *lə**kwa* *lo* *jəŋ* *ku*?
- 3pl* *two* *clf* *exist* *together* *house* *in*
- PRO NUM CLF V ADJ N LOCZR
- ‘The two of them live together in a house.’

In example (97) a pronoun *mpla* *l**do* ‘they’ is modified by a number *jəŋ* ‘two’ and a classifier *pl**a* ‘person’.

#### 4.1.2 Possessive Noun Phrase

In Kayan Lahta, a possessive appears at the beginning of the noun phrase preceding the head noun.

The following examples use possessive pronouns in a noun phrases.

- (98) *mpla* *jəŋ* *mɛ* *du*
- 3s* *house* *top* *big*
- POSS N TOP ADJ
- ‘His house is big.’

- (99) *na* *p<sup>h</sup>a* *s<sup>h</sup>aŋ* *s<sup>h</sup>a* *tə**lmaŋ*
- 1s* *father* *sell* *basket*
- POSS N V N
- ‘My father sells basket.’

In example (98) and (99), the possessive pronouns *mpla* ‘3s’ and *na* ‘1s’ precede the head nouns *jəŋ* ‘house’ and *p<sup>h</sup>a* ‘father’. In these two examples, the head nouns are *jəŋ* ‘house’ and *p<sup>h</sup>a* ‘father’.

- (100) *fwi* *kə**lmi* *mɛ* *lə*
- dog* *tail* *top* *long*
- N N TOP ADJ
- ‘The dog’s tail is long.’

In the example (101), two nouns, *fwi* ‘dog’ and *kə**lmi* ‘tail’ can be seen in a noun phrase position. In this noun phrase, the first noun *fwi* ‘dog’ functions as the possessive noun. The second noun, *kə**lmi* ‘tail’ is the head of the noun phrase. In

this example, the adjective *long* modifies the noun *kəʎmiʎ* ‘tail’ instead of *fwiʎ* ‘dog’. The possessive is a full noun phrase in example (101).

- (101) *plaʎ jaʎ veʎ liʎ əʎ-beiŋʎ plaʎ ə-fwiʎ kəʎmiʎ mɛʎ ləʎ*  
*person give 2s book one-clf clf dog tail top long*  
 N V PRO N NUM-CLF CLF N N TOP ADJ  
 ‘The dog’s tail of person who gives me a book is long.’  
 (Lit. The person who gives me a book’s dog’s tail is long.)

### 4.1.3 Adjective

An adjective modifies the head noun and it directly follows the head noun. There can be more than one adjective in a noun phrase and they all modify the head noun in a sentence.

- (102) *jəŋʎ duʎ*  
*house big*  
 N ADJ  
 ‘a/the big house’

- (103) *təʎmaŋʎ piʎ*  
*basket small*  
 N ADJ  
 ‘a/the small basket’

In example (102) and example (103) *jəŋʎ* and *təʎmaŋʎ* are the heads of the noun phrases *jəŋʎ duʎ* and *təʎmaŋʎ piʎ*. The two adjectives *duʎ* and *piʎ* modify the head nouns in the two noun phrases

- (104) *jəŋʎ loʎŋʎ duʎ*  
*house black big*  
 N ADJ ADJ  
 ‘a/the big black house’

- (105) *fwiʎ kəʎmiʎ əʎləʎ*  
*dog tail long*  
 N N ADJ  
 ‘a/the dog’s long tail’

In example (104) both the adjectives *lo<sup>u</sup>ŋ* and *du* modify the head noun *jəŋ* in the noun phrase. In example (105), there are two nouns in the noun phrase. The first noun *ʃwi* ‘dog’ functions as the possessive noun and the second noun *kə.mi* ‘tail’ is the head of the noun phrase. In this example, the adjective *ə.lə* ‘long’ modifies the head noun *kə.mi* ‘tail’, not the possessive noun *ʃwi* ‘dog’.

(106) *jəŋ*      *lo<sup>u</sup>ŋ*    *du*      *me<sup>i</sup>.l<sup>h</sup>ə*  
*house*    *black*   *big*    *very*  
 N          ADJ    ADJ    ADJ  
 ‘a very big black house’

Example (106) shows that two adjectives, *lo<sup>u</sup>ŋ* ‘black’ and *du* ‘big’ are modified by an intensifier *me<sup>i</sup>.l<sup>h</sup>ə* ‘very’.

#### 4.1.4 Demonstratives

Demonstratives indicate where the noun is located. In a noun phrase, demonstratives are always used with classifiers. They follow the adjectives as in example (107), In this noun phrase it follows the adjective and it is used with the classifier phrase.

(107) *s<sup>h</sup>aŋ*              *du*    *jə.də*   *lwi*    *də?*  
*elephant*        *big*    *that*    *four*    *clf*  
 N                  ADJ    DEM    NUM    CLF  
 ‘Those four big elephant’

The demonstrative directly follows the head noun if there is no adjective that modifies the noun as in example (108).

(108) *s<sup>h</sup>aŋ*              *jə.də*   *lwi*    *də?*  
*elephant*        *that*    *four*    *clf*  
 N                  DEM    NUM    CLF  
 ‘Those four elephants’

#### 4.1.5 Quantifiers

In grammar, quantifiers indicate a quantity. In Kayan Lahta, quantifiers are used to indicate the number or amount of the noun in a noun phrase. They can occur with adjectives or demonstratives but they never occur with a classifier. In a noun phrase where the demonstrative or adjective are absent, the quantifiers directly follow the head noun.

(109) *jəŋɹ*      *mɲaɹ*  
*house*      *some*  
 N            QNT  
 ‘some houses’

(110) *jəŋɹ*      *jəɹdoɹ*      *luɹ*  
*house*      *these*      *all*  
 N            DEM      QNT  
 ‘these all houses’

In example (109) the quantifier directly occurs after the head noun and it occurs after the demonstrative in example (110).

#### 4.1.6 Number

In Kayan Lahta, numbers are used to indicate amount of the noun in a noun phrase. They must co-occur with a classifier. In a noun phrase, they can optionally occur with adjectives. The numbers directly follow the head noun where the adjective is absent.

(111) *mɲplaɹ*      *ʃoɹ*      *ʃəɹɹ*      *s<sup>h</sup>uɹ*      *baŋɹ*  
*3s*            *bring*      *water*      *eight*      *clf*  
 PRO        V            N            NUM      CLF  
 ‘She brings eight glasses of water.’

#### 4.1.7 Classifier

In Kayan Lahta, classifiers mostly occur with a numeral. They can occur with demonstrative adjectives. Sometimes the classifiers directly follow the head noun.

Frame for classifiers in Kayan Lahta:

##### N (NUM) CLF

The examples below show some classifiers that are associated with different word categories.

(112) *pəɹmoɹ*      *lwiɹ*      *plaɹ*  
*woman*            *four*      *clf*  
 N                    NUM      CLF  
 ‘four women’

Kayan Lahta has different types of numeral classifiers and each has unique semantic and distributional properties see section (3.2.2).

Sometimes, classifiers directly follow the head noun in informal speech when the number is omitted. It is natural in Kayan Lahta to mention a single noun with only a classifier and it denotes the number one. Not every noun is directly followed by a classifier. The nouns that present human beings and animals are most often directly follow by a classifier.

(113) *fwi* | *dəʔ*  
*dog* | *clf*  
 N | CLF  
 ‘a/the dog’ or ‘one dog’

(114) *plu* | *pla*  
*child* | *clf*  
 N | CLF  
 ‘a/the child’ or ‘one child’

In examples (113) and (114) no number or demonstrative is found between the head noun and the classifier. But it denotes number one. Therefore, it means ‘one dog’ in example (113) and ‘one child’ in (114).

## 4.2 Adpositional phrases and relative clauses

Adpositional phrases do not modify nouns inside a noun phrase in Kayan Lahta. Instead relative clauses are used. Adpositional clauses are discussed more in section 5.3.3.

Relative clauses often contain an adpositional phrase. They are introduced with *də* which is also used as a generic preposition. But *də* is optional and it can be omitted.

(115) *kə* | *laŋ* | (*də*) | *o* | *də* | *koŋ* | *k<sup>h</sup>u* | *ba* | *p<sup>h</sup>aʔ*  
*plate* | *rel* | *exist* | *prep* | *chair* | *on* | *clf* | *break*  
 N | REL | V | PREP | N | LOCZR | CLF | V

‘The plate on the chair is broken.’ (Lit. The plate that is on the chair.)

(116) *fwi* | (*də*) | *o* | *me* | *t<sup>h</sup>aŋ* | *ba* | *e<sup>h</sup>ŋ* | *na*  
*dog* | *rel* | *exist* | *tooth* | *sharp* | *clf* | *bite* | *3s*  
 N | REL | V | N | ADJ | CLF | V | PRO

‘The dog with sharp teeth bites me.’ (Lit. The dog that has sharp teeth.)

The preposition *dəʔ* can alternate with *baʔ* but the relative clause use of *dəʔ* cannot be substituted with *baʔ*.

(117)	<i>kəʔlaŋʔ</i>	<i>*(baʔ)</i>	<i>oʔ</i>	<i>baʔ</i>	<i>koŋʔ</i>	<i>kʰuʔ</i>	<i>baʔ</i>	<i>pʰaʔʔ</i>
	<i>plate</i>	<i>prep</i>	<i>exist</i>	<i>prep</i>	<i>chair</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>clf</i>	<i>break</i>
	N	PREP	V	PREP	N	LOCZR	CLF	V

‘The plate on the chair is broken.’

(118)	<i>fwiʔ</i>	<i>oʔ</i>	<i>*(baʔ)</i>	<i>meʔʔ</i>	<i>tʰaŋʔ</i>	<i>baʔ</i>	<i>eʔŋʔ</i>	<i>naʔ</i>
	<i>dog</i>	<i>exist</i>	<i>prep</i>	<i>teech</i>	<i>sharp</i>	<i>clf</i>	<i>bite</i>	<i>3s</i>
	N	V	PREP	N	ADJ	CLF	V	PRO

‘The dog with sharp teeth bites me.’

### 4.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, the noun phrase, appositional and relative were mainly discussed. Noun phrase head, possessives, adjectives, demonstratives, quantifiers, numbers and classifiers were also presented. Noun phrase head included proper nouns and pronouns.

# Chapter 5

## Simple Clauses

### 5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the simple clause structure of Kayan Lahta. In Kayan Lahta, sentences can be divided into two types: non-verbal clauses and verbal clauses. Non-verbal clauses are subdivided into equative-like clauses, locative clauses, existential clauses, clausal possessions and quantifications. Verbal clauses include intransitive clauses, transitive clauses, motion clauses and ditransitive clauses.

### 5.2 Basic structure of clause

A sentence can be made up of at least one and optionally more than one clause. A clause can stand as a complete sentence and is usually independent.

The linear order of elements in a clause can be represented as below:

$(NP_{SUB}) V (NP_{IOBJ})(NP_{OBJ})(PP)$

In this structure, the first noun phrase is the subject of the clause. The second noun phrase is the indirect object and the third noun phrase is the direct object. The simplest clause is composed by only a predicate since (V) is always obligatory in every clause.

Examples below are the simple sentences that consist of one simple independent clause.

(119) *ηplaʔ ηəʔ*  
3s sleep  
PRO V  
'He sleeps.'

(120) *naʔ ηəiηʔ*  
1s cry  
PRO V  
'I cry'



Two independent clauses can be connected by conjunction as in (124). In this example, there are two simple independent clauses *tə|piː| ba| jəː|* ‘the fly flew’ and *pʰaː| pla| sʰaŋʔ| ləː|* ‘the father saw (the fly)’ and they are connected by the conjunction *də|* ‘and’.

(121)	<i>tə piː </i>	<i>ba </i>	<i>jəː </i>	<i>də </i>	<i>pʰaː </i>	<i>pla </i>	<i>sʰaŋʔ </i>	<i>ləː </i>	
	<i>fly</i>	<i>clf</i>	<i>fly</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>father</i>	<i>clf</i>	<i>look</i>	<i>see</i>	
	N	CLF	V	CONJ	N	CLF	V	V	

‘The fly flew and the father saw (it).’

Two clauses also can be connected by the conjunction *kɔː|* ‘after that’ as in example below shows.

(122)	<i>o </i>	<i>ŋəː </i>	<i>lo </i>	<i>soːŋ </i>	<i>kʰu </i>	<i>kɔː </i>	<i>lwaŋ </i>	<i>ta ŋəiŋ </i>	
	<i>exist</i>	<i>sleep</i>	<i>together</i>	<i>mountain</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>then</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>hunting</i>	
	V	V	ADV	N	LOCZR	CO.CONJ	V	N	

‘Sleep together on the mountain, after that go hunting.’

In example (122) the two clauses *o| ŋəː| lo| soːŋ| kʰu|* ‘sleep together on the mountain’ and *lwaŋ| ta|ŋəiŋ|* ‘go hunting’ are connected by the conjunction *kɔː|* ‘then’. In this sentence, the subject is omitted.

## 5.3 Clause Types

In Kayan Lahta, clause types can be separated into non-verbal clauses and verbal clauses.

### 5.3.1 Non-verbal clauses

Non-verbal clauses are composed by a noun phrase followed by an optional copula and a complement. When a copula appears, it is used to link the subject to the object or complement. Five subtypes of non-verbal clauses: attributive clause, equative clause, existential clause, clausal possession and quantification are found in Kayan Lahta.

#### 5.3.1.1 Attributive clauses

‘*mɛ|*’ is used in a manner that looks like a verb in some sentences in Kayan Lahta shown as in examples (126) and (127). In this kind of sentence, the adjective functions as a complement.

(123) əʃ      p<sup>h</sup>uʔʃ    plaʃ    mɛʃ    blaʃ  
 3s      son    clf    TOP    lazy  
 POSS    N      CLF    TOP    ADJ  
 ‘His son is lazy.’

(124) s<sup>h</sup>aŋʃ    dəʔʃ    fwaŋʔʃ    mɛʃ    duʃ  
 elephant    clf    feather    top    big  
 N            CLF    N            TOP    ADJ  
 ‘The elephant feather is big.’

However, I will interpret ‘mɛʃ’ as a topic marker rather than a full verb based on the following examples.

(125) əʃ      p<sup>h</sup>uʔʃ    plaʃ    mɛʃ    jəʃ    blaʃ  
 3s      son    clf    top    not    lazy  
 POSS    N      CLF    TOP    NEG    ADJ  
 ‘The son is not lazy.’

(126) fwaŋʔʃ      mɛʃ    jəʃ    duʃ  
 feather      top    not    big  
 N              TOP    NEG    ADJ  
 ‘Elephant’s feather is not big.’

In the two examples (125) and (126), only the adjectives can be negated, not mɛʃ. This indicates that ‘mɛʃ’ is more likely part of the NP and not a copula.

### 5.3.1.2 Equative clauses

Equative clauses identify two noun phrases as denoting the same individual. A copula *mwa<sup>i</sup>ʃ* is used to link the two noun phrases in equative clauses in Kayan Lahta. Equative clauses have two main meanings: that two individuals are the same or that the noun phrase subject entity is a member of a set. See (128), (129) and (130).

(127) mplaʃ    mwa<sup>i</sup>ʃ    ʃaʃ    p<sup>h</sup>aʃ  
 3s      is      1s    father  
 PRO    COP    POSS    N  
 ‘He is my father.’

The topic marker ‘mɛʃ’ can co-occur with the copula ‘mwa<sup>i</sup>ʃ’ in equative clause as in example (128) or the copula can be omitted as in example (129). To change an

affirmative sentence into negative sentence, the copula *mwa<sup>i</sup>* ‘is’ can be negated, not the topic marker *mɛ*, see (130).

(128) *p<sup>h</sup>uʔ* *pla* *mɛ* *mwa<sup>i</sup>* *pla* *bla*  
*son* *clf* *top* *is* *human* *lazy*  
 N CLF TOP COP CLF ADJ  
 ‘The son is a lazy one.’

(129) *p<sup>h</sup>uʔ* *pla* *mɛ* *pla* *bla*  
*son* *clf* *top* *human* *lazy*  
 N CLF TOP CLF ADJ  
 ‘The son is a lazy one.’

(130) *p<sup>h</sup>uʔ* *pla* *mɛ* *jə* *mwa<sup>i</sup>* *pla* *bla*  
*son* *clf* *top* *not* *is* *human* *lazy*  
 N CLF TOP NEG COP CLF ADJ  
 ‘The son is not a lazy one.’

### 5.3.1.3 Existential clauses

An existential clause expresses the existence of an entity. The verb *o* is used in existential clauses.

Existential clause structure:

Noun Phrase + ‘*o*’ forms an existential clause, as in (131).

(131) *mwə* *mə*/*kaŋ* *o*  
*spirit* *festival* *exist*  
 N N V  
 ‘There is a Spirit festival.’

### 5.3.1.4 Clausal possession

In next two examples, clausal possession also occurs when *o* follows the two noun phrases. One noun phrase is the possessor and the second noun phrase is the possessed. In this case, *o* is considered to be a copula and not a full verb.

(132) *na* *jəŋ* *o*  
*1s* *house* *exist*  
 PRO N V  
 ‘I have a house.’

(133) *k<sup>h</sup>u˧ ma˧ o˧*  
*Khu wife exist*  
 N.PROP N V  
 ‘Khu has a wife.’

Different from example (131), *o˧* can be a full verb and it has the meaning ‘live’ or ‘stay’ in example (134).

(134) *la˧ mə˧kə˧s<sup>h</sup>a˧ʔ˧ k<sup>h</sup>a˧ p<sup>h</sup>a˧ də˧ p<sup>h</sup>u˧ʔ˧ o˧ lo*  
*time long-ago when father and son live together*  
 TIME ADV TIME N CONJ N V ADJ  
 ‘Long ago, the father and the son lived together.’

### 5.3.1.5 Quantification prediction

Quantity can be expressed by a combination of number and classifier which is separated from the subject NP by *o˧*.

(135) *ɲa˧ p<sup>h</sup>u˧ʔ˧ o˧ ɲəŋ˧ pla˧*  
*1s son exist two clf*  
 POSS N V NUM CLF  
 ‘I have two sons.’

(136) *ɲa˧ jəŋ˧ o˧ ɲəŋ˧ ma˧*  
*1s house exist two clf*  
 POSS N V NUM CLF  
 ‘I have two houses.’

### 5.3.2 Verbal clauses

In verbal clauses, different clause types can be distinguished based on transitivity. They are based on the number of arguments.

**Table 21 Verbal clauses in Kayan Lahta**

Clause Types		SUBJ	OBJ1	OBJ2	OBL
Verbal	transitive	✓	✓		
	intransitive	✓			
	motion	✓			✓
	ditransitive	✓	✓	✓	

### 5.3.2.1 Intransitive clause

An intransitive clause is distinguished from other clauses by the absence of an object. In this clause structure, the noun phrase can be an agent or a patient. This is the simplest clause structure in Kayan Lahta.

The basic structure of the intransitive clause is:

[NP<sub>agent/patient</sub> V<sub>Complex</sub>]

The examples below show an intransitive clause. The subject functions as a patient in example (139) and functions as an agent in example (137). In (138) *o* is an aspect marker and not a copula or full verb.

(137) *plaʔbəʔtaʔ jəʔ pʰuʔjaʔ dəʔ ʃəʔ*  
*child not feel.well and die*  
 N NEG V CONJ V  
 ‘The child is not feeling well and died.’

(138) *plaʔ qoʔtaʔ oʔ naŋʔ*  
*person many on.going sit*  
 N QNT ASP V  
 ‘Many people are sitting.’

In the example (137) the noun *plaʔbəʔtaʔ* is followed by the verbs *pʰuʔjaʔ* and *ʃəʔ*, connected by the conjunction *dəʔ*. The noun phrase *plaʔbəʔtaʔ* is the subject in this clause and the verb *pʰuʔjaʔ* and *ʃəʔ* are the verbs of the clause.

The next two examples are predicate adjectives which are also intransitive.

- (139) *fwi* | *kə* | *mi* | *ə* | *lə* |  
*dog* | *tail* | *long*  
 N | N | ADJ  
 ‘The dog’s tail is long.’

- (140) *pla* | *pla* | *bə* | *ta* | *lə* |  
*human* | *child* | *fat*  
 CLF | N | ADJ  
 ‘The child is fat.’

