A DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR OF
EASTERN LAWA

GREG BLOK

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
MASTER OF ARTS
IN
LINGUISTICS

PAYAP UNIVERSITY
DEC 2013

The members of the thesis examination committee:

1. _____ Committee Chair

    (Asoc. Prof. Saranya Savetamalya, Ph.D.)

2. _____ Committee Member

    (Larin Adams, Ph.D.)

3. _____ Committee Member

    (Asoc. Prof. Thomas M. Tehan, Ph.D.)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

This thesis presents a grammar sketch of Eastern Lawa using traditional linguistic terms. Eastern Lawa is an isolating analytic language spoken in Chiang Mai province, in the north of Thailand, South East Asia. It is a Palaungic language of the Mon-Khmer branch of the Austro-Asiatic language family. This research is based on the Bo Luang dialect of Eastern Lawa, which is the most widely spoken of the two main dialects. A set of elicited grammar sentences, narrative texts, recorded conversations and insight from over a year of learning the language were used in this study.

Typologically, Eastern Lawa is a head initial language. This means that modifiers follow nouns (adjectives, numbers etc) and objects follow verbs. Negation in Eastern Lawa can be pre-verbal or post-verbal. The phonology of Eastern Lawa includes 33 consonants and 10 vowels with 12 diphthongs and 2 triphthongs. There is no inflectional morphology and little productive derivational morphology in Eastern Lawa. The word order can vary between SV and VS but is predominantly VS. VOS word order is allowed when introducing new particiapants in a dialogue. Open word classes include nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. Closed word classes include demonstratives, numerals, classifiers, quantifiers, auxiliaries, prepositions and conjunctions. Noun phrases can have pronouns as heads, compound heads, nominalized adjectives or nominalized predicates as heads and demonstratives as heads. Other parts of the noun phrase include adjectives, relative clauses, prepositional phrases, possessives, quantifiers and number phrases. Verb phrases can include single verbs or multiple verbs.

บทคัดย่อ

วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้ศึกษาไวยากรณ์ของภาษาละวาตะวันออก ตามแนวภาษาศาสตร์ดั้งเดิม ภาษาละวาเป็นภาษาคำโดดที่พูดในจังหวัดเชียงใหม่ ซึ่งอยู่ทางตอนเหนือของประเทศไทย ภูมิภาคเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ ภาษาละวาเป็นภาษาปาลวงภาษาหนึ่งที่จัดอยู่ในตระกูลภาษามอญเขม-ภาษาย่อยในตระกูลออสโตรเอเชียติก วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้เก็บข้อมูลจากภาษาบอหลวง ภาษาถิ่นของภาษาละวาตะวันออก ซึ่งเป็นภาษาถิ่นที่มีผู้พูดมากที่สุดในสองภาษา โดยข้อมูลที่ใช้ในการวิเคราะห์นำมาจากประโยค เรื่องเล่า การบันทึกเสียงสนทนา และความรู้ที่ได้จากการเรียนภาษาของผู้วิจัย

ในทางแบบลักษณ์ภาษาพบว่าภาษาละวาตะวันออกเป็นภาษาในกลุ่มส่วนหลักนำหน้าส่วนขยาย หรือภาษาที่มีส่วนขยาย (คำคุณศัพท์, คำบอกจำนวน ฯลฯ) ปรากฏตามหลังคำนาม และกรรมปรากฏตามหลังคำกริยา อย่างไรก็ตามคำแสดงปฏิเสธในภาษาละวาตะวันออกสามารถปรากฏได้ทั้งในตำแหน่งหน้าและหลังคำกริยา ระบบเสียงในภาษาละวาตะวันออกประกอบไปด้วยหน่วยเสียงพยัญชนะทั้งหมด 33 หน่วยเสียง หน่วยเสียงสระ 10 หน่วยเสียง สระประสม 12 หน่วยเสียง และสระประสานสามเสียง 2 หน่วยเสียง ภาษาละวาตะวันออกเป็นภาษาที่ไม่มีหน่วยคำวิภัตติปัจจัย แต่มีหน่วยคำแปลงอยู่บ้างเล็กน้อย ลำดับคำในภาษาสามารถสลับได้ระหว่าง SV และ VS แต่ลำดับคำแบบ VS จะใช้อย่างแพร่หลายกว่า ลำดับคำแบบ VOS จะเกิดขึ้นเมื่อมีผู้ร่วม

เหตุการณ์เพิ่มขึ้นในบทสนทนา หมวดคำเปิดในภาษาละวาตะวันออกมีคำนาม คำกริยา คำคุณศัพท์ และคำกริยาวิเศษณ์ หมวดคำปิดมีคำบอกกำหนด คำบอกจำนวน คำลักษณะนาม คำบอกปริมาณ คำกริยานุเคราะห์ คำบุพบท และคำสันธาน นามวลีในภาษาละวาตะวันออก สามารถปรากฏแบบมีคำสรรพนาม คำประสม คำคุณศัพท์ที่แปลงเป็นคำนาม ภาคแสดงที่แปลง เป็นคำนาม และคำบอกกำหนดที่แปลงเป็นคำนามเป็นส่วนหลักได้ องค์ประกอบอื่นๆ ของนามวลี มีคุณศัพท์ อนุพากย์ขยายนาม บุพบทวลี คำแสดงความเป็นเจ้าของ คำบอกปริมาณ และวลี แสดงจำนวน ส่วนกริยาวลีเป็นได้ตั้งแต่กริยาเดี่ยวไปจนถึงกริยาหลายตัวประกอบกัน

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

#	Semantically ill-formed
( )	Optional (in examples and schema)
*	Ungrammatical
*( )	Obligatory
/ /	Phonemic transcription (only in Chapter 2)
[ ]	Phonetic transcription (only in Chapter 2)
{ }	Either or (in schema)
ø	Gap
1DL.EXCL	First person dual exclusive
1DL.INCL	First person dual inclusive
1PL.EXCL	First person plural exclusive
1PL.INCL	First person plural inclusive
1SG	First person singular
2DL	Second person dual
2PL	Second person plural
2SG	Second person singular
3DL	Third person dual
3PL	Third person plural
3SG	Third person singular
ACCOM	Accompaniment
ADJ	Adjective
ADV	Adverb
APPL	Applicative marker
ASPT	Aspect
BEN	Beneficiary
C	Consonants (only in Chapter 2)
CLF	Classifier
CLFP	Classifier phrase

CNT.EXP	Counter expectational
COMPL	Completive
CONN	Conjunction
COP	Copula
DECL	Declarative
DEG	Degree
DEM	Demonstrative
DET	Determiner
DUR	Durative aspect
EXP	Experiential aspect
FN	Foot note
FUT	Future marker
IMPER	Imperative
INCEP	Inceptive aspect
INSTR	Instrument
INTERJ	Interjection
LIT	Literal translation
LOC	Location
LRP	Language resource person
MOD	Modal
N	Noun
NEG	Negative
NEG.IMPR	Negative imperative
NMLZR	Nominalizer
NP	Noun phrase
NPROP	Proper noun
NUM	Number
OBJ	Object
OBL	Oblique
PAST	Past tense
PAST.NC	Non-contiguous past
POSS	Possessive marker
POSSP	Possessive pronoun

PP	Prepositional phrase
PREP	Preposition
PRO	Pronoun
PRT	Particle
PRT.NEG	Negative particle
QP	Question particle
QUANT	Quantifier
QW	Question word
RECPL	Reciprocal
RECPT	Recipient
PRO.SUBJ	Reflexive
REL	Relativizer
REL.CL	Relative clause
S	Sentence
SUBJ	Subject
DEM	Demonstrative
SVC	Serial verb construction
TAM	Tense Aspect Modality
V	Verb
V	Vowel (only in Chapter 2)
Vd	Voiced (only in Chapter 2)
Vl	Voiceless (only in Chapter 2)
VP	Verb phrase

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This thesis presents a grammar sketch of the Eastern Lawa language. The Eastern Lawa people are an indigenous group of Northern Thailand with approximately 8,000 speakers located in fourteen villages in the district of Hot, Chiang Mai province. The Ethnologue code for Eastern Lawa is "lwl".

1.2 Linguistic family

Linguistically, Lawa belongs to the Palaungic branch of the Mon-Khmer family of languages, which is part of the Austro-Asiatic super-family (M. Paul Lewis 2009). Note this table is not complete but only has enough details to show Eastern Lawa's place in related languages in the Mon-Khmer hierarchy.
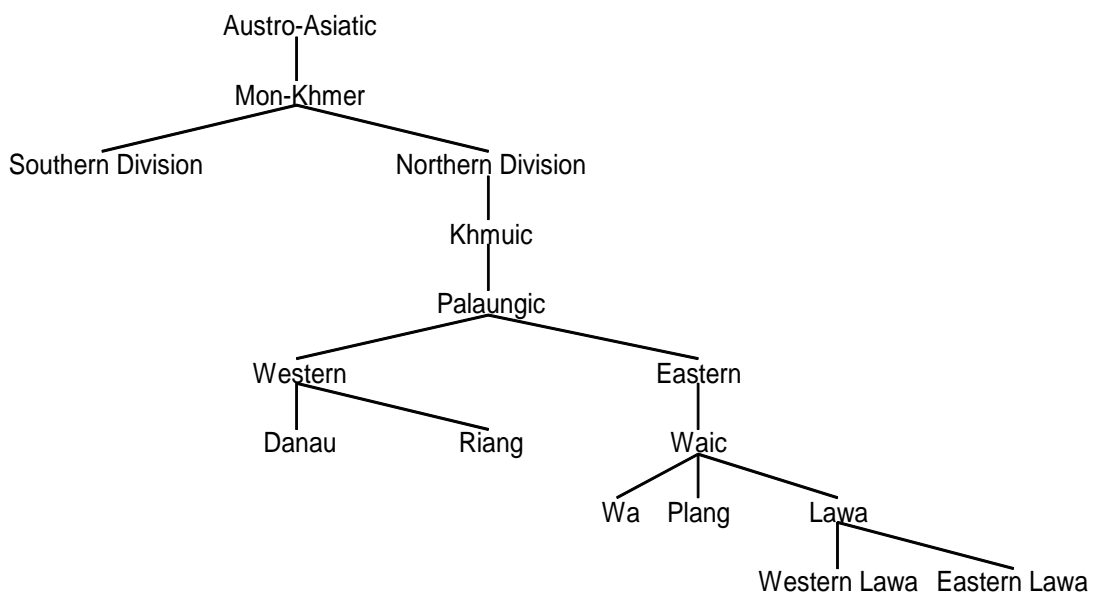
Figure 1 Linguistic family of Eastern Lawa

1.3 Historical background

Although the term 'Lua' is often used for the Eastern Lawa people, it is a somewhat derogatory name (meaning leftovers), used by Thai people for pre-Thai Mon-Khmer inhabitants of Thailand. Both the Eastern and Western Lawa refer to themselves as [ləviəʔ] or Lawa.

Northern Thai legend records the guardian spirits of Chiang Mai (Bu Sae Ya Sae) as being Lawa. Legend also has it that these ancestors were cannibals who converted to Buddhism, and they continue to be honoured by a buffalo sacrifice every year on the full moon in June at the foot of Doi Kham (tambon Mae Hiya). Their son, Suthep, is the first descendant in a long line of Sutheps after whom Chiang Mai's main mountain is named. Around the seventh century C.E. a Lawa king named Wilanka was ruling over the area around modern Chiang Mai city. He was defeated by the Mon Queen Jamatewi from Lamphun and the Lawa were driven up into the mountains.

In 1281 C.E. the Thai King Mengrai destroyed Lamphun with help from the Lawa, and the Thai Lanna kingdom was established with Chiang Mai as the capital. A eight day festival is still held each year on the twelfth day of the waning moon of the sixth lunar month at Wat Chedi Luang in Chiang Mai, to venerate a stone city pillar known as Inthakin which was given to the Thai by the Lawa people.

When the Lawa first came to worldwide attention through a National Geographic article, (Kunstadter 1966), the focus was on the Western Lawa who were considered the true Lawa because they lived in more isolated areas and had mostly avoided the cultural influences of the Thai. Language development work was started with the Western Lawa by Christian missionaries in the 1950's and 60's. There is a Western Lawa orthography based on the variety of Lawa spoken in Ban La-up, MaeSariang, (MaeHongSon province), as well as a complete translation of the Christian Bible. In contrast, the Eastern Lawa has no established orthography. A German missionary Freidhard Lipsius worked amongst the Eastern Lawa during the 1970's and 80's and created an orthography which was not adopted, as well as a handwritten phonology and some translated Christian texts.

1.4 Demographics

Eastern Lawa is spoken in 14 villages in two subdistricts (Tambon) of the Hot district (Amphoer), namely Bo Luang and Bo Sali. They are all within the Chiang Mai region of Northern Thailand.

Figure 2 shows a Thai map where the Lawa are located in the north of the country.

Figure 2 Thai map with Eastern Lawa area in red

1.5 Ethnography

Geography: The Eastern Lawa all live on a mountain plateau between Hot and Mae Sariang. The altitude of the largest village Ban Bo Luang is around 1000 meters above sea level.

Figure 3 shows the distribution of Eastern Lawa villages (mostly) along the main highway between the cities of Hot and Mae Sariang.

Figure 3 Geographical distribution of Eastern Lawa villages

Economy: The Eastern Lawa people are mostly gardeners. They grow rice for personal consumption in the rainy season (between July and November), and the rest of the year grow one or two cash crops. This cash crop is typically tomatoes or chilies. Their rice is mostly grown in submerged tiered paddies, although some mountain type rice is also grown. Other vegetables like corn or pumpkin are grown for personal consumption as well, and most people keep chickens (or ducks) and pigs to supplement their diets.

Religion: Most Eastern Lawa are animists with an overlay of Buddhism. In the past, much effort was expended appeasing spirits [*phǐː*], both of ancestors and of natural phenomena such as rivers. These days, a small sacrifice, usually a chicken, is presented to the spirits of the field and the river when planting and harvesting rice. However, if a wealthy person gets sick a water buffalo may be sacrificed to help with their recovery. Many attend regular activities at the Buddhist temples. Besides Buddhism there is also a handful of Eastern Lawa who have adopted Christianity.

Education: Eastern Lawa children all attend Thai government schools where they learn to speak, read and write Central Thai. The largest of these schools continues through to grade 9 (Mor 3); however most of the smaller villages only have elementary schooling. Children who want to finish their high school (Matayom) need to leave the village and go to either Chiang Mai or one of the other larger cities. From observation and questioning, approximately half the students who finish grade 9 in Ban Bo Luang, go to Chiang Mai to complete their high school studies.

Literacy: Thai government schools first came to the Lawa villages approximately 50 years ago and therefore those over 50 years old are unlikely to be able to read. People between 30 and 50 years old may be able to read. Those under 30 should be able to read. From observation, Eastern Lawa people, like their Thai neighbors, do not tend to read for pleasure.

1.6 Dialects of Lawa

Eastern Lawa and Western Lawa are closely related Waic languages spoken in two provinces of Northern Thailand: Chiang Mai and Mae Hong Son.

Eastern Lawa is distinct from Western Lawa, despite being highly cognate, because the two languages are not mutually intelligible based on consistent testimonies of Eastern and Western Lawa speakers and testing by SIL (Nahhas 2007).

There are two distinct dialects spoken among the Eastern Lawa. The main dialect is from Ban Bo Luang [*juaŋ nɛwm*] which is by far the largest Eastern Lawa village, with a population of approximately three thousand people. In actuality, Ban Bo Luang is three villages that have grown together and merged into one. Each village has their own temple and village headman. There are no visible borders between them since they have formed one large village, but the Lawa people still know the boundaries and often refer to the parts by name:

- Ban Bo Luang - ยวง แนวม - [*juang nɛwm*]
- Ban Bo Sangae - ยวง เตี๋ยง - [*juaŋ tiaŋ*]
- Ban Bo Pawaen - ยวง กะเวียน - [*juaŋ kawian*]

Ban Bo Sangae [*juaŋ tiaŋ*] is the other main dialect. Dialect differences, however, do not present any difficulty in comprehension between speakers of these dialects due to their close interaction. These dialects have differences in pronunciation and some lexeme differences. Table 1 shows a few of these differences.

Table 1 Examples of differences between dialects of Bo Luang and Bo Sangae

Meaning	Bo Luang	Bo Sangae
1st Person singlular (I/me)	*[ʔa͡j]*	*[ʔawʔ]*
snake	*[saʔəŋ]*	*[saʔeŋ]*
moon	*[kʰɛjʔ]*	*[kʰeʔ]*
eight	*[saʔtɕiʔ]*	*[saʔteʔ]*
pine	*[ⁿgɛiʔ]*	*[ⁿgeʔ]*

Historically, as these villages expanded, people moved out and formed new communities, probably due to lack of space to live in the village, as well as space available in the surrounding areas to plant fields. The differences in dialect were most likely carried over to the new villages as they were founded and the new residents therefore speak the same dialect as their village of origin.

Table 2 shows what dialect the different villages speak.

BL = Bo Luang, BS = Bo Sangae

Table 2 Dialects spoken in different villages

Village	Origin / dialect
Bo Luang	BL
Bo Pawaen	BL
Bo Sangae	BS
Kong Loy	BS
Na Fon	BL
Ban Khun	BS
Tong Luang	BL
Bo Sali	BL
Wang Kong	BL
MaeSanam	BL
Kiu Lom	BL
Mae Tian	BL
Samlang	BL
Sanam	BL

From Table 2 it is easy to see that the dominant dialect is from Bo Luang. The dialect that has been chosen as the basis for this thesis and phonology section is from Ban Bo Luang.

Eastern Lawa has a high level of language vitality and is spoken in the home by all ages. Education as well as village notices and official business, however, are usually conducted in Central Thai. There is no evidence that the Eastern Lawa have any negative attitudes towards Thai people. Most Eastern Lawa are bi-lingual speaking their own language and Northern Thai as their second language. Some older people do not speak much Northern Thai and will reply in Lawa when spoken to in Northern Thai. The younger generation tends to be fluent in Central Thai because of the education system and somewhat fluent in Northern Thai due to the presence of Northern Thai people in and around their villages.

1.7 Methodology

This section discusses the fieldwork for this thesis, informants, and corpus size and types.

1.7.1 Fieldwork

The data for this grammar sketch was collected over a period of approximately a year and a half starting in early 2012. The author has been living in the village of Ban Bo Sangae and learning the Eastern Lawa language for most of that time. Often Central Thai was used as the lingua franca for communication and elicitation.

1.7.2 Informants

Many speakers of Eastern Lawa have contributed over the course of the last year and a half.

Birt (S1) is 28 years old and is from the village of Ban Bo Pawaen. Birt speaks Eastern Lawa (BL variety), Northern Thai and Central Thai. He moved to Chiang Mai city to finish high school and for a few years afterwards to work, but has lived most of his life in Bo Pawaen. Birt is currently working in the Panawat gardens as a truck driver and handyman.

Tukta (S2) is 24 years old and is from the village of Ban Bo Luang. Tukta speaks Eastern Lawa (BL variety), Northern Thai and Central Thai. She moved to Chiang Mai city from grade 4 through to graduating with a degree in Political Science from Maejo University (2012). She returned to her village between school terms and in holidays, and has therefore kept up her use of Lawa. Tukta is currently working in tourism in Chiang Mai.

Jenny (S3) is 37 years old and is from the village of Ban Bo Sangae. Jenny speaks Eastern Lawa, (BS variety), Northern Thai and Central Thai. She lived in Chiang Mai city to finish her high school and worked at various cafes in Chiang Mai. She has visited England once on an exchange program and can speak a little English. (Not quite conversational level). She has been living back in the village for the last 3-4 years helping her elderly parents with their shop.

Boon (S4) is 53 years old and is from the village of Ban Bo Sangae. He speaks Eastern Lawa, (BS variety), Northern Thai and Central Thai. He only left the village briefly for miliary service and a few other jobs that he held, but otherwise has lived most of his life in Bo Sangae. Boon is has his own fields or works part time for us around our house.

Khru A (S5) is 32 years old and is from the village of Ban Bo Pawaen. She speaks Eastern Lawa (BL variety), Central Thai and Northern Thai. She lived in Chiang Mai

to finish high school and was a teacher at the school in Ban Bo Luang. Currently she is working selling insurance and helping us learn Eastern Lawa.

Ta Saai, (S6) is 70 years old and is from the village of Ban Khun. He speaks Eastern Lawa (BS variety) and Northern Thai. Ta Saai was the village head for nearly 20 years and is now retired.

Ta Wan, (S7) is 53 and is an Eastern Lawa native speaker from the village of Ban Khun. He speaks Eastern Lawa (BS variety), Central Thai and Northern Thai. Ta Wan is currently studying in Mae Sariang to be a pastor and plans to start a church in his home village of Ban Khun when he finishes.

1.7.3 Corpus size and type

Various texts were elicited for this thesis including:

LC – La conversation. A conversation between four women about the birth of a
    child. 252 lines.

BDF – A boy a dog and a frog. A wordless storybook told by Birt. 27 lines.

ET – The Tiger and the elephant. A traditional story told by Ta Saai. 52 lines.

TS – How the tiger got its stripes. A traditional story told by Ta Saai. 44 lines.

RS – Rainstorm story. A wordless storybook story told by Birt. 65 lines.

BL – Bo Luang Song sung by Wandee. 22 lines.

LP – Lawa Proverbs told by Ta Wan. 20 lines.

1.7.4 Theoretical framework

The expectation is that the Eastern Lawa language will be similar to related languages and therefore the description used herein is at a level to facilitate comparison between those languages. No appeal is made to a specific theoretical framework such as LFG or RRG[1]. Rather the language is described using standard grammatical notation (noun, verb, subject, object, etc) that is consistent with Talmy, Shopen and other similar grammatical descriptions.

---

[1] RRG stands for Role and reference grammar (Van Valin). LFG stands for Lexical functional grammar.

1.8 Literature review

Phonological Studies of Lawa: Description and Comparison by Yasujuki Mitani (1978):

This doctoral thesis presents a synchronic description of the phonological systems of four dialects of Lawa, (from Bo Luang, Umphai, La'op and Ban Phae) and a diachronic comparative study is presented of these dialects.

A Descriptive Grammar of Wa by Ma Seng Mai (2012):

This masters thesis presents the grammatical structures of Wa using traditional linguistic terms. Wa is a language spoken in South East Asia. Its language classification falls under the Mon-Khmer sub-group of the Austro-Asiatic language family. This research is based on the Yaong Soi dialect of Wa which is regarded as the main dialect of the Wa Bible translation.

Some general characteristics of Lawa Grammar by Jiranan Komonkitiskun (1985):

This is a description of syntactic characteristics of Western Lawa using the tagmemic model. It is written in 1985 and it is based on La-up dialect spoken in Ban Phae village, Mae Hong Son province in Thailand. It describes Lawa word classes, phrases, clauses and sentences.

The Wa Languages by Gerard Diffloth (1980):

This book looks at the phonology of Wa and tries to reconstruct relationships in Waic languages of Palaungic branch. The data for phonological reconstruction is based on six Waic sources, namely Lawa, Samtau, South Wa, Bible Wa, Kawa and Drages' Wa. Diffloth provides no grammatical analysis.

Sociolinguistic Survey of Lawa in Thailand by Ramzi Nahhas (2006):

A team of researchers from Payap's Linguistic Institute, surveyed both the Eastern and Western Lawa in February and March, 2006, using sociolinguistic questionnaires and intelligibility testing in order to assess the need for further vernacular literature development among the Lawa. This survey of Lawa looked at the comprehension of Western Lawa amoung various dialects of Western Lawa and also with Eastern Lawa. It also investigated language vitality of Eastern Lawa and Thai proficiency. It concluded that further language development of the Eastern Lawa should be undertaken.

Grammatical Studies of Man Noi Plang by Emily Lewis (2008):

This masters thesis examines certain grammatical features of Man Noi Plang, which is a Palaungic language in the northern branch of the Mon-Khmer family. The

purpose of the thesis is to describe aspects of the grammar of a previously undescribed dialect of Plang. This includes a general description of Plang word classes and syntax, which provides a workable foundation for further grammatical research in this and other Plang dialects.

The following grammar reference works were used because they have limited theoretical commitment, standard usage of traditional terms and a wide range of descriptive tools that do not depend on a particular theoretical bent.

Paul R. Kroeger, Analyzing Grammar, 2005.

R. M. W. Dixon, Basic Linguistic Theory, 2010.

Timothy Shopen (ed.), Language Typology and Syntactic Decription, 2007.

1.9 Limitations and scope

An initial word list was collected and following that, grammar texts were elicited along with recordings from language learning activities. Various texts were recorded and transcribed. (See section 1.7.3 and appendices). The findings presented in this thesis are just an overview or sketch of the grammar structure of this language. More research is needed to understand some of the complexities that cannot be fully fleshed out in this thesis or were not completely understood due to the researcher not being a native speaker of the language.

1.10 Summary

This chapter was an introduction to the Eastern Lawa people, their linguistic affiliation, historical background, demographics, ethnography, and culture. The methodology for this thesis was presented along with a list of the fieldwork, informants, corpus size and type and theoretical framework. A brief literature review and the scope and limitations were presented.

Chapter 2
Phonology and morphology

2.1 Introduction

This section provides information on the phonology and morphology of Eastern Lawa. It presents the consonant and vowel inventory, characteristics of non-segmental phonation, special acoustic and articulatory features and syllable structure. Consonant and vowel phonemes are shown in sections 2.1.1 and 2.1.5 respectively.

2.2 Consonant Phonemes

It is proposed that there are 33 consonants in Eastern Lawa as shown in Table 3.

Table 3 Eastern Lawa consonant inventory

Point of articulation			Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
		Manner of articulation						
Stops	Oral	vl. unaspirated	p		t	c	k	ʔ
		vl. aspirated	pʰ		tʰ	cʰ	kʰ	
		vd. prenasalized	ᵐb		ⁿd	²	ᵑg	
		vd. preglottalized	ʔb		ʔd			
	Nasal	voiced	m		n	ɲ	ŋ	
		voiceless	m̥		n̥		ŋ̥	
		preglottalized	ʔm		ʔn		ʔŋ	
Fricatives	Slit	voiceless		f				h
	Groove	voiceless			s			
Approx.	Median	voiced	w		l			
		voiceless			l̥			
	Lateral	voiced			r	j		
		preglottalized				ʔj		

---

² Mitani includes ᶮɟ (prenasalized palatal voiced stop) in his list of consonants but only gives one example of it, which is the word [ʔəᶮɟaʷp] – 'wooden bowl'. The word I found for a wooden bowl is [ʔəcaʷp] which has an unvoiced palatal stop. I have not encountered this phoneme anywhere else and therefore do not include it in the table above or the phonetic inventory.

2.2.1 Proof of Consonants

Table 4 shows the contrast between Eastern Lawa initial consonants.

Table 4 Initial consonants

Consonant	Example	Gloss	Example	Gloss
p – p^h	*puan*	'eat'	*pʰuan*	'five'
p – $ˀb$	*pɨaʔ*	'father'	*ˀbɨaʔ*	'to break'
$ˀb$ – $ᵐb$	*ˀbeiɲ*	'to beat'	*ᵐbeiɲ*	'mud'
$ᵐb$ – m	*ᵐbeiɲ*	'mud'	*meiɲ*	'to count'
m – $m̥$	*maic*	'good'	*m̥aic*	'sand'
m – $ˀm$	*mɒwʔ*	'approximately'	*ˀmɒwʔ*	'rope'
$m̥$ – $ˀm$	*m̥ɒw*	'lungs'	*ˀmɒwʔ*	'rope'
$ˀb$ – $ˀm$	*ˀbaw*	'classifier for things'	*ˀmaw*	'axe'
n – $n̥$	*newm*	'true'	*n̥ewm*	'snore'
n – $ɲ$	*newm*	'to urinate'	*ɲewm*	'to sit'
n – $ŋ$	*nɔŋ*	'seed'	*ŋɔŋ*	'knee'
n – $ˀn$	*nɔŋ*	'seed'	*ˀnɔŋ*	'dead/fallen tree'
$n̥$ – $ˀn$	*n̥ɔŋ*	'man made pond'	*ˀnɔŋ*	'dead/fallen tree'
$ŋ̥$ – $ŋ$	*ŋ̥ap*	'to yawn'	*ŋap*	'early morning'
$ɲ$ – $ŋ$	*ɲuʔ*	'to push'	*ŋuʔ*	'to cry out in pain'
$ɲ$ – j	*ɲum*	'tasty'	*jum*	'to die'
j – $ˀj$	*joʔ*	'to see'	*ˀjoʔ*	'to pour'
$ᵑg$ – $ŋ$	*ᵑgɔ*	'to fell a tree'	*ŋɔ*	'fire'
$ᵑg$ – $ˀŋ$	*ᵑgiaŋ*	'pregnant'	*ˀŋiaŋ*	'short'
$ᵑg$ – $ⁿd$	*ᵑgɔ*	'upper back'	*ⁿdɔ*	'rain spouting'
$ˀd$ – t	*ˀdaɨk*	'rattan'	*taɨk*	'to hang'
t – $ʔ$	*taiɲ*	'wall'	*ʔaiɲ*	'to return'
t – t^h	*tum*	'a tumor'	*tʰum*	'to cover with earth'
t – c	*tak*	'tongue'	*cak*	'blind'
c – c^h	*cuaŋ*	'foot'	*cʰuaŋ*	'light (weight)'
$ˀd$ – $ⁿd$	*ˀdɛ*	'forehead'	*ⁿdɛ*	'biting fly'
$ⁿd$ – $ˀn$	*ⁿdaiʔ*	'near'	*ˀnaiʔ*	'hat'
$ˀtɛ$ – $ˀdɛ$	*ˀtɛ*	'sweet'	*ˀdɛ*	'forehead'
f – w	*fiak*	'dark'	*wiak*	'stomach'
l – $l̥$	*lɛit*	'pig'	*l̥ɛic*	'iron'
$r̥$ – $l̥$	*r̥ɛi*	'thin (material)'	*l̥ɛic*	'iron'
l – r	*lak*	'fence post'	*rak*	'love' (Thai loan)
k – k^h	*kua*	'ten'	*kʰua*	'cook'

2.2.2 Initial Consonants C1(C2)

The following describes the single initial consonants and initial consonant clusters.

2.2.2.1 Single Initial Consonants

The following 33 consonant phonemes /p, pʰ, ˀb, ᵐb, t, tʰ, ⁿd, ˀd, c, cʰ, k, kʰ, ⁿg, ʔ, m, m̥, ˀm, n, ˀn, n̥, ɲ, ŋ, ˀŋ, ŋ̊, w, j, ˀj, r, l, l̥, s, f, h/ may occur in the initial consonant position (C1) without a proceeding (C2). (Note: section 2.1.10 discusses syllable shape).

Table 5 Examples of words with single initial consonants.

Example	Gloss	Example	Gloss
piəŋ	'tooth'	*muan*	'enjoyable/fun'
tia	'flower'	*nian*	'look'
kiat	'bite'	*ɲɨaʔ*	'house'
ʔiak	'older brother'	*ŋɔ*	'fire'
wiak	'stomach'	*sɔʔ*	'dog'
jum	'die'	*liak*	'enter'
riəŋ	'strong'	*fiaʔ*	'monkey'
hiəŋ	'clever'	*kʰua*	'clothes'
pʰuan	'five'	*tʰəik*	'to spit'
cuaŋ	'foot'	*cʰuak*	'heavy'
ˀjoʔ	'to pour'	*ᵐbia*	'forget'
ⁿdiam	'low'	*ⁿgɛj*	'pine'
ˀbak-ˀbuen	'between/centre'	*ˀdaŋ*	'long'
l̥aʔ	'leaf'	*ˀmiah*	'with'
m̥ɔŋ	'hear'	*n̥am*	'blood'
ˀnɔŋ	'dead/fallen tree'	*ˀŋa*	'twenty'
ŋ̊ew	'to smell something'		

13

2.2.2.2 Initial Consonant Clusters

Permitted combinations of initial consonant phonemes into clusters are as shown in Table 6.

Table 6 Permitted combinations of initial consonant clusters (C1, C2)

	Bilabial	Velar + alv. approx.	Velar + approx.
vl. stop + vd. lateral	*pl*	*kl*	
vl. stop + vd. flap	*pr*	*kr*	*kw*
vl. asp. stop + vd. flap	*pʰl*	*kʰl*	
vl. asp. stop + vd. flap	*pʰr*	*kʰr*	
vd. prenasal stop +vd. lateral	*ᵐbl*	*ᵑgl*	
vd. prenasal stop +vd. flap	*ᵐbr*	*ᵑgr*	

Table 7 Examples of words with initial consonant clusters

Initial	Example		Gloss
pl	*plawm*	-	'a leech'
pr	*pruk prak*	-	'lightning'
pʰl	*plia?*	-	'coconut'
pʰr	*pʰraŋ*	-	'roof'
ᵐbl	*ᵐblɔŋ*	-	'horse'
ᵐbr	*ᵐbrak*	-	'bat'
kl	*klɔm*	-	'carry on shoulder'
kr	*kra*	-	'to drive out'
kʰl	*kʰlɔŋ*	-	'river'
kʰr	*kʰriŋ*	-	'to hate'
ᵑgl	*ᵑglawm*	-	'under'
ᵑgr	*ᵑgram*	-	'trash'
kw	*kwaŋ*	-	'kite / eagle'

2.2.3 Final Consonants

Only twelve consonants can occur in the word final position. These are /p, t, c, k, ʔ, h, m, n, ɲ, ŋ, w, j/.

Table 8 shows examples of words with these final consonants (C3).

Table 8 Final consonants (C3)

Final	Example		Gloss
p	*ŋap*	-	'yawn'
t	*kiat*	-	'bite'
c	*ʔaic*	-	'sleep'
k	*wiak*	-	'stomach'
ʔ	*joʔ*	-	'see'
h	*kih*	-	'salt'
m	*jum*	-	'die'
n	*nian*	-	'look'
ɲ	*ʔaiɲ*	-	'return'
ŋ	*piaŋ*	-	'tooth'
w	*m̥ɒw*	-	'lungs'
j	*ⁿɡɛj*	-	'pine'

The complex finals (C3)(C4) are combinations of */w/*[3] with */p/, /h/, /m/* and */ʔ/*. Thus, the complex syllable finals are as follows.

/-wp/ /-wh/ /-wm/ /-wʔ/

Table 9 Complex final consonants

Final	**Example**		**Gloss**
wp	*cewp*	-	'meet'
wh	*pewh*	-	'float'
wm	*ɲewm*	-	'sit'
wʔ	*kʰɒwʔ*	-	'tree'

2.3 Vowels, Diphthongs and Triphthongs

It is proposed that there are 10 vowel phonemes in Eastern Lawa, 12 diphthongs and 2 triphthongs as shown in Table 10.

---

[3] These could be realized with */-u/* but the (trial) orthography prefers to use */-w/*.

Table 10 Eastern Lawa vowel inventory

	Front	Mid	Back		Diphthongs				Triphthongs
	Unrounded		Rounded		iu	ia	ui		iau
Close	i	ɨ	u		ia/ iə⁴		ua/uə		uai
Mid-close	e	ə	o		ei		ɒu		
Mid-open	ɛ		ɔ		əi		oi/ɔi		
Open		a	ɒ		ai	aɨ	au		

2.3.1 Proof of Vowels

Table 11 shows examples of vowel contrasts.

Table 11 Vowel contrasts

Vowel contrast	Example	Gloss		Example	Gloss
i - ɨ	tia	'flower'	-	tɨa	'bored'
i – e	tiʔ	'one'	-	teʔ	Subject pronoun
e - ə	teʔ	Subject pronoun	-	təʔ	'so'
e - ɛ	teʔ	Subject pronoun	-	tɛ	'sweet'
ɛ - a	tɛ	'sweet'	-	taʔ	'grandfather'
a - ɒ	taʔ	'grandfather'	-	tɒʔ	'meat'
u - o	juh	'make / do'	-	joʔ	'see'
o - ɔ	poŋ	'stairs'	-	pɔŋ	'window'
ɔ - ɒ	tɔm	'egg'	-	tɒm	'liver'

2.3.2 Proof of Diphthongs

Table 12 shows examples of diphthongs.

Table 12 Diphthongs

Diphthong	Example	Gloss	Diphthong	Example	Gloss
iu	ʔasiu	'a little'	ɒu	nɒu	'put down'
ɨa	tɨa	'bored'	au	ŋklau	'chicken cage'
ui	tui	'fat'	ɔi	laʔɔi	'three'
ia	kiat	'bite'	aj	kaj	'have.exists'
əj	lawəj	'sunset'	aɨ	tɑ̃ɨʔ	'probably'
ua	muan	'fun'	ei	hei	'this'

---

⁴ The diphthongs /ia/ and /iə/ are likely the same but sounding closer to one or the other depending on the person speaking. More investigation is required to see if there is contrast between these. /ua/ and /uə/ are in the same category.

2.4 Register

Eastern Lawa has vowel register but it is not contrastive. That is, there are tense/creaky features on some vowels and breathy/lax features on some vowels in certain words, but so far this has not been found to be contrastive. More investigation is required, and the register will not be shown in this thesis unless it is of note.

Examples of words with creaky and breathy vowels.

Breathy	gloss
kʰe̤	'moon/month'
ki̤h	'salt'

Creaky	gloss
kʰo̰wʔ	'tree'
sətḁj	'eight'

2.5 Stress and intonation

Mitani (1978) postulates two internal junctures and one stress phoneme in Eastern Lawa words. The long break is denoted with a space / / and the short break is denoted with a dash /-/. Stress is denoted in the usual way with /ˈ/. The long break / / may occur at certain points in an utterance, marking the border of phonological words, e.g. */ʔˈɔk paʔ nɛwm-kaˈnom/* 'Where do you come from?' Phonetically the long break, / / represents a lesser amount of cohesion or even a break of continuum. Thus, / / may be replaced in rapid speech by /-/, which would normally mark syllable division.

Final syllables are always stressed and minor syllables are always unstressed. Stress is consistent for words and does not change. A minimal contrast of stress rarely occurs, but in non-final position both stressed and unstressed syllables occur:

(i)   ˈʔa-ˈlɛh   'seven'
       ˈbuŋ-ˈbaŋ   'butterfly'
(ii)   nak-ˈnəˈŋ   'pomelo'
       ʔbak-ˈʔbuən   'between'

Mitani found contrasts of tone occurring between certain words, but apparently in a somewhat different manner from the usual tonal contrasts in well-known tonal languages. Stative verbs, such as 'hot', 'cold', 'sweet', 'true', etc., in isolation or predicate final, characteristically occur with a rising contour, while nouns and other words in isolation tend to have a falling contour. This results in the apparent minimal contrasts such as the following:

nɛ̆wm	'true'	*nɛ̀wm*	'year'
ɲɨ̆əʔ	'married'	*ɲɨ̀əʔ*	'house'
l̥ăjʔ	'raining'	*l̥ãjʔ*	'rain' (n.)

Mitani decided against postulating lexical tone for the following reasons:

1) His informants were inconsistent in assigning the rising contour, stative verbs sometimes occurring with a falling contour. This suggests that when stative verbs were elicited with a rising contour, they may have been treated as complete utterances composed of a single stative verb predicate.

2) In non-final position, words which in isolation have falling or rising contours tend to lose them.

3) When a stative verb follows a noun in a nominal phrase or compound, it takes the falling contour characteristic of nouns; e.g.

mă̆ⁱt	'good'	*ɲɨaʔ-mã̄ⁱt*	'good house'
kă̆ɨk	'hot'	*laʔawm-kã̄ɨk*	'hot water'
kŭ̆at	'cold'	*ɲɨam-kũ̄at*	'cold season'

Thus, the contrasts rather appear to be part of a unique system of Lawa intonation, but the final solution to the problem must await further investigation.

2.6 Syllables and phonological words

In Eastern Lawa, phonemes are arranged into larger phonological units called syllables. The general pattern of the occurrence of segmental phonemes within a syllable can be represented by the formula: C1(C2) V1 (V2)(C3)(C4), where C and V stand for consonants and vowels respectively and ( ) indicates an optional element.

The distribution of phonemes within a syllable can be described in terms of syllable constituents, namely an onset consonant C1, (C2), followed by a nucleus vowel V1 (V2) and an optional final coda (C3)(C4).

Example of monosyllabic words:

sɔʔ 'dog'   *hɛ* 'bee'
kʰɒʔ 'tree'   *ɲiaʔ* 'house'

Some Eastern Lawa words are disyllabic and most of these have an unstressed initial syllable. Examples of di-syllabic words:

ləˈʔawm 'water'   *ʔaˈmɔih* 'banana'   *kuiˈtɛt* 'papaya'
səˈʔəŋ 'snake'   *baˈho* 'pumpkin'

Tri-syllabic Eastern Lawa words less frequent and are usually formed with two unstressed initials. Examples of tri-syllabic words:

maʔsaʔˈŋaj   'afternoon'   *piʔaˈpəŋ*   'woman'
piʔawˈmaiʔ   'man'

2.7 Morphology and word formation

Eastern Lawa is an isolating language and therefore tends to favor mono-syllabic words. It is not extremely isolating so di-syllabic words are somewhat common but tri-syllabic words are rare. It has some compounding, reduplication and a few prefixes.

This section presents some morphological features of Eastern Lawa. It describes:-

i)   Word formation by reduplication (section 2.7.1)

ii)   Compounding (section 2.7.2)

iii)   Elaborate expressions (section 2.7.3)

iv)   Productive prefixes (section 2.7.4)

2.7.1 Reduplication

The following examples show full reduplication of adverbs. The function of reduplication appears to be to increase or decrease intensity.

(1) *kʰrəŋ kuɛ* 'speak softly' - *kʰrəŋ kuɛ kuɛ* 'whisper' *(reduced intensity)*

(2) *tɔ klaic* 'run fast' - *tɔ klaic klaic* 'sprint' *(increased intensity)*

(3) *kok sia* 'eat some' - *kok sia sia* 'nibble' *(reduced intensity)*

2.7.2 Compounds

Compounding is common in Eastern Lawa. According to Bisetto and Scalise (2005), compounds are divided into three main categories: subordinate, attributive and coordinate. Compounds can be categorized as 'subordinate' if there is a complement relationship between the two words or if there is an 'of' relation between them like 'apron string' meaning 'a string of an apron'. In 'attributive' compounds, a word is used to express the attribute of the other word. In 'coordinate' compounds, two words are tied by an implicit conjunction.

Table 13 shows noun-noun compounds in Eastern Lawa. The pattern is [N+N]N.

Table 13 Eastern Lawa noun compounds

Compounds	Literal translation	Gloss	Type
laʔawm hɛ	water bee	'honey'	Subordinate
toʔ leit	meat pig	'pork'	Subordinate
plɛj kʰɒwʔ	fruit tree	'fruit'	Subordinate
maʔ pɨaʔ	mother father	'parent'	Coordinate
kɨin ʔamajʔ	child male	'boy'	Attributive

Examples of noun-verb compounds are listed in Table 14. The pattern is [N+V]N.

Table 14 Eastern Lawa noun-verb compounds

Compound	Literal translation	Gloss	Type
laʔawm ɲoʔ	water drink	'drinking water'	Subordinate
maɨ cia	silver spend	'money'	Subordinate

Verb-noun types of compounds were not found and more research is required to see if they are present in Eastern Lawa.

2.7.3 Elaborate expressions

In Eastern Lawa, rhyming four syllable expressions are common.

The following elaborate expressions have a pattern of ABAC using repetition of the first word.

(4) *ABAC elaborate expressions*

> *(a)*   *pu*   *ʔaɨk*   *pu*   *sɔm*
> person be.at.stay   person eat
> 'husband and wife' / 'a couple'

> *(b)*   *ʔiak*   *raʔ*   *ʔiak*   *toʔ*
> brother.older   big   brother.older   oldest
> 'brothers and sisters'

> *(c)*   *to*   *rum*   *to*   *roʔ*
> in   forest   in   forest
> 'in the forest'

> *(d)*   *mait*   *ʔapʰawm*   *mait*   *pewh*
> good   heart   good   spirit
> 'has a good heart/spirit'

> *(e)*   *kaʔ*   *hɔ*   *kaʔ*   *hej*
> prefix   there   prefix   here
> 'here and there'

The next elaborate expressions have a pattern of AABB.

(5) *AABB Elaborate expressions*

> *(a)*   *hew*   *hew*   *ʔaɲ̊*   *ʔaɲ̊*
> go   go   return   return
> 'to describe someone who never stays in one place.'

> *(b)*   *sɔ̰m*   *sɔ̰m*   *ʔac̓*   *ʔac̓*
> eat   eat   sleep   sleep
> 'lazy, good for nothing'

Eastern Lawa also has an ABCD pattern of four syllable expressions. This type does not have repetition as in the above examples. However, rhyming still occurs.

(6) *ABCD Elaborate expressions*

    lak   lɔŋ   toŋ   teŋ[5]

    'to describe a person who won't work or help'

This is the harshest of the three elaborate expressions listed here.

2.7.4 Productive prefixes

Lawa has productive prefixes which when combined with another word produce a change in class. The first one listed is *piʔ* which changes verbs into nouns. *piʔ* is therefore marked as a nominalizer and discussed more in section (3.2).

(7)   *puan*   -   *piʔ-puan*
        'eat'   'food'

(8)   *ʔah*   -   *piʔ-ʔah*
        'speak'   'words spoken'

Eastern Lawa has a diminutive prefix *kuin* which is possibly derived from the word *kaⁿdɒwʔ* 'child' but is also used for diminutives elsewhere.

(9)   *ʔɛ*   -   *kuin-ʔɛ*
        'chicken'   'chick'

(10)   *sɔʔ*   -   *kuin-sɔʔ*
        'dog'   'puppy'

Eastern Lawa also has a time prefix *maʔ* which when added to words will give a specific time reference.

(11)   *saʔ*   -   *maʔsaʔ*
        'early'   'morning'

(12)   *puʔ*   -   *maʔ-puʔ*
        'late'   'evening'

---

[5] The language informant was unable to give individual meanings of words for this expression.

kaʔ is another prefix which is almost always used with words associated with location. The demonstratives *hej* and *hɔ* can be separated from the prefix *kaʔ*, but the others cannot.

(13)

kaʔ-hej	'here'	*hej*	'this'
kaʔ-hɔ	'there'	*hɔ*	'that'
kaʔ-saj	'below'		
kaʔ-ᵑglawm	'under'		
kaʔ-duaŋ	'on top'		
kaʔ-ⁿka	'in front'		
kaʔ-vɛʔ	'left'		
kaʔ-dom	'right'		

No suffixes have been found and would not be expected with Mon Khmer languages.

2.8 Summary

This section provided information on the phonology and morphology of Eastern Lawa (relying on work from Mitani and Lipsius). It presented the consonant and vowel inventory, characteristics of non-segmental phonation, special acoustic and articulatory features and syllable structure. Finally, examples of reduplication, compounding, elaborate expressions and productive prefixes were presented.

Chapter 3
Basic clause structure

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of the basic clause structure of Eastern Lawa[6].
Core and non-core arguments are investigated first in (3.2). The basic order of clause
constituents including some word order typology is examined second (3.3). Non-core
arguments are examined in section (3.4). Finally, non-verbal clause structures and
copula clauses are presented in (3.5).

3.2 Core arguments

There are two core arguments in Eastern Lawa, the subject and the object.

3.2.1 Subject identification

NP subjects in Eastern Lawa are not marked morphologically. Position does not
absolutely determine the subject as the clause can have SV and VS word order.
However position is indicative as the subject is expected to appear before or after
the verb[7].

Example (14) is VS word order. Note that a conjunction appears before the verb.

(14)   TS.36

   kam tʰɔ   *haʔ*   *plɔŋ*   *tʰɔ*
   after.that   burn   roof   DEM

   After that the roof burnt

---

[6] Basic clause structure is presented here before chapter 4 on word classes, chapter 5 on noun phrases
and chapter 6 on verb phrases otherwise it would have appeared as chapter 6 which seems too late in
the thesis. This chapter order allows the reader to get a grasp on word order and clause structure so that
the information presented in the following chapters is in a framework of knowledge of what constitutes
a clause.

[7] Except for special circumstances like introducing a new participant where VOS word order is
possible. See section 3.3.4.

Example (15) is SV word order.

(15)　LC.70

ʔi nɔj	*tʰɔ*	*sam*	*haɨk*	*maesa*	*lah*
little.one	DEM	will	arrive	April	eh

The little one will arrive in April eh

3.2.2 Object identification

NP objects in Eastern Lawa are not marked morphologically. Objects always appear after the verb and usually appear after the subject[8]. Objects are optional for some types of clauses.

Example (16) shows an object which is not marked.

(16)　R.28

kaⁿdɒwʔ	*lɔŋ*	*huak*	*tam*	**poŋ**	*toʔ*	*kanaj*	*hɔŋ*
child	try	climb	follow	**stairs**	in	inside	room

The boy tried climbing up the stairs that were inside the room

3.3 Basic order of constituents in clauses with full verbs

There is very little flexibility with the order of Eastern Lawa constituents and the word order can be either SVO or VSO (and even VOS via right dislocation when introducing a new participant). However, upon thorough investigation it is clear that the default word order is VSO.

Initially Eastern Lawa was thought to be an SVO language, as Western Lawa is presented as an SVO language in Jiranan Komonkitiskun's thesis on Western Lawa grammar.

Example (17) with SVO word order.

(17)　BDF.13

sɔʔ	*bəp*	*m̥ɔək*	*kop*
dog	leap	catch	frog

The dog leaped to catch the frog.

---

[8] The only exception to this is when new participants are introduced in a discourse via right dislocation of the subject forcing a VOS word order. See section 3.3.4 for examples.

However, subjects do appear after the verb with regularity, as in example (18).

(18) LC.36

ʔo   liak   paʔ   to   kʰum

oh   enter   you   in   spa

oh you enter into the spa.

Next, the transitivity of the verb was investigated to see if it had any bearing on word order.

3.3.1 Intransitive

Both SV and VS word order are acceptable with intransitive clauses.

Example (19) is intransitive with SV word order.

(19) BDF.14b

kop   paʔtiat

frog   jump

The frog jumped

Example (20) is intransitive with VS word order.

(20) TS.13

haʔ   plɔŋ   tʰɔ

burn   roofing   DEM

The roofing ignited

3.3.2 Transitive

Both SV and VS word order seems acceptable with transitive clauses.

Example (21) is transitive with SVO word order.

(21) BDF.19a

kop   ɲewm   nian   kaⁿdɒwʔ   ʔaiɲ

frog   sit   look   child   return

The frog sat watching the boy return home

Example (22) is transitive with VSO word order.

(22) LC.45

mak   luan paʔ ʔuː ʔeh   lɒwh   lah

enjoy   very you everything experience eh

You really enjoy all your experiences eh

We can see from these examples that Eastern Lawa word order variation does not depend on the transitivity of the verb.

It also does not seem to be determined by whether the subject is a noun phrase or pronoun.

Table 15 compares SV and VS word order in different clauses to see which options are possible. These examples are mostly in following chapters but references are given here to help track these down in later chapters. Note the * in the SV/VS column indicates that the order has been tested and was ungrammatical. It can be quickly seen that VS word order is almost always acceptable, but SV word order is only allowed in certain clause types.

Table 15 Clause types and VS-SV patterns

Clause Types	Order		Examples		Section
	SV	VS	SV	VS	
Intransitive	ok	ok	(19)	(20)	3.3
Transitive clauses	ok	ok	(21)	(22)	3.3
Complement clauses	ok	(ok)[9]	(205)		9.3.1
Dependent clauses (Time)	*	ok		(212)	9.3.2.1
Dependent clauses (Reason)	ok	ok	(213)	(74)	9.3.2.2/4.6.6
Dependent clauses (Conditional)	*	ok		(216)	9.3.2.3
Dependent clauses (Concession)	ok	ok	(219)	(218)	9.3.2.1.6
Relative clauses	*	ok		(223)	9.3.3
Serial verb constructions	ok	*	(126)		6.2.2.2

The preponderance of VS word order tends to indicate that the default word order in Eastern Lawa is VS. The only exception to this is with serial verb constructions. To comfirm this conclusion, statistical analysis was undertaken on a long conversation to see if the VS word order was predominant.

---

[9] These can be VS also but no examples are found in the data.

3.3.3 Word order statistics

Because of uncertainty as to the word order of Eastern Lawa, a basic statistical analysis was performed on the word order of clauses in a natural conversation between three women. A total of 252 sentences of conversation were analyzed and tallied with regards to whether the clauses were Subject-Verb or Verb-Subject word order. Zero subject clauses were counted seperately.

Table 16 gives the count of clauses with different word orders in questions, main clauses and subordinate clauses.

Table 16 Word order statistics from La conversation

Word order	SV	VS	Zero subject
Questions	4	22	4
Main Clauses	27	110	73
Subordinate Clauses	1	8	3

Table 17 shows these as percentages of the total number of sentences.

Table 17 Percentage of SV/VS clauses

Word order	SV	VS	Zero
Questions	13%	73%	14%
Main Clauses	13%	52%	35%
Subordinate Clauses	8%	67%	25%

When the zero subject clauses are taken out of the percentages, (i.e. only those with known word order are calculated in the percentages), the results are a little clearer as shown in Table 18. (Note this is calculated for the 132 sentences that are clearly SV or VS).

Table 18 Percentage of SV/VS clauses

Word order	SV	VS
questions	15%	85%
Main Clauses	20%	80%
Subordinate Clauses	11%	89%

Table 18 shows that 80% of the main clauses in this conversation were VS word order, 89% of subordinate clauses were VS word order and 85% of questions VS

word order. This strongly confirms that the predominant word order in Eastern Lawa is VSO[10].

3.3.4 VOS word order via right dislocation of new participant

VOS word order is not very common with Eastern Lawa, but seems to be a discourse feature used when introducing new participants. Below are two examples of VOS word order, both of which introduce new participants in the discourse. Example (23) has the tiger being introduced into the discourse and example (24) has the doctor being introduced.

(23) TS.1a

puih	*plɔŋ*	*sam*	*juh*	*muŋ teʔ*	*niŋ*	*ʔawia tʰɔ*
carry.on.back	grass.roofing	FUT	do.make	roof PRO.SUBJ	place	tiger DEM
V	O		V	O		S

The tiger was carrying grass roofing on its back to make itself a roof at its place.

(24) LC.16

caʔ	*nat*		*tew*	*paʔ*	*joŋ*	*mɔ*	*tʰɔ*
possible	make.appointment		NEG	you	maybe	doctor	DEM
	V			O		S	

Didn't the doctor make an appointment with you, maybe?

3.4 Non-core arguments

Non-core arguments are typically semantically defined and their syntactic realizations are investigated here. They usually appear in oblique positions in Eastern Lawa. These non-core arguments include recipient, beneficiary, accompaniment, instrument, and source.

3.4.1 Recipient

"Recipient" is used for a special kind of goal associated with verbs expressing a change in ownership or possession. The schema below shows the typical position of the oblique object for a recipient argument.

S: [V (NP$_{SUBJ}$) NP$_{OBJ}$ *laʔ* NP$_{RECPT}$]

---

[10] Please note that any schema presented with VS word order in this thesis can usually also be SV word order and visa versa.

Example (25) shows a typical recipient type clause using *laʔ*.

(25)   LC.187

kɛh	*kɨah*	*saʔ*	*ʔəŋ*	*laʔ*	*maʔ*	*nɛ*
able	give	early	he	**to**	you	eh

How is it that he was given to you eh?

3.4.2 Beneficiary

"Beneficiary" is used for the entity for whose benefit the action occurs. The schema below shows the typical position of the object for a beneficiary argument.

S: [(NP$_{SUBJ}$) V ***laʔ*** NP$_{OBJ}$ NP$_{BEN}$]

Example (26) shows a sentence with a beneficiary. Interesting to note that even though the NP object is before the beneficiary, the number phrase (that specifies the amount of rice), comes after the beneficiary.

(26)   ET.36a

kɨah	*pɯj*	*to*	*juaŋ*	*hej*
have	people	in	village	this

ET.36b

huaŋ	*ʔawp pit*	*laʔ*	*paʔ*	*ʔaw*	*tiʔ*	*ʔahuaŋ*
steam	sticky.rice	**for**	you	me	one	pot

Have the people in this village steam one pot of sticky rice for you and me.

3.4.3 Accompaniment

"Accompaniment" occurs by using the preposition *miah* 'with'. The following schema shows the accompaniment constituent in a clause.

S: [(NP$_{SUBJ}$) V (LOC) ***miah*** NP$_{ACCOM}$]

Example (27) shows a typical clause with an accompaniment oblique.

(27)

puʔ	*ʔaj*	*kuat*	*hew*	*kat*	*miah*	*puʔm̥ew*	*teʔ*	*ʔnɔŋ*
younger	1SG	want	go	market	**with**	friend	hers	only

My younger (sibling) wants to go to the market only with her friend.