### 5.3.2.2 Transitive clause

A transitive clause is distinguished from other clauses by the presence of object argument. The basic transitive clause has two arguments: the subject argument and the object argument.

The basic structure of the transitive clause is:

[NP<sub>SUB</sub> V NP<sub>OBJ</sub>]

The sentences below show examples of transitive clauses. Serial verbs (V V sequences) are treated as a single predicate in this discussion.

- (141) *plu* | *pla* | *aŋ* | *jeŋ* |  
*child* | *clf* | *eat* | *rice-cooked*  
 N | CLF | V | N  
 ‘The child ate cooked-rice.’

- (142) *plu* | *pla* | *lo* | *vaŋ* | *ta* | *pi* | *ba* |  
*child* | *clf* | *follow* | *hit* | *fly* | *clf*  
 N | CLF | V | V | N | CLF  
 ‘The child follows (and) hits the fly.’

- (143) *ka* | *jaŋ* | *lwaŋ* | *ni* | *te* | *ŋ* | *ba* | *də* | *tu* |  
*Kayan* | *go* | *get* | *porcupine* | *clf* | *in* | *forest*  
 N.PROP | V | V | N | CLF | PREP | N  
 ‘The Kayan got a porcupine in the forest.’

All the examples shown above take both the subjects and the objects. In the example (143) the preposition phrase follows the object.

### 5.3.2.3 Motion clause

The verbs in motion clauses are motion verbs. They usually take a subject argument without an object argument. A motion verb is usually followed by a goal phrase, which can be a noun phrase (144), (145) or a prepositional phrase (146) or nothing (147).

The basic structure of the motion clause is:

[NP VP<sub>GOAL</sub>]

(144) *mə.lhoʰʔl*    *lɛʔ*    *saʔkʰoŋʔ*    *qa*  
*yesterday*    *go*    *rice.field*    *s.f*  
 TIME            V        N            PRT  
 ‘Yesterday (I) went to the rice field.’

(145) *ta.lpiʔ*    *ba.l*            *laŋ*    *bə.l*    *baʔ*    *pla.l*    *plaʔbə.lta.l*    *sə.lŋoŋ.l*  
*fly*        *clf*        *descend*    *rest*    *on*    *clf*    *child*        *head*  
 N            CLF            V        V        PREP    CLF    N            N  
 ‘The fly rest down on the child’s head.’

(146) *ta.lpiʔ*    *ba.l*    *laŋ.l*            *bə.l*    *fwi.l*    *dəi.l*  
*fly*        *clf*        *descend*    *rest*    *dog*    *clf*  
 N            CLF    V            V        N        CLF  
 ‘The fly rest down on the dog.’

(147) *ta.lpiʔ*    *ba.l*    *jəʔ*  
*fly*        *clf*    *fly*  
 N            CLF    V  
 ‘The fly flew.’

### 5.3.2.4 Ditransitive clause

A ditransitive clause is distinguished from other clauses by the presence of two objects: direct object and indirect object. In this clause structure, the indirect object

directly occurs after the verb and it is followed by the direct object. They are not marked by any case or other markers.

The basic structure of a ditransitive clause is:

[NP<sub>SUB</sub> VP NP<sub>IOBJ</sub> NP<sub>OBJ</sub>]

(148) *tja* | *jəŋ* | *pla* | *ple* | *ve* | *faʔ* | *ba* |  
*owner* *house* *clf* *compensate* *3s* *chicken* *clf*  
 POSS N CLF V PRO N CLF  
 ‘The house owner compensated me a chicken.’

(149) *ka* | *jaŋʔ* | *jə* | *p<sup>h</sup>i* | *aŋ* | *bə* | *lu* | *te* | *ŋ* | *ba* |  
*Kayan* *not* *give* *eat* *PaO* *porcupine* *clf*  
 N.PROP NEG V V N.PROP N CLF  
 ‘The Kayan did not give the Pa O a porcupine to eat.’

(150) *bə* | *lu* | *p<sup>h</sup>i* | *aŋ* | *ka* | *jaŋʔ* | *s<sup>h</sup>aŋ* | *da* | *ʔ* |  
*PaO* *give* *eat* *Kayan* *elephant* *clf*  
 N.PROP V V N.PROP N CLF  
 ‘The Pa O gave the Kayan an elephant to eat.’

(151) *ŋ* | *pla* | *ja* | *ve* | *li* | *a* | *bei* | *ŋ* |  
*3s* *give* *1s* *book* *one* *clf*  
 PRO V PRO V NUM CLF  
 ‘He/she gave me a book.’

All the examples above indicate ditransitive clauses that consist of a subject noun phrase, a verb and two objects: direct and indirect. In all the examples, the indirect objects are directly followed by the direct object and they are preceded by the verb. The order of the post verbal NPs in a ditransitive clause cannot be reversed.



## 5.4 Semantic Roles and Relationships

This section describes the coding of some semantic relationships in Kayan Lahta.

### 5.4.1 Agent

An agent carries out the action of the situation. It is the cause of the event. The agent can be marked by topic marker *mɛʃ*. Sometimes, the topic marker can be omitted with no meaning change. The agent can be a pronoun or a noun. Important agent arguments always appear as subjects.

(152)	<i>p<sup>h</sup>aʔ</i>	<i>plaʃ</i>	<i>vaŋʃ</i>	<i>fwiʃ</i>	<i>dəʔʃ</i>
	<i>father</i>	<i>clf</i>	<i>hit</i>	<i>dog</i>	<i>clf</i>
	N	CLF	V	N	CLF

‘The father hit the dog.’

In example (155), a subject ‘father’ is the agent that carries the action of hitting dog. In (156) the dog is the agent.

(153)	<i>fwiʃ</i>	<i>dəʔʃ</i>	<i>e<sup>i</sup>ŋʔ</i>	<i>p<sup>h</sup>aʔ</i>	<i>plaʃ</i>
	<i>dog</i>	<i>clf</i>	<i>bite</i>	<i>father</i>	<i>clf</i>
	N	CLF	V	N	CLF

‘The dog bites the father.’

### 5.4.2 Experiencer

An experiencer is less connected to subject position but if there is an object, then the experiencer is the subject.

(154)	<i>naʔ</i>	<i>səʃkaŋʔ</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>iʔʃ</i>
	<i>1s</i>	<i>afraid</i>	<i>tiger</i>
	PRO	V	N

‘I am afraid of tigers.’

(155)	<i>k<sup>h</sup>iʔʃ</i>	<i>səʃkaŋʔ</i>	<i>naʔ</i>
	<i>tiger</i>	<i>afraid</i>	<i>2s</i>
	N	V	PRO

‘The tiger is afraid of me.’

### 5.4.3 Patient

A patient is the participant of a situation upon whom an action is carried out. The patient argument appears as an object that directly follows an action verb and there is no marker between verb and patient in Kayan Lahta. Similar to agent, the patient can be a pronoun or a noun. It cannot appear after an oblique but can appear after indirect object noun phrase. (See section 5.3.2.4)

(156) *veʔ        vaŋ        veʔ.naŋʔ*  
*Is        hit        myself*  
 PRO        V        RFLX  
 ‘I hit myself.’

(157) *məʔkaŋʔ kəʔhoʔŋʔ tʰaŋʔ        sʰaʔʔ pəʔmoʔ*  
*spirit        call        ascend        only        woman*  
 N        V        V        PRT        N  
 ‘The spirit call only woman.’

The patient argument can appear as a subject in an intransitive clause structure. See example (160).

(158) *plaʔbəʔtaʔ        jəʔ        pʰuʔjaʔ        dəʔ        ʃəʔ*  
*child        not        feeling-well        and        die*  
 N        NEG        V        CONJ        V  
 ‘The child is not feeling well and die.’

### 5.4.4 Location

In Kayan Lahta, a location gives information about a place. To express a location in Kayan Lahta, a localizer is combined with the noun. The preposition *dəʔ* or *baʔ* usually precedes a location phrase, but they can be omitted.

(159) *tʰuʔ        baʔ        oʔ        dəʔ        θaŋʔ        ʃəʔ*  
*bird        clf        exist        prep        tree        on*  
 N        CLF        V        PREP        N        LOCZR  
 ‘A bird is on the tree.’

Or

*tʰuʔ        baʔ        oʔ        baʔ        θaŋʔ        ʃəʔ*  
*bird        clf        exist        prep        tree        on*  
 N        CLF        V        PREP        N        LOCZR  
 ‘A bird is on the tree.’

In examples (162), the location, *θaŋʌʃəʔ* ‘on the tree’ gives the information of where the bird is. In this example, the location phrase *θaŋʌʃəʔ* ‘on the tree’ is connected by the preposition *dəʔ* or *baʔ*.

The preposition can be omitted as in example (160). Even though the preposition is omitted, the three examples (160), (161) and (162) have the same meaning as (159).

(160)	<i>tʰuʌ</i>	<i>baʌ</i>	<i>oʌ</i>	<i>θaŋʌʃəʔ</i>	<i>ʃəʔ</i>
	<i>bird</i>	<i>clf</i>	<i>exist</i>	<i>tree</i>	<i>on</i>
	N	CLF	V	N	LOCZR

‘A bird is on the tree.’

The following are examples of locations with different localizers in Kayan Lahta.

(161)	<i>naʔ</i>	<i>sʰaŋʔʌ</i>	<i>ləʔ</i>	<i>θaŋʌθaʌ</i>	<i>oʌ</i>	<i>təʌmaŋʌ</i>	<i>kuʔʌ</i>
	<i>Is</i>	<i>look</i>	<i>see</i>	<i>fruit</i>	<i>exist</i>	<i>basket</i>	<i>inside</i>
	PRO	V	V	N	V	N	LOCZR

‘I see the fruit is inside the basket.’

(162)	<i>naʔ</i>	<i>sʰaŋʔʌ</i>	<i>ləʔ</i>	<i>tʰuʌ</i>	<i>baʌ</i>	<i>oʌ</i>	<i>θaŋʌʃəʔ</i>	<i>ʃəʔ</i>
	<i>Is</i>	<i>look</i>	<i>see</i>	<i>bird</i>	<i>clf</i>	<i>exist</i>	<i>tree</i>	<i>on</i>
	PRO	V	V	N	CLF	V	N	LOCZR

‘I see the bird is on the tree.’

In the above examples, the localizer follows the noun and there are no preposition between the noun and the verb. It seems more natural in Kayan Lahta to omit the preposition.

Both preposition and localizer can also be omitted in a sentence. The example below shows a location and both preposition and localizer are omitted.

(163)	<i>oʌ</i>	<i>loʌ</i>	<i>doʰŋʌ</i>	<i>pəʌpaʌʌ</i>
	<i>live</i>	<i>together</i>	<i>village</i>	<i>PaPai</i>
	V	ADJ	N	N.PROP

‘Live together in the PaPai village.’

(164)	<i>plaʔbəʌʌ</i>	<i>ləʔ</i>	<i>tʰaŋʌ</i>	<i>soʰŋʌ</i>
	<i>child</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>descend</i>	<i>mountain</i>
	N	V	V	N

‘The child climbs up the mountain.’

### 5.4.5 Manner

Manner relationships in Kayan Lahta are coded by adding an adverb. The manner answers the question ‘how’. Adverbs follow the verb and modify the verb.

(165) *fwi* | *də* | *sə* | *tʰi* | *kaŋ* |  
*dog* | *clf* | *run* | *fast*  
N | CLF | V | ADV  
‘The dog runs fast.’

(166) *pu* | *də* | *fwa* | *lwa* |  
*cow* | *clf* | *walk* | *slow*  
N | CLF | V | ADV  
‘The cow walks slowly.’

(167) *ve* | *pjan* | *pʰu* | *tə* | *maŋ* | *ma* |  
*2s* | *weave* | *nice* | *basket* | *clf*  
PRO | V | ADV | N | CLF  
‘He weaves the basket nicely.’

Most of the adverbs are reduplicated. This kind of adverb show the extent to which something happens.

(168) *fwi* | *də* | *sə* | *tʰi* | *kaŋ* | *kaŋ* |  
*dog* | *clf* | *run* | *fast* | *fast*  
N | CLF | V | ADV | ADV  
‘The dog runs very fast.’

(169) *pu* | *də* | *fwa* | *lwa* | *lwa* |  
*cow* | *clf* | *walk* | *slow* | *slow*  
N | CLF | V | ADV | ADV  
‘The cow walks very slowly.’

### 5.4.6 Recipient

As discussed with ditransitive clauses in section 5.3.2.4, there is no marker to introduce a recipient. The recipient directly follows the verb and precedes the direct object. The recipient is also called the indirect object.

(170) *niʔ*      *ʃʰaŋ*      *kʰaʔ*      *pʰi*      *aŋ*      *ka.ljaŋʔ*  
*get*      *elephant*      *time*      *give*      *eat*      *Kayan*  
 V      N      TIME      V      V      N.PROP  
 ‘When (they) got the elephant, (they) give the Kayan to eat.’

(171) *jaʔ*      *jaʔ*      *veʔ*      *pjan*      *maʔ*  
*1s*      *give*      *2s*      *basket*      *clf*  
 PRO      V      RECIP      N      CLF  
 ‘I give you a basket.’

### 5.4.7 Instrument

Kayan Lahta codes the instrument role with a *də* ‘with’ to introduce an instrument. It precedes the noun in an instrument prepositional phrase and it follows the core clause.

(172) *kuʔ*      *va*      *də*      *tə.dəŋ*  
*cut*      *bamboo*      *with*      *knife*  
 V      N      INSTR      N  
 ‘Cut the bamboo with knife.’

(173) *çwe*      *də*      *pɪ*  
*pull*      *with*      *rope*  
 V      INSTR      N  
 ‘Pull with rope.’

In above examples, the two instruments: *tə.dəŋ* ‘knife’ and *pɪ* ‘rope’ occur after the instrument marker *də*. In all examples, the subjects are omitted and the instrument locational phrases occur after the main verbs and the object NP if it appears.

### 5.4.8 Accompaniment

The accompaniment marker *də* is used to introduce an accompaniment. The sentence structure in accompaniment sentence is the same as in instrument but there is an animate argument in an accompaniment sentence.

(174) *jaʔ*      *lɛʔ*      *pə.pɛʔ*      *θaŋ*      *də*      *mu*  
*1s*      *go*      *cut*      *tree*      *with*      *Mu*  
 PRO      V      V      N      ACCMP      N.PROP  
 ‘I go (and) cut the tree with Mu’

### 5.4.9 Beneficiary

A beneficiary is coded with the benefactive marker *ŋaʔ* combining with the preposition *dəʔ* to express the intended recipient.

Example (175) shows that the intended recipient *ŋaʔ p<sup>h</sup>uʔʔ* ‘my son’ occurs after a preposition *dəʔ* and it precedes the benefactive marker *ŋaʔ*.

(175)	<i>ŋaʔ</i>	<i>p<sup>h</sup>aŋʔ</i>	<i>təʔmaŋʔ</i>	<i>maʔ</i>	<i>dəʔ</i>	<i>ŋaʔ</i>	<i>p<sup>h</sup>uʔʔ</i>	<i>ŋaʔ</i>
	<i>I</i> s	<i>weave</i>	<i>basket</i>	<i>clf</i>	<i>prep</i>	<i>poss</i>	<i>son</i>	<i>for</i>
	PRO	V	N	CLF	PREP	POSS	N	BEN

‘I weave a basket for my son.’

### 5.4.10 Time

Time gives the information of when the event takes place. The time is mostly coded with the postposition *k<sup>h</sup>aʔ*. The time phrase always precedes the main clause. They modify the entire clause in the sentence.

(176)	<i>ŋiʔ</i>	<i>s<sup>h</sup>aŋʔ</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>aʔ</i>	<i>p<sup>h</sup>iʔ</i>	<i>aŋʔ</i>	<i>kaʔjaŋʔʔ</i>
	<i>get</i>	<i>elephant</i>	<i>time</i>	<i>give</i>	<i>eat</i>	<i>Kayan</i>
	V	N	TIME	V	V	N.PROP

‘When (they) got the elephant, (they) give the Kayan to eat.’

In the example above, the event happens after the time the when the first event happens. The Kayan were given food to eat at the time the elephant is killed. In this example, both of the agents in the time postpositional phrase and of the main clause are omitted. And typically the main clause is preceded by the time postpositional phrase.

Sometimes, the time is coded with no postposition as in (177).

(177)	<i>məʔho<sup>u</sup>ʔŋəŋʔ</i>	<i>lɛʔ</i>	<i>saʔk<sup>h</sup>oŋʔ</i>	<i>qa</i>
	<i>yesterday</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>rice.field</i>	<i>s.f</i>
	N	V	N	PRT

‘Yesterday I went to the field.’

The circum-positions *laʔ* and *k<sup>h</sup>aʔ* encode temporality. *laʔ* expresses the past time.

(178)	<i>laʔ</i>	<i>məʔkəʔs<sup>h</sup>aʔʔ</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>aʔ</i>	<i>əʔp<sup>h</sup>aʔ</i>	<i>dəʔ</i>	<i>əʔp<sup>h</sup>uʔʔ</i>	<i>oʔ</i>	<i>θəʔ</i>	<i>ŋəŋʔ</i>
	<i>time</i>	<i>past</i>	<i>time</i>	<i>father</i>	<i>conj</i>	<i>son</i>	<i>exist</i>	<i>clf</i>	<i>two</i>
	TIME	PAST	TIME	N	CONJ	N	V	CLF	NUM

‘Long time ago, there were a father and a son.’

In example (178), the time phrase *laʔ məʔkəʔsʰaʔʔ kʰaʔ* precedes the core clause *əʔpʰaʔ dəʔ əʔpʰuʔʔ oʔ θəʔ ʔəŋʔ*. In this example, by including the time preposition *laʔ*, it means that the events happened in the past.

## 5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, simple clauses were presented. Two types of clauses: copula clauses and verbal clauses were discussed. Under copula clauses, attributive clauses, equative clauses, location clauses, existential clauses, clausal possession and quantification modification were presented. Intransitive clauses, transitive clauses, motion clauses ditransitive clauses were presented under verbal clauses. Specific forms for encoding agent, patient, location, manner, recipient, instrument and time were included in this chapter under the section on semantic relationships.

## Chapter 6

### Clause types

#### 6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, different clause types in Kayan Lahta are discussed. First, the major types of clauses including declarative sentences, interrogatives sentences, and imperative sentences are presented. The interrogatives are subdivided into content questions and polar questions. Then the ability sentences, negation, comparatives and superlatives, causatives, reciprocals and reflexives are taken up. Then complete sentence types including simple sentences, coordinate, subordinate, relative clause and adverbial clauses are discussed. Finally, different kinds of serial verb constructions are presented.

#### 6.2 Major clause types

This section discusses three major clauses: declaratives, interrogatives and Imperative.

##### 6.2.1 Declarative

Declarative sentences are used to make assertions about events, states and processes. As seen in chapter five, declarative sentences are SVO. They typically express temporal adverbials first (179) and may often have multiple verbs (180) and (181).

(179) *kəŋi˧ ve˧ o˧ də˧ ka˧ŋ.tʰu˧*  
*now 1s live in Kaung.Htu*  
TIME PRO V PREP N.PROP  
'Now, I live in Kaung Thu (village).'

(180) *ŋa˧ lwi˧ tʰaŋ˧ ve˧ sə˧ŋoŋ˧*  
*1s think ascend 2s on*  
PRO V V PRO LOCZR  
'I think about you.'



(181)	<i>naʔ</i>	<i>jəʔ</i>	<i>lwiʔ</i>	<i>tʰaŋʔ</i>	<i>veʔ</i>	<i>səʔnoŋʔ</i>
	<i>1s</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>think</i>	<i>ascend</i>	<i>2s</i>	<i>on</i>
	PRO	NEG	V	V	PRO	LOCZR

‘I do not think about you.

## 6.2.2 Interrogative

Interrogatives can be divided into two kinds: content questions and polar questions. Content questions involve interrogative pronouns such as what, why, when, where, how many. Some content questions and all polar questions are formed by the adding the word *εʔ* before the predicate.

### 6.2.2.1 Content question

This kind of question is formed by adding the interrogative pronouns at the end of the sentence.

#### 6.2.2.1.1 What

A ‘what’ kind of content question is formed by adding the question word *səʔnεʔ* ‘what.’ Using this kind of content question indicates that the speaker expects the unknown referent can be either non-human or human.