3.4.4 Instrument

"Instruments" are marked using the preposition *taʔ* and usually follow the affected object.

The position of the instrument constituent is shown in the following schema.

S: [(NP$_{SUBJ}$) V NP$_{OBJ}$ ***taʔ*** NP$_{INSTR}$]

Example (28) shows *taʔ* being used with an instrument.

(28)

kaⁿdɒwʔ	*tʰɔ*	*soj*	*pɛ*	***taʔ***	*mit*
child	DEM	slice	mango	**with**	knife (TH)

The child sliced the mango with a knife.

3.4.5 Source

The preposition *niŋ* is used to mark "source" is Eastern Lawa. A clause with an NP$_{SOURCE}$ can be schematized as below.

S : [(NP$_{SUBJ}$) V ***niŋ*** NP$_{SOURCE}$]

Example (29) shows an NP source which occurs in the clause final position.

(29)

ɕɨaʔ	*raɨ*	***niŋ***	*kʰoʔ*
monkey	fall	**from**	tree

The monkey fell from the tree.

3.5 Non-verbal and copula clauses

Non-verbal predicates are predicates that are not verbs. This section presents the construction of non-verbal and copula clauses in Eastern Lawa. It presents equative clauses, attributive clauses, locative clauses, existential clauses and possessive clauses.

3.5.1 Equative clauses

The copula *mah* links two noun phrases in Eastern Lawa equative clauses. It is obligatory and the schema is as follows:

S$_{EQUATIVE}$: [*mah* PRO NP] or [NP *mah* NP]

If the subject is a pronoun, the common structure tends to be [*mah* PRO NP]. But the pronoun and the copula *mah* can be interchanged. If the subject is a full noun phrase, the pattern is likely to be [NP *mah* NP]. The following are examples of equative clauses in Eastern Lawa.

(30)

    mah   tʰɔ   ta   saw
    be   3SG   uncle   Sa:w
    He is Uncle Saaw.

(31)

    puj   hej   mah   taʔkɛ
    person   DEM   be   village.headman
    This person is the village headman.

3.5.2 Attributive clauses

Attributive clauses in Eastern Lawa consist of a noun phrase (or pronoun) and a stative verb or adjective which indicates the attributes or qualities of the noun phrase. The copula *mah* is only used with colour attributive clauses. Attributive clauses are schematized as below:

    S$_{\text{ATTRIBUTIVE}}$: [NP V$_{\text{STATIVE}}$]

    S$_{\text{ATTRIBUTIVE}}$: [NP AP]

    S$_{\text{ATTRIBUTIVE}}$: [NP *mah* colour]

    V$_{\text{STATIVE}}$: [V ADV]

    AP: [ADJ ADV]

The following examples show attributive clauses in Eastern Lawa.

(32)

    puj tʰɔ   l̥uaŋ
    3SG   tall
    He (is) tall.

(33)

    ʔamɔih   *ʔi:*   *tum*

    banana   already   ripe

    The banana is already ripe.

(34)

    piʔapəŋ   *tʰɔ*   *mait*

    woman   DEM   good.nice.pretty

    That woman is beautiful.

Example (35) shows the adjective being intensified with a degree adverb *luan* 'very'.

(35)

    viw   *hej*   *mait*   *luan*

    view   this   nice   very

    This view is very nice.

Example (36) is ungrammatical as it tries to use the copula mah with an adjective, but not a colour attribute.

(36)*

    viu   *mah*   *mait*

    view   be   nice

    Intended: the view is nice

3.5.3 Locative clauses

The copula *kaj* 'be.at' is used in locative clauses. (*kaj* is also used for the verb 'to have' in existential clauses). The location of something can also be expressed by using the copula *ʔaɨk* 'be.at' (which is also related to the verb *ʔaɨk* 'stay.at'). The locative copulas *kaj* and *ʔaɨk* are obligatory in locative sentences.

The following schemas show the construction of locative clauses in Eastern Lawa.

    S$_{LOC}$: [NP$_{SUB}$ ***kaj*** XP$_{LOC}$]

    S$_{LOC}$: [NP$_{SUB}$ ***ʔaɨk*** XP$_{LOC}$]

ʔaɨk is used with people, animals and inanimate objects, whereas *kaj* is mostly used with inanimate objects.

Example (37) shows *ʔaɨk* used for people.

(37)

kaⁿdɒwʔ   ʔaɨk   /*kaj   ɲiaʔ
child   be.at   house
The child (is) at home.

Example (38) shows *ʔaɨk* used with inanimate objects. Note that *niŋ* 'on' is included with an inanimate object as it is 'on' something compared with example (37) that does not use *niŋ* for people.

(38)

*pɑp   tʰɔ   **ʔaɨk**   niŋ   toʔ*
book   that   **be.at**   on   table
The book is on the table.

Example (39) shows that *kaj* can be used for statements with inanimate objects.

(39)

*pɑp   hej   **kaj**   niŋ   toʔ*
book   this   **be.at**   on   table
This book is on the table.

3.5.4 Existentential clauses

kaj is also used for existential clauses. Existential clauses are often used at the beginning of a story. The schematic construction of existential clauses in Eastern Lawa is as below.

$S_{EXITENTIAL}$: [*kaj* (NEG) NP_{SUB} (PP)]

In example (40) *kaj* is used to introduce a story with a tiger.

(40)

*maʔrɔŋ   **kaj**   ʔawia   niŋ   him   juaŋ*
a long time ago   **exists**   tiger   at   close   village
A long time ago there was a tiger close to the village.

Example (41) shows *kaj* can be used in a factual way, (not to introduce a story). This is not a possessive clause as there is no genitive possessor *jaʔ*.

(41)

juaŋ taʔ	**kaj**	*kʰɒwʔ*	*ᵑkeʔ*
Ban Khun	**exists**	tree	pine

Ban Khun has pine trees.

Example (42) demonstrates a negative existential.

(42)

juaŋ newm	**kaj**	**tew**	*kʰɒwʔ*	*ᵑkeʔ*
Ban Bo Luang	**exists**	**NEG**	tree	pine

Ban Bo Luang doesn't have pine trees.

3.5.5 Possessive clauses

One way of constructing possessive clauses in Eastern Lawa is by using the copula *mah* and placing the possessor NP inside a relative clause. The possessive NP has a genitive marker *jaʔ* introducing it. The possesive clause construction can be schematized as below.

$$S_{POSS} : [NP_{POSSESSED} \; mah \; pi \; ja\text{ʔ}^{11} \; NP_{POSSESSOR}]$$

Example (43) shows the copula *mah* used in a possessive construction together with the relative clause which includes a genitive marker *jaʔ*. The genitive marker *jaʔ* is obligatory in this clause.

(43)

pɑp	*hej*	*mah*	*pi*	**jaʔ**	*Rosie*
book	this	be	REL	**of**	Rosie

This book is (the one) that belongs to Rosie.

(44)

ɲiaʔ	*laŋ*	*hej*	**mah**	*pi*	**jɨaʔ**	*mɔ prasət*
house	CLF	this	**be**	REL	**of**	Mor Prasert

This house is (the one) that belongs to Mor Prasert.

---

[11] This genitive possessive marker takes many different forms including *jaʔ*, *jɨaʔ* and *ɲaʔ* depending on the sounds surrounding it.

Another way of constructing Eastern Lawa possessive clauses is using the existential *kaj* 'have' or 'exist' with the genitive marker *jaʔ*. In examples (45) and (46) *kaj* is used in possessive clauses. The schema for this kind of clause is as below.

S$_{POSS}$: [(NP$_{SUBJ}$) *kaj* NP$_{POSS}$ *jaʔ* NP$_{POSSESSOR}$]

(45)

kaj	*mah.ɨ*	*jaʔ*	*teʔ*
have	money	of	PRO.SUBJ

(I) have my money

(46)*

ʔaj	*kaj*	*mah.ɨ*
1SG	have	money

Intended: I have money

(46) is ungrammatical because it doesn't include a possessor.

3.6 Summary

This chapter presented the basic structure of Eastern Lawa clauses. Core arguments of subject and object are not marked morphologically. Non-Core arguments are formed using prepositional obliques. Investigation into SV/VS word order concluded that the predominant word order is VS. Further investigation is needed to explain the reasons why there is a change from VS to SV in certain circumstances.

Chapter 4
Word classes

4.1 Introduction

This section presents word classes in Eastern Lawa. It discusses the open classes: noun, verb, adjective and adverb; and the closed classes: demonstratives, numerals, classifiers, quantifiers, auxiliaries/verbal particles, prepositions, conjunctions and interrogatives. Basically, it lists the members of closed word classes and discusses the distributional properties of open word classes.

4.2 Nouns

Nouns usually refer to persons, things, places, ideas, abstract concepts, and they function as subject and object of the verb and object of a preposition or an oblique (Bickford 1998:8). There is no inflectional morphology of nouns in Eastern Lawa.

Nouns function as:

    1) heads of noun phrases or

    2) possessor in possessive constructions.

They can be:

    3) specified with demonstratives, and

    4) modified by adjective phrases, classifier phrases and relative clauses.

Note: the internal structure of Eastern Lawa noun phrases are discussed in chapter 5.

4.2.1 Nominalization

Nouns can be created through a nominalization process. Only three nominalizers could be found in Eastern Lawa: *piʔ, maʔ* and *kaʔ*. *piʔ* changes a verb or a verb phrase into a noun and is used for agentive nominalization. It is interesting that *piʔ* is the same word used for relative clauses and can be glossed here as 'the one who…' *maʔ* is used for time nominalization and *kaʔ* is used for place nominalization.

The pattern of nominalization is as below.

N: [*pi?* + VP/S]

N: [*ma?* + VP/S]

N: [*ka?* + location]

Table 19, Table 20 and Table 21 demonstrate nominalizations in Eastern Lawa.

Table 19 Verbal nominalization

	Verb	**Agentive Nominalization**	
		NMLZR	**Gloss**
a.	*sətɔk* 'teach'	*pi?* *sətɔk*	'teacher'
b.	*ləha?* 'play'	*pi?* *ləha?*	'player'
c.	*juh* 'do/make'	*pi?* *juh*	'doer/maker'

Table 20 Time nominalization

	Time	**Time Nominalization**	
		NMLZR	**Gloss**
a.	*sa?* 'early'	*ma?* *sa?*	'morning'
b.	*pu* 'late'	*ma?* *pu*	'evening'
c.	*saŋaj* 'sun'/'day'	*ma?* *saŋaj*	'daytime'
d.	*sewm* *'dark'*	*ma?* *sewm*	'nighttime'

Table 21 Place nominalization

	Place	**Place Nominalization**	
		NMLZR	**Gloss**
a.	*naj* 'in'	*ka?* *naj*	'inside'
b.	*nɔk* 'out'	*ka?* *nɔk*	'outside'
c.	*hej* 'this'	*ka?* *hej*	'here'
d.	*hɔ* 'that'	*ka?* *hɔ*	'there'

4.2.2 Personal pronouns

Pronouns are a subclass of nouns which fill the position of a noun phrase. In Eastern Lawa, personal pronouns occur in both subject and object positions and in prepositional phrases. They also perform as genitive pronouns when they follow possessed nouns. Pronouns do not have a separate possessive form but there is a first and third person subject anaphor *teʔ* that is used primarily with possession. There is no gender distinction in Lawa personal pronouns. There is, however, a formal and an informal second person pronoun[12]. Table 22 summarizes personal pronouns in Lawa.

Table 22 Personal pronouns in Lawa

	Singular	**Plural**
First Person	*ʔaj*	*mu ʔɛ*
Second Person (informal)	*paʔ*	*mu paʔ*
(formal)	*maʔ*	*mu maʔ*
Third Person	*puj tʰɔ*	*mu tʰɔ*
	keʔ	--

There is no unique possessive form of these pronouns. However, *teʔ* and *ʔəŋ* are used anaphorically to refer back to the subject for first and third person possession.

Example (47) uses the 3SG *puj tʰɔ* –'he' and *teʔ* –'his'.

(47)

> *puj tʰɔ*   *cɔw*   *kuan*   *teʔ*   *hew*   *wiaŋ*
> He   tell   child   his   go   Chiang Mai
> He told his son to go to Chiang Mai.

As mentioned above, Lawa personal pronouns are the same regardless of whether they are in the subject, object and genitive position. Examples (48), (49) and (50) demonstrate the same form of the third person singular pronoun *mu tʰɔ* in several grammatical functions, subject, object and genetive. In (48) *mu tʰɔ* is in the subject position, in (49), it is in the object position and in (50) it functions as a genitive pronoun.

---

[12] Also note that these 2nd person pronouns can change from *paʔ* to *paj* and from *maʔ* to *maj* depending on the context. Further research is required to ascertain the reasons for using these different forms.

(48)

      mu tʰɔ   *ˀbein* *pi*   *juit*
      3PL   hit   REL drunk
      They hit the drunk person.

(49)

      ʔaj *ʔiː*   *cewp* *mu tʰɔ*
      1SG   already meet   3PL
      I already met them.

(50)

      ŋiaʔ   *mu tʰɔ* *riʔ* *luan*
      house   3PL   big   very
      Their house is very big.

4.3 Interrogatives

An interrogative is a function word used to ask a question. Interrogatives in Eastern Lawa can be separated into two categories: pronouns and other interrogatives. With content questions the interrogative pronouns appear *in situ*. Eastern Lawa also has question particles *ʔam ʔah* and *lɒwh* that are used both with content questions and tag questions. Interrogative sentences are discussed more in section (8.3).

Table 23 Interrogative pronouns

Interrogative	Gloss
pen tʰɔ	'who'
man	'what'
juh man	'why'
saŋ man	'when'
kaʔnom	'where'
məʔ	'where'
nom	'which one'
kaⁿdɒwʔ	'how many'
jaŋ man	'how'

4.4 Verbs

In Eastern Lawa, verbs occur as heads of a predicate and can either precede or follow the subject. This section will investigate identifying verbs.

The following properties are used to identify verbs in Eastern Lawa. Tests (a) and (b) identify both verbs and adjectives; test (c) only applies to verbs.

   a) Can take a negative particle
   b) Can be specified by an aspect marker (Schachter and Shopen 2007:9)
   c) Can occur with *piʔ* in serial verbs (adapted from Seng Mai 2012:45)

4.4.1 Identifying verbs via negation

One way to identify verbs is that they can be negated.

In example (51), the negation *tew* comes directly after the verb.

(51)   LC.231

      mɔʔ   **tew**   *maʔ*   *teʔ*

      suck   **not**   mother   PRO.SUBJ

      His mother didn't suckle (him).

Example (52) shows that nouns cannot be negated.

(52)*

      ɲiaʔ   **tew**   *jiaʔ*   *paʔ*

      house   **not**   of   2SG

      Intended: this is not your house.

4.4.2 Identifying verbs via aspect markers

Verbs can also be identified when they directly follow aspect markers in a clause. Example (53) demonstrates two different verbs taking aspect markers.

(53)   LC.167

      hɔit   *hewm*   *nɔʔ*   **ʔi**   *ʔaic*   *newm*   *nɔʔ*

      finished   bathing   eh   **already**   sleep   before   eh

      (You) finished bathing eh. (You) already slept before that eh.

Example (54) shows that nouns cannot take aspectual markers.

(54)*

> *hɔit*   *ɲia?*   *jia?*   *pa?*
>
> **finished**   house   of   2SG
>
> Intended: this is no longer your house.

4.4.3 Identifying verbs via serial verb constructions

Verbs can also be identified when they appear in serial verb constructions and are optionally linked with the serial verb marker *pi?*. Only verbs can appear directly before and directly after pi?.

Example (55) shows a typical serial verb construction in Eastern Lawa.

(55)   BL22

> *poit*   *pi?*   *kɨah*   *la*   *?ɛ*
>
> pick.up   **v.chain**   give   to   chicken
>
> Pick (it) up and give it to the chickens.

Example (56) shows an adjective cannot appear with the serial verb marker *pi?*.

(56)*

> *poit*   *pi?*   *klaic*   *kɨah*   *la*   *?aj*
>
> pick.up   **v.chain**   fast   give   to   1SG
>
> Intended: quickly pick it up give it to me.

4.5 Adjectives

Adjectives modify nouns or noun phrases and can be used as predicates in attributive clauses, (see section 3.5.2). [N Adj] order is typical of VO languages (Dryer 2001), and adjectives in Eastern Lawa come after the nouns that they modify.

The following properties are taken as criteria to distinguish the class of verbal adjectives from other verbs in Lawa.

a) Adjectives occur in a comparative construction (Dixon 2010)
b) Copula use is possible with adjective colour terms but not with verbs or non-colour adjectives. (Seng Mai 2012)

42

4.5.1 Identifying adjectives via comparative constructions

In Eastern Lawa, only adjectives are gradable, verbs are not, therefore, only adjectives can appear before the degree adverb *lia* 'than', when in a comparitive construction. Comparative and superlative constructions are as in examples (57) and (58). The comparative construction is formed by using *lia* 'than' followed by an NP. The superlative construction is formed by a combination of *lia poʔ teʔ* 'than each other' or *lia puj* 'than others'.

(57) **Comparative Construction**   (58) **Superlative construction**
------- *lia* NP   ------ *lia poʔ teʔ / lia puj*

Examples (59) and (60) show examples of comparative and superlative constructions with adjectives.

(59)

laʔawm	*niŋ*	*klɔŋ*	*saʔŋàt*	**lia**	*laʔawm*	*tʰalɛ:sà:p*	*tʰɔ*
water	in	river	clean	**than**	water	lake	DEM

The water in the river is cleaner than that lake water.

(60)

laʔawm	*ʔmɔ*	*tʰɔ*	*saʔŋàt*	**lia**	**poʔ teʔ**
water	bore	DEM	clean	**than**	**each other**

That bore water is the cleanest.

Example (61) shows that verbs cannot be used with the superlative.

(61)*

na:m	*tʰɔ*	*tɔ*	**lia**	**puj**
Nam	DEM	run	**than**	**others**

Intended: Nam runs more than others.

4.5.2 Identifying adjectives via colour terms using the copula

Normally adjectives cannot occur with a copula. However colour adjectives can be used together with copulas in attributive clauses. Example (62) shows the copula *mah* and a colour adjective being used together.

43

(62)

> *neic*   *hej*   **mah**   **si**   **lɔŋ**
> hat   this   **be**   **CLF**   **black**
> This hat is black.

Example (63) however, shows that other adjectives cannot occur with the copular.

(63)*

> *neic*   *hej*   **mah***   **saʔŋàt**
> hat   this   **be**   **clean**
> Intended: This hat is clean.

It is also not possible to use a copula with a verb together in a clause. Example (64) shows that having the copula *mah* in a sentence with a verb *ŋewm* 'sit' is ungrammatical.

(64)*

> *puj*   *tʰɔ*   *mah*   *ŋewm*
> person   DEM   be   sit
> Intended: that person is sitting.

4.6 Adverbs

Shopen states that, "The usual functional definition of adverbs identifies them as modifiers of verbs, adjectives, or other adverbs." He goes on to say "In order to extend this definition so as to include sentence adverbs like *unfortunately*, and to allow for certain other possibilities (such as adverbs that modify entire verb phrases), we can say that adverbs function as modifiers of constituents other than nouns." (Shopen 2007:155)

Modifiers of verbs or verb phrases commonly express time, place, direction, manner and modifiers of adjectives and adverbs commonly express degree.

4.6.1 Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs are used to specify the timing of an action or event. In Eastern Lawa these can either come at the start of the sentence or the end, [S Adv] or [Adv S]. Subordinating temporal adverbials are discussed in section 9.3.

Example (65) has the temporal adverb at the start of the clause.

(65)

kʰɛʔ ka	kaj	saŋ	teʔ
long.time.ago	be.is	elephant	one

A long time ago there was an elephant…

Example (66) shows the temporal adverb at the end of the sentence. This example could just as well have the time adverbial 'tomorrow' at the start of the clause.

(66)

mu ʔɛ	sam	hew	wiaŋ	**saʔeh**
1PL	will	go	Chiang Mai	**tomorrow**

We will go to Chiang Mai tomorrow

Table 24 lists temporal adverbs and Table 25 lists other time adverbs.

Table 24 Temporal adverbs

Adverb		Gloss
kaŋ	-	'before'
kaʔ tʰɔ	-	'before that'
ʔaːkɨa	-	'first/before'
pʰot	-	'till then'
kam tʰɔ	-	'after that'
kʰɛk	-	'previously'
hɔit tʰɔ	-	'when finished'
miat	-	'after'
mɨa tʰɔ	-	'after that'
ˀbat	-	'when'
maʔsaʔ	-	'morning'
maʔpu	-	'evening'
kʰrəŋ səŋaj	-	'every day'
haɨk	-	'until'
kʰɛʔ ka	-	'a long time ago'
newm mah	-	'since'

Table 25 Other time expressions

Adverb		Gloss
ləʔeh	-	'today'
səʔej	-	'tomorrow'
səʔteʔ	-	'two days time'
səʔtiak	-	'three days time'
kəʔewh	-	'yesterday'
kɔʔteʔ	-	'two days ago'
kɔʔtiak	-	'three days ago'

4.6.2 Manner adverbs

Manner adverbs[13] are used to describe the way or manner in which an action or event is performed. Example (67) has the manner adverb 'fast' before the verb *hew* 'walk'.

(67)

> ***klaic*** *hew* *keʔ* *(laʔ)* *hoŋhian*
> **fast** go 3SG to school
> He walked quickly to school

Examples (68) and (69) have the same structure with the manner adverb appearing before the verb.

(68)

> *puj tʰɔ* ***co*** *hew* *(laʔ)* *hoŋhian*
> s/he **slow** go to school
> She went slowly to school

(69)

> *maʔ* *ʔəŋ* ***kuej*** *sɔ* *kuan* *teʔ* *kɔh*
> mother 3SG **gently** wake child POSS awake
> (The child's) mother gently woke her child up

---

[13] Seng Mai (2012) decided that in Wa these manner adverbs were more verbal than adverbial.

46

4.6.3 Degree adverbs

Degree adverbs serve to grade that which they modify. Eastern Lawa has one main degree adverb *luan* 'very' which can modify both adjectives and adverbs. Example (70) has *luan* modifying an adjective and example (71) has *luan* modifying another adverb.

(70)

puj tʰɔ	*l̥uaŋ*	***luan***
s/he	tall	**very**

He is very tall

(71)

puj tʰɔ	*tɔ*	*klaic*	***luan***
s/he	run	fast	**very**

He is a very fast runner

Eastern Lawa has comparative and superlative degree adverbs which were already discussed in section 4.5.3.

(72) Comparative Construction   (73) Superlative construction
        ------- *lia* NP   ------ *lia poʔ teʔ / lia puj*

4.6.4 Cause or reason adverbial subordinators

Cause or reason adverbial subordinators introduce dependent clauses to add information about why the main clause takes place. Cause or reason clauses do not imply some intention or plan by the subject. These are discussed more in section 9.3.2.2.

(74)

ʔapɛʔ	*tʰɔ*	*ʔuː*	*saʔɔh*	***mah***	*kʰaw*	*l̥aj*	*tʰɔ*
shirt	DEM	NEG	dry	**because**	rain	DEM	

That shirt is not dry because of the rain

4.6.5 Condition adverbial subordinators

Conditional adverbial subordinators introduce dependent clauses to add information about the condition or conditions that the main clause takes place under.

Example (75) shows a conditional clause 'if you have that experience (morning sickness)' introduced by the adverbial subordinator *pɨn* 'if'.

(75)   LC.91b

pɨn	*caʔ*	*lɒwh*	*paʔ*	*ʔuː*	*paʔ*	*kuat*	*kok*	*ʔuːʔeh*	*lah*
if	possible	experience	you	not	you	want	eat	anything	eh

If you have that experience, you don't want to eat anything eh?

Conditional adverbial subordinators are discussed more in section 9.3.2.3.

4.7 Demonstratives

Demonstratives can be classified by their distance from the speaker ('nearness' or 'farness') and according to the things they identify ('objects', 'locations', and 'propositions') (Bickford 1998:9). The following table presents the demonstratives of Eastern Lawa. There are no plural forms for the demonstratives.

Table 26 Demonstratives

	Near	**Far**	**Very Far**
Nominal demonstratives (Pointing to objects)	*hej* – 'this'	*hɔ* – 'that'	*tʰɔ* – 'that (over there)'
Locative demonstratives (Pointing to locations)	*kaʔhej* – 'here'	*kaʔhɔ* – 'there'	*tɔt kaʔhɔ* – 'way over there'
Verbal demonstratives (Pointing to propositions)	*ˀjaŋ hej* – 'like this'	*ˀjaŋ hɔ* – 'like that'	*ˀjaŋ tʰɔ* – 'like that'

4.7.1 Nominal demonstratives

The demonstratives *hej* 'this' and *hɔ* 'that' can specify something the speaker is talking about as in example (76) and they can also substitute for a complete noun phrase as in (77).

In example (76) *hej* is specifying a person.

(76)   LC.44

    ɲum   *kok*   *nɔ*   *lah*   *piʔ*   *kaj*   *kuan*   **hej**   *lah*

    tasty   eat   always   eh   that   have   child   **this**   eh

    It always tastes good eh! That (you) have this (grand) child eh?

Example (77) shows a demonstrative substituting for a subject noun phrase.

(77)   LC.157

    hej   *ʔuː*   *səŋej*   *lɒwh*   *laʔawm*   *neŋ*

    this   not   yellow   experience   water   breast

    This (one) didn't (she) have the yellow milk? (Did she have it?)

4.7.2 Locative demonstratives

The locative demonstratives *kaʔhej* and *kaʔhɔ* refer to places. *kaʔhej* refers to a place which is near the speaker and *kaʔhɔ* to a location which is far from the speaker. *tɔt kaʔhɔ* is used if the place is very far from the speaker and likely not visible. The locative demonstratives usually go at the end of a clause as shown in example (78).

(78)   LC.133

    hew   *loŋpoŋ*   *kaʔhɔ*

    go   Long Pong   over.there

    (I'm) going to Long Pong over there

4.7.3 Verbal demonstratives

In Eastern Lawa the propositional demonstratives that point to the whole proposition are *jaŋ hej* and *jaŋ hɔ*. Dixon refers to these kinds of demonstratives as verbal demonstratives (Dixon 2010:224). According to Dixon, these kinds of demonstratives usually occur as the only verb in a predicate or together with a lexical verb (Dixon 2010:224). In Eastern Lawa they usually occur together with a verb but example (79) shows they can occur together with the copula *mah*.

(79)   LC.197

    pewh   *pi*   *pʰraĭn*   *tʰɔ*   *hɔ*   **mah**   **jaŋ**   **hej**

    discard   that.one   old   DEM   also   **be**   **like**   **this**

    The old one gets discarded also. Its like this.

4.8 Numerals

Numerals indicate a precise quantity of something. Table 27 shows the cardinal numerals from one to ten in Eastern Lawa. The cardinal numbers from eleven to nineteen are formed by combining the number ten - *kua*, with the lower numbers. Therefore, the schematic construction of the cardinal numbers from eleven to nineteen will be [*kua* 'ten' + NUM] as can be seen in Table 28.

Table 27 Numbers 1 to 10

Lawa Numerals	Gloss
teʔ	'one'
laʔa	'two'
laʔɔj	'three'
paɨŋ	'four'
pʰuan	'five'
leh	'six'
ʔaleh	'seven'
satajʔ	'eight'
satain	'nine'
kua	'ten'

Table 28 Numbers 11 to 19

Lawa Numerals	Gloss
kua laʔteʔ	'eleven'
kua laʔa	'twelve'
kua laʔɔj	'thirteen'
kua paɨŋ	'fourteen'
kua pʰuan	'fifteen'
kua leh	'sixteen'
kua ʔaleh	'seventeen'
kua satajʔ	'eighteen'
kua satain	'nineteen'

Table 29 presents Eastern Lawa numbers from twenty to ninety and Table 30 higher numbers.

Table 29 Numbers 20 to 90

Lawa Numerals	Gloss
ˀŋa	'twenty'
ˀŋɔi	'thirty'
raʔpaɨŋ	'forty'
raʔhuan	'fifty'
laⁿgreʔ	'sixty'
ʔaŋleh	'seventy'
raʔtaiʔ	'eighty'
raʔtaɨɲ	'ninety'

Table 30 Lawa higher numbers

Lawa Numerals	Gloss
tiʔ ʔaːjiaʔ	'one hundred'
tiʔ pian	'one thousand'
tiʔ m̥iaŋ	'ten thousand'
tiʔ sian	'one hundred thousand'
tiʔ lan	'one million'

Table 31 shows how Eastern Lawa numbers are combined to form higher numbers. The conjunction *paj* 'and' is used to join the numbers when they get longer.