(182)	<i>veʔ</i>	<i>sʰaŋʔʔ</i>	<i>ləʔ</i>	<i>səʔnεʔ</i>
	<i>2s</i>	<i>look</i>	<i>see</i>	<i>what</i>
	PRO	V	V	Q

‘What do you see?’

(183)	<i>veʔ</i>	<i>sʰaŋʔʔ</i>	<i>ləʔ</i>	<i>daʔ</i>	<i>səʔnεʔ</i>
	<i>2s</i>	<i>look</i>	<i>see</i>	<i>can</i>	<i>what</i>
	PRO	V	V	ABL	Q

‘What can you see?’

In examples (182) and (183), the question word *səʔnεʔ* is added at the end of the sentence. For the above questions, the answer can be human and non-human as shown in example (184). Or the answer can be just a noun phrase as shown in example (185).

(184) *naʔ*      *sʰaŋʔʔ* *ləʔ*      *pəʔmoʔ*      *sʷaʔʔ* *plaʔ*  
*1s*      *look*      *see*      *woman*      *six*      *clf*  
PRO      V      V      N      NUM      CLF  
‘I saw six women.’

Or

*naʔ*      *sʰaŋʔʔ* *ləʔ*      *çoʔluʔ* *tʰaʔʔ*      *əʔ*      *maʔ*  
*1s*      *look*      *see*      *ring*      *gold*      *one*      *clf*  
PRO      V      V      N      ADJ      NUM      CLF  
‘I saw a golden ring.’

(185) *pəʔmoʔ*      *sʷaʔʔ* *plaʔ*  
*woman*      *six*      *clf*  
N      NUM      CLF  
‘six woman’

Or

*çoʔluʔ*      *tʰaʔʔ*      *əʔ.maʔ*  
*ring*      *gold*      *one.clf*  
N      ADJ      NUM.CLF  
‘a/the golden ring’

### 6.2.2.1.2 Why (Reason)

There are two words, *ŋwɛʔ* and *baʔsəʔnɛʔ* used for ‘why’ questions. One kind of ‘why’ question is constructed by adding *ŋwɛʔ* at the end of the sentence, (186). The second kind of question is constructed by adding the particle *ɛʔ* after the verb followed by the question word *baʔsəʔnɛʔ* at the end of the sentence, (187). Using these kinds of content question indicates that the speaker does not know the reason for the statement or event.

(186) *veʔ*      *jəʔ*      *ŋpliʔ* *foʔʔ*      *ŋwɛʔ*  
*2s*      *not*      *buy*      *rice*      *why*  
PRO      NEG      V      N      Q  
‘Why don’t you buy rice?’

In example (186) the question word *ŋwɛʔ* occurs at the end of the sentence.

(187) *veʔ*      *ŋəiŋʔ*      *ɛʔ*      *baʔsəʔnɛʔ*  
*2s*      *cry*      *quest*      *why*  
PRO      V      PRT      Q  
‘Why do you cry?’

In example (187), the particle  $\varepsilon^l$  occurs after the predicate  $\eta\dot{\alpha}i\eta^l$  and it is followed by the question word  $ba\downarrow s\dot{\alpha}n\varepsilon\downarrow$ .

The answer for the question can be as below.

(188)	$na^l$	$\eta\dot{\alpha}i\eta^l$	$ma\downarrow ra^l m\varepsilon\downarrow$	$na^l$	$p^h a^l$	$va\eta\downarrow$	$na^l$
	<i>1s</i>	<i>cry</i>	<i>because</i>	<i>1s</i>	<i>father</i>	<i>hit</i>	<i>1s</i>
	PRO	V	CONJ	POSS	N	V	PRO
	‘I cry because my father hit me.’						

The answer for this kind of content question is formed by adding the reason clause at the end of the sentence and joining that clause by the subordinate conjunction  $ma\downarrow ra^l m\varepsilon\downarrow$  to the main clause.

Notice that, for ‘why’ question that the interrogative pronoun  $n\varepsilon\downarrow$  does not occupy the position of the ‘answering’ clause.  $ba\downarrow s\dot{\alpha}n\varepsilon\downarrow$  or  $n\varepsilon\downarrow$  cannot said to be *insitu*, they are clearly sentence final.

### 6.2.2.1.3 Why (reason for a future event)

This kind of question is constructed by adding the question word  $s\dot{\alpha}n\varepsilon\downarrow$  at the end of the sentences. Different from the content question ‘what’, using this kind of content question indicates that the speaker does not know the purpose of the statement or event.

(189)	$ve^l$	$\varepsilon^l$	$fu^? \downarrow k^h i\eta\downarrow$	$ve^l$	$\varepsilon^l$	$mo^l$	$s\dot{\alpha}n\varepsilon\downarrow$
	<i>2s</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>Phekhon</i>	<i>2s</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>what</i>
	PRO	V	N.PROP	PRO	V	V	Q
	‘What will you go to Phekhon to do?’						

(190)	$ve^l$	$\varepsilon^l$	$mo^l$	$se\downarrow j\dot{o}\eta^l$	$s\dot{\alpha}n\varepsilon\downarrow$
	<i>2s</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>hospital</i>	<i>what</i>
	PRO	V	V	N	Q
	‘What will you do at the hospital?’				

The answer for this kind of content question is formed by adding the clause at the end of the sentence. The clause that gives the purpose is joined to the main clause by the preposition  $d\dot{\alpha}\downarrow$ .

(191)	$na^l$	$\varepsilon^l$	$fu^? \downarrow k^h i\eta\downarrow$	$d\dot{\alpha}\downarrow$	$na^l$	$\varepsilon^l$	$s^h a\eta^l s^h a^l$	$t\dot{\alpha}\downarrow ma\eta\downarrow$
	<i>1s</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>Phekhon</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>1s</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>sell</i>	<i>basket</i>
	PRO	V	N.PROP	CONJ	PRO	V	V	N
	‘I went to Phekhon to sell the basket.’							

(192) *naʔ lɛʔ seʔljɔŋʔ dəʔ naʔ lɛʔ sʰaŋʔʔ səʔraʔ*  
*1s go hospital and 1s go see doctor*  
 PRO V N CONJ PRO V V N  
 ‘I went to the hospital to see the doctor.’

#### 6.2.2.1.4 How many

This kind of question is constructed by adding the particle *ɛʔ* at the end of the sentences and the question word *aʔʔsʰaʔ* at the beginning of the sentences. Using this kind of content question indicates that the speaker expects the unknown element to be a quantity.

(193) *aʔʔsʰaʔ baʔ oʔ meʔʔneʔŋʔ sʰaʔʔ ɛʔ*  
*how.many get exist age only quest*  
 QNT V V N PRT Q  
 ‘How old are you?’

Although the interrogative pronoun is sentence initial, the answer for quantity is sentence final.

(194) *naʔ meʔʔneʔŋʔ oʔ təŋʔʔsəʔ*  
*1s age exist thirty*  
 PRO N V NUM  
 ‘I am thirty.’

#### 6.2.2.2 Polar questions

Different from content questions, polar questions, or “yes/ no,” questions are constructed by adding the particle *ɛʔ* before the predicate. Using this kind of question indicates that the speaker expects the answer to be ‘yes’ or ‘no’, ‘true’ or ‘false’

(195) *fʊʔʔkʰiŋʔʔ njoŋʔ ɛʔ θiʔʔ*  
*Phekhon language quest know*  
 N.PROP N Q V  
 ‘Do you know Phekhon language?’

(196) *veʔ ɛʔ aŋʔ mjəŋʔtʰəʔʔ jɛŋʔʔ*  
*2s quest eat finish cook-rice*  
 PRO Q V V N  
 ‘Have you finished eating?’

In examples (195) and (196) the questions are formed by adding the particle  $\varepsilon\prime$  before the predicates  $\theta i\prime?$  and  $a\eta\prime$ . Notice that in (195), the object is fronted. The answer for the polar question in affirmative would be “yes,” or  $\varepsilon\prime$  followed by the verb or just the verb as in the examples below.

(197)	$me\prime\eta\prime$	Or	$\varepsilon\prime$	$\theta i\prime?$	Or	$\theta i\prime?$
	<i>correct</i>		<i>quest</i>	<i>know</i>		<i>know</i>
	V		Q	V		V
	‘Yes’		‘Know’			‘Know’

The answer in negative would be:

(198)	$j\partial\prime$	$me\prime\eta\prime$	Or	$j\partial\prime$	$\theta i\prime?$
	<i>not</i>	<i>correct</i>		<i>not</i>	<i>know</i>
	NEG	V		NEG	V
	‘No’			‘Do not know.’	

A polar question is also used to ask permission from someone. See the example below.

(199)	$na\prime$	$j\partial\prime$	$\varepsilon\prime$	$da\prime$	$ba\prime$	$j\partial\eta\prime$	$ku\prime?$
	<i>Is</i>	<i>sleep</i>	<i>quest</i>	<i>can</i>	<i>at</i>	<i>house</i>	<i>in</i>
	PRO	V	Q	ABL	PREP	N	LOCZR
	‘Can I sleep inside your house?’						

In example (199) the question marker ‘ $\varepsilon\prime$ ’ occurs before the ability ‘ $da\prime$ ’.

### 6.2.3 Imperative

Imperatives are used not only to give a command but also to suggest a course of action to the hearer. There is no special marker like the interrogative, to form the imperative, the structure of the imperative question would be:

V + Complement

See the examples below.

(200)	$ku\prime?$	$va\prime$
	<i>cut</i>	<i>bamboo</i>
	V	N
	‘Cut the bamboo.’	

In example (200) the imperative question is formed by the verb *kuʔ* followed by the complement *va*.

The two commands can be giving by combining the two clauses as in example (203).

(201)	<i>m̥bluʔkaiʔ</i>	<i>foʔ</i>	<i>kɔʔ</i>	<i>sʰaʔ</i>
	<i>take.off</i>	<i>thorn</i>	<i>then</i>	<i>sew</i>
	V	N	SUB.CONJ	V

‘Take off the thorn then sew.’

In the above example, the two commands: *m̥bluʔkaiʔ* and *sʰaʔ* are combined by the conjunction *kɔʔ*.

## 6.3 Aspect marking

This section discusses different aspect markings in Kayan Lahta.

### 6.3.1 Completive aspect marker ‘həʔ’

The completive aspect marker *həʔ* is used to indicate that the action or event is complete.

(202)	<i>taʔpiʔ</i>	<i>baʔ</i>	<i>jəʔ</i>	<i>maʔ</i>	<i>həʔ</i>
	<i>fly</i>	<i>clf</i>	<i>fly</i>	<i>disappear</i>	<i>complete</i>
	N	CLF	V	V	ASP

‘The fly flew.’

(203)	<i>aŋʔ</i>	<i>luʔ</i>	<i>həʔ</i>	<i>θaŋʔθaʔ</i>
	<i>eat</i>	<i>all</i>	<i>complete</i>	<i>fruit</i>
	V	QNT	ASP	N

‘(They) ate all the fruit.’

(204)	<i>mjeʔmanʔkɔʔ</i>	<i>siʔsaʔŋʔ</i>	<i>daʔ</i>	<i>həʔ</i>
	<i>then</i>	<i>sell</i>	<i>able</i>	<i>complete</i>
	CONN	V	ABL	ASP

‘Then it is ready to sell it.’

### 6.3.2 Perfective or completive aspect marker ‘m<sup>1</sup>əŋl<sup>h</sup>ə-’

The aspect marker *mjəŋl<sup>h</sup>ə-* is used to indicate a completed action or event.

(205)	<i>ve-</i>	<i>ε-</i>	<i>aŋ-</i>	<i>mjəŋl<sup>h</sup>ə-</i>
	<i>2s</i>	<i>quest</i>	<i>eat</i>	<i>finish</i>
	PRO	Q	V	ASP

‘Have you finished eating?’

### 6.3.3 Ongoing aspect marker ‘o-’

In Kayan Lahta has no tense marker to show the time of the action or event. To indicate the ongoing action or event, *o-* can be used before the verb. The actual meaning of *o-* is ‘live/dwell’ but it can be used as an ongoing, or imperfective, aspect marker in this case.

(206)	<i>na-</i>	<i>o-</i>	<i>ŋə-</i>
	<i>1s</i>	<i>on-going</i>	<i>sleep</i>
	PRO	ASP	V

‘I am sleeping.’

(207)	<i>na-</i>	<i>o-</i>	<i>naŋ-</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>oŋ-</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>u-</i>
	<i>1s</i>	<i>on-going</i>	<i>sit</i>	<i>chair</i>	<i>on</i>
	PRO	ASP	V	N	LOCZR

‘I am sitting on the chair.’

## 6.4 Ability

In Kayah Lahta, ability is coded by the clause-final ability predicate. There are two words that encode ability *da-* ‘can, talented at, intelligent’ and *e?-* ‘able to’. The meaning of *da-* also means that someone is allowed to do something.

(208)	<i>fʊʔl<sup>h</sup>iŋ-</i>	<i>njoŋ-</i>	<i>da-</i>
	<i>Phekhon</i>	<i>language</i>	<i>can</i>
	N.PROP	N	ABL

‘(I) can speak Phekhon language.’

(209)	<i>p<sup>h</sup>aʔ-</i>	<i>li-</i>	<i>da-</i>
	<i>read</i>	<i>book</i>	<i>can</i>
	V	N	ABL

‘He can read a book. / He is intelligent.’

(210) *ji|jwε| da|*  
*dance can*  
 V ABL  
 ‘(She) can dance. / She is very good in dancing.’

The above examples show the different meanings of *da|*. In example (208) it means that the person can speak Phekhon language even though the verb is not expressed. In the two examples, (209) and (210) *da|* has more than one meaning. The meaning can be distinguished by the intonation of the speaker. Speaking with the low intonation of *da|* means that the person can do something but it is not sure whether he is good at doing something or not. Speaking with high intonation on the adjective means that person is really good at doing something.

(211) *ve| jə| da| ba| jəŋ| ku?|*  
*Is sleep can at house in*  
 PRO V ABL PREP N LOCZR  
 ‘You can sleep inside the house.’

The meaning of *da|* also means that someone is allowed to do something. In example (211) you are allowed to sleep in the house. It does not mean that you have ability to sleep.

(212) *m̄bi| lo|kaŋ| jə| e?| kə| pja<sup>ə</sup>ŋ| laŋ| do<sup>ə</sup>ŋ| pa<sup>ə</sup>ŋ|*  
*feed spirit not able then move descend village Pau*  
 V N NEG ASP CONJ V V N N.PROP  
 ‘(They) cannot able to feed the spirit anymore, then (they) move to the village called Pau.’

In example (212) it means that the villagers are not able to feed the spirit anymore because they have no more pigs or chicken to offer. It does not mean that the villagers do not have ability to feed the spirit.

All the examples above show the semantic differences between the different markers of ability. The ability marker, *da|* related to the ability of someone and *?e?* is related to the circumstances.



## 6.5 Negation

In Kayan Lahta, the negative *jəʔ* is used to change the polarity of a proposition. Using the negative turns an affirmative statement into a negative statement. The negative *jəʔ* must occur before the verb.

(213) *veʔ jəʔ p<sup>h</sup>iʔ aŋʔ ɲaʔ*  
*2s not give eat 1s*  
 PRO NEG V V PRO  
 ‘You do not give me to eat.’

(214) *jəʔ ɲdəʔ dəʔ jəʔ aŋʔ baʔ joʔ*  
*not cook and not eat effect s.f*  
 NEG V CONJ NEG V V PRT  
 ‘Do not cook and do not eat.’

In example (213) the negative *jəʔ* occurs before the verb *p<sup>h</sup>iʔ*. In example (214), two clauses are joined by the conjunction *dəʔ*. In both clauses the verbs *ɲdəʔ* and *aŋʔ* are being negated by their own negative marker. In example (215) the ability *eʔʔ* is negated.

(215) *ɲbiʔ loʔkaŋʔ jəʔ eʔʔ dəʔ pja<sup>o</sup>ŋʔ laŋʔ do<sup>u</sup>ŋʔ pa<sup>o</sup>ŋʔ*  
*feed spirit not able and move descend village Pou*  
 V N NEG ABL CONJ V V N N.PROP  
 ‘Since (they) were not able to feed the spirit, then (they) moved to the village Pou.’

(216) *jəʔ ɲbiʔ loʔkaŋʔ dəʔ pja<sup>o</sup>ŋʔ laŋʔ do<sup>u</sup>ŋʔ pa<sup>o</sup>ŋʔ*  
*not feed spirit and move descend village Pau*  
 NEG V N CONJ V V N N.PROP  
 ‘(They) did not feed the spirit then they moved to the village.’

In (215), two clauses are joined by the conjunction *dəʔ*. In that sentence, only the ability *eʔʔ* from the first clause is being negated. The second clause is modified by the first clause, but it is not negated by the negative marker in the second clause. In example (216) the verb is negated.

Different from other Kayan varieties, nouns can be negated in Kayan Lahta, although the example below is the only example in my data. It is also possible that the verb ‘be’ is omitted in the sentence. But there is not enough evidence to prove that either

the noun can be negated or the verb ‘be’ is omitted. See section 5.3.1.2 for more on equative sentences.

- (217) *bəɭuɿ dəɿ kaɿjaŋʔɿ jəɿ voɿ veɿ loɿ tʰuɿtuəɿ*  
*Pa.O and Kayan not sister brother together that.time*  
 N.PROP CONJ N.PROP NEG N N ADV TIME  
 ‘From that time, the Pa.O and Kayan were not brother and sister anymore.’

In example (217) the two nouns *voɿ* and *veɿ* are being negated. There is no verb in the sentence.

## 6.6 Comparative and superlative

In Kayan Lahta, *kʰloŋɿ* is used together with *dəɿ* to express the comparative in a sentence. In a comparative sentence, the first noun is compared to the second noun connected by the comparative marker *kʰloŋɿdəɿ*. But *dəɿ* does not need to be used to express the superlative. The position of the comparative in a sentence in Kayan Lahta is:

[NP ADJ *kʰloŋɿdəɿ* NP]<sub>s</sub>

- (218) *mɿplaɿ əɿ.ləɿ kʰloŋɿdəɿ veɿ*  
*3s tall than 1s*  
 PRO ADJ COMP PRO  
 ‘He is taller than me.’

- (219) *məɿhoʔɿjəŋɿ kuɿ kʰloŋɿdəɿ məɿkwaɿjəŋɿ*  
*yesterday hot than today*  
 N ADJ COMP N  
 ‘Yesterday is hotter than today.’

- (220) *aiʔɿ duɿ kʰloŋɿdəɿ kʰuɿ*  
*Ai big than Khu*  
 N.PROP ADJ COMP N.PROP  
 ‘Ai is older than Khu.’

Examples (218), (219) and (220) express comparative sentences. In these examples, the first nouns are compared to the second nouns and they are connected by the comparative marker *kʰloŋɿdəɿ*.

In a superlative sentence, a prepositional phrase can occur. The position of the superlative in a sentence in Kayan Lahta is:

[(adpositional phrase) N ADJ *k<sup>h</sup>loŋ*] <sub>s</sub>

(221) *ŋpla* *ə.ɬə* *k<sup>h</sup>loŋ*  
 3s tall than  
 PRO ADJ COMP  
 ‘He is the tallest.’

(222) *na* *do<sup>u</sup>ŋ* *kuʔ* *ŋpla* *ə.ɬə* *k<sup>h</sup>loŋ*  
 1s village in 3s tall than  
 POSS N LOCZR PRO ADJ SUP  
 ‘In my village, he is the tallest.’

Or

*ŋpla* *lə* *k<sup>h</sup>loŋ* *ɬə* *na* *də* *do<sup>u</sup>ŋ* *kuʔ*  
 3s tall than 1s prep village in  
 PRO ADJ COMP PRO PREP N LOCZR  
 ‘He is the tallest in my village.’

Examples (221) and (222) express the superlative. In example (222) a prepositional phrase can be seen in a sentence and it can either precede or follow the main clause.

(223) *mə* *ho<sup>u</sup>ʔ* *ŋnəŋ* *ku* *k<sup>h</sup>loŋ* *ɬə* *pu* *ŋnəŋ*  
 yesterday warm than every.day  
 N ADJ COMP N  
 ‘Yesterday is the warmest.’

Example (223) is marked by the conjunctions *k<sup>h</sup>loŋ* *ɬə*. In this sentence, ‘yesterday’ is compared by ‘everyday’. Syntactically, it is a comparative sentence. But semantically, it can be both comparative and superlative sentence.

## 6.7 Causative

Causatives are formed by using the causative verb *mo* in Kayan Lahta. The verb *mo* semantically means ‘to do’ or ‘to make’ something. In the following examples it is used as a causative verb to form a causative. In a causative sentence, the causative verb normally precedes the main verb.

See the following examples.

(224) *plaʔbəʔtaʔ moʔ pʰaʔʔ pleʔŋʔ maʔ*  
*child do break bottle clf*  
 N V V N CLF  
 ‘The child broke the bottle.’

(225) *moʔ ʃəʔ ʃaʔʔ*  
*make die chicken*  
 V V N  
 ‘Kill the chicken.’

In examples (224) and (225) the causatives are formed by using the causative verb. It precedes the verb *pʰaʔʔ* ‘break’ in example (224) and *ʃəʔ* ‘die’ in example (225).

(226) *veʔ moʔ kʰuʔ vaŋʔ baʔ aiʔʔ*  
*Is do Khu hit effect Ai*  
 PRO V N.PROP V V N.PROP  
 ‘I make Khu to hit Ai.’

In (226), ‘*kʰuʔ*’ is the object of the first clause *veʔ moʔ kʰuʔ* ‘I make Khu’ and he also functions as the subject of the second clause *kʰuʔ vaŋʔ baʔ aiʔʔ* ‘Khu hit Ai.’

## 6.8 Reciprocal

Reciprocals are formed by using *əʔplaʔ dəʔ əʔplaʔ* ‘one another’ and *loʔ* ‘each other’ in Kayan Lahta. Semantically, *loʔ* means ‘together’. In the following examples it is used as a reciprocal meaning ‘each other’. In a sentence, the *loʔ* ‘each other’ and *əʔplaʔ dəʔ əʔplaʔ* ‘one another’ appear in the object position.

The following examples express the reciprocal.

(227) *naʔpuʔ sʰaŋʔpʰuʔveʔ əʔplaʔ dəʔ əʔplaʔ*  
*1pl love one.person and one.person*  
 PRO V RECPL CONJ RECPL  
 ‘We love one another.’

(228) *aiʔʔ dəʔ kʰuʔ sʰaŋʔpʰuʔveʔ əʔplaʔ dəʔ əʔplaʔ*  
*Ai and Khu love one.person and one.person*  
 N.PROP CONJ N.PROP V RECPL CONJ RECPL  
 ‘Ai and Khu love one another.’

- (229) *maŋʃkɔʃ kaʃjaŋʃʅ ɫəʃtʰaʃ dəʃ bəʃuʃ məʃteʃŋʃ loʃ*  
*then Kayan Lahta and PaO fight each.other*  
 CONJ N.PROP N.PROP CONJ N.PROP V RECPL  
 ‘Then Kayan Lahta and PaO fight each other.’

## 6.9 Reflexive

Reflexives are formed differently according to the subjects in a sentence. See the following examples.

- (230) *veʃ vaŋʃ baʃ veʃ.naŋʃ*  
*2s hit effect yourself*  
 PRO V V REFLX  
 ‘You hit yourself.’

- (231) *ŋplaʃ vaŋʃ baʃ ŋplaʃ.naŋʃ*  
*3s hit effect himself*  
 PRO V V REFLX  
 ‘He hit himself.’

Or

- ŋplaʃ vaŋʃ baʃ əʃ.naŋʃ*  
*3s hit effect himself*  
 PRO V V REFLX  
 ‘He hit himself.’

- (232) *khuʃ dəʃ aiʃʅ vaŋʃ baʃ naŋʃ*  
*Khu and Ai hit effect themselves*  
 N.PROP CONJ N.PROP V V REFLX  
 ‘Khu and Ai hit themselves.’

- (233) *naʃpuʃ vaŋʃ baʃ naʃpuʃ.naŋʃ*  
*1pl hit effect ourselves*  
 PRO V V REFLX  
 ‘We hit ourselves.’

The different forms of the reflexive are summarized in Table 22.

**Table 22 Reflexives in Kayan Lahta**

Subject	Reflexive
Proper Noun	<i>naŋʔ</i>
<i>naʔ</i> '1s'	<i>naʔ naŋʔ</i>
<i>veʔ</i> '2s'	<i>veʔ naŋʔ</i>
<i>naʔpuʔ</i> '1pl'	<i>naʔpuʔ naŋʔ</i>

## 6.10 Complex clause types

Sentences are made up of at least one clause in Kayan Lahta. In Kayan Lahta, when a single clause is uttered as a complete thought with sentence intonation, it is a simple sentence. A simple sentence can also be marked by adding final particle at the end of the clause. However, typically no final particle occurs in daily speech in Kayan Lahta. Adding a final particle seems more polite and more formal.

The simple sentence structure is illustrated in (234).

### [CLAUSE (qa)]

(234)	<i>məʔhoʔʔnaŋʔ</i>	<i>naʔ</i>	<i>leʔ</i>	<i>saʔkʰoŋʔ</i>	<i>qa</i>
	<i>yesterday</i>	<i>1s</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>rice.field</i>	<i>s.f</i>
	N	PRO	V	N	PRT
	'Yesterday I went to the rice field.'				

The final particle in example (234) is optional and the meaning of the sentence is stays the same.

### 6.10.1 Coordinate clauses

One way of forming complex clauses is through coordination. There are two coordinate conjunctions, '*dəʔ*' and '*kəʔ*' in Kayah Lahta. They can link the two clauses in a sentence. The two clauses are independent in that they could stand alone to form a sentence.

[Clause *dəʃ/kəʃ* Clause]

(235) *ho<sup>u</sup>ŋʃ t<sup>h</sup>aŋʃ s<sup>h</sup>aʔʃ pəʃmoʃ dəʃ pəʃmoʃ plaʃ jəʃ vaŋʃ*  
*call descend only woman and woman clf not clean*  
 V V ADV N CONJ N CLF NEG V

‘Call one of the women who is not clean.’ (who is not appropriate to be sacrificed.)

(236) *vaŋʃ taʃpiʃ baʃ dəʃ jəʃ baʃ joʃ*  
*hit fly clf and not can s.f*  
 V N CLF CONJ NEG V PRT

‘(The bear tried to) hit the fly but (he) could not.’

(237) *veʃ oʃ s<sup>h</sup>oʃ k<sup>h</sup>uʃ kəʃ pja<sup>o</sup>ŋʃ te<sup>i</sup>ŋʃ nate<sup>i</sup>ŋ*  
*2s live mountain on and.then move come Natei*  
 PRO V N LOCZR CONJ V V N.PROP

‘He lived in a mountain and then (he) moved to the village Natei.’

In (235) and (236), the two clauses are linked by the conjunction *dəʃ*. The use of the conjunction ‘*dəʃ*’ suggests that the two events happened at the same time. It can be translated as ‘and’ or ‘but’ depending on the context. In example (237) the conjunction ‘*kəʃ*’ is used to link the two clauses in a sentence. The use of the conjunction ‘*kəʃ*’ suggests that the first event *veʃ oʃ s<sup>h</sup>oʃ k<sup>h</sup>uʃ* ‘I lived in a mountain’ happened first and then it was followed by the second event *pja<sup>o</sup>ŋʃ te<sup>i</sup>ŋʃ nate<sup>i</sup>ŋ* ‘move to the Natei’ happened. They did not happen at the same time.

In example (238) the agent is omitted. According to the context, the agent is ‘the bear’. The agent of the first and the second clause is the same in this example.

### 6.10.2 Relative clauses

Complex clauses are also created when a relative clause is used to modify a noun phrase inside the main clause. In Kayan Lahta, relative clauses are marked by the relativizer ‘*dəʃ*’ or unmarked and the clause directly follows the noun it modifies. Relative clauses are underlined in the following discussion

Example (238) relativizer is omitted and the relative clause *oʃ kəʃllaŋʃ kuʃʃ* ‘exist inside the plate’ directly follows the noun.

(238) *pluʔ plaʔ aŋʔ θaŋʔ-θaʔ oʔ kaʔlaŋʔ kuʔʔ*  
*child clf eat fruit exist plate in*  
 N CLF V N V N LCZR  
 ‘The child ate the fruit which is on the plate.’

In (239) and (240), the relativizer *dəʔ* is used to mark a relative clause that modifies a noun ‘*plaʔbaʔtaʔ*’ ‘child’ inside the clause.

(239) *hoʔŋʔ plaʔbaʔtaʔ dəʔ uʔ ʃəʔʔ*  
*call child rel drink water*  
 V N REL V N  
 ‘Call the child who drunk water.’

(240) *ʃəʔʔ baŋʔ plaʔbaʔtaʔ dəʔ moʔ ŋkaʔ*  
*water cup child rel do destroy*  
 POSS N N REL V V  
 ‘the cup that the child destroyed.’

In example (241) a relative clause modifies the noun which is in the subject position. In this example, the relativizer *dəʔ* follows the noun that the relative clause modifies. The first *plaʔ* is used as a head noun and the second *plaʔ* is used as a classifier. In this clause, the relative clause appears between the noun and the classifier.

(241) *plaʔ dəʔ aŋʔ jɛŋʔ plaʔ sʰaŋʔʔ ləʔ taʔpiʔ baʔ jəʔ lɛʔ*  
*man rel eat rice-cooked clf look see fly clf fly down*  
 N REL V N CLF V V N CLF V V  
 ‘The man who was eating rice saw the fly fly down.’

The relativizer can be omitted as in example (242).

(242) *plaʔ aŋʔ jɛŋʔ plaʔ sʰaŋʔʔ ləʔ taʔpiʔ baʔ jəʔ lɛʔ*  
*man eat rice-cooked clf look see fly clf fly down*  
 N V N CLF V V N CLF V V  
 ‘The man who was eating rice saw the fly fly down.’



### 6.10.3 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses are classified based on their syntactic structure and the semantic relationship between the dependent clause and the main clause. Structurally an adverbial clause modifies another (main) clause and is introduced by a subordinate conjunction or preposition and often ended by another dependent clause final subordinator. (Manson, 2010: 396)

In Kayan Lahta subordinate conjunctions are always sentence final but occasionally may appear sentence initial also.

Subordinators are underlined in the following discussion and square brackets surround the adverbial clause.

#### 6.10.3.1 Temporal adverbial clauses

In Kayan Lahta, temporal adverbial clauses are included in the main clauses and they usually appear at the beginning of main clause. When the temporal adverbial clauses come first in a sentence, *si:k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>u</sup>l* ‘when’ is the subordinate conjunction that is used. Look at examples (243a) and (244a). If the temporal adverbial clause comes at the end of the sentence, the subordinate conjunction is ‘*ba:l*..... *si:k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>u</sup>l*’. Look at examples (243b) and (244b).

The two positions of the temporal clauses can be:

[Temporal Clause Main Clause]<sub>s</sub>

[.....*si:k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>u</sup>l*+ Main Clause]<sub>s</sub>

Or

[Main Clause Temporal Clause]<sub>s</sub>

[Main Clause *ba:l*.....*si:k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>u</sup>l*]<sub>s</sub>

(243)	a.	[aŋ]	lo]	wi]	<u>si:k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>u</sup>l</u>	ta]pi]	ba]	jə]	laŋ]
		<i>eat</i>	<i>together</i>	<i>delicious</i>	<i>when</i>	<i>fly</i>	<i>clf</i>	<i>fly</i>	<i>descend</i>
		V	ADV	ADJ	TIME	N	CLF	V	V

‘When eating deliciously, the fly descended.’

b. *ta|pi| ba| jə| laŋ| [ba| aŋ| lo| wi| si:k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>u</sup>]*  
*fly clf fly descend prep eat together delicious when*  
 N CLF V V PREP V ADV ADJ TIME  
 ‘The fly descended when eating deliciously.’

(244) a. *[ka|jaŋ?| lwaŋ| ni| te<sup>h</sup>ŋ| ba| k<sup>h</sup>a| jə| p<sup>h</sup>i| aŋ| bə|ju|*  
*Kayan go get porcupine clf when not give eat PaO*  
 N.PROP V V N CLF TIME NEG V V N.PROP  
 ‘When Kayan get a porcupine, they do not give PaO to eat.’

b. *ka|jaŋ?| jə| p<sup>h</sup>i| aŋ| bə|ju| [ba| lwaŋ| ni| te<sup>h</sup>ŋ| ba| k<sup>h</sup>a|*  
*Kayan not give eat PaO time go get porcupine clf when*  
 N.PROP NEG V V N.PROP PREP V V N CLF TIME  
 ‘Kayan do not give PaO, when get a porcupine.’

In the two examples above, two positions of the temporal adverbial clauses can be seen. Firstly, the temporal adverbial clauses precede the main clauses and the subordinate conjunctions *si:k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>u</sup>* or *k<sup>h</sup>a* ‘when’ occur at the end of the temporal clause in a sentence. Secondly, the temporal adverbial clauses follow the main clause and the subordinate conjunctions and *ba* ‘when’ occurs at the beginning of the temporal clauses and *si:k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>u</sup>* or *k<sup>h</sup>a* ‘when’ at the end of the sentence.

### 6.10.3.2 Reason clauses

In Kayan Lahta, *kɔ* ‘so’ and *ma|ra|tɛ* ‘because’ are the conjunctions that are used in a reason clause. *kɔ* ‘so’ has more than one meaning. In the following examples it gives a reason. In use, the reason clause precedes the result clause and the two clauses are connected by *kɔ* ‘so’ or *ma|ra|tɛ* ‘because’.

(245) *pla| pla|bə|ta| jə| pjeŋ| [kɔ| pja<sup>o</sup>ŋ| te<sup>h</sup>ŋ| nətə<sup>h</sup>ŋ]*  
*clf child not feel-well so move come Natei*  
 CLF N NEG V RESN V V N.PROP  
 ‘The children are not feeling well, so (they) move to Natei.’

(246) *ai?| θə|vi| [kɔ| ə| aŋ|tɔŋ| ta|ŋəiŋ|]*  
*Ai hungry so 3s hunt animal*  
 N.PROP V RESN PRO V N  
 ‘Ai is hungry so he goes hunting.’

In example (249) the coordinator *ma.lra.tmɛ.l* is used to connect the two clauses.

- (247) *na.l jə.l lɛ.l sa.tk<sup>h</sup>oŋ.l [ma.lra.tmɛ.l kaŋ.lfwe.l]*  
*1s not go rice.field because rain*  
 PRO NEG V N RESN V  
 ‘I do not go to the rice field because it rain.’

### 6.10.3.3 Cause-effect clauses

In Kayan Lahta, the same marker *kɔ.l* is used for reason clauses and result clause. So syntactically, they cannot be distinguished. The two clauses can be distinguished only by their meaning.

The result clauses are coded by *kɔ.l* ‘so’. In the sentence, the result clauses follow the main clause and the two clauses are connected by *kɔ.l* ‘so’.

- (248) *moŋ.l aŋ.l maŋ.to.l [kɔ.l pla.l tə.lmo.l]*  
*spirit eat wrong so person die*  
 N V ADJ CAUSE N V  
 ‘The Spirit eats inappropriately so the people die.  
 (Lit. The Spirit eat (something) wrong so people die.’

- (249) *ve.l nə.l da.l qa.l tja.l jəŋ.l do<sup>h</sup>ŋ.l [kɔ.l nə.l o.l]*  
*2s sleep can s.f owner house say so sleep exist*  
 PRO V V PRT N N V CAUSE V V  
 ‘You can sleep, says the house owner so (he) sleep.’

- (250) *na.l jə.l aŋ.l jɛŋ.l [kɔ.l na.l θə.lvi.l]*  
*1s not eat rice-cooked so 1s hungry*  
 PRO NEG V N CAUSE PRO V  
 ‘I do not eat rice, so I am hungry.’

In the above three examples, the coordinator *kɔ.l* ‘so’ is used. The cause clauses occur at the beginning of the sentences and they are followed by the main clauses.

### 6.10.3.4 Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses are marked by the subordinate conjunction *mɛ.l* ‘if’. Conditional clauses describe some hypothetical situation and the consequences of the situation. In a sentence in Kayan Latha, the first part of the sentence is the condition clause

and it describes the hypothetical situation. The second part of the sentence is the clause that describes the consequence of the condition clause.

The following are the examples of conditional clauses.

(251) [veʔ taŋkaʔʌ oʌ mɛʌ] veʔ kaʌ moʔ səʌnɛʌ  
 2s money exist if 2s will do what  
 PRO N V SUB.CONJ PRO V V Q  
 ‘If you have money, what will you do?’

(252) [naʔ jəʌ sʰaŋʔʌ ləʔ məiŋʔ mɛʌ] naʔ kaʌ jəʌ aŋjjeŋʌ  
 1s not look see mother if 1s will not eat rice  
 PRO NEG V V N SUB.CONJ PRO V NEG V N  
 ‘If I do not see mother, I will not eat.’

(253) [aiʔ lɛʔ naŋʌtuʌ mɛʌ] əʌ kaʌ lwaŋʌ taʌjŋəiŋʌ  
 Ai go forest if 3s will go hunting  
 N.PROP V N SUB-CONJ PRO V V N  
 ‘If Ai go to the forest, he will go for hunting.’

(254) [məʌkwaʌŋəŋʌ kaŋʌfweʔ mɛʌ] naʔ kaʌ lɛʔ saʌkʰoŋʌ  
 today rain if 1s will go rice.field  
 N V SUB-CONJ PRO V V N  
 ‘If it rains today, I will go to the rice field.’

## 6.11 Serial verb constructions

In this section, the different kinds of serial verb constructions which include action with purpose, action (cause)-result, motion with goal, motion with direction, action with result, action with completion and action with negative result are discussed.

In Kayan Lahta, two verbs or more which are not lexically related are combined in a serial verb construction. They are very frequent in this language. However, some verbs series are compound and not serial verbs.

In example (255), the two verbs, *sʰaŋʔʌ* ‘look’ and *ləʔ* ‘see’ co-occur. However, the meaning of the combined verbs is not compositional. The two verbs are combined to form one meaning ‘see’. This is a coordinate compound and not a compositional

serial verb construction. The meaning of serial verbs is more compositional than with compound verbs.

(255)	<i>bəɹuɹ</i>	<i>s<sup>h</sup>aŋʔɹ</i>	<i>ləɹ</i>	<i>təŋɹ</i>	<i>baɹ</i>	<i>ʃwaŋʔɹ</i>
	<i>PaO</i>	<i>look</i>	<i>see</i>	<i>porcupine</i>	<i>clf</i>	<i>feather</i>
	N.PROP	V	V	N	CLF	N

‘Pa.O sees the porcupine’s feather.’

In this section, some types of serial verb constructions will be examined. In this paper, serial verb constructions are treated as a variety of distinct verb pairs that are defined by the semantic relationship between the verbs.

### 6.11.1 Action with purpose (different agent)

In this serial verb construction, the first verb shows the action of the agent and the second verb express the purpose of the action in each sentence.

(256)	<i>bəɹ.uɹ</i>	<i>p<sup>h</sup>iɹ</i>	<i>aŋɹ</i>	<i>kajaŋʔɹ</i>	<i>s<sup>h</sup>aŋɹ</i>	<i>jaɹ</i>
	<i>PaO</i>	<i>give</i>	<i>eat</i>	<i>Kayan</i>	<i>elephant</i>	<i>meat</i>
	N.PROP	V	V	N.PROP	N	N

‘Pa.O give Kayan elephant meat to eat.’

In example (257), there are two participants: the agent and the recipient. In this sentence, the action verb *p<sup>h</sup>iɹ* ‘give’ precedes the verb *aŋɹ* ‘eat’ which express the purpose of the first action. The purpose of Pa.O for giving the meat to Kayan is to eat.

(257)	<i>dəɹ</i>	<i>aŋɹ</i>	<i>jeŋɹ</i>
	<i>cook</i>	<i>eat</i>	<i>rice-cooked</i>
	V	V	N

‘Cook rice to eat.’

(258)	<i>maɹ</i>	<i>aŋɹ</i>	<i>kəɹmwaŋɹ</i>
	<i>make</i>	<i>eat</i>	<i>snack</i>
	V	V	N

‘Make snack to eat.’