Table 31 Combination of numbers

Lawa Numerals	Gloss
tiʔ ʔaːjiaʔ paj raʔhuan	'one hundred and fifty'
tiʔ pian paj laʔa jiaʔ	'one thousand two hundred'
ti m̥iaŋ paj pʰuan pian	'fifteen thousand'

4.9 Classifiers

Classifiers occur following numbers and quantifiers and the schematic construction is [{NUM/QUANT} CLF]. Classifiers are not obligatory and so are deemed to be part of the number phrase. See section 5.6 for examples of number phrases without classifiers.

Example (80) shows a number phrase – [three + Clf.time] meaning 'three times'. However, in example (81) the number follows the classifier in the ordinal number construction [Clf + three] 'the third time'.

  (80)   **Count Number Phrase**

        laʔ ʔɔj   cuaŋ

        three   CLF.time

        Three times.

  (81)   **Ordinal Number Phrase**

        cuaŋ   laʔ ʔɔj

        CLF.time   three

        The third time.

The following table lists some sortal classifiers for Eastern Lawa. The second column provides the example nouns for the classifiers and the third column provides the semantic properties for each classifiers.

Table 32 Count classifiers

Classifier	Example nouns	Semantic property
bew	eggs, bananas, rocks	small objects
pʰuk	book, story, poem, song	literature
kuː	clothes, shoes	a set of something
plah	shirt, towels, clothes	a piece of cloth
səŋaiʔ	day	day
laŋ	house	building
puj	people	human
doh	places	place
cuaŋ	times	times
baŋ	bamboo	sticks?

The following table lists some mass classifiers for Eastern Lawa. The second column provides the example nouns for the classifiers and the third column provides the semantic properties for each classifiers.

Table 33 Mass classifiers

Classifier	Example nouns	Semantic property
ʔəⁿgrewp	rice	a small amount
puaŋ	rice	a mid sized amount
ʔaⁿdɔ	rice	a large amount
cɔk	liquids	a cup
paŋ	liquids	a bottle
tʰaŋ	liquids and mass nouns like rice	20 litres

4.10 Quantifiers

Quantifiers state the amount of an entity. Eastern Lawa quantifiers can be categorized into two groups. One kind of quantifier is fixed and they occur in number phrases. Another kind of quantifier is movable and occurs in the number phrase, but can appear elsewhere too. The following table lists both movable and fixed quantifiers in Eastern Lawa.

Table 34 Quantifiers

Moveable		Fixed	
Quantifiers	**Gloss**	**Quantifiers**	**Gloss**
hə^{i}ŋ	'many'	*ka^{m}braʔ*	'half'
taŋ ʔɔik	'all'	*kʰrəŋ*	'every'
ʔasiw	'a few'		
sia sia	'a little'		

See chapter 5.11 for examples of quantifiers.

4.11 Auxiliaries or TAM

Tense–aspect–mood, commonly abbreviated TAM, is the grammatical system in a language that covers the expression of tense (location in time), aspect (fabric of time i.e. a single block of time, continuous flow of time, or repetitive occurrence), and mood or modality (degree of necessity, obligation, probability, ability). (Bybee 1994)

The following table lists some of the TAM markers in Eastern Lawa. The third column gives a rough corresponding meaning to English. Note that 'tense' is used here to semantically locate an event in time. Not used as a paradigmatic inflectional marker.

Table 35 Tense Aspect Mood markers

Type	TAM	Gloss	Meaning
Tense	*ʔiː*	PAST	Past
Tense	*sam*	FUT	Future
Aspect	*l̥ɒwh*	'experienced'	Past (experience)
Aspect	*sam*	PROG	Progressive
Aspect	*kamrɔŋ*	'first time' or 'beginning to'	Inceptive
Aspect	*hɔit*	COMPL	Perfective
Aspect	*ˀmɛ*	're-do' or 'do again'	Repetitive
Aspect	*ˀdaŋ*	'still'	Durative
Aspect	*tiən*	'un-done action'	Incomplete
Mood	*lɒʔ lɔp*	CNT.EXP	Counter expectation
Mood	*hɔʔ*	HORT	Hortative

4.12 Prepositions

Functionally, adpositions "convey some information about the referent of the phrasal constituent [preposition plus the NP] that is not expressed by the noun itself" (Schachter and Shopen 2007:34). Adpositions come before the noun phrase in Eastern Lawa and are hence labeled prepositions. The schematic construction is [PP NP]. Prepositions are used to encode non-core arguments in a clause. Non-core arguments containing prepositions are discussed in section 3.4. Table 36 lists some of the prepositions in Eastern Lawa.

Table 36 Prepositions

Prepositions	Gloss
kaʔnaj	'in'
saⁿdaiʔ	'near'
saŋia	'far'
him	'beside'
kamtʰɔ	'after'
niŋ	'from'
kaŋ kʰaiʔ	'behind'
kaʔduaŋ	'above / on top'
kaⁿglawm	*'under'*
miah	'with'
kɨah	'for' (give)
pʰaʔ	'to'
kaŋka	'in front'
bak bɨin	'among / in center'
ⁿgiap	'next to'

See section 5.8 for examples of prepositional phrases.

4.13 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are words that are used to connect words, phrases or clauses. (Schachter and Shopen 2007:45). Conjoined phrases, clauses and sentences are discussed more in section 9.2. Table 37 presents the Eastern Lawa conjunctions.

Table 37 Conjunctions.

Conjunction	Gloss
miah	'and / with'
rɔh	'too'
ʔam	'or'
ʔmɛ	'but'
kaɨ	'so'
pɨn	'if'
nɨŋ	'because'

Section 5.10 has examples of coordinate noun phrases and section 9.2 has examples of sentence coordination.

4.14 Summary

This chapter presented the different Eastern Lawa word classes, including nouns, interrogatives, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, demonstratives, numerals, classifiers, quantifiers, auxiliaries, prepositions and conjunctions.

Chapter 5
Noun phrases

5.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the constituent order and internal structure of Eastern Lawa noun phrases. It also discusses different types of noun phrases and some of the modifiers that appear in noun phrases.

5.2 Structure and order of constituents

A noun phrase is a phrasal constituent whose head is a noun and functions as a subject, object or object of a preposition. (Dixon 2010:106) Noun phrases consist of a head noun and optional modifiers. Constituents of an NP optionally include a relative clause, an adjective phrase, a number phrase (with or without classifier), a quantifier, a prepositional phrase, a possessive phrase and a demonstrative. In Eastern Lawa the demonstrative is able to move around inside the noun phrase more than the other constituents.

Noun phrase schemas (with the demonstrative in different positions):

> NP: [N (ADJP)(RELCL)(QUANT)(POSS)(NUMP)(PP) (DEM)]

> NP: [N (ADJP) (DEM) (RELCL)(QUANT)(POSS)(NUMP)(PP)]

The most common structures of the noun phrase are presented in Table 38.

Table 38 Noun phrase structure

Head	Modifiers	Possession	Quantity	Orientation
N_{HEAD}	ADJP	NP	NUMP	DEM
PRON	RELCL	PRON		PP
	QUANT			

Note that Table 38 shows the options for each slot but does not imply any necessary co-occurence. Due to space restrictions this research will not explore every single variation. The head noun (or pronoun) precedes one or more optional modifier(s),

possession phrases, quantifier phrases and orientation. Modifiers can be relative clauses, adjective phrases, and quantifiers. Several modifiers can co-occur in the modifier position as seen in Table 39. Not every co-occurrence possibility can be realized and Table 38 is not definitive, i.e. the demonstrative can move to various different positions in the noun phrase. All the example combinations in Table 39 were tested with a predicate that was situated after the noun phrase, to make sure they were in fact noun phrases.

Table 39 Examples of NP combinations

	Noun Head	MOD ADJP	MOD ADJP	MOD RELCL	MOD QUANT	POSS	Quantity NUMP	Orientation /Place
	dog	young	small	that.died	many	my/yours	two	those / there
i.	sɔʔ	kʰrɒʔ					laʔa(tɯa)	kəʔhɔ (LOC)
ii.	sɔʔ		tiaʔ		həⁱŋ	jaʔ ʔaj		
iii.	sɔʔ	kʰrɒʔ		piʔ ʔi jum		jaʔ paʔ		
iv.	sɔʔ				həⁱŋ			tʰɔ (DEM)
v.	sɔʔ	kʰrɒʔ	tiaʔ	piʔ ʔi jum		jaʔ paʔ	laʔa(tɯa)	tʰɔ (DEM)

(i) The two young dogs over there

(ii) The many small dogs of mine

(iii) The young dog of yours that died

(iv) Those many dogs

(v) Those two small young dogs of yours that died

The fullest expression of the Lawa noun phrase would almost never occur in natural speech[14] as the context and expediency would eliminate having to use all the modifiers and other constituents.

5.3 Heads

The head noun always appears at the phrase initial position. The head of the noun phrase can be a noun, a compound noun, a nominalized predicate, a nominalized adjective or a demonstrative. Noun phrases are in bold in the following examples.

---

[14] In the same way we are unlikely in English to encounter a noun phrase that says "Those two small young dogs of yours that died over there …" but it is possible.

5.3.1 Pronouns as heads

In example (82) the 3PL pronoun *mu tʰɔ* 'they' is modified by a number phrase *laʔɔj puj* 'three persons'.

(82)

mu tʰɔ	*laʔɔj*	*puj*	*hew*
3SG	**three**	**CLF**	go

The three of them went

5.3.2 Attributive compounds as heads

In example (83), the head of the noun phrase is an attributive compound *kaⁿdɒwʔ ʔamaj* 'boy'.

(83)   R.1

kaⁿdɒwʔ	*ʔamaj*	*cɔŋ*	*poʔ*	*niŋ*	*pɔŋ*
child	**male**	stand	next to	at	*window*

A boy stands next to a window

5.3.3 Possessed nouns as heads

In example (84) the head of the noun phrase is a possessed noun.

(84)   BDF.2

sɔʔ	*jaʔ*	*ʔəŋ*	*ɲewm*
dog	**of**	**his**	sit

His dog sat

5.3.4 Demonstratives as heads

In example (85) a demonstrative is standing in as the head and is coreferential with the new mother who is mentioned elsewhere in the conversation.

(85)   LC.157

hej	*ʔuː*	*səŋej*	*lɒwh*	*laʔa̱wm*	*neŋ*
this (one)	not	yellow	or not	water	breast

This one didn't (she) have the yellow milk or not? (Did she have it?)

5.3.5 Nominalized adjectives as heads

Example (86) has a nominalized adjective as the head of a possessed NP.

(86) LC.19

ʔi nɔj	*ɲaʔ*	*ʔaj*	*kɨt*	*lɒwh*	*cɯm toŋ*	*hɔ*
little.one	**of**	**my**	born	experienced	Chom Thong	also

My little one was born in Chom Thong also

5.3.6 Nominalized predicates as heads

Example (87) has a nominalized predicate, 'that first one (born)' as the head.

(87) LC.21

piʔ	*ʔakɨa*	*tʰɔ*	*saʔŋej*	*lɒwh*	*sia*	*sia*
REL	**first**	**that**	jaundice	experienced	little	little

That first one (born) was a little jaundice

5.4 Demonstratives

Demonstratives are quite flexible in where they can appear in a noun phrase but they must follow the noun, (unless they are standing in for the noun as in 5.3.4).

The schematic construction for a simple noun phrase with a demonstrative is as below.

NP: [N~Head~ DEM]

Examples (88), (89) and (90) show that the order of the demonstrative is flexible[15] when a number phrase and possession are introduced into the clause. They also show that the classifier is optional.

(88)

sɔʔ	*laʔa*	*(tɯa)*	*jaʔ*	*ʔaj*	*hej*	*sɒm*	*ʔawp*
dog	two	CLF	of	my	these	eat	rice

These two dogs of mine eat rice

---

[15] According to the language informants the meaning of (88), (89) and (90) do not change. However example (88) is apparently the most natural way of saying it.

(89)

sɔʔ	laʔa	hej	jaʔ	ʔaj	sʋm	ʔawp
dog	two	these	of	my	eat	rice

These two dogs of mine...

(90)

sɔʔ	hej	laʔa	jaʔ	ʔaj	sʋm	ʔawp
dog	these	two	of	my	eat	rice

These two dogs of mine...

This flexibility in the location of the demonstrative doesn't carry over to NPs with a relative clause. Example (91) consists of a noun phrase with a head noun and a demonstrative[16]. The demonstrative *hej* directly follows the head noun *kaⁿdʋwʔ* 'child'.

(91)

kaⁿdʋwʔ	**hej**	ʔuː	kaj	sataŋ	ʔiaʔ	ʔaiɲ	juaŋ	teʔ
child	**this**	not	have	money	his	return	village	his

The child without money returned to his village

In (92), the same content was attempted to be expressed with a complex noun phrase composed of a head noun, a relative clause and a demonstrative with the demonstrative coming after the relative clause. It turns out to be ungrammatical to place the demonstrative *hej* after the relative clause. So we can surmise from this that demonstratives must come before relative clauses in an NP.

(92)*

kaⁿdʋwʔ	piʔ	ʔuː	kaj	sataŋ	ʔiaʔ	hej	ʔaiɲ	juaŋ	teʔ
child	who	not	have	money	his	this	return	village	his

Intended: The child without money returned to his village

---

[16] Presumably there is a zero relativizer before '*ʔu kaj sataŋ ʔiaʔ*' making it a relative clause.

5.5 Adjectives

Adjectives in Eastern Lawa immediately follow the nouns that they modify within a noun phrase. The schema for a simple noun phrase with an adjective is as follows.

NP: [N$_{Head}$ AP]

5.5.1 Order of adjectives with demonstratives

Example (93) shows an adjective phrase modifying the attributes of the head noun where the adjective *riʔ* 'big' directly follows the head noun *ɲiaʔ* 'house' and precedes the demonstrative *tʰɔ* 'that'.

(93)

ɲiaʔ	*riʔ*	*tʰɔ*	*pʰluj*	*ŋɔ*	*ʔəŋ*
house	**big**	**that**	burn	fire	3SG

That big house burnt down

If the order of the adjective and the demonstrative are swapped it becomes an attributive clause 'The house is big'. So the adjective must come before the demonstrative.

5.5.2 Order of adjectives with number phrases

Example (94) shows the adjective located before the number phrase. If placed after the number phrase it becomes attributive again 'those three houses are big'.

(94)

ɲiaʔ	*riʔ*	*laʔɔj*	*laŋ*	*(tʰɔ)*	*pʰluj*	*ŋɔ*	*ʔəŋ*
house	**big**	**three**	**CLF.house**	**those**	burn	fire	3SG

Those three big houses, they burned down.

5.5.3 Order of adjectives with relative clauses

Example (95) shows that a relative clause must come after the adjective. The demonstrative must come before the relative clause and is optional. If the adjective appears after the relative clause it becomes attributive again. (The house that burnt down was big).

(95)

ɲɨaʔ	*rɨʔ*	*(hej)*	*pɨʔ*	*ʔi:*	*hɔit*	*pʰluj*	*sam*	*boh*	*kʰrɒwʔ*	*ʔəŋ*[17]
house	big	this	that	already	finished	burn	will	build	again	PRO.SUBJ

This big house that burnt down, will be built again.

The conclusion with adjectives is that they must come directly after the head noun in Eastern Lawa and cannot have other constituents in between.

5.6 Number phrases

A number phrase occurs after the head noun in a simple noun phrase. Numerals[18] come after the noun and can optionally co-occur with a classifier; therefore they are not considered part of a classifier phrase, but instead are labeled as number phrases. The schema for a noun phrase with a number phrase is as below.

NP: [N_{Head} NUMP]

Example (96) provides a simple noun phrase consisting of a head noun *tɒm* 'egg' and a number phrase composed of a number *laʔa* 'two' and a classifier *ˀbewh*.

(96)

tɒm	*laʔa*	*ˀbewh*
egg	two	CLF.round.objects

Two eggs

Example (97) shows that the classifier is optional and doesn't need to be included if a demonstrative is present.

(97)

puj	*laʔa*	*tʰɔ*
people	two	those

Those two people

---

[17] Interesting note: The final particle can be *ʔəŋ* or *teʔ*. According to my LRP if either of these are left out then the sentence does not sound finished. So it could either be a sentence final particle or it could be an anaphoric reference to the house that will be built again. We would then translate this as "This big house that burnt down, it will be built again." I prefer this explanation as *teʔ* is always a subject anaphor everywhere else so probably is here too.

[18] Lawa numerals are provided in section (4.8) and Lawa classifiers are listed in section (4.9).

The number phrase is able to move out of the NP. However, only number phrases of NP_{OBJ} can be moved out of the NP to a clause final position. It is ungrammatical to move a number phrase from the subject position or oblique position.

Example (98) proves that it is possible to move the number phrase of the object to the end of the clause.

(98)

kaʔewh	*buːn*	*kʰian*	***cotmaj***	*ⁿdɔj*	*laʔ*	*maʔ*	***tiʔ***	***pʰian***
yesterday	Boon	write	**letter**	send	to	mother	**one**	**CLF.letter**

Yesterday Boon wrote a letter to send to his mother

In example (99), the number phrase *tiʔ pʰian* is moved out from the NP_{OBJ} *pap* 'book' and appears after the recipient constituent. In this sentence, it is possible for the number phrase to move to the final position of the clause too.

(99)

ʔajʔ	*kɨah*	***pap***	*laʔ*	*buːn*	***tiʔ***	***pʰian***	*laʔ*	*pɨaʔ*	*tʰɔ*
1SG	give	**book**	to	Boon	**one**	**CLF.letter**	for	father	3SG

I gave a book to Boon for his father

Examples (100), (101), (102) and (103) demonstrate sentences with three number phrases in subject, object and oblique positions. In (100) the number phrases attach and come directly next to each noun phrases.

(100)

kʰu	*tiʔ*	*puj*	*kɨah*	*sɔʔ*	*laʔa*	*tua*
teacher	one	CLF.human	give	**dog**	**two**	**CLF.nonhuman**

laʔ	*kɨin*	*ʔamaj*	*laʔɔj*	*puj*		*kaʔewh*
to	child	male	three	CLF.human		yesterday

A teacher gave two dogs to three boys yesterday

Example (101) has the number phrase of the NP_{OBJ} moved out and it appears at the end of the clause, after the adverb (yesterday).

(101)

k^hu	ti?	puj	kɨah	**sɔʔ**	la?	kuin	ʔamaj
teacher	one	CLF.human	give	**dog**	APPL	child	male

laʔɔj	puj	kaʔewh	**laʔa**	tua
three	CLF.human	yesterday	**two**	**CLF.nonhuman**

A teacher gave two dogs to three boys yesterday

Example (102) proves that moving the number phrase out of the NP$_{SUB}$ is ungrammatical.

(102)*

k^hu	kɨah	sɔʔ	laʔa	tua	la?	kuin	ʔamaj
teacher	give	dog	two	CLF.nonhuman	APPL	child	male

laʔɔj	puj	kaʔewh	**ti?**	**puj**
three	CLF.human	yesterday	**one**	**CLF.human**

Intended: A teacher gave two dogs to three boys yesterday

Example (103) shows that the number phrase in the oblique position cannot be moved out of the NP.

(103)*

k^hu	ti?	puj	kɨah	ʔapeʔ	paɨŋ	plah
teacher	one	CLF.human	give	shirt	four	CLF.cloth

la?	**nak^{h}rian**	kaʔewh	**laʔa**	**puj**
APPL	**student**	yesterday	**two**	**CLF**

Intended: A teacher gave four shirts to two students yesterday

Numbers in Eastern Lawa come after the noun and can optionally co-occur with a classifier. The number phrase is movable, but, only number phrases of NP objects can be moved out of the noun phrase to a clause final position. It is ungrammatical to move a number phrase from the subject NP or oblique NP.

5.6.1 Indefinite reference

Dryer (2007:155-6) states that "Just as many languages use demonstratives where English would use a definite article, it is similarly the case that many languages use the numeral for 'one' in contexts where English would use an indefinite article." Eastern Lawa fits this description perfectly and uses the numeral 'one' for indefinite reference and demonstratives for definite reference. In example (104) the number *tiʔ* 'one' is used before the noun to give an indefinite meaning 'someone'. If the person was known or referred to previously, the demonstrative *tʰɔ* would be used after *puj* 'person'.

(104)

kaj	**_tiʔ_**	*puj*	*ʔaɨk*	*him*	*ʔawɨa*	*tʰɔ*
have.is	**one**	person	at	close	door	DEM

There is a person at the door / Someone is at the door.

5.7 Relative clauses

A relative clause can function as a modifier of a noun and if so it will follow the head noun in the noun phrase. A relative clause is introduced by an optional relativizer *piʔ*[19]. The schema for a noun phrase that consists of a relative clause as a modifier is as follows.

NP: [N$_{HEAD}$ (*piʔ*) S$_{REL}$]

Examples (105) and (106) show noun phrases with modifiers that are relative clauses. The relative clause comes directly after the head noun in (105). If there is an adjective modifier in a noun phrase with a relative clause modifier, the adjective goes directly after the head noun preceding the relative clause as in example (106).

(105)

kaⁿdɒwʔ	**_piʔ_**	*pian*	*lɔk*	*tʰɔ*	*jum*	*kaʔewh*
child	**who**	catch	disease	that	die	yesterday

The child who caught that disease died yesterday.

---

[19] The internal structure of relative clauses is discussed in more detail in section (9.3.3).

(106)

kaⁿdɒwʔ	*tiaʔ*	**piʔ**	*pian*	*lɔk*	*tʰɔ*	*jɯm*	*kaʔewh*
child	small	**who**	catch	disease	that	die	yesterday

The small child who caught that disease died yesterday.

Example (107) shows that the relative clause needs to come after the adjective phrase and is ungrammatical if it comes before.

(107)*

kaⁿdɒwʔ	**piʔ**	*pian*	*lɔk*	*tʰɔ*	*tiaʔ*	*jɯm*	*kaʔewh*
child	**who**	catch	disease	that	small	die	yesterday

Intended: The small child who caught that disease died yesterday.

5.8 Prepositional phrase modifiers

A prepositional phrase can modify a noun inside the noun phrase. The schema for this kind of noun phrase is as below.

NP: [N$_{\text{HEAD}}$ PP]

In sentence (108) a prepositional phrase appears in the subject noun phrase and modifies the noun *kaⁿdɒwʔ* 'child'.

(108)

kaⁿdɒwʔ	**kanaj**	**ɲɨaʔ**	**ɲaʔ**	**maʔ**	*lahaʔ*	*miah poteʔ*
child(ren)	**inside**	**house**	**POSS**	**2SG**	play	together

Children in your house are playing together

In example (109) the preposition *niŋ* 'in' is in the subject noun phrase.

(109)

fɨaʔ	**niŋ**	**kʰɒʔ**	*kamlaŋ*	*kok*	*ʔamɔih*
monkey	**in**	**tree**	PROG	eat	banana

The monkey in the tree is eating a banana

Example (110) has the preposition is *newm* 'from' and fits the pattern.

(110)

kaⁿdɒwʔ	*newm*	*ɲɨaʔ*	*ɲaʔ*	*ʔaj*	*hew*	*hoŋhian*
child	**from**	**house**	**POSS**	**1SG**	go	school

The child from my house went to school

5.9 Possessive noun phrases

Another type of noun phrase is a possessive noun phrase. Eastern Lawa possessive noun phrases consist of a possessee which is the head of the phrase, a possessor and an optional possessive marker *jaʔ*[20]. The structure of possessive noun phrases is as follows.

NP: [N(NP$_{POSS}$) ---]

NP$_{POSS}$: [(jaʔ) N---]

As shown in the above schema, the possessee precedes the possessor. Nouns, pronouns and other nominalized heads are allowed in possesee position and nouns and pronouns are allowed in possessor position.

Example (111) shows a possessive noun phrase which consists of *ɲɨaʔ* 'house' as the possessee which is possessed by *bun* 'Boon'.

(111)

ɲɨaʔ	*(ɲaʔ)*	*bun*
house	of	Boon

Boon's house.

Examples (112), (113) and (114) show that *jaʔ* is not allowed for 'kinship' and 'part-whole' relationships.

(112)* Kinship

pɨaʔ	**(jaʔ)*	*bun*
father	of	Boon

Boon's father.

---

[20] This pronunciation of the possessive marker *jaʔ* is influenced by the preceding sounds. It can appear as *jaʔ* or *ɲaʔ* or *ʔijaʔ* depending on the preceding consonants.

(113)* Part-whole

cuaŋ *(jaʔ) ʔaj
leg of 1SG
My foot.

(114)* Part-whole

cuaŋ *(jaʔ) taŋiː
leg of chair
Leg of the chair

In example (115) the possessive *jaʔ* is obligatory and the same in (116).

(115)

kʰɔkʰwan jaʔ naŋsɨ
message of book
the book's message

(116)

sɔʔ jaʔ ʔaj
dog of my
My dog

5.10 Coordinate noun phrases

In Eastern Lawa, the conjunction *miah* connects words, phrases, and clauses. The structure for coordinate nouns / noun phrases is as follows.

NP_{COORDINATE}: [N(P) *miah* N(P)]

In (117) *miah* conjoins two nouns and forms a coordinate noun phrase.[21]

(117)

hew	ⁿdua	pɛ	miah	laʔa̰wm	laʔ	pia̰ʔ	teʔ
go	take	**mango**	**and**	**water**	to	father	yours

Go take **mango and water** to your father.

---

[21] See also section 3.4.3 for use of *miah* with accompaniment.

5.11 Quantifiers

Quantifiers follow the noun that they modify and add information about the quantity of the noun. Quantifiers were listed in section 4.10.

The schema for a simple noun phrase with a quantifier is as follows:

NP: [N$_{\text{HEAD}}$ QUANT]

Example (118) shows the head noun being modified by a quantifier.

(118)

sɔʔ	*həⁱŋ*	*kaj*	*tiap*
dog	**many**	have	fleas

Many dogs have fleas

Example (119) shows that the quantifier *kʰrəŋ* 'every' appears in a number phrase.

(119)

hew	*kaʔhɔ*	*nian*	**kʰrəŋ**	*saʔŋaiʔ*
go	there	look	**every**	CLF.day

(He) went there to look everyday.

In example (120) the quantifier *həⁱŋ* 'many' occurs following a verb.

(120) BL14

kok	*həⁱŋ*	*həⁱŋ*	*ʔo*	*ʔɛ*	*m̥aiɲ*
eat	**much**	**much**	INTERJ	chicken	male

Eats much too much, oh, the father chicken

Changing the order of the classifier sometimes changes the meaning. In example (121) the order of the phrase is [Num Quant Clf] with the meaning 'half a day' and in (122), the order changes to [Num Clf Quant] and the meaning becomes 'one and a half days'.

(121)

tiʔ	**kaᵐbrah**	*saʔŋaiʔ*
one	**half**	CLF.day

Half a day.

69

(122)

> *ti?*　　*sa?ŋai?*　**ka^mbrah**
>
> one　　CLF.day　**half**
>
> One and an half days.

5.12 Summary

This chapter presented the constituent order and internal structure of Eastern Lawa noun phrases.

Partial noun phrase schema:

> NP: [N (ADJP)(RELCL)(QUANT)(POSS)(NUMP){(DEM)(PP)}]

It discussed some of the modifiers that appear in noun phrases and some of the different types of noun phrases. Of note are the demonstratives that can move more than other constituents and number phrases which can move out of object noun phrases to the end of the clause.

Chapter 6
Verb phrases

6.1 Introduction

This section discusses elements that occur in verb phrases. Firstly the positions of verb phrase elements are presented. In 6.2 verb heads which can be either single verbs or verb chains are investigated and various semantic relationships encoded by serial verbs are investigated. Section 6.3 discusses negation. Section 6.4 investigates directionals. Section 6.5 discusses tense, aspect and modality, and finally section 6.6 presents adverb positions in relation to the verb.

Partial Verb phrase schema:

VP: [(NEG)(tiʔ)(TAM)(ADV) V (V$_{\text{DIRECTION}}$)(ADV)(TAM)(NEG)]

The following position chart shows the position of negation, tense, aspect, modals, and the main verbs within a verb phrase. This table is not exhaustive but indicative of many VPs.