In the above two examples, the agents are omitted and there are no recipients or patients. The verbs *aŋɹ* ‘eat’ is followed by the action verbs, *dəɹ* ‘cook’ and *maɹ* ‘make’. The meaning of both sentences is that the implied agents make something with the purpose of eating.

### 6.11.2 Action (cause) - result

The verb *mo* 'make' expresses the action which is caused to happen. It is followed by the verb which expresses the result of the action. Causative verbs were discussed in section 6.6.

- (259) *ka* *pla* *bə* *ta* *mo* *p* *h* *a* *ʔ* *ple* *ŋ* *ma*  
*call child make break bottle clf*  
 V N V V N CLF  
 'Call the child who broke the bottle.'

- (260) *na* *mo* *aŋ* *ja* *va*  
*Is make split bamboo*  
 PRO V V N  
 'I split the bamboo.'

In examples (259) and (260), the causative verb *mo* 'make' is followed by the result verb *p*<sup>h</sup>*a*<sup>ʔ</sup> 'break' and *aŋ**ja* 'split'.

### 6.11.3 Motion with arbitrary goal

In this type of serial verb construction, the two action verbs co-occur to express motion that has goal. They express simultaneous or immediately consecutive action. All the verbs share the same agent as can be seen in the following examples. In all examples below, the goal given is arbitrarily connected to the motion.

- (261) *ve* *le* *mo* *sə* *n* *ɛ*  
*2s go do what*  
 PRO V V Q  
 'What are you going to do?'

- (262) *t* *h* *a* *ŋ* *d* *a* *ʔ* *le* *e* *ŋ* *pla*  
*bear clf go bite human*  
 N CLF V V N  
 'The bear go bite the man.'

- (263) *plu* *pla* *lo* *va* *ŋ* *ta* *pi* *ba*  
*child clf follow hit fly clf*  
 N CLF V V N CLF  
 'The child follow hit the fly.'

### 6.11.4 Motion with direction

In this type of serial verb construction, the two verbs are combined to express motion with direction. The first verb expresses the motion of the agent and the second verb denotes the direction of the action.

- (264) *taʌpiʌ baʌ jəʌ laŋʌ*  
*fly clf fly descend*  
 N CLF V V  
 ‘The fly came down.’

- (265) *pja<sup>o</sup>ŋʌ te<sup>i</sup>ŋʌ do<sup>u</sup>ŋʌ Tju*  
*move come village Tju*  
 V V N N.PROP  
 ‘(They) move to the Tju village.’

- (266) *məʌkaŋʌ kəʌho<sup>u</sup>ŋʌ t<sup>h</sup>aŋʌ s<sup>h</sup>aʔʌ pəʌmoʌ*  
*spirit call ascend only woman*  
 N V V PRT N  
 ‘The spirit calls only the women.’

### 6.11.5 Action with result

In this “action with result” serial verb construction, the two verbs are combined to each other to show an action that has the result. The first verb expresses the action of the agent and the second verb denotes the result in this construction. See the examples below:

- (267) *kaʌjaŋʔʌ lwaŋʌ niʌ te<sup>i</sup>ŋʌ baʌ*  
*Kayan hunt get porcupine clf*  
 N.PROP V V N CLF  
 ‘Kayan hunted (and) get a porcupine.’

In example (267) the first verb, *lwaŋʌ* ‘hunt’ shows the action of the agent, ‘Kayan’ and has the result that the Kayan get a porcupine.

This serial verb construction can be used in a question form as can be seen in the following example.

- (268) *veʌ εʌ aŋʌ mjəŋʌt<sup>h</sup>əʌ*  
*2s quest eat finish*  
 PRO Q V V  
 ‘Have you finished eating?’

### 6.11.6 Action with completion

The verb *ba/* is combined with the action verb to express that an action is complete. In this serial verb construction, the action verb is followed by the verb *ba/* ‘touch’ which indicates that the action is completed. Events modified by *ba/* must be of short duration. When *ba/* is used with long duration, events denote the experiential past.

(269) *p<sup>h</sup>a/ vaŋŋ ba/ ta/ɸi/ ba/*  
*father hit touch fly clf*  
 N V V N CLF  
 ‘The father hits the fly.’

(270) *plu/ pla/ e<sup>h</sup>ŋ/ ba/ sa/ŋo<sup>u</sup>/ ma/*  
*child clf bite touch thumb clf*  
 N CLF V V N CLF  
 ‘The child bites his thumb.’

(271) *ŋpla/ vaŋŋ ba/ ŋpla/ŋaŋ/*  
*3s hit touch himself*  
 PRO V V REFLX  
 ‘He hits himself.’

(272) is the example that *ba/* is used with long duration event that denotes the experiential past

(272) *mə/ho<sup>u</sup>?/ ne<sup>h</sup>ŋ ɲa/ lɛ/ ba/ sə/ɸ<sup>h</sup>oŋ/*  
*yesterday year 1s go experience Tha-Hton*  
 N N PRO V V N.PROP  
 ‘Last year, I had an experience going to Tha Hton.’

### 6.11.7 Action with negative result

The verb *ka<sup>i</sup>/* literally means ‘destroy’. In this kind of serial verb construction, the verb *ka<sup>i</sup>/* follows the action verbs to show that the action results in a negative outcome. In each sentence, it has intention. The examples below show actions with a negative purpose.

(273) *p<sup>h</sup>a/ vaŋŋ ka<sup>i</sup>/ ta/ɸi/ ba/*  
*father hit action fly clf*  
 N V V N CLF  
 ‘The father hits the fly.’



(274) *fwi*     *dəʔɿ*   *e'ŋ*   *ka<sup>i</sup>*     *plu*   *pla*   *k<sup>h</sup>aŋ* *bo<sup>h</sup>ŋ*  
*dog*   *clf*   *bite*   *action*   *child*   *clf*   *leg*  
N       CLF   V       V       N       CLF   N  
‘The dog bites the child’s leg.’

(275) *t<sup>h</sup>u*     *ba*     *sə* *ljə*   *ma*     *ka<sup>i</sup>*  
*bird*   *clf*   *fly*   *disappear*   *action*  
N       CLF   V       V       V  
‘The bird fly disappear.’

## 6.12 Conclusion

In this chapter, single clause types were discussed. In the clause types, declarative, content questions and imperative were included. Interrogative and polar questions were discussed under content questions, aspect, ability, negation, comparative and superlative, causative, reciprocal and reflexive were also presented. Brief discussions of complex sentence types which contain coordinate, relative and adverbial clauses were included in this chapter. Finally, several serial verb constructions were presented.

# Chapter 7

## Conclusion

### 7.1 Introduction

This chapter is the conclusion of the thesis and it summarizes each chapter that has presented in previous. Suggestions for the further study on the Kayan Lahta are included in this chapter.

### 7.2 Summary

Chapter 1 provided information about the thesis and gave a briefly summer of each chapter. It introduced the Lahta people, the language that they are using, their education, religion, and beliefs. It also provided information about where they live, how they dress, what they do for their living and how many people there are. Finally the limitations, scope, and benefit of the research were discussed.

Chapter two described Lahta phonology. The consonant and vowel inventory, the tones and the syllable structure of the language were discussed. The consonant section was divided into plosives, nasals, fricatives, and approximants. In the vowel section monophthongs and diphthongs were covered. Major syllable structure and minor syllable structures were discussed under the syllable structure. Finally, the distribution of phones that include initial consonant-tone distribution, monophthong vowel-tone distribution, nasal rhymes, diphthong vowel-tone distribution and consonant vowel sequences were described.

The phonology analysis concluded that there are 24 consonants and 14 vowels (10 monophthongs and 4 diphthongs) in Kayan Lahta. It is a tonal language and there are 4 tones in Kayan Lahta.

Chapter three started the grammatical analysis of the Kayan Lahta language. This chapter described the word classes of the language. Both major word classes and minor word classes were discussed in this chapter. In the major word classes section, nouns, verbs, adjective and adverb were discussed. Nouns were sub-divided into proper nouns, common nouns and compound nouns. Subordinate compounds, attributed compounds, coordinate compounds and idiomatic compounds were

included under the compound noun section. The minor word classes consisted of pronouns, classifiers, demonstratives, numbers, quantifiers, conjunctions and localizers.

Chapter four described noun phrases, classifier phrases, adpositionals and relative clauses. Under the noun phrase section, head nouns, possessives, adjectives, demonstratives and quantifiers were presented.

In the classifier phrase section, the classifiers were shown to mostly occur with numerals, quantifiers, or with demonstratives. Sometimes, the classifiers directly follow the noun. Adpositional and relative clause modification was also discussed in this chapter.

Chapter five was about the simple clauses of the Lahta. The linear order of elements in the clause was represented in this chapter. Two types of clauses: non-verbal and verbal clauses were presented in this chapter. The copula clause was subdivided into attributive clauses, equative clauses, location clauses, existential clauses, clausal possession and quantification predication. The verbal clause section included intransitive clauses, transitive clauses, motion clauses and ditransitive clauses. Specific forms for encoding agent, patient, location, manner, recipient, instrument and time were presented in this chapter under the section of semantic roles and relationships.

In Chapter six, two clause types: major clause types and complex clause types in the Kayan Lahta were discussed. In the major clause types section, declarative, imperative and content question were presented. Then the question section was subdivided into interrogative and polar questions. Verbal aspect, ability, negation, comparative and superlative, causative, reciprocals and reflexives were also presented. The complex types discussed included coordinates, relative clauses, adverbial clauses and subordinate clauses. Finally serial verb constructions were presented.

### **7.3 Further research**

As the thesis is the brief grammar description of Kayan Lahta, more research is needed to go deeper. A number of questions need to be answered.

For the phonology chapter, it is necessary to learn more about the tones as the data collection was not focus on the tones. Breathy phonation is not considered in this thesis. More data is required to know whether the Kayan Lahta language has a

breathy phonation or not. Some words like 'θiɿ', 'jaɿ' are probably loan words from Burmese. They need to be investigated too.

As Kenneth Neil Manson states that 'A grammar of a language is never finished,' Kayan Lahta language needs to be studied further. Especially, verbal particles such as modals and aspect markers are needed to be studied more. Unfortunately, the meaning of some particles cannot be described as they occur only one or two times in the data. More data needs to be collected to improve the analysis.

Adpositional phrases are also needed to be studied more. Complex sentences including coordinate, subordinate and relative clauses need to be explained more in detail.

There are three different groups in Kayan. These four different groups speak different dialects, yet except for Kayan Lahta, they are mutual intelligibility. According to a recent survey Lahta has a minimal 25% lexical difference to other Kayan dialects. As Lahta is lexically different from other Kayan, there is a question how the grammar of Lahta is different. To answer that question, it needs to be studied further in comparison with other Kayan grammars.

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Appendix A  
**SONGS AND STORIES**

1 t<sup>h</sup>aŋʔɿ dəɿ ʃwiɿ dəʔɿ plu<sup>+</sup> plaɿ , plu<sup>+</sup> piɿ plaɿ  
bear and dog clf child clf child small clf  
N CONN N CLF N CLF N ADJ CLF  
A bear and a dog, a child, a small child

2 ʃwiɿ dəʔɿ plu<sup>+</sup> plaɿ pla<sup>+</sup> bəɿtaɿ plaɿ plu<sup>+</sup> plaɿ aŋɿ jɛŋɿ  
dog clf child clf person child clf child clf eat rice-cooked  
N CLF N CLF N N CLF N CLF V N  
A dog, a child, a child , child ate rice-cooked.

3 aŋɿ kəɿmwaŋɿ  
eat snack  
V N  
Ate snack.

4 uɿ θiɿ  
drink alcohol  
V N  
Drank alcohol.

5 aŋɿ θaŋɿ θaɿ  
eat tree fruit  
V N N  
Ate fruit.

6 p<sup>h</sup>uʔɿ dəɿ p<sup>h</sup>a<sup>+</sup> naŋ<sup>+</sup> ləkwaɿloɿ  
son and father sit together  
N CONN N V ADV

The son and the father sat together.

7 naŋt̚ ləkwa:lə dəŋ aŋt̚ ləkwa:ləŋ  
sit together and eat together  
V ADV CONN V ADV  
Sitting together and eating together.

8 na:t̚puŋt̚ aŋt̚ ləkwa:ləŋ mɛŋ wiŋ  
we(1p) eat together is delicious  
PRO V ADV V ADJ  
Eating together was delicious.

9 pluŋt̚ plaŋ aŋt̚ θaŋt̚ θaŋt̚ kə:ləŋt̚ kuʔŋ  
child clf eat tree fruit plate inside  
N CLF V N N N PREP  
The child ate fruit in the plate

10 tʰaŋt̚ jaŋt̚taʔŋt̚ boŋt̚  
burn candle clf  
V N CLF  
Burned the candle.

11 uŋt̚ θiŋt̚  
drink alcohol  
V N  
Drank alcohol.

12 aŋt̚ jɛŋt̚  
eat rice-cooked  
V N  
Ate rice-cooked..



13 pɿaɿ aŋɿ jɛŋɿ

clf eat rice-cooked

CLF V N

People ate rice-cooked.

14 pɿaɿ pɿaɿ aŋɿ jɛŋɿ dəɿ uɿ θiɿ

clf clf eat rice-cooked and drink alcohol

CLF CLF V N CONN V N

The man ate rice and drank alcohol.

15 pɿaɿ uɿ ʃəʔɿ

person drink water

CLF V N

People drank water.

16 pɿaɿ aŋɿ θaŋɿ θaɿ

person eat tree fruit

CLF V N N

People ate fruit.

17 bəɿɿeɿ maɿ

bottle clf

N CLF

A bottle

18 taɿpiɿ baɿ jəɿ ɿeɿ

fly clf fly go

N CLF V V

A fly came.

19 əɿ məiŋɿ dəʔɿ oɿ ɿəɿkwaɿloɿ

mother clf exist together

N CLF V ADV

His mother was together (with him).

20 t<sup>h</sup>əŋʔ<sup>l</sup> dəʔ<sup>l</sup> le<sup>l</sup> ʔe<sup>i</sup>ŋ<sup>l</sup> pla<sup>l</sup>  
bear clf go bite clf  
N CLF V V CLF  
The bear went bit a person.

21 aŋ<sup>l</sup> mjaŋ<sup>l</sup> ba<sup>l</sup>  
open mouth clf  
V N CLF  
Opened his mouth.

22 plu<sup>l</sup> pla<sup>l</sup> ʃo<sup>l</sup> sə<sup>l</sup>ŋwɛ<sup>l</sup> vaŋ<sup>l</sup> kə<sup>l</sup>lo<sup>l</sup>  
child clf take thing hit will  
N CLF V N V V  
The child took thing to hit.

23 plu<sup>l</sup> pla<sup>l</sup> lo<sup>l</sup> vaŋ<sup>l</sup> ta<sup>l</sup>pi<sup>l</sup> ba<sup>l</sup>  
child clf follow hit fly clf  
N CLF V V N CLF  
The child followed hit the fly.

24 aŋ<sup>l</sup> lo<sup>l</sup> jɛŋ<sup>l</sup>  
eat together rice-cooked  
V ADV N  
(They) ate rice-cooked together.

25 u<sup>l</sup> lo<sup>l</sup> θi<sup>l</sup>  
drink together alcohol  
V ADV N  
(They) drank alcohol together.

26 ʔe<sup>i</sup>ŋ<sup>l</sup> ba<sup>l</sup> sa<sup>l</sup>no<sup>u</sup> ma<sup>l</sup>  
bite effect thumb clf  
V V N CLF  
(He) bit his thumb.

27 məiŋɫ dəʔɫ ŋoŋɫmaɫ

mother clf angry

N CLF V

The mother got angry.

28 məiŋɫ dəʔɫ vaŋɫ taɫpiɫ baɫ

mother clf hit fly clf

N CLF V N CLF

The mother hit the fly.

29 me'iŋɫ p<sup>h</sup>aɫ bəɫ

fire clf burn

N CLF V

The fire burned.

30 baɫlaŋɫ ŋkaɫ luɫ

thing destroy all

N ADV QUNT

All things were destroyed.

31 p<sup>h</sup>uʔɫ laŋɫe'iŋɫ ʒoɫsaʔɫ

son become scare

N V ADV

The son(the child) was scared.

32 ŋkaɫ luɫ ʃəʔɫ jɛŋɫ

destroy all water rice-cooked

ADV QUNT N N

Water rice-cooked were destroyed

33 məiŋɫ dəʔɫ ɛɫmaɫ

mother clf angry

N CLF ADV

The mother got angry.

34 taɭpiɫ baɭ jəɫ maɫ həɫ  
fly clf fly dissappear gone  
N CLF V V V

The fly flew dissappear.

35 vaŋɭ

hit

V

Hit

36 pɔɫ baɭ əɭ p<sup>h</sup>uʔɭ plaɭ

hit clf one son clf

V CLF PRO N CLF

He hit his child (the child was hit by his father).

37 ŋkaɫ luɫ taɭjaɭ

destroy all thing

ADV QUNT N

All things were destroyed

38 vaŋɭ ka<sup>i</sup>ɫ

hit

V

(The father) hit.

39 p<sup>h</sup>aɫ laɭ vaŋɭ ka<sup>i</sup>ɫ taɭpiɫ baɭ

father under hit fly clf

N PREP V N CLF

The father hit the fly.

40 p<sup>h</sup>uʔɭ laɫ εɭmaɫ

son descend angry

N V ADV

The son got angry.

41 ʃwiɹ dəʔɹ lɛɹ ʔe'ŋɹ ka'ɹ pluɹ plaɹ k'həŋɹbo'uŋɹ  
 dog clf go bite child clf leg  
 N CLF V V N CLF N  
 The dog went bit the child's leg.

42 p'h'uʔɹ dəʔɹ ɛɹmaɹ  
 son clf angry  
 N CLF ADV  
 The son got angry.

43 əŋɹ luɹ həɹ θəŋɹ θaɹ  
 eat all gone tree fruit  
 V QUNT V N N  
 (They) ate all fruit.

44 taɹpiɹ baɹ laŋɹ bəɹ dəɹ plaɹbəɹtaɹ səɹɹŋŋɹ  
 fly clf down rest on child head  
 N CLF V V PREP N N  
 The fly rested down on the child's head.

45 məiŋɹ plaɹ uɹ θiɹ  
 mother clf drink alcohol  
 N CLF V N  
 The mother drank alcohol.

46 əɹ p'h'aɹ plaɹ vaŋɹ taɹpiɹ baɹ  
 one father clf hit fly clf  
 PRO N CLF V N CLF  
 The father hit the fly.

47 laŋɹ bəɹ baɹ p'h'uʔɹ plaɹ səɹɹŋŋɹ  
 down rest at son clf head  
 V V PREP N CLF N  
 Rested on the son's head.

48 p<sup>h</sup>uʔl̩ plaʔ n̩əiŋʔ

son clf cry

N CLF V

The son cried.

49 ʃwiʔ d̩əʔl̩ d̩əʔ l̩ɛʔ l̩waŋʔ kaʔiʔ plaʔ plaʔ b̩əʔtaʔ plaʔ

dog clf and go go clf person child clf

N CLF CONN V V CLF N N CLF

The dog went run after the child.

50 p<sup>h</sup>uʔl̩ plaʔ vaŋʔ kaʔiʔ

son clf hit

N CLF V

The son hit (the fly)

51 səʔjəʔ maʔ kaʔiʔ

fly dissappear

V V

(The fly) fly dissappeared.

52 taʔpiʔ baʔ laŋʔ b̩əʔ ʃwiʔ d̩əʔl̩

fly clf down rest dog clf

N CLF V V N CLF

The fly rested down on the dog.

53 pluʔ plaʔ vaŋʔ kaʔiʔ

child clf hit

N CLF V

The child hit (the fly)

54 taʔpiʔ baʔ laŋʔ b̩əʔ kaʔiʔ ʃwiʔ d̩əʔl̩

fly clf down rest dog clf

N CLF V V N CLF

The fly flew down rest on the dog.

55 plu<sup>+</sup> pla<sup>]</sup> ʃo<sup>]</sup>ma<sup>]</sup> ka<sup>+</sup>i<sup>+</sup> k<sup>h</sup>oŋ<sup>]</sup> ba<sup>]</sup>  
 child clf take chair clf  
 N CLF V N CLF  
 The child took the chair.