Table 40 Verb phrase position chart(s)[22]

Negation		Preverb			Head
NEG	**yet**	**TAM1**	**TAM2**	**Adverbial phrase**	**Verb(s)**
ʔuː *puː*	*tiʔ*	*ʔiː* - PAST *caʔ* - possible	*hɔit* - completive *sam* - FUT *sam* - imperfective	*klaic* - fast *kuɛ* - slow *ʔan* - quickly	verb serial verbs V$_{\text{ADJ}}$

Postverb				Negation
Direction	**Adverbial phrase**		**TAM3**	**NEG**
V$_{\text{DIRECTION}}$	*klaic* - fast *kuɛ* - slow *kʰrɔʔ* - again	*luan* - very	*ʔdaŋ* - durative *l̥ɒwh* - experienced/PAST	*tew*

---

[22] Unfortunately these can't fit across the page in one table so need to be split into two tables.

6.2 Verb heads

Eastern Lawa has both single verbs and serial verbs as heads in a verb phrase. See also section 3.3 on word order.

6.2.1 Single verbs

Single verbs in Eastern Lawa either follow or precede the subject noun phrase (which is often dropped). Example (123) shows a single verb in a sentence with the subject occurring before the verb.

(123) ET.12b

puj   *hɔit*   **nian**   *paʔ*
people   finished   **look**   him
The people stopped looking at him.

Example (124) shows a single verb in a sentence with the subject occurring after the verb.

(124) ET.46

kok   *ʔaj*   *samɔŋ*   *ɲum*   *luan*
eat   1SG   brain   tasty   very
I'm eating its brain - very tasty.

6.2.2 Serial verbs

Serial verb constructions are frequent in Eastern Lawa. A verb chain marker *piʔ* is optionally used to connect verbs in a serial verbs chain. When *piʔ* connects two or more verbs in a serial verb chain, all the verbs share the same subject. However, there are some serial verb constructions where *piʔ* is omitted even though verbs share the same subject. Also *piʔ* is not permitted in imperative clauses. The structure of serial verbs is schematized in (125).

(125)   **Serial verb construction**
         (a)   V (*piʔ*) V
         (b)   V V

There is no limitation on how many verbs are permitted in verb serialization within a single clause. Example (126) has four verbs without any verb chain markers.

(126) LC.103

ka tʰɔ *paʔ* **kuat** **kok** **kuat** **sɒwm** *tew* *lah*

during   you   **want**   **eat**   **want**   **eat.rice**   not   eh

During (that time) you don't want to eat rice eat anything eh.

Various semantic relationships are conveyed using serial verbs, including simultaneous motion, sequential motion, motion with goal and motion with reached goal. The following section illustrates how these are syntactically realized using serial verb constructions.

6.2.2.1 Simultaneous motion

In simultaneous motion serial verb constructions, events happen at the same time or close to the same time. Example (127) demonstrates a serial verb construction denoting simultaneous motion. The action of 'holding' and 'running' occur at the same time.

(127) BDF.4a

ᵐbain *piʔ* *tɔ* *sawiŋ* *teʔ*

hold   **v.chain**   **run**   net   his

Holding his net and running.

6.2.2.2 Sequential motion

Sequential motion is expressed with the verb *hew* 'go' plus another action verb. The two verbs in the verb phrase share the same subject. In example (128) the people 'run to go see'. Sequentially the seeing comes after the running.

(128) ET.10

puj *tɔ* *piʔ* *hew* *nian* *tuk soʔ teʔ*

people   **ran**   **v.chain**   **go**   **look**   all.of.them

People ran to see - all of them.

6.2.2.3 Motion with goal

Another type of serial verb construction is motion with goal as in the second half of example (129). This is expressed with the verb hew 'go' and a verb denoting an activity at the end of the motion.

(129) LC.18

nat   *kɨah*   *ʔaj*   ***hew***   ***truat***   *teʔ*   *nɨŋ*   *hɔt*

appointment   give   me   **go**   **check**   PRO.SUBJ   at   Hot

An appointment was given to me to go check-up at Hot

6.2.2.4 Motion with reached goal

Motion with reached goal verb serialization is exemplified with the motion verb *hew* 'go' and *pʰɔt* 'arrive' followed by the goal in a prepositional phase. In (130) *pʰɔt* 'arrive' indicates the reached goal.

(130) BDF.1c

hew   ***phɔt***   *nɨŋ*   *tuŋ*   *tiʔ*   *tɔhw*   *kanai*   *pʰɛʔ*

go   **arrive**   at   pond   one   place   inside   forest

(he) came to a pond at a place in the forest

6.3 Negation

There are three negative operators in Eastern Lawa. *ʔuː* and *tew* are used for declarative sentences, and *puː* is used for imperative sentences. Their positions in relation to the main verb are shown in Table 40 above. The negators can both occur with stative and eventive predicates.

6.3.1 Post verbal negation using *tew*

The negative operator *tew* comes after the verb in the clause. The following schema describes Eastern Lawa negation using *tew*.

S_{NEG}: [--- V *tew*]

One of the most basic uses of the negative operator is when someone says "no" as in example (131).

(131) LC.248

mah   *tew*

be   not

No

Example (132) has an event (sucking) being negated.

(132)   LC.231

    mɔʔ   ***tew***   *maʔ*   *teʔ*

    suck   **not**   mother   PRO.SUBJ

    His mother didn't suckle (him).

In example (133) *tew* is negating more than one verb. 'Not want to eat, not want to eat rice' (not want to eat anything). This is likely an elaborate expression.

(133)   LC.103

    ka tʰɔ   *paʔ*   **kuat**   **kok** **kuat**   **sɒwm**   **tew** *lah*

    during   you   **want**   **eat** **want**   **eat.rice**   **not** eh

    During (morning sickness) you didn't want to eat rice or anything eh.

Examples (134) and (135) show negation of a stative predicate (ripe) using *tew*.

(134)

    pleʔ   *kʰɒʔ*   *hej*   ***tiʔ***   *tum*   ***tew***

    fruit   tree   this   **yet**   ripe   **NEG**

    This fruit is not yet ripe. (Implies that it is close)

(135)

    pleʔ   *kʰɒʔ*   *hej*   *tum*   ***tew***

    fruit   tree   this   ripe   **NEG**

    This fruit is not ripe. (implies its not close and there might not even be fruit on the tree)

6.3.2 Preverbal negation using *ʔuː*

The negative operator *ʔuː* comes before the verb. *ʔuː* can have other constituents occurring between it and the verb. *ʔuː* also operates on both stative and eventive predicates. The following schema describes negation using *ʔuː*.

    S_{NEG}: [*ʔuː (caʔ)* (PRO) (ADV) V ---]

Examples (136) and (137) show examples of the negator *ʔuː*.

(136)   LC.146

      ʔuː   *caʔ*   *tian* *laʔawm* *nɛŋ*   *ʔaj* *ʔɔʔ*

      not possible able water   breast my   eh

      My breast milk wasn't enough eh

(137)   LC.195

      tʰamŋan   *viaŋ*   *ʔuː* *caʔ*   *ʔatia*   *ˀmɛ*   *kʰaŋ kʰaj* *teʔ*

      work   Chiang Mai **not** possible return again after.that PRO.SUBJ

      (He) worked in Chiang Mai but he didn't return again after that

In example (138) *ʔuː* is being used with a stative predicate (big). It also has an adverb (not yet) between the negator and the verb.

(138)   LC.165

      ʔuː *ti* *rɨ* *lah*   *ʔuː* *ti* *rɨ* *kapɔʔ*

      not yet big eh   **not** yet big stomach

      (She) isn't big yet eh – (her) stomach isn't big yet

Example (139) has the 2SG pronoun 'you' and the adverb *tiʔ* 'not yet' between the negator and the verb

(139)   LC.67b

      tɛ   *mah* *ʔuː* *paʔ* *ti* *sokia* *viak*   *lah*

      but   be   **not** you yet pain   stomach eh

      But you weren't having labour pains yet eh

6.3.2.1 Differences between *tew* and *ʔuː*

The negative operators *tew* and *ʔuː* are used to express different types of negation. The following examples are a direct comparison between these two negators. In example (140) the verb *ʔia* 'want' is negated with *tew*.

(140)

 caʔ *ʔia* **tew** *kaj* *ʔdáŋ*
 possible want **NEG** have already
 (I) don't want (it) – (I) have already

In example (141) the verb *ʔia* 'want' is negated with *ʔuː* which adds the semantic content of not wanting something at all.

(141)

 ʔuː *caʔ* *ʔia* *kaj* *ʔdáŋ*
 NEG possible want have already
 (I) don't want (it) **at all** – (I) have already

To summarize, *ʔuː* and *tew* are used for negation in declarative clauses. More research is required to ascertain the exact domains or conditions that require the use of one verses the other, but *ʔuː* looks to be a more emphatic negation and *tew* looks like it negates intention if an agent is present.

6.3.3 Imperative negation using *puː*

Negatives in imperative sentences use the negative operator *puː*[23], with an optional *caʔ* 'possible'. The subject is not expressed in negative imperative clauses. The simple schema for negative imperative constructions in Eastern Lawa clauses is as below[24].

 $S_{NEG.IMPR}$: [*puː (caʔ)* V ---]

In example (142), the negative imperative *puː* appears at the clause initial position and precedes the verb.

(142)

 puː   *caʔ* *ᵐbia* *hew* *pasaŋ* *səʔej*
 NEG.IMPER **possible** forget go Pa Sang tomorrow
 Don't forget to go to PaSang tomorrow!

---

[23] I suspect *puː* is a combination of *paʔ* – 2SG and *ʔu* – NEG.
[24] Imperative sentences are discussed in more detail in section 8.4

Example (143) has both *ʔuː* and *puː* for negation. The conditional subordinate clause uses *ʔuː* and the imperative uses *puː*.

(143)

pɨn	***ʔuː***	*paʔ*	*kɛh*	*juh*	***puː***	*caʔ*	*juh*
If	**NEG**	2SG	able	do	**NEG**	possible	do

If he is not able (he) shouldn't do it

6.4 Directionals

Lawa has many directionals as it uses other verbs to encode direction often with prepositions. For example – *hew* which usually means 'to go', when used in a directional sense with another verb means 'away'. Other examples include verbs that have inherent directional properties like *liak* 'enter', *huak* 'go up' and *leih* 'go down'. The position of directionals in a verb phrase is schematized as below. Note that there can be more than one of the additional elements that are used together to encode direction

$$VP_{DIRECTIONAL}: [V_{MAIN} \; V_{DIRECTION} \; (PP)]$$

Example (144) shows the use of the verb *hew* 'go' as a directional with a manner of motion verb like *tɔ* 'run' to denote motion in a direction away from the speaker.

(144)

mu tʰɔ	***tɔ***	***hew***	*pʰaʔ*	*ʔajʔ*
3PL	**run**	**away**	from	1SG

 They ran away from me.

Interesting to note that in example (144) the party fleeing and the speaker don't necessarily start in the same place, whereas in (145) they started in the same place.

(145)

mu tʰɔ	***tɔ***	***ʔɔk***	*pʰaʔ*	*ʔajʔ*
3PL	**run**	**out**	from	1SG

 They ran out from me.

Example (146) has *hew* 'go' as the main verb together with the verb *liak* 'enter' as the directionals.

(146)   LC.169

     | **hew** | **liak** | tɔʔ | kʰum | ʔdeɲ | puj | laʔej |
     | **go** | **enter** | into | spa | long | person | today |

     (She) went into the spa (for a) long time today

6.5 Tense aspect mood

Eastern Lawa does not mark tense inflectionally; however, TAM markers indicate the tense, aspect and/or modality of the situation. See section 4.11 for TAM markers.

Table 41 demonstrates the interactions between aspect particles and five different types of events and states: *ḻuaŋ* 'tall', *pewp* 'broken', *viak* 'to break', *tɔ* 'to run', and *lɔm* 'sharp'.

Table 41 Tense / Aspect markers with different types of events and states

TAM	Eventuality				
	lɔm 'sharp'	*ḻuaŋ* 'tall'	*pewp* 'broken'	*viak* 'to break'	*tɔ* 'run'
hɔit	finished being sharp (it isn't now)	X	broken already	finished breaking (it's broken)	finished running
ʔiː	sharp already	tall now (already)	certainly broken or just broken	broken already (but not sure if it is now)	ran already (but not sure if still running)
sam	becoming sharp	becoming tall	close to breaking	will break it or in the process of breaking it	will run
ʔdaŋ	still sharp	still tall	still broken	breaking it now	ran already (don't know if running now)

Table 41 has a wealth of useful information and will be used in the following comparisons between the different tense and aspect markers. It could also be useful for future research into tense and aspect.

6.5.1 Aspect *hɔit*

In Eastern Lawa, the perfective aspect is expressed by *hɔit*. It can be used for both events and states. Example (147) shows *hɔit* being used with an event.

(147)   R.37

wat	*hɔit*	*sɒm*	*pa*	*poteʔ*	*ʔɔk*	*lahaʔ*	*niŋ*	*ᵐbrɔk*
when	**COMPL**	eat	take	together	out	play	in	yard

When (they) finished eating, (they) went out together to play in the yard.

Example (148) shows *hɔit* being used with a state (from Table 41).

(148)

miːt	*hej*	*hɔit*	*lɔm*
knife	this	**COMPL**	sharp

The knife is finished (being) sharp (it isn't sharp now).

6.5.2 Aspect *ʔdaŋ*

The durative aspect is expressed by *ʔdaŋ* which occurs only in positive declarative sentences. *ʔdaŋ* is incompatible with *hɔit*. It can be used for both events and states. Example (149) shows *ʔdaŋ* being used with an event.

(149)   LC.94

leih	*cumtɔŋ*	*saŋej*	*tʰɔ*	*kuat hua*	*ʔdaŋ*	*teʔ*
go.down	ChomThong	day	that	feel.sick	**DUR**	PRO.SUBJ

The day (I) went down to Chom Thong, I still felt sick.

Example (150) shows *ʔdaŋ* being used with a state (from Table 41).

(150)

miːt	*hej*	*lɔm*	*ʔdaŋ*
knife	this	sharp	**DUR**

The knife is still sharp.

6.5.3 Tense *ʔiː*

The tense marker *ʔiː* expresses that the action or state happened before the speech time. It can be used for both events and states. Example (151) is typical of *ʔiː*.

(151)   R.43

ʔiː	*lawəj*	*wat*	*huak*	*niŋ*	*kaʔduaŋ*
already	dusk	when	climb	place	on top

(It was) already dusk when (they) climbed up on top.

ʔiː often co-occurs with the completive aspect marker *hɔit* as in example (152)

(152).   LC.174

ʔiː	*hɔit*	*laʔɔj*	*cuaŋ*	*newm*	*ləʔaj*	*saʔ*
already	finished	three	times	since	today	early

(She's) already finished three times since early today.

Example (153) shows *ʔiː* being used with a state (from Table 41).

(153)

miːt	*hej*	*ʔiː*	*lɔm*
knife	this	**already**	sharp

The knife is already sharp.

Note the different between *ʔiː* and *hɔit*. *ʔiː* is past tense whereas *hɔit* is perfective aspect. This is clear when comparing examples (148) where the knife has finished being sharp and (153) where the knife is already sharp.

6.5.4 Tense/aspect *sam*

Like Hebrew, Eastern Lawa uses *sam* for both imperfective aspect and future tense. Example (154) demonstrates its use to denote the future tense.

(154)   R15

ləj	*lɔŋ*	*kɨt*	*sam*	*pət*
then	try	think	**FUT**	open

then (he) thought "will it open?"

Example (155) demonstrates *sam* being used to encode imperfective aspect.

(155) LC.95

mah ***sam*** *keh* *paʔ* *ʔɔʔ*

be **PROG** pregnant you eh

Yes during your pregnancy eh?

Example (156) shows *sam* being used with a state (from Table 41).

(156)

mi:t *hej* *sam* *lɔm*

knife this PROG/FUT sharp

This knife is getting sharp /

The knife will be sharp.

6.5.5 Diagrams of aspect / tense

Figure 4 summarizes the meaning of four tense/aspect markers visually with the state of being sharp - *lɔm*.
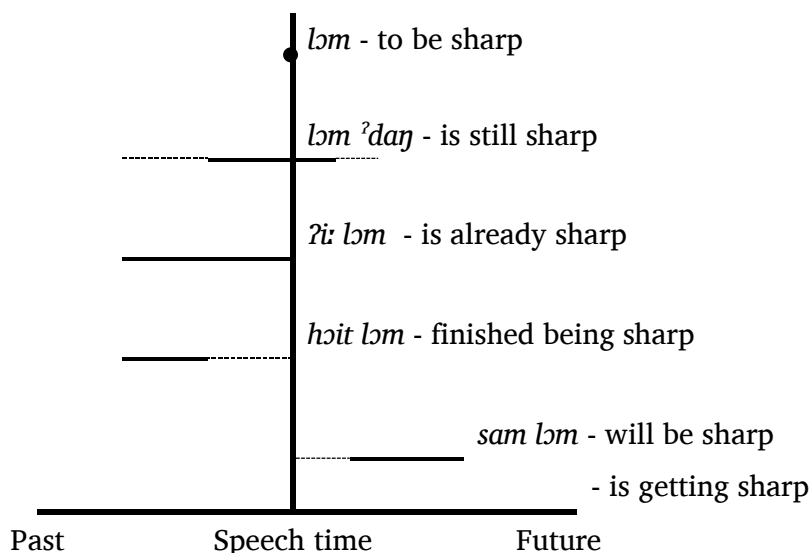
Figure 4 The meaning of *lɔm* 'sharp' with TAM markers in relation to time

Figure 5 summarizes the meaning of four tense/aspect markers visually with the action of running - *tɔ*.
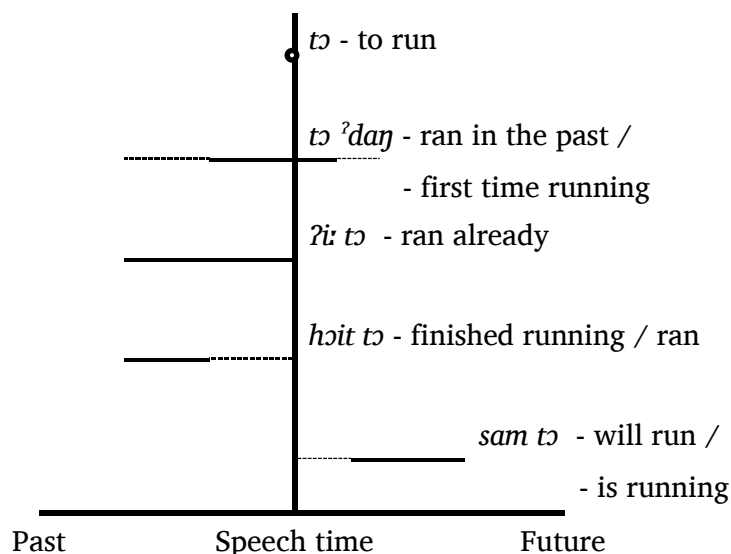
Figure 5 The meaning of *tɔ* 'run' with TAM markers in relation to time

6.5.6 Modality/mood

A few of the Eastern Lawa mood markers are presented in Table 42. The second column provides the gloss and the third column summarizes definitions for each particle.

Table 42 Modality

Modality	Gloss	Partial Definition	Position
te	CNT.EXP	Counter-expectational	Post verbal
hɔʔ	HORT	The eventuality expressed should be done by the addressee	Post verbal - before object NP

The particle *hɔʔ* occurs after the verb phrase of imperative clauses and expresses that the speaker is encouraging someone to do the action.

Example (157) illustrates *hɔʔ,* a mild hortative, coming after the verb but before the NP subject.

(157) LC.228

kɨt ***hɔʔ*** *paj*
think **HORT** you
You should think about that!

In example (158), *tə* indicates surprise or counter-expectation.

(158) LC.49

ʔoh *saʔeh* *huak* *ʔmɛ* *pa* *laʔ* *mɔ* ***tə***
oh tomorrow go.up again you to doctor **really**
Oh really! Are you going up to the doctor again tomorrow?

6.6 Adverbs

Adverbs are not arguments in a clause and they can occur in different positions depending on their function in the clause. For example temporal adverbs usually appear either sentence initial or final. Adverbs are dealt with in more detail in sections 4.6 and 9.3, so this section will only explore the position of adverbs in relation to the verb.

Manner adverbs come before the verb they modify as in example (159).

(159)

klaic *hew* *keʔ* *laʔ* *hoŋhian*
fast go 3SG to school
He walked quickly to school.

Degree adverbs modify (verbal) adjectives in attributive constructions or other adverbs and appear after the adjective or adverb as in example (160) below.

(160)

pɯj	*tʰɔ*	*l̥uaŋ*	**luan**
person	DEM	tall	**very**

He is very tall.

6.7 Summary

This section presented various Eastern Lawa verb phrase constituents including serial verb construction, negation, directionals, tense apect and modality and adverbs. Firstly the positions of verb phrase elements were presented.

VP: [(NEG)(tiʔ)(TAM)(ADV) V (V$_{\text{DIRECTION}}$)(ADV)(TAM)(NEG)]

Verb heads were shown to be either single verbs or serial verbs with the optional verb chain element *piʔ*. Negation was presented next, which can be either pre-verbal or post-verbal. Next verbal directionals were presented which occur after the head verb and encode extra directional information. Then tense, aspect and modality elements were presented which can be either pre-verbal or post-verbal. Finally adverb positions were discussed in relation to the verb.

Chapter 7

Voice and valence changing

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents valence alternations and voice changes in Eastern Lawa. It discusses how argument structure changes through passive, causative, and applicative constructions. First, it discusses typical valence-decreasing constructions such as passives in section (7.2). Adversative passives, where no agent is required, are examined first. Next passives where the patient is forced to do something are examined. Then non-referential passives are investigated where an undefined "agent" is used and finally zero agent passives in the form of resultative constructions are examined. Most of these "passives" do not strictly result in fewer arguments as might be expected say for English, but semantic changes like the English passive do occur and are worth investigating. Secondly, this chapter discusses reflexives and reciprocals in (7.3). Next valence-increasing constructions such as causatives in (7.4), and applicatives in (7.5) are investigated.

7.2 Passives

O'Grady (2001), defines passive voice as, "Passive voice is a grammatical voice common in many of the world's languages. In a clause with passive voice, the grammatical subject expresses the theme or patient of the main verb – that is, the person or thing that undergoes the action or has its state changed. This contrasts with active voice, in which the subject has the agent role."

Eastern Lawa has various forms of passive and passive like constructions: adversative passives, passive constructions with *klaː*, passive constructions that use *pui* as a dummy subject and zero passives.

7.2.1 Adversative passives

Kroger describes adversatives as a special type of passive construction (Kroger 2005: 279). Eastern Lawa has an adversative passive construction using *lɔk*. In this kind of sentence, the patient is the subject of the clause, and the 'patient' suffers the effect of

an action. There is a special emphasis on the affectedness of the patient, and the effect is almost always negative. The adversative passive construction is schematized as below.

$$S_{\text{PASSIVE.ADVERSATIVE}}: \left[\left[\text{NP}_{\text{-i SUB.PATIENT}}\ l\mathit{\jmath}k\ [\text{V (NP}_{\text{AGENT}})\ \text{---}\ (\text{X}_i)]_S\right]\right]$$

Examples (161) and (162) illustrate adversative passive constructions. In example (161) no agent is expressed

(161)

pɛː	*tʰɔ*	*lɔk*	*kok*
mango	DEM	**ADVERS**	eat

The mango was eaten.

In example (162), the speaker suffers the result of a beating. The agent is expressed using a non specific subject in an oblique prepositional phrase *taʔ puj ʔuː maic*.

(162)

ʔaj	*lɔk*	*ᵐbein*	*taʔ*	*puj*	*ʔuː*	*maic*
1SG	**ADVERS**	beat	by	person	NEG	good

I was beaten by a bad person/people.

7.2.2 *klaː* passive like constructions

Eastern Lawa has another passive like construction that is formed by using the verb *klaː* 'forced.to'. The expressed subject (patient) does not have volitional freedom and suffers the action of the verb. The passive construction with *klaː* is schematized as below.

$$S_{\text{PASSIVE}}: [\mathit{kla}ː\ \text{NP}_{\text{SUB.PATIENT}}\ \text{V ---}]$$

In example (163), the patient *puj* 'he' is in the subject position but is forced to do something non volitional.

(163)

klaː	*puj*	*ʔəŋ*	*ʔɔk*	*pʰaʔ*	*(ʔəŋ)*	*ŋan*
forced.to	3SG	DEM	out	from	his	work

He was fired.

Lit: forced he was to leave from his work.

7.2.3 *puj* - non-referential passive like constructions

Another passive-like construction uses *puj* 'people' as a non-referential subject. Non-referential subjects are formed using *puj* without a demonstrative. Therefore the gloss 'person' could just as easily be translated 'someone'.

For instance, in a sentence like (164) *puj* appears as a non-referential subject and refers to non-specfic people. This sentence seems syntactically more like an active voice, as there is a syntactic subject who has built a house, but the clause is semantically passive due to the non-referential subject.

(164)

ʔiː	hɔit	poh	puj	ɲɨaʔ	nɨŋ	kaʔrej
finished	COMPL	build	person	house	LOC	here

The house has been built here.

Lit: Finished building someone did the house here.

7.2.4 Zero agent resultative

Zero agent resultative constructions focus on the result of the event. The agent of the event is not expressed as an argument. Lawa has some different 'cause' and 'result' forms for some action verbs as in Table 43 but there are other verbs that can be used as either cause or result. The verbs listed in the first column take two arguments: agent as a subject and a patient as an object. They are more agentive. The verbs listed in the second column take only one argument; the patient as a subject. If the agent is expressed, it is as an oblique.

Table 43 Lexical causatives and resultatives

Cause		Result	
wiak	'to break'	*bewp*	'broken'
pʰluj	'to burn'	*haʔ*	'burnt'
pʰraʔ	'to frighten'	*l̥at*	'frightened'

The schematic construction for zero agent passives that indicate the result of an event is as below.

$$S_{\text{PASSIVE.RESULT}}: [NP_{\text{SUB.PATIENT}} \ V_{\text{RESULT}} \ (NP_{\text{OBL.AGENT}})]$$

Example (165) is a causative construction and example (166) is a resultative construction. Note example (166) has no agent (passive construction) whereas example (165) does (active construction).

(165)

> *kaʔⁿdɒwʔ*   *tʰɔ*   *wiak*   *kak*   *kʰɒʔ*
> child   DEM break branch tree
> The child broke the branch.

(166)

> *kak*   *kʰɒʔ* *bewp*
> branch   tree   broken
> The branch (is) broken.

If the agent is to be stated it appears in an oblique NP as in example (167).

(167)

> *kak*   *kʰɒʔ* *bewp*   *taʔ*   *kaʔⁿdɒwʔ* *tʰɔ*
> branch   tree broken by   child   DEM
> The branch was broken by the child

7.3 Reflexives and reciprocals

Reflexives are used to denote doing something to or for oneself. Reciprocals are used to denote people doing something to or for each other. *teʔ* is used in both reciprocal and reflexive clauses to refer to the subject.

Example (168) is a simple reflexive sentence with the subject accidentally hitting himself.

(168)

> **$k^h ɒʔ$**   ᵐ*bein* *teʔ*
> **accidently** hit   PRO.SUBJ
> (He) accidently hit himself

7.3.1 Reflexive emphatics

In Eastern Lawa *ˀnɔŋ* is used to express doing something alone and *poˀ* is used to express doing something with others.

ˀnɔŋ teˀ - to/for oneself

poˀ teˀ - to/with each other

In example (169) *ˀnɔŋ* and *teˀ* are used to express that the subject ate alone. If *ˀnɔŋ* was taken out, the subject would then be referring to themselves eating, but we would be (fairly) sure that they ate with others.

(169)

ˀaj	sʋm	**ˀnɔŋ**	teˀ
I	eat.rice	**do.alone**	**PRO.SUBJ**

I ate by myself.

In example (170) the subject *puj tʰɔ* 'he' is the one who feeds himself. This conveys the meaning that he is young and only just able to do this by himself.

(170)

puj tʰɔ	sʋm	**ˀnɔŋ**	**ˀiah**
3SG	eat.rice	**do.alone**	**able**

He was able to eat by himself.

The word *ˀnɔŋ* semantically includes meanings like - seperately, oneself, not relying on others, alone. In example (171), *puj tʰɔ* 'he' dressed himself without getting any help from others. The object noun phrase 'clothes' comes between *ˀnɔŋ* and *teˀ*.

(171)

puj tʰɔ	ˀiah[25]	ˀnɔŋ	kʰua	teˀ
3SG	put.on	do.alone	clothes	PRO.SUBJ

He put on his clothes alone

---

[25] Here we have *ˀiah* –turning up before *ˀnɔŋ*, but it doesn't have the meaning 'only just able'. It means 'to put on (clothes)'. A change in position denotes a change of meaning.

7.3.2 Reciprocals

The reciprocal relationship is expressed using the reciprocal *poʔ* with the reflexive *teʔ*.

In example (172), the three (boy, dog and frog), become friends together – expressed with the reciprocal *poʔ* and the reflexive *teʔ*.

(172)   BDF.27

laʔɔj	*pen*	*piɲew*	***poʔ***	***teʔ***
three	is.are (TH)	friends	**RECIP**	**PRO.SUBJ**

All three were friends together

7.4 Causatives

Causatives indicate that a subject causes someone or something else to do or be something, or causes a change in state of a non-volitional event.

Causatives are formed using the causative verbs *kʰe* 'force', *kɨahʔ* 'cause' or *cɒʔ* 'command'. They add a new participant in a clause (Kroger 2005:277). The schematic construction for causatives is as below.

$S_{CAUSATIVE}$: [NP$_{CAUSER}$ V$_{CAUSATIVE}$ S]

The relative clause in (173) includes a simple causative; *kɨah* indicates that *kaⁿdɒwʔ* 'child' is the causer of the event of smashing.

(173)

ˀdɔ	*laʔ*	*kaⁿdɒwʔ*	***pi***	***kɨah***	*kracok*	*tʰɔ*	***ˀbɨaʔ***
command	to	child	**REL**	**CAUS**	glass	DEM	**smash**

Command the child who caused that glass to break

kɨah	*hew*	*kaʔ hej*
CAUS	come	here

make them come here.

kʰe 'force' in example (174) also contains a causative meaning. The embedded part of the clause is intransitive with a verb *liak* 'enter' and an agent *mu tʰɔ* 'them'. But when a causative verb *kʰe* 'force' is added to the clause, the agent of *liak* 'enter' which is *mu tʰɔ* '3PL' also becomes a patient. The meaning of (174) is 'he forced them to enter the forest'.

(174)

> *puj tʰɔ*   *kʰe*   *mu tʰɔ*   *liak*   *taʔ*   *pʰɛʔ*
> 3SG   force   3PL   enter   in   forest
>   He forced them to enter the forest.

Eastern Lawa causatives can also be formed by using *cɒʔ* 'command'. The result is not entailed in this kind of causative. Example (175) is a simple transitive clause consisting of an NP$_{SUB}$ - *kaⁿdɒwʔ* 'child', a verb *ʔaːn* 'read' and an NP$_{OBJ}$ *naŋsɨː* 'book'. In example (176), the causer *kʰru* 'teacher' is added with the command *cɒʔ* to form a causative construction applied to sentence (175). The agent *kaⁿdɒwʔ* 'child' of *ʔaːn* 'read' in (175), becomes the patient for the verb *cɒʔ* 'command' in (176). The same pattern is also found in example (177).

(175)

> *kaⁿdɒwʔ*   *ʔaːn*   *naŋsɨː*
> child   read   book
> The children (are) read(ing) the book.
> (or the children are studying).

(176)

> *kʰru*   **cɒʔ**   *kaⁿdɒwʔ*   *ʔan*   *naŋsɨː*
> teacher   **command**   child   read   book
> Lit: The teacher commanded the child to read the book.
> The teacher made the children study.

(177)

> *maʔ*   **cɒʔ**   *ʔiak raʔ*   *ʔaj*   *kɨah*   *kaⁿdɒwʔ*   *sɔm*
> mother   **command**   elder sibling   1SG   give   child   eat rice
> Mother commanded my sister to feed the child.

7.5 Summary

This chapter presented valence alternations and voice changes in Eastern Lawa. It discussed how argument structure changes through passive constructions and reflexives and reciprocals and also how valence is increased with causative constructions.

Chapter 8
Sentence types

8.1 Introduction

This chapter presents various Eastern Lawa sentence types. It includes declarative sentences, (8.1), interrogative sentences, (8.2) and imperative sentences (8.3).

8.2 Statements (declarative)

The word order of declarative sentences is normally regarded as the basic word order of a language (Konig and Siemund 2007:284). The word order in declarative sentences in Lawa can be either SVO, VSO or VOS, but is most commonly VSO. See section (3.3).

Declarative sentence structure is schematized below[26]. The order of the verb and the NP_{SUB} are interchangeable. The NP object follows the NP subject and the verb[27]. Adjuncts occur at the end of the clause. Temporal adverbs can occur either at the end of the clause (most commonly) or at the beginning.

S: [V NP_{SUB} NP_{OBJ} $PP_{LOC/GOAL}$ NP ADV_{TIME}]

Example (178) illustrates a simple declarative sentence with a temporal adverbial, an NP object and a beneficiary.

(178) LC.106

k^hanat		$\textup{ʔaj}$	$\textup{ɲoʔ}$	nom	$\textup{ʔɛnmam}$	$t^h\textup{ɔ}$	$la\textup{ʔ}$	$\textup{ʔəŋ}$
that.time (TH)		I	drink	milk	Enmom	that	for	me

(During) that time I drank that Enmom milk for myself.

---

[26] Optionality is not marked

[27] Unless a new participant is introduced in which case the NP subject is likely to be right dislocated resulting in a VOS word order.

8.3 Questions (interrogative)

This section discusses different ways of forming questions in Eastern Lawa. It discusses 'Yes-No' questions, 'Tag' questions, 'Or-Not' questions and 'Content' questions. Interrogative pronouns were listed in section 4.3.

8.3.1 'Yes-No' questions

'Yes-No' questions are typically used to inquire about the truth or falsity of the proposition they express (Konig and Siemund 2007:291). In Eastern Lawa, the word order of 'Yes-No' questions is the same as that of declarative sentences. The question particle *ʔam* is optionally added to the beginning of the clause and *ʔah* is added to the end. *ʔam* and *ʔah* signal the sentence is interrogative. The general schema for 'Yes-No' questions in Lawa is as below.

$$S_{\text{YES-NO QUESTION}} = [(\textit{ʔam})\ S\ \textit{ʔah}]$$

Sentence (179) is an example of a 'Yes-No' question in Eastern Lawa. The question particle *ʔam* is optional in this sentence.

(179)

(ʔam)	*ʔuː*	*paʔ*	*l̥ɒwh*	***ʔah***
Q.PRT	NEG	2SG	get	**Q.PRT**

Didn't you get it?

The answer is either *l̥ɒwh ʔəŋ* 'got it' or *l̥ɒwh tew* 'didn't get it'.

8.3.2 Tag questions

Tag questions are formed by adding the negative particle *ʔuː* to declarative sentences. Tag questions are composed of two parts, the first part is a simple declarative part and the second part is an interrogative part composed of *ʔuː* with a repetition of the verb as in (180). The word order in the first part is VS. The structure of tag questions is schematized as below.

$$S_{\text{TAG QUESTION}}: [\text{---}\ V\ \textit{ʔuː}\ V]$$

(180)

> *hew*   *(pa)*   *ʔuː*   *paʔ*   *hew*
> go   2SG   NEG   2SG   go
> (Will you) go, or not?

Example (181) has a subordinate clause which are the thoughts of the boy, and includes a tag question.

(181)   R.21

> *kaⁿdɒwʔ*   *lɔŋ*   *kɨt*   **sam**   **hew**   **ʔuː**   **hew**
> boy   try   think   **FUT**   **go**   **not**   **go**
> The boy thought "Should I go or not?"

8.3.3 'Or-Not' questions

Example (182) is an interrogative 'Or-Not' sentence in which the speaker asks someone for a choice. An 'Or-Not' question is formed by using the word *lɒwh* which means 'or-not'. The schema for 'Or-Not' question formation is as below.

> S.'OR-NOT' QUESTION: [V *lɒwh* S]

(182)

> *kaj*   ***lɒwh***   *pɛ*   *jaʔ*   *paʔ*
> have   **or.not**   mango   of   2SG
> Do you have mangos or not?

(183)   LC.43

> *kuat*   *ʔia*   ***lɒwh***   *maʔ*   *piʔapəŋ*   *joŋ*
> want   have.get   **or.not**   you   female   maybe
> Did you want to have a granddaughter or not?

8.3.4 Content questions

In content questions, question words are used to replace one of the constituents of the corresponding declarative clause (Kroeger 2005:205). Question words in Lawa content questions appear *in situ*. A question word can also be used by itself to form a content question. Section (4.3) listed interrogative pronouns, or content question words.

Noun phrases, verb phrases, prepositional phrases, and adverbial phrases can be questioned (Bickford 1998:232). The question particle *ʔah* is optionally used in content questions. Some of the question words change their meanings depending on the contexts. For example, *juh jaŋ man* 'do how what' can be used for several meanings: 'how', 'why' and 'what happened'.

8.3.4.1 Content questions: Who

The Eastern Lawa word *pen* 'who' is used to get information about people. Example (184) demonstrates a content question using *pen* 'who'.

(184)　LC.182

ʔam	*mah*	***pen***	*ma*	*pɨa*	*ʔəŋ*
Q	be	**who**	mother	father	his

Who are his parents?

8.3.4.2 Content questions: What

The Eastern Lawa word *man* 'what' is used to get information about 'things'. Examples (185) and (186) have content questions using *man* 'what'.

(185)　LC.54

mah	***man***	*tʰɔ*
be	**what**	that

What is that?

(186)

mah	***man***	*maɨ*	*paʔ*
be	**what**	name	2SG

What is your name?

8.3.4.3 Content questions: When

The Eastern Lawa word *saŋman* 'when' is used to get information about when an event will happen. Examples (188) and (187) show content questions using *saŋman*.

(187)

puj tʰɔ	*sam*	*hew*	*jɨk*	*jaʔ*	*teʔ*	***saŋman***
3SG	FUT	go	field	of	his	**when**

When will he go to his field?

(188) LC.46

nat	*la*	*paʔ*	***saŋman***	*neh*	*mɔ*	*tʰɔ*
appointment	for	you	**when**	eh	doctor	that

When is the appointment for you eh? (With) the doctor.

8.3.4.4 Content questions: Where

The Eastern Lawa word *kaʔnom* 'where' is used to get information about locations. Examples (189) and (190) illustrate content questions using *kaʔnom*.

(189)

bun	*hew*	***kaʔnom***
Boon	go	**where**

Where did Boon go?

(190) LC.2

ʔam	*keh*	*paʔ*	***kaʔnom***	*neh*
Q	give.birth	you	**where**	eh

Where did you give birth?

8.3.4.5 Content questions: Why

The Eastern Lawa word *juhman* 'why' is used to get information about why something occured. Example (191) shows a content question using *juhman* 'why'.

(191)

hew	*paʔ*	*wiaŋ*	***juhman***
go	2SG	Chiang Mai	**why**

Why did you go to Chiang Mai

8.3.4.6 Content questions: How

The Eastern Lawa word *jaŋman* 'how' is used to get information about how something happens. Examples (194), (192) and (193) demonstrate content questions using *jaŋman* 'how'.

(192)

> *juh*   *paʔ*   **_jaŋman_**
>
> do.make   2SG   **how**
>
> How did you do that?

(193)   LC.240

> *kɛh*   *mah*   **_jaŋman_**
>
> able   be   **how**
>
> How would (you) be able?

(194)   LC.243

> *kɛh*   *ʔuː*   *joŋ*   **_jaŋman_**
>
> able   not   know   **how**
>
> How could (he) not know?

8.3.5 Ability questions

The Eastern Lawa word *kɛh* 'able' is used in questions with other question words to ask for information about ability

The general schema for ability questions is as follows:

S$_{\text{ABILITY}}$: [*(ʔam) kɛh V lɒwh --- ʔah*]

Example (195) shows an ability question regarding riding a bike.

(195)

> **_kɛh_**   *kʰap*   **_lɒwh_**   *paʔ*   *lot tʰip*   **_ʔah_**
>
> **able**   ride   **or.not**   2SG   bicycle (NT)   **Q.PRT**
>
> Can you ride a bike or not?

8.4 Commands (imperatives)

In Eastern Lawa imperative clauses, the one being told to do something is usually omitted. However, they may be optionally expressed.

Examples (196) and (197) compare declarative and imperative sentences. Example (196) is the declarative sentence while (197) and (198) are examples of imperatives using the same proposition as (196).

Simple declarative:
(196)

> *(ʔaj)*   *hew*   *sewm*   *teʔ*
> I   go   plant.rice   PRO.SUBJ
> I went and planted my rice

Imperative:
(197)

> *hew*   *sewm*   *teʔ*
> go   plant.rice   PRO.SUBJ
> Go plant rice!

One way of softening the command is by attaching a polite particle to the verb as in example (198).

(198)

> *hew*   *sewm*   *hɔʔ*
> go   plant.rice   (polite.imperative)
> Go plant rice (polite)

Commands can be made stronger by using an imperative intensifier particle. The imperative intensifier particle *ʔan* is added to the verb in (199) to give it the strongest force possible.

(199)

> *hew*   *sewm*   *ʔan*
> go   plant.rice   PRT
> Go plant rice!!

Diagram showing scale of politeness/forcefulness:

Polite request	Mid (unmarked)	Forceful command
hɔʔ	*teʔ*	*ʔan*

⟵——————————————————⟶
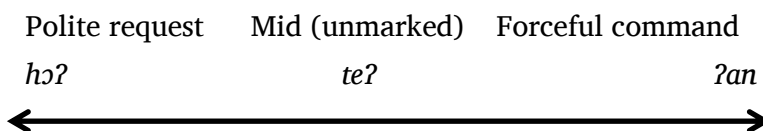
8.4.1 Negative commands

In Eastern Lawa, negative commands are formed using the negative operator *puː* which is only used for imperative sentences. *puː* always appears in the initial postion of the clause. Examples (200) and (201) demonstrate the negative imperative.

(200)

puː	*caʔ*	*jɨŋ*	*saʔtaʔ*	*sɔʔ*	*tʰɔ*
NEG.IMPER	possible	pull	tail	dog	3SG

Don't pull that dog's tail!

(201)

puː	*caʔ*	*ᵐbia*
NEG.IMPER	possible	forget

Don't forget!

See section 6.3.3 for more on negative imperatives.

8.5 Summary

This chapter discussed different sentence types including declarative, interrogative and imperative sentences. The interrogative formations, included 'Yes-No' questions, tag questions, 'or-not' questions and content questions. Then positive and negative imperatives were presented as well as the constructions for softening and strengthening commands.

Chapter 9
Complex clauses

9.1 Introduction

This chapter briefly presents complex clause constructions in Eastern Lawa. It discusses coordinate clauses in (9.2) and subordinate clauses in (9.3). The constituent structure of subordinate clauses is investigated with complement clauses, adverbial clauses and relative clauses.

9.2 Coordination

Coordination refers to syntactic constructions in which two or more units of the same type are combined into a larger unit and still have the same semantic relations with other surrounding elements. The coordinated units may be words, phrases, clauses or sentences (Haspelmath 2007:1). In Eastern Lawa coordinate clauses, the conjunction *miah* 'and' is used to join two independent clauses. The coordinate clauses can be schematized as below.

XP_{COORDINATE}: [X(P) *miah* X(P)]

If the subject of both clauses is the same, the subject is usually dropped in the latter sentence as in example (202). In example (202), *miah* conjoins two independent clauses. The subject of the verb *kaɨk* 'wash' in the first clause and *hew* 'go' in the second clause is the same.

(202)

(ʔaj)	*kaɨk*	*na*	*teʔ*	***miah***	*hew*	*nɨŋ*	*pʰɛʔ*
I	wash	face	my	**and**	go	to	forrest

(I) washed my face and went to the forest

In example (203), two sentences with different subjects are conjoined.

(203)

> *(ʔaj)* *hew* *paːsaŋ* **miah** *paj* *hew* *wiaŋ*
> I go Pa Sang **and** you go Chiang Mai
> I went to Pa Sang and you went to Chiang Mai

Example (204) shows *miah* combined with *ʔəŋ,* a subject anaphor, to form *maŋ*[28] which is also glossed here as 'and'.

(204) LC.251

> *teʔ* *mah* *juaŋ* *newm* **maŋ** *juaŋ* *tiaŋ*
> so be village Bo Luang **and** village Bo Sangae
> So (he) is (from) Bo Luang and Bo Sangae

9.3 Subordination

A subordinate clause is a clause that does not stand alone as a sentence (Kroeger 2005:219). Three basic types of subordinate clauses are discussed in this section: complement clauses, adverbial clauses and relative clauses.

9.3.1 Complementation

A complement clause is a type of clause which fills an argument slot in the structure of another clause. (Dixon 2010:370) In Eastern Lawa, there is no complementizer to introduce the complement clause. The schema for a complement clause is as follows:

$S_{COMPLEX}$: [NP$_{SUB}$ V$_{MATIRX}$ [S$_{COMPLEMENT}$]]

Examples (205) and (206) illustrate complement clause constructions.

Example (205) has a main clause *ʔaj joʔ piʔapəŋ tʰɔ* 'I saw the woman' with *piʔapəŋ tʰɔ hɔk kʰua* - being the object of the main clause verb 'to see'.

(205)

> *ʔaj* *joʔ* | *piʔapəŋ* *tʰɔ* *hɔk* *kʰua* |
> 1SG see | woman DEM hang.out clothes |
> I saw that woman hanging out washing

Example (206) has the thoughts of the frog as the object of the matrix clause.

---

[28] More investigation is required into the properties of *maŋ*.

(206) BDF.21

ləj	*kɨt*	*kuat*	*kʰriap*	*kaⁿdɒwʔ*	*miah*	*sɔʔ*	*tʰɔh*
then	think	want to	follow	child	and	dog	DEM

Then (the frog) thought "(I) want to follow the child and that dog"

9.3.2 Adverbial subordination

An adverbial clause is a type of subordinate clause that functions as an adjunct of the main clause (Kroeger 2005:219). In Eastern Lawa adverbial subordinate clauses can come before the main clause or after it.

$S_{COMPLEX}$: $[S_{SUBORDINATE} \ S_{MAIN}]/[\ S_{MAIN} \ S_{SUBORDINATE}]$

9.3.2.1 Temporal adverbial clauses

Temporal adverbial subordinators introduce dependent clauses that modify the main clause and give information about the time the main clause takes place.

The word order in temporal adverbial clauses is VS - SV. That is VS in the subordinate clause and SV in the main clause.

9.3.2.1.1 Adverbial clauses using *bat* 'when'

Example (207) is one sentence made up of a subordinate temporal adverbial clause, followed by the main clause. Note *bat* occurs clause initial, but there is room for a connective to the previous clause as in example (207).

(207) R.56 (Subordinate clause)

kam tʰɔh	***bat***	*kɔh*	*Ø*	*masaʔ*
after.that	**when**	wake	3SG	morning

R.57 (Main clause)

kaⁿdɒwʔ	*ⁿdi*	*kuncɛ*	*piʔ*	*l̥ɔwh*	*teʔ*	*kaʔɛwh*	*tʰɔ*
child	get	key	REL	had	PRO.SUBJ	yesterday	DEM

After that, when (he) awoke in the morning,
the child got the key which he had yesterday.

In example (208) the adverbial subordinator *bat* is used to introduce the adverbial clause. The adverbial clause precedes the main clause and the constituent order in the adverbial clause is VS.

(208)   (subordinate clause)

bat	kih	taʔ	saːw	pɛ	tʰɔ
when	slice	uncle	Saaw	mango	DEM

(main clause)

kʰo	lɔk	doih	teʔ	kʰo
do.accidently	cut	finger	PRO.SUBJ	do.accidently

When uncle Saaw sliced the mango, (he) accidently cut his finger.

9.3.2.1.2 Temporal adverbial clauses using *kaŋ* 'before'

Another temporal adverbial clause is a 'before' clause whose construction is different from 'when' clauses discussed above. The *kaŋ* 'before' adverbial clause is schematized as below.

$$S_{\text{'BEFORE' CLAUSE}}: [kaŋ\ S_{\text{FUT}}, S_{\text{MAIN}}]$$

The word order in *kaŋ* 'before' adverbial clauses seems to be SV. In (209), the adverbial clause comes first, introduced by *kaŋ* 'before' and followed by the main clause. Interestingly this order can be reversed as in (210) with the main clause coming first and the adverbial clause afterwards.

(209)

kaŋ	sam	hew	ɲaʔ	takɛ	ʔaprɒh	kʰua	teʔ
before	FUT	go	to	headman	change	clothes	PRO.SUBJ

Before going to the headmans, (I) changed my clothes a little

(210)

ʔaprɒh	kʰua	teʔ	**kaŋ**	sam	hew	ɲaʔ	takɛ
change	clothes	PRO.SUBJ	**before**	FUT	go	to	headman

(I) changed my clothes a little, before going to the headman

Example (211) has a similar structure with a subordinating temporal adverbial introducing a dependent clause. The main clause "he went to the market" is SVO and the subordinate clause is VSO "go up he to school".

(211)

puj tʰɔ	*hew*	*to*	*kat*	**_kaŋ_**	*huak*	*teʔ*	*hɔŋhian*
3SG	go	to	market	**before**	go.up	PRO.SUBJ	school

He went to the market before going up to school

9.3.2.1.3 Other Temporal Adverbial clauses

Example (212) has *mah* 'while' as a temporal adverbial subordinator appearing after the verb and introducing the subordinate clause 'while I made food' to encode simultaneous action.

(212)

piʔapəŋ	*tʰɔ*	*ʔaic*	**_mah_**	*juh*	*(ʔaj)*	*pipuan*
woman	that	sleep	**while**	do.make	1SG	food

She slept while I made food

9.3.2.2 Reason adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses for 'reason' use the subordinate conjunction *kʰɒw*. Example (213) provides an example of a 'reason' adverbial clause.

(213) (subordinate clause)

kʰɒw	*kuat sɒm*	*ta saːw*	*tʰɔ*
because	hungry	uncle Saw	DEM

Because uncle Saw is hungry,

(main clause)

sam	*hew*	*sewp*	*taih*	*niŋ*	*pʰɛʔ*
FUT	go	find	mushroom	in	forest

he will go to find mushrooms in the forest

9.3.2.3 Conditional adverbial clauses

Conditional adverbial clauses are also composed of a dependent conditional clause and an independent main clause. The main subordinate conjunction used in conditional clauses is *pɨn*.

In (214), the subordinate conjunction *pɨn* is used for conditional clauses and the adverbial clause has a VS construction.

(214)

pɨn	*klaic*	*pʰia*	*paʔ*	*lɨa*	*hej*	*cewp*	*keʔ*	*nɔʔ*
if	fast	come	2SG	than	this	meet	3SG	eh

If you had come faster than you did, (you) would have met him eh

In (215) the subordinate conjunction *pɨn* is used for a conditional clause and the adverbial clause has a VS construction.

(215)

(ʔaj)	*sam*	*ʔaiɲ*	*dəw*	*ɲiaʔ*	*pɨn*	*jɨt*	*l̥aj*	*tʰɔ*
1SG	FUT	return	soon	house	**if**	stop	rain	DEM

I will go home soon if the rain stops

Example (216) has the same conditional adverbial *pɨn*'if' introducing the subordinate clause.

(216) (main clause)

puj tʰɔ	*ʔah sam hew*	*ɲaʔ*	*mɛ*
she	would have gone	to	wedding

(subordinate clause)

pɨn	*jɔŋ*	*ʔəŋ*	*ɲaʔ mɛ*	*kaj*	*laʔaj*
if	know	SUBJ.PRO	wedding	was	today

She would've gone to the wedding, if she had known it was today.

9.3.2.4 Concession adverbial subordinators

Concession adverbial subordinators introduce dependent clauses to add information that gives a contrast with the main clause. In example (217) the main clause and subordinate clauses and can be reversed.

(217) (subordinate clause)

paŋ	*hua na*	*ʔəŋ*	*kɨah*	*ʔəŋ*	*juhkan*	*kaŋ sʋm*	*ʔnɔŋ*
even.though	boss	theirs	give.let	them	work	half.day	only

Even though their boss let them work half a day only,

(main clause)

puj ŋan	*ɲoj*	*ʔdaŋ*	*ɲaʔ*	*l̥ʋwh*	*teʔ*	*juhkan*	*wan saw*
workers	complain	**still**	at	having	PRO.SUBJ	work	Saturday

the workers still complained at having to work on Saturday

Example (218) is another example of concession adverbial subordination.

(218) (main clause)

puj tʰɔ	*ⁿdiː*	*ʔdaŋ*	*rot*	*tʰɔ*
he	purchase	**still**	car	DEM

(subordinate clause)

paŋ	*jɔŋ*	Ø	*ŋuah*	*rot*	*tʰɔ*	*piaŋ*	*la*	*ʔəŋ*
even.though	know	he	price	car	DEM	expensive	for	him

He still bought the car, even though he knew it was (too) expensive for him

Example (219) shows that the subordinate clause can be SV causing the main clause to become VS.

(219) (subordinate clause)

ʔuː jɔŋ kɨt haɨk	*laŋ*	*kʋw ʔəŋ*	*riʔ ʔah toʔ*	*kanaj*	*juaŋ*	*hej*
in.spite.of	fact	3SG	grow.up	inside	village	this

In spite of the fact that he grew up in this village,

(main clause)

ʔuː	*kɨah*	*teʔ*	*kɛh*	*kʰrəˈŋ*	*laʋiaʔ*
NEG	give	PRO.SUBJ	ability	speak	Lawa

it didn't give him the ability to speak Lawa

9.3.2.5 Purpose or Result adverbial subordinators

"Purpose" or "result" adverbials introduce dependent clauses to add information about the aim of the main clause. Purpose or reason clauses usually imply some intention or plan by the subject of the main clause.

Example (220) has the main clause before the subordinate clause and both are SVO word order.

(220)   (main clause)

     puj   *campen*   *juh kan*   *kʰrəŋ*   *jaŋ*

     person   must (TH)   work   every   kind

     People must do every kind of work,

     (subordinate clause)

     tɨan   *paʔ*   *sam*   *l̥awh*   *sɒm*

     in.order.to   2SG   will   get   food

     in order to have something to eat.

9.3.3 Relative clauses

A relative clause is a clause that functions as a modifier of the head noun in a noun phrase. There are three basic parts of a relative clause construction: the head noun, the modifying clause and the relativizer (Kroeger 2005:230). Relative clauses in Eastern Lawa always follow their heads; therefore, they are postnominal.

In Eastern Lawa, the relativizer *piʔ* is optionally used to introduce relative clauses. *piʔ* can be used for both animate and inanimate entities. The relativized position can only be either the subject or the object. The oblique position cannot be relativized. The schematic construction for the relative clause is as below.

     S$_{\text{RELATIVE}}$: [(*piʔ*) S]

Only VS word order is allowed inside relative clauses.

When we compare examples (221) and (222) we see that the relativizer is optional, as it appears in the noun phrase in (222) *kaⁿdɒwʔ piʔ pʰiat ʔnɔŋ* but not in the same noun phrase in (221).

(221) R.44a

kaⁿdɒwʔ	*tiʔ*	*pui*	*cɔh*	**kaⁿdɒwʔ**	**Ø**	**pʰiat**	**ʔnɔŋ**	**tʰɔ**
child	one	Clf.	invite	**child**	**REL**	**arrive**	**alone**	**that**

One of the kids invited the child who arrived alone,

R.44b

lɔŋ	*pət*	*ŋɔ*
try	switch on	light

try switching on the light.

(222) R.45

wat	*pət*	*ŋɔ*	**kaⁿdɒwʔ**	**piʔ**	**pʰiat**	**ʔnɔŋ**	*mait aphawm*
when	switch on	light	**child**	**who**	**arrive**	**alone**	happy

When (he) switched the light on, the child who arrived alone was happy

Example (223) demonstrates a relative clause modifying the head noun *kaⁿdɒwʔ* 'child' and it gives additional information about it. The head noun *kaⁿdɒwʔ* 'child' is the subject of both clauses – the relative clause and the matrix clause. There is a gap in the subject position in the relative clause. The word order within the relative clause is VS. The verb has to appear directly after the relativizer *pi* within the relative clause. Therefore, the gap for the subject is marked after the verb in (223).

(223)

kaⁿdɒwʔ	*pi*	*pian*	*ø*	*kʰai liat ʔɔk*	*tʰɔ*	*ʔiː*	*jum*	*kaʔew*
child	REL	have		dengue (TH)	that	COMPL	die	yesterday

That child, who had dengue fever, died yesterday

Sentence (224) contains a headless relative clause in which no head noun is expressed. Headless relative clauses are frequently found in Eastern Lawa.

(224) R.2

tɨaʔ	*ʔuː*	*jɔŋ*	*pi*	*juh*	*teʔ*
bored	not	know	REL	do	PRO.SUBJ

Bored (he) didn't know that which he should do.