56 t<sup>h</sup>aŋ<sup>?</sup> də<sup>?</sup> t<sup>h</sup>aŋ<sup>]</sup> ka<sup>+</sup>i<sup>+</sup> k<sup>h</sup>oŋ<sup>]</sup> k<sup>h</sup>u<sup>]</sup> də<sup>]</sup> vaŋ<sup>]</sup>  
 bear clf up chair on and hit  
 N CLF V N LOCZR CONN V  
 The bear climbed on chair and hit.

57 laŋ<sup>]</sup> bə<sup>]</sup> ka<sup>+</sup>i<sup>+</sup> θaŋ<sup>]</sup> θa<sup>]</sup>  
 down rest tree fruit  
 V V N N  
 Rested down on the fruit

58 ŋka<sup>+</sup> lu<sup>+</sup> haŋ<sup>]</sup>  
 destroy all soil  
 ADV QUNT N  
 All destroyed on the ground.

59 plu<sup>+</sup> lɛ<sup>+</sup> o<sup>]</sup> ba<sup>+</sup> k<sup>h</sup>oŋ<sup>]</sup> k<sup>h</sup>u<sup>]</sup>  
 child go exist at chair on  
 N V V PREP N LOCZR  
 The child went and stayed on the chair

60 də<sup>]</sup> ʃo<sup>]</sup> vaŋ<sup>]</sup> kə<sup>+</sup> sə<sup>]</sup>ŋwɛ<sup>]</sup>  
 and take hit then thing  
 CONN V V CONN N  
 And took (the stick) and hit the things.

61 də<sup>]</sup> jə<sup>]</sup> ji<sup>+</sup>  
 and not get  
 CONN PRT V  
 And (he) could not (hit).

62 plu<sup>+</sup> pla<sup>↓</sup> ŋka<sup>+</sup> lu<sup>+</sup>  
child clf destroy all  
N CLF ADV QUNT  
The child fell down.

63 laŋ<sup>↓</sup> lu<sup>+</sup> haŋ<sup>↓</sup>  
down all soil  
V QUNT N  
All fell down on the ground.

64 də<sup>↓</sup> jə<sup>↓</sup> aŋ<sup>↓</sup> ba<sup>↓</sup> jo<sup>↓</sup>  
and not eat effect S.F  
CONN PRT V CLF PRT  
And they were not able to eat.

## 10 song (Rec5)

1 ɲə<sup>↓</sup> jə<sup>↓</sup> da<sup>↓</sup> kaŋ<sup>+</sup> mə<sup>↓</sup>ha<sup>?</sup><sup>↓</sup>  
sleep not can under part night  
V PRT V N N  
(I) could not sleep tonight.

2 ba<sup>↓</sup> sə<sup>↓</sup>ne<sup>↓</sup>  
happen what  
V Q  
What happened?

3 mu<sup>↓</sup> də<sup>↓</sup> la<sup>?</sup><sup>↓</sup> k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>+</sup>  
sun and moon shine  
N CONN N V  
The sun and the moon shine.



4 lwiŋ tʰaŋŋ veŋ səŋnoŋŋ  
think ascend 2s on  
V V N PREP  
(I) thought about you.

5 nəŋmaŋŋ  
dream  
V  
(I) dreamed (you).

6 nəŋmaŋŋ kuʔŋ ləŋ məŋ naŋ dəŋ veŋ  
dream inside see is 1s and 2s  
V PREP V V PRO CONN N  
In my dream, I saw you and me.

7 naŋ dəŋ veŋ jəŋ sʰaŋʔŋ ləŋ məŋ daŋ baŋsəŋnəŋŋ  
1s and 2s not look see is can why  
PRO CONN N PRT V V V V Q  
Why I and you could not see (each other).

8 muŋ nəŋ laʔŋ kʰaŋ nəŋ məŋ pjaŋŋ veŋ baŋwaʔŋ  
sky and moon shine and sun like 2s life  
N CONN N V CONN N V N N  
your life was like the sky, the moon and the sun shine.

9 təŋ məŋliŋ moŋ taŋmoŋ moŋ jəŋ θiʔŋ  
from morning do work do not know  
PREP N V N V PRT V  
In the morning, I worked (but) I didn't know that I was working.

10 lwiŋ tʰaŋŋ laʔŋ veŋ səŋnoŋŋ veŋ jwaŋplaŋŋ  
think ascend always 2s on 2s image  
V V N PREP N N  
Always thinking about you, your image.

11 k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>+</sup> aŋ<sup>]</sup> jɛŋ<sup>]</sup> aŋ<sup>]</sup> jɛθ<sup>]</sup> jə<sup>]</sup> θi?<sup>]</sup>  
 when eat rice-cooked eat rice-cooked not know  
 CONN V N V N PRT V  
 When I ate, I didn't know that I was eating.

12 k<sup>h</sup>u<sup>]</sup> ma<sup>+</sup> lɛ<sup>+</sup> la'i?<sup>]</sup> θe'iŋ<sup>+</sup> ve<sup>+</sup> sə<sup>]</sup>ŋoŋ<sup>]</sup>  
 N clf go always again 2s head  
 CLF V ADV ADV N N  
 My head always went to you again. (I think about you again and again.)

13 mə<sup>]</sup>li<sup>+</sup> lwi<sup>]</sup> jə<sup>]</sup> θi?<sup>]</sup>  
 morning think not know  
 N V PRT V  
 I didn't know when the morning come.

14 mə<sup>]</sup>ha?<sup>]</sup> lwi<sup>]</sup> jə<sup>]</sup> θi?<sup>]</sup>  
 night think not know  
 N V PRT V  
 I didn't know when the night came.

15 kwaŋ<sup>+</sup>ke<sup>+</sup> lu<sup>+</sup> ɲa<sup>+</sup> k<sup>h</sup>u<sup>]</sup> ma<sup>+</sup>  
 ADJ all 1s N clf  
 QUNT PRO N CLF  
 Everything was confuse in my head.

## 2(history) Rec. 35

1 o<sup>]</sup> lo<sup>]</sup> do<sup>u</sup>ŋ<sup>]</sup> pə<sup>]</sup>pa<sup>i</sup><sup>]</sup>  
 exist together village Pa Pai  
 V ADV N N  
 (We) stayed together in (the village name) Pa Pai.

2 moŋɿ tsuɿ

Nat time

N N

(It was) the time of (sacrificing) Nat.

3 mwəɿ məɿkaŋɿ oɿ

spirit festival exist

NPROP N V

There was a festival for the Mwa Nat.

4 məɿkaŋɿ kəɿho<sup>u</sup>ŋɿ t<sup>h</sup>aŋɿ s<sup>h</sup>aʔɿ pəɿmoɿ

festival call ascend only woman

N V V PRT N

In the festival, (Nat) called only the woman.

5 ho<sup>u</sup>ŋɿ t<sup>h</sup>aŋɿ s<sup>h</sup>aʔɿ pəɿmoɿ dəɿ pəɿmoɿ plaɿ jəɿ vaŋɿ

call up only woman and woman clf not clean

V V PRT N CONN N CLF PRT ADJ

(He) call the woman and the woman was not clean. (the lady who is called by Nat is not clean)

6 pəɿmoɿ plaɿ jəɿ vaŋɿ kəɿ t<sup>h</sup>aŋɿ aŋɿ maŋɿtoɿ

woman clf not clean then ascend eat wrong

N CLF PRT ADJ CONN V V ADV

The woman was inappropriate to eat. (Lit: The woman is not clean and he eat wrong.)

7 t<sup>h</sup>aŋɿ aŋɿ maŋɿtoɿ kəɿ plaɿ təɿmoɿ

ascend eat wrong then clf die

V V ADV CONN CLF V

Ate wrong then people died.

8 pla<sup>+</sup> qo<sup>+</sup>ta<sup>+</sup> ə<sup>+</sup> ŋəŋ<sup>+</sup> ʃə<sup>+</sup> lo<sup>+</sup>  
 person many he/she day die together  
 N QUNT PRO N V ADV  
 Many people died together withing a day.

9 ə<sup>+</sup> pu<sup>+</sup> ə<sup>+</sup> pu<sup>+</sup> ʃə<sup>+</sup> lo<sup>+</sup> tə<sup>+</sup> ŋəŋ<sup>+</sup> tə<sup>+</sup> təiŋ<sup>+</sup>  
 he/she many he/she many die together clf two clf three  
 PRO QUNT PRO QUNT V ADV CLF NUM CLF NUM  
 Many people died together, two or three (a day).

10 kə<sup>+</sup> o<sup>+</sup> lo<sup>+</sup> jə<sup>+</sup> da<sup>+</sup>  
 then exist together not can  
 CONN V ADV PRT V  
 Then they could not stay together.

11 pja<sup>o</sup>ŋ<sup>+</sup> te<sup>i</sup>ŋ<sup>+</sup> do<sup>u</sup>ŋ<sup>+</sup> Tju  
 move come village Tju  
 V V N N  
 (They) moved to the village called Tju.

12 pja<sup>o</sup>ŋ<sup>+</sup> te<sup>i</sup>ŋ<sup>+</sup> Tju kə<sup>+</sup> pla<sup>+</sup> pla<sup>+</sup>bə<sup>+</sup>ta<sup>+</sup> jə<sup>+</sup> pjəŋ<sup>+</sup>  
 move come Tju then clf child not ``  
 V V N CONN CLF N PRT V  
 They moved to the village called Tju then the children did not felling well.

13 pla<sup>+</sup> pla<sup>+</sup>bə<sup>+</sup>ta<sup>+</sup> jə<sup>+</sup> pjəŋ<sup>+</sup> kə<sup>+</sup> pja<sup>o</sup>ŋ<sup>+</sup> te<sup>i</sup>ŋ<sup>+</sup> nəte<sup>i</sup>ŋ<sup>+</sup>  
 clf child not `` so move come Natei  
 CLF N PRT V CONN V V N  
 The children did not felling well so they moved to the village named Natei.

14 ʃa<sup>?</sup> jə<sup>+</sup> pjəŋ<sup>+</sup>  
 chicken not ``  
 N PRT V  
 The chickens were not good.

15 ʃaʔŋ ʃəŋ pjeŋŋ mjɛŋmaŋŋkət pjaŋŋ kʰɔ dət doŋŋ taŋŋpʰoŋŋ  
 chicken not `` then move another on village Tan Pon  
 N PRT V CONN V N PREP N N

The chicken were not good then they moved to another Tan Pon village.

16 doŋŋ taŋŋpʰoŋŋ kət oŋ loŋ daŋ ɲiŋ  
 village Tan Pon then exist together can long  
 N N CONN V ADV V ADJ

They moved to the village cllaed Tan Pon then they could stay together longer.

17 maŋŋkət əŋ ɲbiŋ loŋ loŋkaŋŋ ʃəŋ ʔeʔŋ  
 then he/she feed together nat not able  
 CONN PRO V ADV N PRT V

Then they did not able to secrific nat anymore.

18 ɲbiŋ loŋkaŋŋ ʃəŋ ʔeʔŋ kət pjaŋŋ laŋŋ doŋŋ paŋŋ  
 feed nat S.F able then move down village Pou  
 V N V ADJ CONN V V N NPROP

They did not want to sacrifice nat anymore than they moved down to the village named Pau.

19 oŋ loŋ Buda baŋsaŋ  
 have together Buddish religion  
 V ADV N N

They became Buddish together.

20 laŋŋ oŋ lætʰuŋ doŋŋ paŋŋ ʃəŋ  
 descend have until now village Pou S.F  
 V V ADV N NPROP PRT

They lived in the village called Pou until now.

### 3 how to weave

1 pə'peɪ ne'iŋ]

cut leaf

V N

Cut leaf.

2 bluː se'iŋ] mjɛ'maŋ] voː fəʔ]

dry dry then make dry water

V V CONN V N

Dry (the leaves) and then make dry

3 ŋbluː vaŋ]

take off smooth

V ADJ

Make them smooth.

4 mjɛ'maŋ]kɔː də] sʰaɪ

then and sew

CONN CONN V

And then saw (it).

5 sʰaɪ mjɛ'maŋ]kɔː ŋaː]

sew then top part

V CONN LOCZR

Sew then (sew) the top part.

6 ŋaː mjɛ'maŋ] ŋdaː]

top part then weave

LOCZR CONN V

(Sew) the top part then weave.

7 ŋdaʃ mjɛʃmaŋʃ bəʔʃ

weave then  
V CONN V

Weave then (make the head part to be) round.

8 bəʔʃ tʰaʔʃ

fold  
V V

(Make the head part to be) round (then) fold up.

9 tʰaʔʃ mjɛʃmaŋʃ saʔʃluʃ

fold then cover  
V CONN V

Fold (it) up then cover.

## 4 how to make basket

1 pʰaŋʃ təʃmaŋʃ maʃ

make basket clf  
V N CLF

Make a basket.

2 ɲaʃ pʰaŋʃ təʃmaŋʃ maʃ

1s make basket clf  
PRO V N CLF

I make a busket.

3 kuʔʃ vaʃ

cut bamboo.plant  
PREP N

Cut bamboo.

4 ꠊaꠢ ꠑuꠢ ꠑaꠢ  
1s cut bamboo.plant  
PRO PREP N  
I cut the bamboo.

5 ꠑuꠢ ꠑaꠢ            dꠢ ꠢꠢdꠢꠑꠢ  
inside bamboo.plant with knife/ blade  
PREP N            PREP N  
Cut the bamboo with knife.

6 ꠑweꠢ dꠢ ꠑiꠢ  
pull and rope  
V    CONN N  
Pull with rope.

7 aꠑꠢꠑaꠢ  
split  
V  
split out (to make the bamboo smooth).

8 aꠑꠢꠑaꠢ ꠑꠑꠢꠑꠑꠢꠑꠑꠢ ꠑꠢꠢꠢ  
split then smooth  
V    CONN    V

9 ꠑꠢꠢꠢ ꠑꠑꠢꠑꠑꠢꠑꠑꠢ ꠢꠢaꠢ ꠑꠢiꠢ ꠑaꠑꠢ  
smooth then weave weave under part  
ADJ    CONN    V    V    N  
Make smooth then weave under part (of the basket).

10 ꠢꠢaꠢ ꠢꠢaꠑꠢ ꠑaꠢnaꠢ  
weave ascend frame  
V    V    N  
Weave up the frame (of the basket).



11 ɲdiɿ dəɿ qiɿ  
 weave and cane/rattan  
 V CONN N  
 Weave with cane/rattan.

12 mjeɿmaŋɿkəɿ siɿsaɿŋɿ daɿ hoʊɿ  
 then carry can  
 CONN V V  
 Then (you) can carry it.

13 sʰaŋɿsʰaɿ kjaɿ  
 sell market  
 V N  
 Sell in the market.

14 ɲaɿ pʰaɿ sʰaŋɿsʰaɿ təɿmaŋɿ maɿ  
 1s father sell basket clf  
 PRO N V N CLF  
 My father sells basket.

15 veɿ pʰaŋɿ pʰuɿ təɿmaŋɿ maɿ  
 2s make beautiful basket clf  
 PRO V ADV N CLF  
 He makes the basket nicely.

## 6 the fly and the bear(Rec15)

1 tʰaŋʔɿ dəɿ əɿ məiŋɿ plaɿ aŋɿ jɛŋɿ  
 bear and he/she mother clf eat rice-cooked  
 N CONN PRO N CLF V N  
 A bear and his mother eat rice.

2 taɿpiɿ baɿ lɛɿ  
 fly clf go  
 N CLF V

The fly come.

3 ɛl<sup>h</sup>aŋɿ θaɿ

angry heart

ADJ V

(He) get angry.

4 vaŋɿ taɿpi<sup>+</sup> baɿ

hit fly clf

V N CLF

Hit the fly.

5 taɿpi<sup>+</sup> baɿ ʃwaɿ hæɿ

fly clf go away gone

N CLF V V

the fly go away

6 vaŋɿ baɿ dəɿ əɿ məiŋɿ laɿ

hit clf in he/she mother

V CLF PREP PRO N

Hit his wife.

## 7(father and son) Rec.25

1 laɿ məɿkəɿs<sup>h</sup>aʔɿ k<sup>h</sup>aɿ , əɿ p<sup>h</sup>aɿ dəɿ əɿ p<sup>h</sup>uʔɿ oɿ loɿ θəɿ

time long ago when he/she father and one son exist together clf

ADJ ADV Q PRO N CONN PRO N V ADV CLF

ɲəŋɿ

two

NUM

Long long ago, the father and the son stayed together.

2 pə̀kʰuʔŋ jəŋɥ̄ plaɹ oɹ ləkwaɹloɹ jəŋɹ kuʔŋ  
 man two clf exist together house inside  
 N NUM CLF V ADV N PREP  
 The two men were stayed together in a house.

3 əɹ pʰuʔŋ plaɹ məɹ blaɹ  
 one son clf is lazy  
 PRO N CLF V ADJ  
 The son was lazy.

4 pʰuʔŋ plaɹ məɹ mwaɹɥ̄ plaɹ blaɹ  
 son clf is is clf lazy  
 N CLF V V CLF ADJ  
 The son is a lazy one.

5 sʰaʔŋ aŋɹ jəŋɹ  
 only eat rice-cooked  
 PRT V N  
 (The son) ate only. (Only know to eat.)

6 ləkɔɹ əɹ pʰaɹ əɹ plaɹ jaɹ kʰuɹ maɹ  
 then he/she father he/she clf pull on clf  
 CONN PRO N PRO CLF V LOCZR CLF  
 Then, his father pull the head.

7 baɹ ŋbi dɔɹɹɔɹ  
 happen feed  
 V V  
 It was like that.

8 əŋwaɹ kɔɹ əɹ pʰaɹ plaɹ ɛɹtʰaŋɹ θaɹ  
 later then one father clf angry heart  
 ADV CONN PRO N CLF ADJ N  
 Then, the father got angry.

9 na+ ə] p<sup>h</sup>u?ŋ o] θə] jəŋ+  
 1s he/she son exist clf two  
 PRO PRO N V CLF NUM  
 I had sons.

10 ə] p<sup>h</sup>a+ pla] do<sup>u</sup>ŋ+  
 he/she father clf say  
 PRO N CLF V  
 The father said.

11 kə+ ja+ ŋkwaŋ] ta+mo+ do<sup>u</sup>ŋ+ ə] do<sup>u</sup>ŋ+  
 then 1s find work say he/she say  
 CONN PRO V N V PRO V  
 'Then I find a job' he said.

12 kə+ ə] p<sup>h</sup>u?ŋ pla] kə+ s<sup>h</sup>aŋ+s<sup>h</sup>a+ ta]pi+  
 then he/she son clf then sell fly  
 CONN PRO N CLF CONN V N  
 Then the son, sold the fly.

13 ŋs<sup>h</sup>a+ ŋs<sup>h</sup>a+ kə+ mə] ba] ha?ŋ t<sup>h</sup>aŋ]  
 sell sell then sun happen night ascend  
 V V CONN N V N V  
 (He) sold, sold then the night came.

14 kə+ ta]s<sup>h</sup>ə?ŋ] tja] jəŋ] do<sup>u</sup>ŋ] ə] ku?ŋ] ə] pla]  
 then ask owner house village one inside one clf  
 CONN V N N N PRO PREP PRO CLF  
 Then (he) asked one of the woner of the house in a village.

15 na+ jə] ɛ+ da] ba+ jəŋ] ku?ŋ]  
 1s sleep question can at house inside  
 PRO V Q V PREP N PREP  
 'Can I sleep in the house?'

16 ve˩ ɲə˩ da˩ qa˩ tja˩ jəŋ˩ do˩ŋ˩  
 2s sleep can S.F owner house say  
 N V V PRT N N V  
 'You can sleep' the house owner said.

17 kə˩ ɲə˩ o˩  
 then sleep exist  
 CONN V V  
 Then sleep.

18 ɲə˩ o˩ ba˩no˩  
 sleep exist there  
 V V PREP  
 Slept there.

19 ve˩ sʰaŋ˩sʰa˩ sə˩nɛ˩ tja˩ jəŋ˩ pla˩ ta˩sʰə˩ʔ˩  
 2s sell what owner house clf ask  
 N V Q N N CLF V  
 'What do you sell' asked the house owner.

20 sʰaŋ˩sʰa˩ ta˩pi˩  
 sell fly  
 V N  
 Sell fly.

21 ve˩ ʃo˩ tʰaŋ˩ ɲa˩ ku˩ʔ˩ jə˩ da˩ jo˩ tja˩ jəŋ˩ do˩ŋ˩  
 2s take ascend 1s inside not can S.F owner house say  
 N V V PRO PREP PRT V PRT N N V  
 'You can not take it inside the house', say the house owner.

22 kə˩ ke haŋ˩  
 then soil  
 CONN N  
 (So he) left (the flies) on the ground.

## 9 history of Lahta and Pa.O

1 ka|jaŋʔ| lə|tʰa| də| bə|ju| o| lə|kwa|lo| də| sə|tʰoŋ|  
Kayan Lahta and Pa O exist together on Tha Hton  
N N CONN N V ADV PREP N  
Kayan Lahta and Pa O lived together in Tha Hton

2 o| tʰe|iŋ| lo| məi| soʰŋ| kʰu|  
exist area together place mountain on  
V N ADV N N LOCZR  
(They) lived together in mountain area.

3 kə| lwaŋ| lo| ta|jəiŋ|  
then go together animal  
CONN V ADV N  
Then (they) go together for hunting.

4 o| jə| lo| soʰŋ| kʰu| kə| lwaŋ|ta|jəiŋ|  
exist sleep together mountain on then hunting  
V V ADV N LOCZR CONN N  
Sleep together on the mountain, after that go hunting.

5 ka|jaŋʔ| lwaŋ| jɪ| te|iŋ| ba|  
Kayan go get porcupine clf  
N V V N CLF  
Kayan got a porcupine.

6 bə|ju| lwaŋ| lwa|i| lwa|i| sʰaŋ|  
Pa O go slow slow elephant  
N V ADJ ADJ N  
The PaO ran very slowly after the elephant.

7 mjɛlmaŋkɔt bəlu lwaŋ ɲi sʰaŋ dəʔ  
 then Pa O go get elephant clf  
 CONN N V V N CLF  
 Then Pa O got an elephant.

8 sʰaŋ du dəʔ mɛ bəlu lwaŋ ɲi  
 elephant big clf is Pa O go get  
 N ADJ CLF V N V V  
 The big elephant is hunted by PaO.

9 ka.ljaŋʔ lwaŋ ɲi te'ŋ ba kʰat jə pʰi aŋ bəlu  
 Kayan go get porcupine clf when not give eat Pa O  
 N V V N CLF Q PRT V V N  
 When Kayan got a porcupine they did not give to eat to Pa O.

10 jə pʰi aŋ bəlu  
 not give eat Pa O  
 PRT V V N  
 Did not give to eat to Pa O.

11 kɔt bəlu lwaŋ ɲi sʰaŋ dəʔ  
 then Pa O go get elephant clf  
 CONN N V V N CLF  
 Then Pa O got an elephant.

12 ɲi sʰaŋ kʰat pʰi aŋ ka.ljaŋʔ  
 get elephant when give eat Kayan  
 V N PRO V V N  
 When (Pa O) get elephant (they) gave to eat to Kayan.

13 kɔt bəlu lɛ sʰaŋʔ lə te'ŋ ba ʃwaŋʔ du  
 then Pa O go look see porcupine clf feather big  
 CONN N V V V N CLF N ADJ  
 Then many Pa O see porcupine's feather were big.

14 mjɛlmanɔkɔt doʊŋt manɔkɔt əl sʰaŋl dəʔl duɔ  
 then say then elephant clf big  
 CONN V CONN N CLF ADJ  
 Then said that the elephant was big.

15 duɔ dəl sʰaŋl dəʔl  
 big and elephant clf  
 ADJ CONN N CLF  
 If so, then bigger than the elephant.

16 mɛl sʰaŋl dəʔl ʃwaŋʔt mɛl duɔ  
 is elephant clf feather is big  
 V N CLF N V ADJ  
 The elephant's feather was big.

17 veɪ jəɪ pʰiɪ aŋl ɲaɪ  
 2s not give eat 1s  
 N PRT V V PRO  
 'You do not give me to eat.'

18 manɔkɔt məlteiŋl loɔ  
 then fight together  
 CONN V ADV  
 Then fought each other.

19 tʰuɪuət sʰuɪ dət bəlɔ dəl  
 from that time leaf on Pa O and  
 ADV V PREP N CONN  
 From that time (Kayan) left from Pa O.

20 bəlɔ dət kaɔjaŋʔl jəɪ voɪ veɪ loɔ tʰuɪuət  
 Pa O on Kayan not younger.sister brother together from that time  
 N PREP N PRT N N ADV ADV  
 From that time, Kayan and Pa O did not become together as brother and sister.



## Appendix B

### GRAMMAR QUESTIONS

1 plaʔ təʔ lwiʔ .

person clf four

N CLF NUM

four people

2 ʃwiʔ lwiʔ dəʔʔ

dog four clf

N NUM CLF

four dogs

3 jəŋʔ lwiʔ maʔ

house four clf

N NUM CLF

four houses

4 lwiʔ jəŋʔ

four house

NUM N

four house

5 ʃəʔʔ lwiʔ baŋʔ

water four cup

N NUM N

four cups of water

6 əʔ jəŋʔ

one house

NUM N

one house

7 əɪ ɲəŋɪ

one day

NUM N

one day

8 ɲəŋɪ əɪkwɑɪ

day half

N QUNT

half day

9 ɲəŋɪ keŋɪ

two clf

NUM CLF

two things

10 θəɪkwɑɪθɑɪ lwiɪ maɪ

mango four clf

N NUM CLF

four mangos

11 plɑɪbɛɪtɑɪ ɲəŋɪ plɑɪ

child two clf

N NUM CLF

two children

12 plɑɪ plɑɪbɛɪtɑɪ əɪ plɑɪ

clf child one clf

CLF N NUM CLF

a child

13 jəŋɿ duɿ lwiɿ maɿ  
house big four clf  
N ADJ NUM CLF  
four big houses

14 naɿ jəŋɿ duɿ lwiɿ maɿ  
1s house big four clf  
PRO N ADJ NUM CLF  
my four big houses

15 naɿ ʃaʔɿ s<sup>h</sup>uɿ baɿ  
1s chicken eight clf  
PRO N NUM CLF  
my eight chickens

16 naɿ ʃaʔɿ piɿ doɿ s<sup>h</sup>uɿ baɿ  
1s chicken small that eight clf  
PRO N ADJ CONN NUM CLF  
my that eight small chickens

17 naɿ ʃaʔɿ piɿ s<sup>h</sup>uɿ baɿ  
1s chicken small eight clf  
PRO N ADJ NUM CLF  
my eight small chickens

18 naɿ jəŋɿ duɿ jəɿdoɿ lwiɿ maɿ  
1s house big that four clf  
PRO N ADJ DEM NUM CLF  
this is my four big houses

19 jəŋɿ jəɿ lwiɿ maɿ  
house old(thing) four clf  
N ADJ NUM CLF  
four old houses

20 ʃwiː kəˈmiː əˈlɔːt

dog tail tall

N N ADJ

dog's long tail

21 ʃwiː ˌjəʊn̩ ˈlaː

dog house under

N N PREP

Dog is under the house./ dog which is under the house

22 ʃwiː məˈʃiː ˌjɑː ˌnɑː

dog friend give 1s

N N V PRO

dog that my friend give me

23 ʃwiː kəˈmiː əˈlɔːt ˌjɒːdɔː

dog tail tall that

N N ADJ DEM

that long tail dog

24 əˈpweːz̩ kʊːz̩ ˌplɑː ˌtəɪn̩ ˌplɑː

group inside clf three clf

N PREP CLF NUM CLF

three people from the group

25 ˌplɑː ˌtəɪn̩ ˌplɑː dəː ˌplɑː ˌlwiː ˌplɑː kʊːz̩

person three clf on clf four clf inside

N NUM CLF PREP CLF NUM CLF LOCZR

three people from six people

26 ɪˈplɑː ˌjəʊn̩ duː ˌlwiː ˌmaː

he/she(3s) house big four wife

PRO N ADJ NUM N

his four big houses

27 mpla<sup>1</sup> jəŋ<sup>1</sup>  
 he/she(3s) house  
 PRO N  
 his house

28 pla<sup>1</sup> du<sup>1</sup> mpla<sup>1</sup> jəŋ<sup>1</sup>  
 person big he/she(3s) house  
 N ADJ PRO N  
 that big person's house

29 pla<sup>1</sup>bə<sup>1</sup>ta<sup>1</sup> jə<sup>1</sup> p<sup>h</sup>u<sup>1</sup>tja<sup>1</sup> də<sup>1</sup> ʃə<sup>1</sup>  
 child not not felling well and die  
 N PRT V CO.CONJ V  
 The child that is not felling well and die.

30 ho<sup>u</sup>ŋ<sup>1</sup> pla<sup>1</sup>bə<sup>1</sup>ta<sup>1</sup> mo<sup>1</sup> ŋka<sup>1</sup> lu<sup>1</sup> ʃə<sup>1</sup>?<sup>1</sup> baŋ<sup>1</sup>  
 call child do destroy all water cup  
 V N V ADV QUNT N N  
 call the child that make the glass broke

31 ho<sup>u</sup>ŋ<sup>1</sup> pla<sup>1</sup>bə<sup>1</sup>ta<sup>1</sup> mo<sup>1</sup> ŋka<sup>1</sup> lu<sup>1</sup> ʃə<sup>1</sup>?<sup>1</sup> baŋ<sup>1</sup> mə<sup>1</sup>ho<sup>u</sup>?<sup>1</sup> jəŋ<sup>1</sup>  
 call child do destroy all water cup yesterday day  
 V N V ADV QUNT N N N N  
 .Call the child that make the glass broke yesterday

32 fa<sup>1</sup> ʰəŋ<sup>1</sup>p<sup>h</sup>aŋ<sup>1</sup>?<sup>1</sup>  
 throw branch  
 V N  
 Throw the branch.

33 fa<sup>1</sup> ʰəŋ<sup>1</sup>p<sup>h</sup>aŋ<sup>1</sup>?<sup>1</sup> jə<sup>1</sup> me<sup>1</sup>l<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>1</sup>  
 throw branch not good  
 V N PRT ADV  
 Throw the banch that are not good.

34 θaɹjaɹ ɔɹ tʰaɹ səɹnoŋɹ

cloth exist iron on

N V N N

Cloth which is on the iron

35 hoʰŋɹ plaɹbəɹtaɹ uɹ ʃəʔɹ

call child drink water

V N V N

Call the child drinking the water.

36 plaɹbəɹtaɹ meɹɹtʰəɹ əɹ plaɹ

child good one clf

N ADV NUM CLF

The child who is good

37 doʰŋɹ əɹ plaɹ duɹ

village one person big

N PRO N ADJ

the leader of the village

38 jɔɹ əɹ pʰaɹ

Kyaw one father

N PRO N

Kyaw's father

39 ɹaɹ pʰuʔɹ ɔɹ ɹəŋɹ plaɹ

1s son exist two person

PRO N V NUM N

I have two sons.

40 ɹaɹ jəŋɹ ɔɹ ɹəŋɹ maɹ

1s house exist two clf

PRO N V NUM CLF

I have two houses.

41 plaʃ ɲaʃ  
person top part  
N LOCZR  
top of the arrow

42 plaʃ əʃ plaʃ oʃ ləʃtʰaʃ doʊŋʃ  
person one person exist Lahta village  
N NUM N V N N  
a man who lives in Lahta village

43 ɲaʃ doʊŋʃ  
1s village  
PRO N  
my village

44 ɲaʃ kʰaŋʃ  
1s leg  
PRO N  
my leg

45 waʔʃ plaʃ  
Wa person  
N N  
Wa people

46 veʃ taŋʃkaʔʃ  
2s money  
N N  
your money

47 aʔʃ θəʃviʃ  
Ai hungry  
NPROP ADJ  
Ai is hungry

48 ja+ s<sup>h</sup>anʔl lə+ mpla  
1s look see he/she(3s)  
PRO V V PRO  
I see him.

49 məlhoʔl jənɟ ja+ s<sup>h</sup>anʔl lə+ mpla  
yesterday day 1s look tall he/she(3s)  
N N PRO V V PRO  
Yesterday, I saw him.

50 məlkwa<sup>i</sup>-jinɟ ja+ s<sup>h</sup>anʔl lə+ mpla  
tomorrow 1s look see he/she(3s)  
N PRO V V PRO  
Tomorrow I see him.

51 ja+ s<sup>h</sup>anʔl lə+ mpla  
1s look see he/she(3s)  
PRO V V PRO  
I have seen him.

52 ja+ jəl s<sup>h</sup>anʔl lə+ mpla  
1s not look see he/she(3s)  
PRO PRT V V PRO  
I do not see him.

53 ja+ s<sup>h</sup>anʔl lə+ mpla  
1s look see he/she(3s)  
PRO V V PRO  
I am not seeing him.

54 ja+ θəjji s<sup>h</sup>anʔl lə+ mpla  
1s want look see he/she(3s)  
PRO V V V PRO  
I want to see him.



55 ꞑaꞑ ꞑəꞑ ꞑʰaŋʔꞑ ꞑəꞑ ꞑꞑꞑ ꞑəꞑ ꞑꞑꞑ ꞑꞑꞑ  
 1s not look see he/she(3s) one clf clf  
 PRO PRT V V PRO PRO CLF CLF  
 I have never seen him.

56 ꞑaꞑ ꞑʰaŋʔꞑ ꞑəꞑ ꞑꞑꞑ ꞑaꞑ  
 1s look see he/she(3s) can  
 PRO V V PRO V  
 I can see him.

57 ꞑaꞑ ꞑꞑꞑ ꞑꞑꞑ ꞑꞑꞑ  
 1s go away slow slow  
 PRO V ADJ ADJ  
 I walk slowly.

58 ꞑaꞑ ꞑꞑꞑ ꞑꞑꞑ ꞑꞑꞑ  
 1s go away fast fast  
 PRO V ADV ADV  
 I walk fastly.

59 ꞑaꞑ ꞑꞑꞑ ꞑꞑꞑ ꞑꞑꞑ  
 1s go away fast fast  
 PRO V ADV ADV  
 I walk very fast.

60 ꞑaꞑ ꞑꞑꞑ ꞑꞑꞑ ꞑꞑꞑ  
 1s go away fast fast  
 PRO V ADV ADV  
 I walk very very fast.

61 ꞑꞑꞑꞑꞑꞑꞑ  
 rain  
 N  
 It is raining.

62 mpla<sup>l</sup> jə<sup>l</sup>  
he/she(3s) sleep  
PRO V  
He sleep.

63 pla<sup>t</sup> qo<sup>t</sup>ta<sup>t</sup> o<sup>l</sup> naŋ<sup>t</sup>  
person many exist sit  
N QUNT V V  
Many people are sitting.

64 mpla<sup>l</sup> jə<sup>l</sup>  
he/she(3s) sleep  
PRO V  
He sleep.

65 pla<sup>l</sup> pla<sup>t</sup>bə<sup>l</sup>ta<sup>l</sup> ləŋ<sup>l</sup>  
clf child fat  
CLF N ADJ  
The child is fat.

66 mpla<sup>l</sup> ʃo<sup>l</sup> ʃə<sup>l</sup> s<sup>w</sup>a<sup>?</sup>l baŋ<sup>t</sup>  
he/she(3s) take water six cup  
PRO V N NUM N  
She brings six glasses of water.

67 mpla<sup>l</sup> vaŋ<sup>l</sup> pla<sup>l</sup> du<sup>l</sup> ə<sup>l</sup> pla<sup>l</sup>  
he/she(3s) hit clf big one clf  
PRO V CLF ADJ NUM CLF  
He hit the big man.

68 mpla<sup>l</sup> θə<sup>l</sup>t<sup>h</sup>aŋ<sup>l</sup>  
he/she(3s) stand  
PRO V  
He stand.

69 mpla̯ jəŋ̯ mɛ̯ du̯  
 he/she(3s) house is big  
 PRO N V ADJ  
 Her house is big.

70 mpla̯ ja̯ ve̯ li̯ ə̯ beɪŋ̯  
 he/she(3s) give 2s book one clf  
 PRO V N N NUM CLF  
 He give me a book.

71 mpla̯ ja̯ pla̯ du̯ ə̯ pla̯ li̯ ə̯ beɪŋ̯  
 he/she(3s) give clf big one clf book one clf  
 PRO V CLF ADJ PRO CLF N PRO CLF  
 He give that man a book.

72 də̯ fuʔ̯kʰiŋ̯ tə̯pʰoʔ̯ o̯ qo̯ta̯  
 on Phekhon flower exist many  
 PREP NPROP N V QUNT  
 There are many flowers in Phekhon.

73 ve̯ kə̯lho̯ŋ̯ mpla̯ aiʔ̯  
 2s call he/she(3s) Ai  
 N V PRO N  
 I call him Ai.

74 mpla̯ mɛ̯ aiʔ̯  
 he/she(3s) is Ai  
 PRO V N  
 He is Ai.

75 mpla̯ mɛ̯ do̯ŋ̯ ə̯ pla̯ du̯  
 he/she(3s) is village one clf big  
 PRO V N PRO CLF ADJ  
 He is the leader of the village.

76 mplaṽndoṽ ṽləiṽ mplaṽ doṽṽṽ əṽ plaṽ duṽ  
 they(3p) choose he/she(3s) village one clf big  
 PRO V PRO N PRO CLF ADJ  
 We choose him the leader of the village.

77 mplaṽ oṽ fuṽṽṽkṽiṽṽ  
 he/she(3s) exist Phekhon  
 PRO V N  
 He live in Phekhon.

78 mplaṽ ləṽ fuṽṽṽkṽiṽṽ  
 he/she(3s) go Phekhon  
 PRO V N  
 He go to Phekhon.

79 mplaṽ hoṽṽṽ ləṽ plaṽṽbəṽṽtaṽ fuṽṽṽkṽiṽṽ  
 he/she(3s) call go child Phekhon  
 PRO V V N N  
 He take the child to the Phekhon.

80 mplaṽ ṽəṽṽṽṽṽṽwiṽ  
 he/she(3s) speak  
 PRO V  
 He speak.

81 mplaṽ mwaṽṽ ṽnaṽ ṽpṽaṽ  
 he/she(3s) is 1s father  
 PRO V PRO N  
 He is my father.

82 mplaṽ doṽṽṽ əṽ ləṽ fuṽṽṽkṽiṽṽ  
 he/she(3s) village one go Phekhon  
 PRO N PRO V N  
 He said he is going to Phekhon. / He said he go to Phekhon.

83 mpla<sup>1</sup> pjaŋ<sup>ʔ</sup> ve<sup>1</sup> pla<sup>1</sup> du<sup>1</sup> ə<sup>1</sup> pla<sup>1</sup> le<sup>1</sup> fu<sup>ʔ</sup>lk<sup>hiŋ</sup><sup>1</sup>  
 he/she(3s) tell 2s clf big one clf go Phekhon  
 PRO V N CLF ADJ PRO CLF V NPROP  
 He told me that the man is going to Phekhon.

84 mə<sup>1</sup>ho<sup>ʔ</sup> ɲəŋ<sup>1</sup> ku<sup>1</sup>  
 yesterday day warm  
 N N ADJ  
 Today is hot.

85 mə<sup>1</sup>ho<sup>ʔ</sup>ɲəŋ<sup>1</sup> ku<sup>1</sup> k<sup>h</sup>loŋ<sup>1</sup> də<sup>1</sup> mə<sup>1</sup>kwə<sup>1</sup>ɲəŋ<sup>1</sup>  
 yesterday warm than and today  
 N ADJ CONN N  
 yesterday is warmer than today.

86 mpla<sup>1</sup> ə<sup>1</sup> lə<sup>1</sup>  
 he/she(3s) one tall  
 PRO PRO ADJ  
 He is tall.

87 ɲa<sup>1</sup> mə<sup>1</sup> ɲa<sup>1</sup> sə<sup>1</sup>kaŋ<sup>1</sup> k<sup>h</sup>i<sup>ʔ</sup><sup>1</sup>  
 1s is 1s afraid tiger  
 PRO V PRO ADV N  
 I afraid of Tiger.