9.4 Summary

This chapter presented complex clause constructions in Eastern Lawa. It discussed coordinate clauses in (9.2) and subordinate clauses in (9.3). The constituent structure of subordinate clauses was investigated with complement clauses, adverbial clauses and relative clauses.

Chapter 10
Summary

As stated in the introduction, the findings presented in this thesis are an overview or sketch of the grammar structure of this language. It does not present an exhaustive or in-depth analysis of many parts of this language and such an undertaking would require a different format.

Chapter 1 presented an introduction to the Eastern Lawa people, their linguistic family affiliation, historical background, demographics, ethnography, culture, and linguistic vitality. The methodology for this thesis was presented along with a list of the fieldwork, informants, corpus size and type and theoretical framework, followed by a short literature review and the limitations and scope.

Chapter 2 presented the phonology and morphology of Eastern Lawa borrowing heavily from previous work by Mitani and Lipsius. An orthography for Eastern Lawa is being tested which will help to clarify where work is needed with the phonology. The morphology was presented including examples of reduplication, compounding, elaborate expressions and productive prefixes.

Chapter 3 presented the basic clause structure of Eastern Lawa with an investigation into word order. Various methods were used to test word order but finally statistics proved that the predominant word order in natural conversation is VSO. Next the core arguments of subject and verb and the non core arguments of recipient, beneficiary, accompaniment, instrument, and source were investigated. These non core arguments are usually obliques in Eastern Lawa. Further investigation might help to explain the reasons why there is a change from VSO to SVO in certain circumstances.

Chapter 4 presented the different Eastern Lawa word classes, including nouns, interrogatives, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, demonstratives, numerals, classifiers, quantifiers, auxiliaries, and prepositions. These were listed with some examples to show typical usage and some tests for identifying verbs and adjectives.

Chapter 5 presented the internal structure of Eastern Lawa noun phrases. Different types of noun phrases such as pronouns, possessive noun phrases, coordinate noun

phrases and nominal compounds were discussed. The head noun precedes any modifiers in Eastern Lawa noun phrases. Demonstratives appear to be much more moveable than other constituents. Relative clauses come after adjectives if they are together in a noun phrase.

Chapter 6 presented verb phrases and looked firstly at single verb heads versus multiple verbs in serial verb constructions. Various types of serial verb constructions were presented, including simultaneous motion, sequential motion, motion with goal and motion with reached goal. Next, various Eastern Lawa verb phrase constituents were investigated including; negation, directionals, tense/aspect/mood and adverbs. Negation was presented with both pre-verbal and post-verbal negators. There are three different negative operators: *tew* and *ʔuː* for declarative clauses and *puː* for imperative clauses. Eastern Lawa expresses future by using *sam,* and expresses past with *ʔi.* The particles *ham* and *hɔʔ,* are used to express politness.

Chapter 7 presented various valence alternations in Eastern Lawa. It discussed how argument structures change through passive, causative, reflexive and reciprocal constructions.

Chapter 8 discussed different sentence types including declarative sentences, interrogative sentences and imperative sentences. The interrogative formations, including 'Yes-No' questions, Tag questions, 'Or-Not' questions and content questions were discussed. Positive and negative imperatives were presented and constructions for softening and strengthening commands.

Chapter 9 presented complex clause constructions in Eastern Lawa. It discussed coordinate clauses and subordinate clauses. In coordinate clauses, *miah* 'and' is used to connect two independent clauses. The constituent order in complement clauses can be both VS and SV but further data would be helpful to confirm this. In adverbial subordinate clauses the order of the two clauses is mostly VS and depending on the type of clause the adverbial subordinate clause can be flexible appearing before or after main clauses.

Relative clauses are postnominal and optionally use *pi* to introduce the relative clause. The relativized position can be either the subject or the object. The word order within a relative clause is always VS.

Negation is another area that needs further research to clarify why *tew* is used in certain situations and *ʔuː* in others.

More research would help to clarify what pragmatic or contextual factors influence the word order choices between VSO and SVO in any given situation.

Tense and aspect markers also need further research to clarify understanding and the interreaction between them. More mood or modality markers need to be found and investigated.

Any mistakes or errors in this thesis are completely the fault of the author and not of any advisors or Eastern Lawa language helpers.

It has been my privilege to work on the Eastern Lawa language and I hope that further research by myself or others will clarify these and other matters that are still to be fully understood. The next big step is with orthography development for Eastern Lawa and will no doubt shed light on the limitations of the current understanding of the phonology.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bickford, Albert J. 1998. Tools for analyzing the world's languages: morphology and syntax. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Bisetto, A. and S. Scalise, 2005. The classification of compounds. *Lingue e Linguaggio*, IV(2), 319-32.

Block, Karen. 1996. Plang: Some possessive noun phrases. In PRDI Technical Paper 20: Payap University.

Bybee, Joan L., Revere Perkins, & William Pagliuca. 1994. The Evolution of Grammar: Tense, Aspect, and Modality in the Languages of the World. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Comrie, Bernard & Sandra A. Thompson, 2007. Lexical nominalization. Language typology and syntactic description. Volume 3: Grammatical categories and the lexicon. Ed. By Timothy Shopen. 334-381. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Diffloth, G. 1980. The Wa Languages. Berkeley : Department of Linguistics, University of Califonia.

Dixon, R. M. W. 2010. Basic linguistic theory. Volume 1: Methodology. New York: Oxford University Press.

Dixon, R. M. W. 2010. Basic linguistic theory. Volume 2: Grammatical Topics. New York : Oxford University Press.

Dryer, Matthew S. 2001. Mon-Khmer word order from a crosslinguistic perspective. Journal of South East Asian Linguistics Society. 83-99.

Dryer, Matthew S. 2007. Word order. Language typology and syntactic description. Volume 1: Clause structure. Ed Timothy Shopen. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Giaphong Suchada. 2004. Plang grammar as spoken in Huay Namkhun village, Chiang Rai Province. MA thesis, Mahidol University.

Haspelmath, Martin. 2007. Coordination. Language typology and syntactic description. Volume 2: Complex constructions. Ed. By Timothy Shopen. 1-51. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Janzen, Hermann. 1976. The system of verb-aspect words in Pale. In Austroasiatic Studies. 659-667. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Jenvit Suknaphasawat. 2007. Grammar of Pang-pung Plang. Unpublished Ms.

Jiranan Komonkitiskun. 1985. Some general characteristics of Lawa Grammar. MA thesis, Mahidol University.

Konig, Ekkehard & Peter Siemund. 2007. Speech act distinctions in grammar. Language typology and syntactic description. Volume 1: Clause structure. Ed. By Timothy Shopen. 276-324. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kroeger, Paul R. 2005. Analyzing grammar: An introduction. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Kunstadter, Peter. 1966a. Living with Thailand's gentle Lua. National Geographic Magazine 130.1:122-152

Lewis, Emily. 2008. Grammatical studies of Man Noi Plang. MA thesis: Payap University.

Lewis, M. Paul (ed.). 2009. Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Sixteenth ed. Online: From http://www.ethnologue.com/. Sep 2011.

Lipsius, Freidhard. Unpublished phonology of Eastern Lawa.

Mitani, Yasujuki. 1978. Phonological Studies of Lawa: Description and Comparison. Doctoral Thesis, Cornell University.

Nahhas, Ramzi. 2006. Sociolinguistic Survey of Lawa in Thailand. Payap University.

Polinsky, Maria. In: Dryer, Matthew S. & Martin Haspelmath, (eds.) The World Atlas of Language Structures Online. Munich: Max Planck Digital Library, chapter 109. Online: http://wals.info/chapter/109. September 2013.

O'Grady, William; John Archibald, Mark Aronoff, & Janie Rees-Miller, (2001). Contemporary Linguistics: An Introduction (Fourth ed.). Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's.

Paulsen, Debbie and Karen Block. 1997. A preliminary report on independent clause structure in Plang. Chiang Mai: PRDI Technical Paper 27.

Schachter, Paul and Timothy Shopen. 2007. Part-of-speech systems. Language typology and syntactic description. Volume 1: Clause structure. ed. By Timothy Shopen. 1-6-. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Seng Mai, Ma. 2012. A Descriptive Grammar of Wa. MA thesis: Payap University.

Shopen, Timothy (ed.). 2007. Language typology and syntactic description. Volume 1: Clause structure. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Shopen, Timothy (ed.). 2007. Language typology and syntactic description. Volume 2: Complex constructions. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Shopen, Timothy (ed.). 2007. Language typology and syntactic description. Volume 3: Grammatical categories and the lexicon. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Talmy, Givon. 1995. Functionalism and Grammar. Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

APPENDIX A

LA CONVERSATION

A conversation with La after she had her baby. Participants are La, her mother, (M La), khru A. Recorded 23/09/2013 and transcribed by Greg Blok with help from khru A.

LC.1

ʔam	*keh*	*paʔ*	*ʔiah*	*kɒw paʔ*	*caŋhɔʔ*
Did	give.birth	you	able	your.body	then
Q	V	NP$_{SUBJ}$	V	NP	ADV$_{TIME}$

Did you give birth on your own (naturally) then? (a week ago)

S: A

LC.2

ʔam	*keh*	*paʔ*	*kanom*	*nɛ*
Q	give.birth	you	where	eh
Q	V	NP$_{SUBJ}$	INT	

Where did you give birth?

S: A

LC.3

keh	*cum toŋ*
give.birth	Chom Thong
V	XP

(I) gave birth (in) Chom Thong

S: La

LC.4

cum toŋ	*ʔeh*
Chom Thong	PRT.AGRE

Chom Thong eh

S: A

LC.5

ʔamaic	*ʔapəŋ*	*ʔah*
male	female	Q
NP	NP	Q

Boy or girl?

S: A

LC.6

ʔapəŋ

female

girl

S: La

LC.7

kaj	*kaⁿdɒwʔ*	*kilo*	*mah*	*kɨt*	*ʔeŋ*
have.exists	how.many	kilos	be	born	her
V	ADV.INT	NP	V	V	NP

How many kilos was she at birth?

S: A

LC.8

kaj	*laʔa*	*kilo*	*paj*	*tiʔ*	*kʰit*	*ˀnɔŋ*
have.exists	two	kilos	and	one	hundred.grams	only
V	NUM	CLF	CONJ	NUM	CLF	ADV

(she) was two kilos and one hundred grams only

S: La

LC.9

tiaʔ	*ᵐbuj*	*lah*
small	somewhat	Q
ADJ	ADV	Q

(That's) quite small eh

S: A

118

LC.10

tɛ	*sompun*	*joŋ*	*kʰɛŋrɛŋ*
but (TH)	perfect	maybe	strong (TH)
CONJ	VADJ		VADJ

But she is hopefully perfect and strong

S: A

LC.11

lɨaŋ	*ʔuː ʔeh*	*tew*	*lah*
jaundice	anything	not	Q
V		NEG	Q

 (she) wasn't jaundice or anything?

S: A

Interesting we can have *ʔuː ʔeh* between the verb and the negation.

LC.12

lɨaŋ
jaundice
V

(she was) jaundice

S: La

LC.13

lɒwh l̥ɒwh	*paʔ*	*ʔop*	*ʔah*
did.have.to	you	incubate	Q
V	NP_SUBJ	V	ADV

Did you have to incubate (her)?

S: A

Repetition of the verb *lɒwh l̥ɒwh* to make it more forceful? – you **had to had to**.

LC.14

lɒwh	*ʔop*	*tiʔ*	*sewm*	*ˀnɔŋ*
have.to	incubate	one	night	only
V	V	NUM	NP	ADV

(she) had to be incubated for one night only

S: La

lɒwh before another verb meaning 'had to'. *lɒwh* after a verb means past tense.

LC.15

ʔop	*ʔəŋ*	*tiʔ taic*	*tiʔ*	*sewm*	*ˀnɔŋ*
incubate	her	a.little	one	night	only
V	3SG	ADV	NUM	NP	ADV

She was incubated just a little, one night only

S: La

LC.16

caʔ	*nat (TH)*	*tew*	*paʔ*	*joŋ*	*mɔ*	*tʰɔ*
possible	make.appointment	not	you	maybe	doctor (TH)	
IRREALIS	V	NEG	NP	IRREALIS	NP	DEM

Didn't the doctor make an apt with you, maybe?

S: A

VOS word order - introduction of a new participant - the doctor.
caʔ is glossed as 'possible'.

LC.17

nat	*ˀmɛ*	*hew*	*truat*	*vaksin*	*jaŋ*	*hej*	*tʰɔh*
appointment	another	go	check	vaccine	like	this	eh
NP		V	V	NP			PRT.AGRE

Another appointment to go check vaccines and stuff like this eh?

S: A

LC.18

nat	*kɨah*	*ʔaj*	*hew*	*truat*	*teʔ*	*niŋ*	*hɔt*
appointment	give	me	go	check	PRO.SUBJ	at	Hot
NP	V	NP	V	V	PRO.SUBJ	PP	NP_{LOC}

An appointment was given to me to go check-up at Hot

S: La

LC.19

ʔi nɔj	*ɲaʔ*	*ʔaj*	*kɨt*	*lɒwh*	*cum toŋ*	*hɔ*
little one	of	my	born	PAST	Chom Thong	also
NP_{SUBJ}	POSS	NP_{POSSESSOR}	V	V	NP_{LOC}	ADV

My little one was born in Chom Thong also

S: A

lɒwh after a verb meaning 'had that experience' or 'was/were'.

LC.20

kɨt   lɒwh   cum tɔŋ   taŋ   laʔa   teʔ

born   PAST   Chom Thong   both   two   mine

V   V   NP_LOC   [QTY   NUM   PRO.SUBJ]_SUBJ

born in Chom Thong - both of mine

S: A

LC.21

piʔ   ʔakɨa   tʰɔ   saʔŋej   lɒwh   sia   sia

the.one   first   jaundice   PAST   little   little

[REL   ADV   ]_SUBJ   V   V   ADV_DEGREE   ADV_DEGREE

The first (born) was a little jaundice

S: A

LC.22

ʔaɨk   paʔ   kʰum   teʔ   lah

stay.at   you   spa   PRO.SUBJ   Q

V   NP_SUBJ   NP   PRO.SUBJ   Q

Have you stayed at the spa[29]?

S: A

LC.23

ʔam   kɨah   maʔ   keʔ   ʔaɨk   kaⁿdɒwʔ   saŋaj   jaŋ   hej   tʰɔh

Q   give.let   mother   3SG   stay   how.many   day   like   this   eh

Q.PRT   V   NP_SUBJ   NP_OBJ   V   Q   NP   PRT.AGRE

How many days do they let her (the baby's) mother stay like that (in the spa)?

S: A

jaŋ hej tʰɔh seems to be a common phrase or feature of sentence endings.

---

[29] Cultural Note: The spa here is talking about a circle they dig in the ground that is about half a foot deep, into which they place stones that have been heated up in a fire. Then the new mother sits in the circle and they put water on the stones to make it steamy and hot and cover the mother and the whole circle with a cloth so she is inside. Hence the translation spa.

LC.24

kʰrɔʔ	*ʔuː*	*jɔŋ*	*tiʔ*	*saŋaic*	*tʰɔh*
enough	don't	know	one	day	eh
ADV	NEG	V	NUM	NP	PRT.AGRE

Not sure if one day was enough eh

S: Mother of La

LC.25

kuat	*kʰrɔʔ*	*pəŋ*
want	enough	3SG &
V	ADV	DEM

She wanted that much.

S: Mother of La

pəŋ includes paʔ '2/3SG' and ʔəŋ the subject marker (or pronoun).

LC.26

ʔe	*mah*	*tiʔ*	*saŋaic*	*ʔnɔŋ*	*ʔah*
really	be	one	day	only	Q
EXCLM	V$_{COP}$	NUM	NP	ADV	Q

Really! Only one day?

S: A

LC.27

ʔah	*tʰɔ*
said	that
V	NP

that's (what she) said

S: M La

LC.28

ʔaj	*ʔaɨk*	*pian*	*ʔatʰit*	*teʔ*
I	stay	whole	week (TH)	PRO.SUBJ
NP$_{SUBJ}$	V	ADV	NP	PRO.SUBJ

I was there for a whole week

S: A

LC.29

k^hrɔ?	?əŋ	ti?	saŋaic
enough	she	one	day
V	NP_{SUBJ}	NUM	NP

k^hrɔ? ?əŋ ti? saŋaic

enough she one day

V NP_{SUBJ} NUM NP

She had enough (after) one day / it was enough after one day

S: M La

'She had enough (after) one day' if the *?əŋ* is pronominal and points to La or 'It was enough one day' if *?əŋ* is a dummy subject.

LC.30

?uː   k^hrɔ? kuat k^hrɔ? pəŋ hɔ? la? ?əŋ

not   enough want enough 3SG + also for 3SG

NEG.IRREALIS ADV V ADV DEM ADV PP NP

Not enough. She only wanted (that much) for her(self)

S: M La

LC.31a

pin   ?aic pa? ta k^hum te?

if   stay you in spa PRO.SUBJ

ADV_{CONDITIONAL} V NP_{SUBJ} PP NP_{LOC} POSS

If you stay in your spa,

S: A

LC.31b

?am ?ah ?mɛ ke? man | mah ?əŋ puj hɔ

Q say another 3SG what | be it person else

Q V ADV NP_{SUBJ} INT | V_{COP} NP NP ADV

What's another way to say it? (what does) someone else (call) it?

S: A

LC.33

liak k^haw saw

enter rice (NT) wash (NT)

V NP V

Enter a rice wash

S: M La

LC.34

mah   tew   pɨn   ʔah   lawɨaʔ   ʔe   ʔəŋ   hɔʔ

be   not   if   speak   Lawa   our   it   HORT

V_COP   NEG   ADV   V   NP   POSS   NP

No, if we say it in our Lawa (language) - another way

S: A

LC.35

liak   to   kʰum

enter   in   spa

V   PP   NP_LOC

enter into the spa

S: M La

LC.36

ʔo   liak   paʔ   to   kʰum

oh   enter   you   in   spa

EXCLM   V   NP   PP   NP_LOC

oh enter into the spa

S: A

LC.37

pʰuaŋ   teʔ

steam   PRO.SUBJ

VADJ   POSS

Your steamy (place)

S: M La

LC.38

ʔaɨk	*ŋɔ*	*ʔah*	*jaŋ*	*hej*	*lah*	*ʔaɨk*		*ʔa*	*pʰuaŋ*	*teʔ*
stay.at	fire	say	like	this	Q	stay.be.at		??	steam	PRO.SUBJ
V	NP	V				V		??	VADJ	PRO.SUBJ

Stay by the fire, is this how you say it – Stay at your steamy (place).

S: A

Is *ʔa* pronominal? Like an unspecified person? Or is it verbal?

LC.40

pʰuaŋ   paʔ   teʔ

steam   you   PRO.SUBJ

VADJ   NP   PRO.SUBJ

Your steamy place

S: M La

LC.41

kaj   kuan soʔ   maʔ   kam   hej   lah

have   grandchild   your   after   this   Q

V   NP_{OBJ}   POSS   ADV   DEM   Q

(You) have your grandchild from now on eh

S: A

LC.42

ca   ŋɔm   tew   la   pa   lah

possibly   lonely   NEG   for   you   Q

IRREALIS.FUT   V   NEG   PP   NP   Q

It's likely you won't be lonely eh

S: A

LC.43

kuat   ʔia   lɒwh   maʔ   piʔapəŋ   joŋ

want   have.get   or.not   you   female   maybe

V   V   Q   NP_{SUBJ}   NP_{OBJ}   IRREALIS

So are you happy to have a granddaughter or not?

Lit: Want to have or not you a girl maybe?

S: A

This is a good example of expressing uncertainty with the word *joŋ*.

LC.44

ɲum   kok   nɔ   lah   piʔ   kaj   kuan   hej   lah

tasty   eat   always   eh   that   have   child   this   eh

ADJ   V   ADV   Q   REL   V   NP   DEM   Q

It's good (tastes great) eh! That you have this grandchild eh?

S: A

LC.45

mak   luan   pa?   ?u: ?eh   lɒwh   lah

enjoy   very   you   everything   experience   eh

V   ADV   NP_{SUBJ}   NP_{OBJ}   V

You enjoy everything you have eh

S: A

LC.46

nat   la   pa?   saŋman   neh   mɔ   tʰɔh

appointment   for   you   when   eh   doctor   DEM

V   PP   NP   INT   Q   NP   DEM

The appointment for you is when? (To visit the) doctor

S: A

LC.47

sa?eh   joŋ

tomorrow   think

ADV   IRREALIS

I think its tomorrow

S: M La

LC.48

sa?eh

tomorrow

tomorrow

S: LA

LC.49

?oh   sa?eh   huak   ˀmɛ   pa   la   mɔ   tə

oh   tomorrow   go.up   again   you   to   doctor   really

EXCLM   ADV_{TIME}   V   ADV   NP_{SUBJ}   PP   NP   EXCLM

Oh really! Are you going up to the doctor again tomorrow?

S: A

In this example 'the doctor' is again at the end of the sentence but in a prepositional phrase and without the subject marker *tʰɔ*.

LC.50a

cʰit	*vaksin*	*la*	*ʔəŋ*
inject	vaccine	for	her
V	NP_SUBJ	PP	NP_OBJ

To get vaccinations for her

S: M La

LC.50b

sam	*coʔ*	*ʔəŋ*	*kam*	*n̥am*	*joŋ*	*saʔeh*
FUT	stick.in	her	also	blood	think	tomorrow
TAM	V	NP	ADV	NP	IRREALIS	ADV

and I think to check her blood also tomorrow

S: M La

LC.51

teʔ	*saŋej*	*laʔ*	*ʔəŋ*	*caŋ*	*hɔ*	*lah*
so	jaundice	to	her	before	that	eh
ADV	V	PP	NP	ADV	DEM	Q

So was she jaundice before that eh?

S: A

LC.52

tɛ	*mah*	*ʔuː*	*saŋej*	*soh*	*pi*	*tia*	*hej*	*caŋ hɔ*
but	be	NEG	jaundice	too.much	REL	small	this	before.that
ADV	V_COP	NEG	V	QTY	[		]NP	ADV_TIME

But this little one was not too jaundice before that

S: M La

LC.53

kaj	*kua la teʔ*	*paj*	*kaʔᵐbrah*
have.exist	eleven	more	half
V	NUM	CONJ	NUM

(She) was 11.5

S: La

LC.54

mah   man   tʰɔ
be   what   that
V_COP   Q   DEM
What is that?

S: A

LC.55

saŋej   ʔeŋ   ʔɔʔ
jaundice   3SG   eh
V   NP_SUBJ
It's jaundice eh

S: A

LC.56

tɛ   mah   kaʔᵐbrah   ʔəŋ   ²nɔŋ   pi   kən   tʰɔh
but   be   half   3SG   only   which   too.much (TH) that
CONJ   V_COP NUM   NP_SUBJ ADV   REL   ADV   DEM
But it was only half too much

S: La

LC.57

jəʔ jaŋ joŋ   kɨah   pi tia   haɨk   namnak   laʔa   kilo
not.sure   give   that.little.one reach   weight (TH)   two   kilo
IRREALIS   V   NP_SUBJ   V   NP   NUM   CLF
I'm not sure (if) the little ones are given (vaccine until they) reach weigh two kilos

S   La

LC.58

joʔ   kɨah   ʔəŋ   ʔop   teʔ
see   give   her   incubation   PRO.SUBJ
V   V   NP_OBJ V   PRO.SUBJ
(They) saw her (and) incubated her

S: La

128

LC.59

mɔŋ	*namnak*	*pi tia*	*tʰɔ*	*haɨk*	*laʔa*	*kilo*
wait	weight	REL little(one)	that	reach	two	kilo
V	NP_SUBJ	POSS	DEM	V	NUM	CLF

They wait till the weight of the little one reaches two kilos

S: La

LC.60

ʔoh	*mah*	*kɨt*	*rɔŋ*	*haɨk*	*tew*	*tɔʔ*
oh	be	born	first.start	reach	not	really
EXCLM	V_COP	V	ADV_TIME	V	NEG	EXCLM

Oh really! Was (she) born, to start with not reaching (2 kilos)?

S: A

LC.61

haɨk
reach
V
(she) reached (2 kilos)

S: La

LC.61

hej	*man*	*kɨt*	*man*	*ʔɔk*	*kanɔk*	*mah*	*laʔ*	*ʔəŋ*
this	what	born	what	out	outside	be	to	it
DEM		V		PP	ADV.PLACE	V_COP	PP	3SG

this was… when (she) was born - came out - (she) was to it (2 kilos)

S: La

LC.62

tiʔ	*sawm*	*leih*	*namnak*	*ʔəŋ*
one	night	reduce	weight	her
NUM	ADV_TIME	V	[NP	POSS]_SUBJ

her weight dropped one night (later)

S: La

LC.63

keh	*tamachat*	*pa*	*kɒw*	*pa*	*lah*	*keh*	*ˀnɔŋ*	*pa*	*lah*
able	naturally (TH)	you	body	your	eh	able	only	you	eh
V	ADV	NP_{SUBJ}	NP	POSS	Q	V	ADV	NP	Q

Were you able (to give birth) naturally – your body? Able to only you?

S: A

LC.64

tɛ	*mah*	*rɛŋ*	*mɔ*	*ˀəŋ*	*laˀ*	*ˀaj*
but	be	induce	doctor	DEM	to	me
CONJ	V_{COP}	V	NP	DEM	PP	NP

But the doctor induced me

S: La

LC.65

ˀoh	*ˀam*	*ˀi*	*pun*	*kamnot*	*kʰrot*	*ˀəŋ*	*ˀah*
oh	Q	already	passed	due.date (TH)	birth (TH)	2SG /	Q
EXCLM		TAM	V	[NP_{TIME}	V	POSS]_{SUBJ}	

Oh, your birth due date was already passed?

S: A

LC.66

pun	*ˀəŋ*
passed	it
V	NP_{SUBJ}

(the due.date) was passed

S: La

LC.67a

ˀi	*pun*	*ˀəŋ*	*hɔˀ*	*lah*
already	passed	it	also	eh
TAM	V	NP_{SUBJ}		Q

The due date was already past also eh,

S: A

LC.67b

tɛ	*mah*	*ʔuː*	*paʔ*	*ti*	*sokia*	*viak*	*lah*
but	be	not	you	yet	pain	stomach	eh
CONJ	V$_{COP}$	NEG	NP$_{SUBJ}$	ADV	V	NP	Q

but you weren't having labour pains yet eh

S: A

LC.68a

mah	*ʔeʔ*	*marɔŋ*	*ma*	*mah*	*ʔəŋ*
be	A	before	when	be	it
V$_{COP}$	NP$_{SUBJ}$	ADV		V$_{COP}$	

I was… before when it was (my time),

S: A

LC.68b

pi	*rɔŋ*	*mah*	*lɒwh*	*jaŋ*	*hɔ*	*lah*
the.one	first	be	PAST	like	also	eh
[REL	NUM]$_{SUBJ}$	V$_{COP}$	V			

(my) first one was also like that eh

S: A

LC.69

ʔia	*tew*	*soʔkia*	*viak*	*mɔ*	*tʰɔ*	*rɛŋ*	*lɒwh*	*ʔaj*
have.get	not	pain	stomach	doctor		induce	PAST	me
V	NEG	[V	NP]$_{OBJ}$	NP	DEM	V	V	NP$_{OBJ}$

(I) didn't have labour pains. The doctor induced me.

S: A

LC.70

kam tʰɔ	*pʰɔ di*	*ʔi nɔj*	*tʰɔ*	*sam*	*haɨk*	*maesa*	*lah*
after.that	good (TH)	little.one	that	will	arrive	April	eh
ADV		NP	DEM	FUT	V	NP$_{TIME}$	

After that (it was) good. The little one will arrive in April eh

S: A

LC.71

sam   *haɨk*   *mah*   *pi maj puj*

will   arrive   be   Songkran

FUT   V   V_{COP}   NP

(It) was going to arrive (when it) was Songkhran

S: A

LC.72a

tew   *mah*   *pi maj puj*

not   be   Songkran

NEG   V_{COP}   NP

But if it was Songkhran

S: A

Interesting reversal of *mah tew* 'is not' to *tew mah* 'but if it was'.

LC.72b

ʔuː   *sam*   *kaj*   *mɔ*   *ʔaɨk*   *la*   *pa*   *ʔah*   *jaŋ*   *hej*

not   will   have   doctor   stay.at   for   you   say   like   this

IRREALIS   FUT   V   NP   V   PP   NP

"maybe wouldn't have a doctor there for you," they said.