88 ʃwi<sup>1</sup> kə<sup>1</sup>mi<sup>1</sup> lə<sup>1</sup>  
 dog tail tall  
 N N ADJ  
 dog's long tail

89 ʃwi<sup>1</sup> kə<sup>1</sup>mi<sup>1</sup> mə<sup>1</sup> lə<sup>1</sup>  
 dog tail is long  
 N N V ADJ  
 The dog's tail is long.

90 pla˥ ja˥ ve˥ li˥ beŋ˥ pla˥ ʃwi˥ kəɽmi˥ me˥ lə˥  
 person give 2s book clf clf dog tail is see  
 N V N N CLF CLF N N V V  
 The dog's tail of person who gave him a book is long.

91 kəɽlan˥ o˥ də˥ kʰoŋ˥ kʰu˥ ba˥ pʰaʔ˥  
 plate exist on chair on clf break  
 N V PREP N LOCZR CLF V  
 The plate on the chair is broken.

92 ʃwi˥ o˥ me˥ tʰaŋ˥ ba˥ e˥ŋ˥ ja˥  
 dog exist tooth sharp clf bite 1s  
 N V N ADJ CLF V PRO  
 The dog with sharp teeth bites me.

93 kəɽlan˥ o˥ ba˥ kʰoŋ˥ kʰu˥ ba˥ pʰaʔ˥  
 plate exist at chair on clf break  
 N V PREP N LOCZR CLF V  
 The plate on the chair is broken.

94 ɱpla˥ ə˥ lə˥ kʰloŋ˥ də˥ ve˥  
 he/she(3s) one tall than and 2s  
 PRO PRO V CONN N  
 He is taller than me.

95 aiʔ˥ ə˥ lə˥ kʰloŋ˥ də˥ kʰu˥  
 Ai one tall than and Khu  
 N PRO V CONN N  
 Ai is taller than Khu.

96 do˥ŋ˥ kuʔ˥ kʰu˥ ə˥ lə˥ kʰloŋ˥  
 village inside Khu one tall than  
 N PREP N PRO V  
 In the village, Khu is the tallest.

97 aiʔŋ duŋ kʰloŋŋ dəŋ kʰuʔ

Ai big than and Khu

N ADJ CONN N

Ai is bigger than Khu./ Ai is older than Khu.

98 mplaŋ əŋ ləʔ kʰloŋŋ dəŋ veʔ yaŋ

he/she(3s) one tall than and 2s possible

PRO PRO ADJ CONN N ADV

may be he is taller than me.

99 plaŋ oŋ təŋ sʷaʔŋ

person exist clf six

N V CLF NUM

There are six people.

100 mplaŋ əŋ ləʔ sʷaʔŋ plaŋ

he/she(3s) one tall six feet

PRO PRO V NUM N

He is 6 feet tall.

101 liŋ əŋ beŋŋ əŋ jaŋ

book one clf one hundred

N PRO CLF NUM NUM

One book is one hundred.

102 liŋ əŋ beŋŋ ŋoŋ duŋ kʰloŋŋ dəŋ kəpʰaŋ ŋəŋŋ jaŋ

book one clf cost big than and slipper two hundred

N PRO CLF V ADJ CONN N NUM NUM

the book is two hundred more expensive than the slipper.

103 veʔ moʔ kʰuʔ vaŋŋ aiʔŋ

2s do Khu hit Ai

N V N V N

I make Khu to hit Ai.

104 a<sup>i</sup>?ɿ s<sup>h</sup>aŋ+s<sup>h</sup>a t<sup>h</sup>u ba  
 Ai sell bird clf  
 NPROP V N CLF  
 Ai sells a bird.

105 ka pla+baɿta mo p<sup>h</sup>a?ɿ ple<sup>i</sup>ŋ ma  
 ask child do break bottle clf  
 PRT N V V N CLF  
 Call the child who break the bottle.

106 kəɿlaŋ oɿ də k<sup>h</sup>oŋ k<sup>h</sup>u ba p<sup>h</sup>a?ɿ  
 plate exist on chair on clf break  
 N V PREP N LOCZR CLF V  
 The plate on the chair is broken.

107 kəɿlaŋ oɿ ba k<sup>h</sup>oŋ k<sup>h</sup>u ba p<sup>h</sup>a?ɿ  
 plate exist at chair on clf break  
 N V PREP N LOCZR CLF V  
 The plate on the chair is broken.

108 ʃwi oɿ də me<sup>i</sup> t<sup>h</sup>aŋ ba e<sup>i</sup>ŋ ja  
 dog exist and tooth sharp clf bite 1s  
 N V CONN N ADJ CLF V PRO  
 The dog with sharp teeth bites me.

109 ɲə s<sup>h</sup>ə+tə ku?ɿ mə səɿkaŋ  
 sleep dark inside cop afraid  
 V ADJ PREP V ADV  
 Sleeping inside the dark makes me afraid.

110 ve vaŋ ba ve+naŋ  
 2s hit clf myself  
 N V CLF REFLX  
 I hit myself.



111 mpla<sup>1</sup> vaŋ<sup>1</sup> ba<sup>1</sup> mpla<sup>1</sup>naŋ<sup>1</sup>

he/she(3s) hit effect himself

PRO V V REFLX

He hit himself.

112 k<sup>h</sup>u<sup>1</sup> də<sup>1</sup> ai<sup>1</sup>?<sup>1</sup> vaŋ<sup>1</sup> ba<sup>1</sup> naŋ<sup>1</sup>

Khu and Ai hit clf himself

N CONN N V CLF REFLX

I and Ai hit him.

113 ai<sup>1</sup>?<sup>1</sup> lɛ<sup>1</sup> be<sup>1</sup> mjɛ<sup>1</sup>maŋ<sup>1</sup> te<sup>1</sup>ŋ<sup>1</sup> k<sup>h</sup>aŋ<sup>1</sup>da<sup>1</sup> jəŋ<sup>1</sup>

Ai go wet rice field then come return house

N V N CONN V V N

Ai goes to the field then come return home.

114 ai<sup>1</sup>?<sup>1</sup> lɛ<sup>1</sup> naŋ<sup>1</sup>tu<sup>1</sup> də<sup>1</sup> ə<sup>1</sup> aŋ<sup>1</sup>tuŋ<sup>1</sup> ta<sup>1</sup>ŋəiŋ<sup>1</sup>

Ai go jungle/forest and one hunt animal

N V N CONN PRO V N

Ai go to the forest and he go for hunting.

115 ai<sup>1</sup>?<sup>1</sup> θə<sup>1</sup>vi<sup>1</sup> kə<sup>1</sup> ə<sup>1</sup> aŋ<sup>1</sup>tuŋ<sup>1</sup> ta<sup>1</sup>ŋəiŋ<sup>1</sup>

Ai hungry then one hunt animal

N ADJ CONN PRO V N

Ai is hungry and then he goes for hunting.

116 mə<sup>1</sup>ho<sup>1</sup>?<sup>1</sup> ŋəŋ<sup>1</sup> lɛ<sup>1</sup> ləkweŋ<sup>1</sup> ba<sup>1</sup>?<sup>1</sup>

yesterday day go east side

N N V N LOCZR

Yesterday I went to the east side.

117 mə<sup>1</sup>kwai<sup>1</sup> ne<sup>1</sup>ŋ<sup>1</sup> ŋa<sup>1</sup> lɛ<sup>1</sup> ləkweŋ<sup>1</sup> ba<sup>1</sup>?<sup>1</sup>

next year 1s go east side

ADJ N PRO V N LOCZR

Next year, I will go to the east side.

118 ai?ɿ lɛɿ ɱbɛɿ

Ai go where

N V ADV

where does Ai go?

119 ai?ɿ ɛɿ lɛɿ fu?ɿkʰiŋɿ

Ai question go Phekhon

N Q V N

Does she go to Phekhon?

120 bɛɿsəɿmɛɿ lɛɿ ai?ɿ beɿ

who go Ai wet rice field

ADV V N N

Who go to Ai's wet rice field?

121 veɿ lɛɿ beɿ baɿ səɿnɛɿ

2s go wet rice field happen what

N V N V Q

Why you go the the field?

122 ai?ɿ aŋɿ θaŋɿ θaɿ

Ai eat tree fruit

N V N N

Ai eats fruit.

## Preposition

1 plaɿbɛɿtaɿ plaɿ oɿ jəŋɿ kʰuɿ

child clf exist house on

N CLF V N PREP

A child is in the house.

2 jɛŋŋ ɔŋ kʰoŋŋ kʰuŋŋ  
rice-cooked have chair on  
N V N PREP  
Rice is on the table.

3 plaŋbəŋtaŋ lɛŋ tʰaŋŋ soʊŋŋ kʰuŋŋ  
child go ascend mountain on  
N V V N PREP  
The child go climb up to the mountain.

4 plaŋbəŋtaŋ tʰaŋŋ θaŋŋ ʃəŋŋ  
child ascend tree on  
N V N PREP  
The child climb on the tree.

5 tʰuŋŋ baŋ ɔŋ θaŋŋ ʃəŋŋ  
bird clf exist tree on  
N CLF V N PREP  
The bird is on the tree.

6 plaŋbəŋtaŋ ɔŋ jəŋŋ kuʔŋŋ  
child exist house inside  
N V N PREP  
The child(young person) is in the house.

7 θaŋŋ θaŋŋ ɔŋ təŋmaŋŋ kuʔŋŋ  
tree fruit exist basket inside  
N N V N PREP  
fruit is in the basket

8 jɛŋŋ ɔŋ kəŋlaŋŋ kuʔŋŋ  
rice-cooked exist plate inside  
N V N PREP  
Cooked rice is inside the plate.

9 taŋkaʔ ɔ jəpəʃe kuʔ  
money exist bag inside  
N V N PREP  
Money is inside the bag.

10 pləbətə ɔ jəŋ la  
child exist house under  
N V N PREP  
the child is under the house

11 pləbətə ɔ jəŋ kəlla  
child exist house under  
N V N PREP  
the child is under the house.

12 θaŋ ɔ soŋ la  
tree exist mountain under  
N V N PREP  
The tree is under the mountain.

13 pləbətə lə tʰaŋ soŋ  
child go ascend mountain  
N V V N  
The child climbs up the mountain.

14 θaŋ ɔ soŋ kəlla  
tree exist mountain under  
N V N PREP  
A tree is under the mountain.

15 kəllaŋ ɔ kʰoŋ la  
plate exist chair under  
N V N PREP  
the plate is under the chair.

16 kəʃlɑŋ ɔ ʃ kʰoŋ ʃ kəʃlɑ  
plate exist chair under  
N V N PREP  
The plate is under the chair.

17 mjɛ ʃ dəʃ ɔ ʃ təʃmɑŋ ʃ lɑ  
cat clf exist basket under  
N CLF V N PREP  
A cat is under the basket.

18 mjɛ ʃ dəʃ ɔ ʃ təʃmɑŋ ʃ kəʃlɑ  
cat clf exist basket under  
N CLF V N PREP  
A cat is under the basket.

19 ɲɑ ʃ ɔ ʃ kaŋ ʃ tʰu  
1s exist Kaung Htu  
PRO V N  
I live in Kaung Htu.

20 ɲɑ ʃ va ʃ ɔ  
1s husband exist  
PRO N V  
I have a husband

21 ɲɑ ʃ pʰuʃ ɔ ʃ tə ʃ təiŋ  
1s son exist clf three  
PRO N V CLF NUM  
I have three children.

22 ɲɑ ʃ jəŋ ʃ ɔ ʃ ə ʃ ma  
1s house exist one clf  
PRO N V PRO CLF  
I have a house.



## Questions

1 veɪ ɲwɛɪ səɪmɛɪ

2s name what

N N N

What is your name?

2 fuʔɲkʰiŋɪɪ ɲjoŋɪ ɛɪ θiʔɲ

Phekhon language question know

N N Q V

Do you know Phekhon language?

3 fuʔɲkʰiŋɪɪ ɲjoŋɪ ɛɪ daɪ

Phekhon language question can

N N Q V

Can you speak Phekhon language?

4 aʔɲsʰaɪ baɪ oɪ meʔɲneɪŋɪɪ sʰaʔɲ əɪ

how many happen exist age only

ADV V V N PRT

How old are you?

5 səɪŋwɛɪ veɪ səɪnɛɪ

thing 2s what

N N Q

What is that?

6 tɛɪdoɪ ɲjaŋʔɲ səɪnɛɪ

that tell what

DEM V Q

What are you talking about?

7 ve- mo- sə-ɲe-]

2s do what

N V Q

what are you doing?/ What do you do?

8 ve- s<sup>h</sup>aŋ-] lə- sə-ɲe-]

2s look see what

N V V Q

What do u see?

9 ve- ε- aŋ- mjəŋ-]t<sup>h</sup>-] jɛŋ-]

2s question eat finish rice-cooked

N Q V V N

Have you finished eating cooking?

10 ve- ε- aŋ- mjəŋ-]t<sup>h</sup>-]

2s question eat finish

N Q V V

Have you finished eating?

11 pwa<sup>i</sup>- ε- t<sup>h</sup>-] hə-

festival question finish gone

N Q V V

Has the celebration finished?

12 ve- lɛ- fʊ-]k<sup>h</sup>iŋ-] mjəŋ-]t<sup>h</sup>-]

2s go Phekhon finish

N V N V

I finished going to Phekhon. / Have you gone to Phekhon?

13 mə-]ho<sup>u</sup>-] ŋəŋ-] ve- mo- sə-ɲe-]

yesterday day 2s do what

N N N V Q

What did you do yesterday?



14 məkwa<sup>1</sup>ŋəŋ<sup>1</sup> ve<sup>1</sup> mo<sup>1</sup> sə<sup>1</sup>ne<sup>1</sup>

next day 2s do what  
ADJ N N V Q

Today, what do you do?

15 məkwa<sup>1</sup>ŋəŋ<sup>1</sup> ve<sup>1</sup> mo<sup>1</sup> sə<sup>1</sup>ne<sup>1</sup>

tomorrow day 2s do what  
N N N V Q

What will you do tomorrow?

16 ve<sup>1</sup> jə<sup>1</sup> lə<sup>1</sup> sa<sup>1</sup>k<sup>h</sup>oŋ<sup>1</sup> jwə<sup>1</sup>

2s not go rice field why  
N PRT V N ADV

Why don't you go to the rice field?

17 ve<sup>1</sup> ŋəiŋ<sup>1</sup> ε<sup>1</sup> ba<sup>1</sup> sə<sup>1</sup>ne<sup>1</sup>

2s cry question happen what  
N V Q V Q

Why do you crying?

18 ja<sup>1</sup> ŋəiŋ<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>1</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>me<sup>1</sup> ja<sup>1</sup> p<sup>h</sup>a<sup>1</sup> vaŋ<sup>1</sup> ja<sup>1</sup>

1s cry because 1s father hit 1s  
PRO V SUB.CONJ PRO N V PRO

I cry because my father hit me.

19 ja<sup>1</sup> p<sup>h</sup>a<sup>1</sup> vaŋ<sup>1</sup> ja<sup>1</sup> də<sup>1</sup> ja<sup>1</sup> ŋəiŋ<sup>1</sup>

1s father hit 1s and 1s cry  
PRO N V PRO CONN PRO V

My father hit me and I cry.

20 ve<sup>1</sup> lə<sup>1</sup> fu<sup>1</sup>ŋk<sup>h</sup>iŋ<sup>1</sup> ve<sup>1</sup> lə<sup>1</sup> mo<sup>1</sup> sə<sup>1</sup>ne<sup>1</sup>

2s go Phekhon 2s go do what  
N V NPROP N V V Q

For what you go to do to Phekhon?/ Why you go to Phekhon?

21 ɲa˧ ɛ˧ ʃuʔŋkʰiŋ˧ də˧ ɲa˧ ɛ˧ sʰaŋ˧sʰa˧ tə˧maŋ˧  
 1s go Phekhon and 1s go sell basket  
 PRO V NPROP CONN PRO V V N  
 I went to Phekhon to sell the basket.

22 ve˧ ɛ˧ mo˧ se˧ljɔŋ˧ sə˧nɛ˧  
 2s go do hospital what  
 N V V N Q  
 what you go to do to the hospital?/ Why you go to the hospital?

23 ɲa˧ ɛ˧ se˧ljɔŋ˧ də˧ ɲa˧ ɛ˧ sʰaŋ˧ʔŋ sə˧ra˧  
 1s go hospital and 1s go look doctor  
 PRO V N CONN PRO V V N  
 I went to the hospital to see the doctor.

24 ve˧ jə˧ ŋpli˧ ʃoʔ˧ ɲwɛ˧  
 2s not buy pounded rice why  
 N PRT V N ADV  
 Why don't you buy rice?

25 ve˧ jə˧ ɛ˧ ɲwɛ˧  
 2s not go why  
 N PRT V ADV  
 Why don't you come?

26 ve˧ tʰaŋ˧θa˧ ba˧ sə˧nɛ˧  
 2s angry happen what  
 N V V Q  
 Why you get angry?

## Tenses

1 məɹhəʔɹɿ ɲəŋɹ ɹɛɹ sɑɹkʰəŋɹɿ qɑɹ  
yesterday day go rice field S.F  
N N V N PRT  
I went to the rice field yesterday.

2 məkwaɹɿ ɲəŋɹ ɹɛɹ sɑɹkʰəŋɹɿ qɑɹ  
today day go rice field S.F  
N N V N PRT  
I go to the rice field today.

3 məkwaɹɿɿ ɲəŋɹ ɹɛɹ sɑɹkʰəŋɹɿ qɑɹ  
tomorrow day go rice field S.F  
N N V N PRT  
I will go to the rice field tomorrow.

4 məɹhəʔɹɿ ɲəŋɹ ɲɑɹɿ ɲəɹmɑŋɹɿ veɹɿ  
yesterday day 1s dream 2s  
N N PRO V N  
yesterday I dreamed you. ( I saw you in my dream)

5 veɹɿ əŋɹɿ mɲəŋɹɿtʰəɹɿ  
2s eat finish  
N V V  
I have finished eating.

6 veɹɿ əŋɹɿ mɲəŋɹɿtʰəɹɿ ɲɛŋɹɿ  
2s eat finish rice-cooked  
N V V N  
I have finished eating rice.

7 mon]kə]sʰaʔ] kʰa] ve] o] də] sə]tʰə]ŋ]  
 long long ago when 2s exist on Tha Hton  
 ADV Q N V PREP N  
 long long ago, you lived in Tha Hton.

8 kə]ŋi] ve] o] də] ka]ŋ]tʰu]  
 now 2s exist on Kaung Htu  
 TIME N V PREP N  
 now you live in Kaung Htu.

9 mə]hoʰʔ] ɲa] ε]tʰə]ŋ] θa]  
 yesterday 1s angry fruit  
 N PRO ADJ N  
 yesterday I was angry.

10 mə]kwa] ɲa] ε]tʰə]ŋ] θa]  
 day 1s angry fruit  
 N PRO ADJ N  
 today i am angry

11 mə]kwa]ɲ] ɲə]ŋ] ɲa] ε]tʰə]ŋ] θa]  
 next day 1s angry fruit  
 ADJ N PRO ADJ N  
 tomorrow i will angry

12 mə]hoʰʔ] pla]bə]ta] pla] o] jə]ŋ] kʰu]  
 yesterday child clf exist house on  
 N N CLF V N LOCZR  
 yesterday the child was in the house.

13 mə]kwa] pla]bə]ta] pla] o] jə]ŋ] kʰu]  
 day child clf exist house on  
 N N CLF V N LOCZR  
 today, the child is in the house

14 məḷkwa<sup>1</sup> ɲəŋ ɲa<sup>1</sup>bəḷta ɲa<sup>1</sup> o<sup>1</sup> jəŋ k<sup>h</sup>u<sup>1</sup>  
next day child clf exist house on  
ADJ N N CLF V N LOCZR  
tomorrow the child will be in the house.

15 kəŋi<sup>1</sup> ve<sup>1</sup> o<sup>1</sup> də<sup>1</sup> ka<sup>o</sup>ŋɲ<sup>1</sup>h<sup>u</sup><sup>1</sup>  
now 2s exist on Kaung Htu  
TIME N V PREP N  
Now, I live in Kaung Htu village.

## **RESUME**

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