S: A

LC.73

ləj   *chit*   *jɨa*   *rɛŋ*   *la*   *ʔe*

then (TH)   inject (TH)   medicine (TH)   induce   to   A

ADV   V   [NP   V]NP_{OBJ}   PP   NP

then (they) injected medicine to induce me

S: A

LC.74a

rɛŋ   *laʔ*   *ʔaj*   *newm*   *ma sataj*   *mɔŋ*

induce   to   me   from   eight   o'clock

V   PP   NP   ADV   NUM   CLF

(They) induced me at eight in the morning.

S: A

LC.74b

kɨt   tiaŋ   hʋwh   ʔi nɔj   ʔɔʔ
born   lunch   just.after   little.one   eh
V   ADV_TIME   ADV   NP_SUBJ

My little one was born just after lunch eh.
(*ʔɔʔ* = good emotional content)

S: A

LC.75

newm   paj   laʔa
start   after   two
V   ADV   NUM

(I) started after two

S: La

LC.76

paj   laʔa   tʰɔh
after   two   DEM
ADV   NUM

that's after two

S: A

LC.77

newm   laʔa   mɔŋ   wan suk
start   two   o'clock   Friday
V   NUM   CLF   ADV_TIME

(I) started two o'clock on Friday

S: La

LC.78

maʔ pu   ʔeh
evening   eh
NP   Q

In the evening?

S: A

133

LC.79

maʔsaʔŋaj   *haɨk*   *mah*   *keh*   *wan saw*

middle.of.day   arrive   be   birth   Saturday

ADV$_{TIME}$ V   V$_{COP}$ NP$_{SUBJ}$ ADV$_{TIME}$

The birth (arrive was born) was the middle of the day Saturday

S: La

LC.80

kɨt   *tiaŋ*   *kəŋ*

born   lunch   half

V   ADV$_{TIME}$ QTY

born half past twelve

S: M La

LC.81

kɨt   *wan saw*   *tʰoh*

born   Saturday   eh

V   ADV

Born on Saturday eh

S: A

LC.82

tiaŋ   *kəŋ*   *maʔsaʔŋaj*   *ʔmɛ*

lunch   half (TH) middle.of.day another

ADV$_{TIME}$ QTY   ADV$_{TIME}$ ADV

half past twelve middle of the next day

S: M La

LC.83

ʔna   *faj*   *kuap*   *teʔ*

nearly whole rotation PRO.SUBJ

ADV   QTY   V   PRO.SUBJ

Nearly a whole 24 hours

S: La

LC.84

ta?	*?uː*	*mah*	*sọ?*	*tamachat*	*sam*	*keh*	*?iah*
so	NEG	be	pain	natural	will	birth	able
ADV	TAM	V$_{COP}$	[NP	ADJ]$_{SUBJ}$	FUT	V	

So, it's not natural pain (like) when you're able to give birth naturally

S: M La

Is ta a dummy subject?

LC.85

?i	*faj*	*hɔ?*	*tʰoh*
already	whole	also	eh
TAM	QTY	ADV	

A whole (24 hours) eh?

S: A

LC.86

?ia	*?daŋ*	*la?a*	*chuamɔŋ*
have.get	another	two	hours
V	ADV	NUM	NP

Had another two hours (short of 24)

S: La

LC.87

rɛŋ	*la?*	*pa?*	*lah*	*mɔ*	*lah*
induce	for	you	Q	doctor	Q
V	PP	NP	INT	NP	INT

so (they) induced you eh? The doctor eh?

S: A

This is more of a statement than a question.

LC.88

tia	*luan*	*kɨt*	*pi tia*
small	very	born	that.little.one
ADJ	ADV	V	NP$_{SUBJ}$

The little one was born very small.

S: M La

LC.89

tiaʔ	*maʔ*	*maŋ*	*joŋ*
small	mother	is	maybe
ADJ	NP_SUBJ	V_COP	IRREALIS

(because) the mother is small maybe

S: A

maŋ = mah + ʔəŋ

LC.89

ʔuː	*kuat*	*kok*	*joŋ*	*ʔuː*	*pa*	*mak*	*ʔuː ʔeh*
not	want	eat	maybe	not	you	enjoy	anything
NEG	V	V	IRREALIS	NEG	NP_SUBJ	V	NP

Maybe (you) didn't want to eat. You didn't like anything.

S: A

LC.90

tɛ	*soʔ*	*luan*	*caʔ*	*lɒwh*	*newm*	*mah*	*teʔ*	*ti*	*hej*
but	pain	very	possible	was	since	be	PRO.SUBJ	yet	this(one)
CONJ	V	ADV	IRREALIS?	V	ADV	COP	NP		DEM

She has had very bad pain (morning sickness) since being (pregnant) this one

S: M La

LC.91a

mah	*ʔəŋ*
that's right	
V_COP	

That's right.

S: A

LC.91b

pin	*caʔ*	*lɒwh*	*paʔ*	*ʔuː*	*paʔ*	*kuat*	*kok*	*ʔuːʔeh*	*lah*
if	possible	experience	you	not	you	want	eat	anything	eh
ADV_COND	IRREALIS?	V	NP_SUBJ	NEG	NP_SUBJ	V	V	NP	Q

If you have (morning sickness), you don't want to eat anything eh?

S: A

LC.93

caʔ   lɒwh   haɨk   keh   teʔ

possible   experience   reach   pregnant   PRO.SUBJ

IRREALIS   V   V   V   PRO.SUBJ

I've had morning sickness since my pregnancy (started)

S: La

LC.94

leih   cumtɔŋ   saŋej   tʰɔ   kuat hua   ʔdaŋ   teʔ

go.down   ChomThong   day   feel.sick   still   PRO.SUBJ

V   NP$_{LOC}$ NP   DEM   V   ADV   PRO.SUBJ

The day (I) went down to Chom Thong I still felt sick

S: La

LC.95

mah   sam   keh   paʔ   ʔɔʔ

be   PROG   pregnant   you   eh

V$_{COP}$ TAM   V

Yes during your pregnancy eh?

S: A

LC.96

riaŋ   ᵐbuj   lah

strong   somewhat   eh

VADJ   ADV$_{DEGREE}$ Q

Pretty strong eh?

S: A

LC.97

soʔ   luan   pʰeʔ   hej

pain   very   react (TH)   this

V   ADV$_{DEGREE}$ V   DEM

This (one) had very bad morning sickness

S: M La

137

LC.98a

ʔaj   ʔi nɔj   ɲaʔ   ʔaj   teʔ
1SG   little.one   of   1SG   PRO.SUBJ
NP_{SUBJ}   NP

I, my little one,

S: A

LC.98b

caʔ   lɒwh   praman   laʔɔj   kʰeʔ
possible   experience   approx. (TH)   three   months
IRREALIS   V   QTY   NUM   NP

had (morning sickness) for approximately three months

S: A

LC.98c

haɨk   tew   praman   laʔa   kʰe   hɒwh
arrive   not   approx. (TH)   two   month   more.than
V   NEG   QTY   NUM   NP   ADV

(It) didn't come till approximately more than two months

S: A

LC.100

ɲum   ʔan   sɒwm   teʔ   kam tʰɔ
tasty   quickly   food   PRO.SUBJ   after.that
VADJ   ADV_{MANNER}   NP   PRO.SUBJ   ADV

My food was quickly tasty after that

S: A

LC.101

paɨŋ   kʰeʔ   hej   cak   fian   sia | *paɨŋ   kʰeʔ   hej   hew ʔɔʔ*
four   months   this   from (TH)   improvement   little | four   months   this   go   also?
NUM   NP   DEM   PP   V   QTY | NUM   NP   DEM   V

This four months (I felt) a little better. Four months (it started) going.

S: La

LC.102

newm	*ti?*	*kʰe?*	*haɨk*	*paɨŋ*	*kʰe?*	*tʰɔ*
from	one	month	until	four	months	that
ADV	NUM	NP	V	NUM	NP	DEM

From month one till month four

S: La

LC.103

ka tʰɔ	*pa?*	*kuat*	*kok*	*kuat*	*sɒwm*	*tew*	*lah*
during	you	want	eat	want	eat.rice	not	eh
ADV	NP_{SUBJ}	V	V	V	V	NEG	Q

During (that time) you didn't want to eat rice or anything eh.

S: A

tew is negating more than one verb here. 'Not want to eat, not want to eat rice'.

LC.104

ɲo?	*la?awm*	*padaj*	*?ɔ?*	*?aj*
drink	water	only	eh	I
V	NP_{OBJ}	ADV		NP_{SUBJ}

I could only drink water eh

S: La

VOS word order!

LC.105

riaŋ	*ᵐbuj*	*pʰe? (TH)*	*pa?*
strong	somewhat	symptoms	your
VADJ	ADV_{DEGREE}	NP_{SUBJ}	POSS

Your symptoms were pretty strong

S: A

LC.106

kʰanat	*?aj*	*ɲo?*	*nom*	*?ɛnmam*	*tʰɔ*	*la?*	*?əŋ*
that.time (TH)	I	drink	milk	Aenmam	that	for	me
ADV	NP_{SUBJ}	V	NP_{OBJ}	NP	DEM	PP	NP_{BEN}

(During) that time I drank that Aenmam milk for me

S: La

LC.107

ʔuː   keh   ɲoʔ
not   able   drink
NEG   V   V
(I) wasn't able to drink (anything else)

S: La

LC.108

səʔaw   hɔʔ   lah
smelly   also   eh
VADJ   Q
(It's) smelly also eh?

S: A

LC.109

tɛ   nom   hej   ta   mah   kuat kʰaːw
but   milk   this   so   be   tends.to (be smelly)
CONJ   NP_SUBJ   DEM   V_COP
but milk tends to be smelly

S: A

LC.110

ti   jaŋ   ʔuː   ʔe   kuat   lɒwh   ɲoʔ   nom   laʔ   ʔəŋ
yet   like   not   we   want   PAST   drink milk   for   us
ADV   DEM   IRREALIS   NP_SUBJ   V   ASP   V   NP_OBJ   PP   NP_BEN
It's like this (because) we don't want to drink milk for ourselves

S: La

LC.111

mah   ʔeŋ   ʔeh   kiw   lɒwh   ʔəŋ   ʔeh
that's.right   eh   because   experience   our   eh
V_COP   V   NP_SUBJ
That's right eh. Because of our experience eh.

S: A

140

LC.112

kɒw paʔ *ʔuː* *paʔ* *keh* *kok* *ʔuːʔeh* *joŋ*

you not you able eat anything maybe

NP_{SUBJ} NEG NP V V NP irrealis

You weren't able to eat much at all maybe

S: A

LC.113

soʔ *luan* *pin* *caʔ* *lɒwh* *paʔ* *jaŋ* *tʰɔ* *lah*

pain very if possible experience you like that eh

V ADV_{DEGREE} ADV_{COND} irrealis V NP DEM

Morning sickness is pretty bad if that happens to you like that eh

S: A

LC.114

hew *kaʔoh* *kaʔeh* *ʔuː* *pa* *keh* *hew*

go there here not you able go

V PP PP irrealis NP V V

You aren't able to get out or go anywhere

S: M La

LC.115

cak *sisip pɛd* *tʰɔ* *lia* *sisipsi* *ʔnɔŋ* *hɔʔ*

from (TH) 48 (TH) that left.over (TH) 44 (TH) only also

ADV NUM DEM PP NUM ADV

(I) went from 48 (kilos) to 44 (kilos) only eh

S:

LC.116a

141

puj	*pin*	*ⁿkiaŋ*	*paʔ*	*suanmaːk*	*ʔəŋ*
person	if	pregnant	you	usually (TH)	
NP$_{SUBJ}$	ADV$_{COND}$	V	NP		DEM

Usually if someone is pregnant,

S: A

LC.116b

həⁱŋ	*teʔ*	*laʔ*	*rɨ*	*teʔ*	*lah*
many	people	to	big	people	eh
QTY	PRO.SUBJ	PP	VADJ	PRO.SUBJ	

many people get bigger eh

S: A

LC.118

kok	*ɲum*	*sɒwm*	*paʔ*	*jaŋ*	*ʔeʔ*
eat	tasty	eat	you	like	us
V	ADJ	V	NP		NP

You eat tasty food like us??

S: A

LC.119

kaj	*ʔi*	*kaj*	*kaʔⁿdoʔ*	*kʰe*	*kaʔⁿdoʔ*	*saʔŋaj*	*neh*	*ʔi nɔj*	*jaʔ*
have	already	have	how.many	month	how.many	day	eh	little.one	of
V	ASP	V	INT	NP	INT	NP	Q	NP$_{SUBJ}$	PP

Have, already have how many months or days eh? This little one of yours.

S: A

Right dislocation of subject or just clarification by stating the subject after the sentence is finished?

LC.120

kaj	*tiʔ*	*ʔatʰit*	*paj*	*laʔa*	*saŋaic*	*la*	*ʔaj*

have   one   week   and   two   days   for   me

V   NUM   NP   CONJ   NUM   NP   PP   NP

Had (her) for one week and two days for me

S: La

LC.121

kɨt   wansaw   lah

born   Saturday   eh

V   ADV_{TIME}   Q

(she was) born on Saturday eh

S: A

LC.122

tiʔ   ʔatit   paj   laʔa   saŋaic

one   week   and   two   day

NUM   NP   CONJ   NUM   NP

one week and two days

S: A

LC.123

bamruŋ   ʔəŋ   cʰuaŋ   hej

fatten (TH)   it   time   this

V   3SG   DEM

It'll fatten up (during) this time

S: A

LC.124

bamruŋ   paʔkᵖw   teʔ   lah | maic   juh   ʔəŋ   laʔawm   neŋ   paʔ

fatten (TH)   body   your   eh | good   do.make   it   water   breast   you

V	NP_{SUBJ}	POSS	Q	ADJ	V		3SG	NP	NP	POSS

Your body will fatten eh. Good for making your milk.

S: A

This is an interesting inversion of *kp̯w paʔ* '2SG' to *paʔkp̯w teʔ* 'your body'

LC.125

moʔ	*maic*	*joŋ*	*moʔ*	*ʔəŋ*
suck	good	maybe	suck	her
V	ADJ	irrealis	V	NP_{SUBJ}

Does she attach well? Her attachment?

S: A

LC.126

maic

good

ADJ

(she attaches) well

S: La

LC.127

pokati	*ʔəŋ*	*lah*
normal (TH)	she	eh
V_{EXISTENTIAL}	NP_{SUBJ}	Q

She is normal eh

S: A

LC.128

fian	*kaj*	*laʔ*	*tuj*
improvement	have	to	fat
V	V	PP	ADJ

Improvement to getting fat

S: A

LC.129

kaj   *ˀmɛ*   *pʰi liaŋ*   *keˀ*

have   another   helper (TH)   her

V   ADV   NP

have another helper - her (looking at grandmother)

S: A

LC.130

kaj   *sala*   *cuaj*   *nian*

have   volunteer   help   look

V   NP   V   V

(You) have a volunteer help look (after the baby)

S: A

LC.131

laˀaj   *ˀaj*   *ˀaɨk*   *teˀ*

today   I   stay.at

ADV$_{TIME}$ NP$_{SUBJ}$ V   PRO.SUBJ

Today I'll be here

S: M La

LC.132

laˀaj   *ˀnɔŋ*   *təˀ*

today   only   eh

ADV$_{TIME}$ ADV   Q

Only today eh?

S: A

LC.133

hew   loŋpoŋ   kaʔ hɔ

go   Long Pong   over.there

V   NP_{LOC}   DEM

(I'm) going to Long Pong over there

S: M La

LC.134

paih   maŋkacaj   jaʔ   ʔaj

pick   tomatoes   for   me

V   NP_{SUBJ}   PP   NP

picking tomatos for me

S: M La

LC.135

ŋua   tew   joŋ

fussy   not   maybe

V   NEG   irrealis

Not fussy maybe? (talking about the baby)

S: A

LC.136

ŋua   tew   pin   ʔuː   cɛʔ

fussy   not   if   not   wet

V   NEG   ADV_{COND}   irrealis   VADJ

(She's) not fussy if (she's) not wet.

S: La

LC.137

maʔsawm	*ʔuː*	*cɛʔ*	*ʔia*		*tew*	*jiam*	*ʔəŋ*
night.time	not	wet	have.get		not	cry	she
ADV_{TIME}	irrealis	VADJ	V		NEG	V	DEM

At night (if she) isn't wet she doesn't cry

S: M La

LC.138a

saʔeh	*sam*	*ŋua*	*ʔəŋ*
tomorrow	will	fussy	she
ADV_{TIME}	FUT	V	DEM

Tomorrow she will be fussy

S: M La

LC.138b

cʰit	*vaksin*	*saʔeh*	*sam*	*sə̣w*	*la*	*ʔəŋ*	*siaʔ*
inject	vaccine	tomorrow	will	hurt	for	her	a.little
V	NP	ADV_{TIME}	TAM	V	PP	NP	ADV_{DEGREE}

Inject vaccination tomorrow will hurt for her a little

S: M La

LC.139

sə̣w	*sia*	*ʔeh*	*vaksin*	*hej*	*coʔ*	*n̥am*	*teʔ*	*ʔmɛ*
hurt	a.little	eh	vaccine		take	blood	her	also
V	ADV_{DEGREE}	Q	NP	DEM	V	NP	PRO.SUBJ	ADV

Vaccinations do hurt a bit eh. (They'll) take her blood also

S: A

LC.140

ʔinɔj	*ɲaʔ*	*ʔaj*	*mah*	*lɒwh*	*paman*	*hej*
little.one	of	mine	be	experience	similar (TH)	this
NP$_{SUBJ}$	PP	POSS	V$_{COP}$	V		DEM

My little one had a similar experience to this

S: A

LC.141a

coʔ	*lɒwh*	*ʔəŋ*	*bat*	*kɨt*
take(blood)	experienced	she	after	born
V	V	NP$_{SUBJ}$	ADV	V

She had blood taken after being born,

S: A

ʔəŋ is the 3SG 'she' or the subject marker?

LC.141b

paman	*tiʔ*	*ʔatit*	*hɒwh*	*hej*
approx. (TH)	one	week	more.than	this
QTY	NUM	NP	ADV	DEM

approximately just after one week (old) this

S: A

LC.141c

coʔ	*lɒwh*	*tiʔ*	*cuaŋ*
take(blood)	experienced	one	time
V	V	NUM	ADV

first time taking blood

S: A

LC.144

səŋej	*lɒwh*	*pi*	*rɔŋ*	*tʰɔh*	*ʔuː*	*moʔ*	*nɛŋ*

148

jaundice	experienced	that.one	first		NEG	suck	breast
V	V	[REL	NUM]	DEM	TAM	V	NP

(My) first one had jaundice (and) didn't attach well (to the breast)

S: A

LC.145

bat	puj	t^hi	sɔŋ	$t^hɔh$	ʔi	moʔ	luan	mɛh
arrive	person	number (TH)	two (TH)		already	suck	very	eh
V	[		]NP_{SUBJ}	DEM	ASP	V	ADV

(When) the second one arrived, (she) attached very well already eh

S: A

LC.146

ʔuː	ca	tɨan	laʔawm	nɛŋ	ʔaj	ʔɔʔ
not	possible	able	water	breast	my	eh
NEG	irrealis?	V	[NP	NP	POSS]_{SUBJ}

My breast milk wasn't enough eh

S: A

LC.147

puj	rɔŋ	kuat	moʔ	^ʔmat	keh	jaŋ	hej
person	first	want	suck	when	birth	like	this
[NP	NUM]_{SUBJ}	V	V	ADV	V		DEM

(My) first child wanted to attach from birth like this

S: A

LC.148

ʔuː	ti	joŋ	ɲaʔ	kaj	neŋ	ʔeʔ	hɔ	lah
not	yet	know	place	have	breast	our	also	eh

NEG	TAM	V	PP	V	NP	POSS	ADV

But (she) didn't yet know where our breast was eh!

S: A

(I think this is humorous as they laughed)

LC.149

taʔ	*ʔuː*	*lɒwh*	*moʔ*	*man*	*ʔɔʔ*	*laʔawm*	*neŋ*
but	not	experience	attach	what		water	breast
ADV	NEG	V	V			NP	NP

But (they) don't have experience attaching it - breast milk

S: A

LC.150

laʔawm	*neŋ*	*rɔŋ*	*ʔah*	*keh*	*laʔawm*	*neŋ*	*man*	*mah*	*ʔəŋ*	*ʔɔʔ*
water	breast	first	called	birth	water	breast	what	be	it	eh
[NP	NP	ADV]	V	V	NP	NP	Q	V_COP	NP	

What is it called – the first milk - birth milk eh?

S: A

LC.151

laʔawm	*neŋ*	*hua*	*saw*	*paʔ*	*təʔ*
water	breast	head	clean (NT)	yours	eh
NP	NP			POSS	Q

your head clean milk eh

S: M La

LC.152

ʔuː	*pɔ*	*maic*	*teʔ*	*joŋ*
not	enough	good	PRO.SUBJ	maybe
irrealis		ADJ		

not sure if that's good enough (calling it a Northern Thai name)

S: A

LC.153

juaŋ	*ʔe*	*mah*	*ʔah*	*keʔ*	*man*	*mah*	*ʔəŋ*	*ʔɔʔ*
village	our	be	calls	it	what	be	it	eh
NP$_{SUBJ}$	POSS	V	V	NP$_{OBJ}$	Q	V$_{COP}$	NP$_{SUBJ}$	Q

What does our village call it? What's it called?

S: A

LC.154

laʔawm	*neŋ*	*jaŋ*	*tʰɔ*	*tʰɔ*	*ʔɔʔ*
water	breast	like	that	that	eh
NP	NP		DEM	DEM	

milk like that eh

S: A

LC.155

laʔawm	*neŋ*	*səŋej*	*joŋ*	*mah*	*ʔəŋ*	*eh*
water	breast	yellow	maybe	be	it	eh
NP	NP	ADJ	V	V	NP	Q

Is it yellow breast milk? Is that it?

S: A

LC.156

piʔ	*səŋej*	*tʰɔh*	*ʔeh*
that.which	yellow	that	eh
REL	ADJ	DEM	Q

That yellow stuff eh?

S: M La

LC.157

hej	*ʔuː*	*səŋej*	*lɒwh*	*laʔawm*	*neŋ*
this(one)	not	yellow	experience	water	breast
DEM	irrealis	VADJ	V	NP	NP

This one did she have the yellow milk or not?

S: A

LC.158

pi	*səŋaj*	*tʰɔ*	*pi*	*maic*
that.one	yellow	that	that.one	good
REL	VADJ	DEM	REL	ADJ

that yellow (milk) is good stuff

S: M La

LC.159

maic	*ʔah*	*keʔ*	*ʔəŋ*	*maic*	*puj*
good	call	they	it	good	people
ADJ	V	NP_SUBJ	NP_OBJ	ADJ	

They say that its good. Good for babies (people)

S: A

LC.160

laʔawm	*neŋ*	*ʔakɨa*	*mah*	*ʔəŋ*	*lah*
water	breast	first	be	it	eh
NP	NP	ADV	V_COP	NP	Q

It's the first milk eh?

S: A

LC.161

ʔuː   ti   kuat   ʔɔk   hɔʔ   mah   tʰɔ

not   yet   want   out   also   be   that

S: A

LC.162

ʔi   rəm   lʋwh   dut   teʔ   ʔəŋ   tɛ   mah ʔuː kuat ʔɔk

already start experience suck (TH) PRO.SUBJ she but be   not want out

its starting to happen when she sucks but is not (quite) out

S:

LC.163

hej   newm   bək   sah   laʔawm   neŋ   ʔəŋ

this   from   compare   water   breast   hers

S: M La

LC.164

mah   ˀmɛ   pi   tia   tʰɔ   ti taic   ʔi   sak

be   only   that.one   little   that   quickly   already   full

                REL   V

that little one is quickly already full

S: M La

LC.165

ʔuː   ti   rɨ   lah   ʔuː   ti   rɨ   kapɔʔ

not   yet   big   eh   not   yet   big   stomach

irrealis   V   NP

(she) isn't big yet eh – stomach isn't big yet

S: A

153

LC.166

tia	*ˀdaŋ*	*kp̪w*	*tia*	*ˀdaŋ*	*kapɔʔ*
little	still	body	little	still	stomach
VADJ	ADV	NP	VADJ	ADV	NP

body is still small – stomach is still small

S: M La

LC.167

hɔit	*hewm*	*nɔʔ*	*ˀi*	*ˀait*	*newm*	*nɔʔ*
finished	bathing	eh	already	sleep	before	eh

(you) finished bathing eh and (you) already slept before that eh

S: M La

LC.168

ˀia	*ˀah*	*ˀuːˀeh*	*ˀah*
have.get	call	anything	call

(idiom for a quiet baby)

S: M La

LC.169

hew	*liak*	*toʔ*	*kʰum*	*ˀdeiɲ*	*puj*	*laˀej*
go	enter	in	spa	long	person	today
V	V	PP	NP_LOC			

(She) went into the spa long time today

S: M La

LC.170

ˀam	*liak*	*paʔ*	*kaˀⁿdoʔ*	*chuamɔŋ*	*nɛh*	*liak*	*toʔ*	*khum*	*tʰoh*
Q	enter	you	how.many	hours	eh	enter	in	spa	that
Q	V	NP_SUBJ	INT	NP	Q	V	PP	NP	DEM

How many hours did you go in eh? Enter into that spa?

S: A

LC.171

ti	*chuamɔŋ*
one	hour
NUM	N

One hour

S: La

LC.172

oh	*pɨn*	*ʔi*	*mah*	*mok*	*kuat*	*pɔ*	*kuat*	*kʰrɔʔ*	*paʔ*	*ʔəŋ*
oh	if	already	be	just.this.amount	want	enough	want	enough	you	it
			V		V		V		NP	

oh, if (you've) already had enough want to finish it (being in the spa)

S:

LC.173

kʰrɔʔ	*paʔ*	*ʔəŋ*	*hɔ*	*lah*
enough	you	it	also	eh

It was enough for you too eh

S:

LC.174

ʔi	*hɔit*	*laʔɔj*	*cuaŋ*	*newm*	*ləʔaj*	*saʔ*	*liak*	*kʰum*	*teʔ*
already	finished	three		times	since	today	early	enter	spa	her
									PRO.SUBJ

She's already finished three times since early today – going into her spa

S: M La

LC.175

maj	*ʔuː*	*ma*	*lɒwh*	*pʰuaŋ*	*teʔ*	*to*
you (respect)	neg	2SG	or.not	spa	you	eh
NP_{SUBJ}	irrealis		V	V?	PRO.SUBJ	Q

Did you do the spa or not?

S: A

LC.176

ʔam	*kɛh*	*lɒwh*	*pʰuaŋ*	*teʔ*	*ʔah*	*man*	*taʔ*	*ʔuː*	*kaj*	*kɯin*

How	able	experience	spa	PRO.SUBJ		since	neg	have	children
Q	V	V	NP	PRO.SUBJ	Q	ADV	irrealis	V	NP_OBJ

How was I able to have a spa? Since (I) didn't have children.

S: M La

LC.177

ʔo	*ʔa*	*birt*	*taʔ*	*mə*	*nɛ*
oh	khun	Birt			eh

What about Birt?

S: A

LC.178

te	*mah*	*kuin*	*liaŋ*	*ʔaj*		*newm*	*mah*	*tia*	*ʔəŋ*	*hɔʔ*
so	be	child	adopt	my		since	be	small	he	also
ADV	V_COP	NP	V	POSS		ADV	V_COP	ADJ	NP_SUBJ	ADV

So (he) is my adopted child. Since he was small also

S: M La

LC.179

kaj	*laʔa*	*kʰej*	*mah*	*ʔəŋ*	*kua*	*sənaj*	*ˀnɔŋ*	*ʔa*	*birt*	*tʰoh*
have	two	months	yes		ten	days	only	khun	Birt	that
V	NUM	NP			NUM	NP	ADV		NPROP	DEM

Birt was only two months yes and ten days (old).

S: M La

Right dislocation of Birt

LC.180

maʔ	*liaŋ*	*ʔaj*	*ʔəŋ*	*kʊw*

mother   adopt   I   his

[NP   V]   NP   DEM   NP_{OBJ}

I (am) his adopted mother

S: M La

LC.181

ʔia   tew   jɔŋ   ʔaj   ʔɔʔ

have.get   not   know   I   eh

V   NEG   V   NP_{SUBJ}

I hadn't known that eh

S: A

LC.182

ʔam   mah   pen   ma   pɨa   ʔəŋ

Q   be   who   mother   father   his

        V   INT   NP   NP   POSS

Who are his parents?

S: A

LC.183

kaj   juaŋ   newm   hɔ   ɲa   ʔiket   tʰɔ

exist   village   Bo Pawaen   over.there   place   Iket   that

V   NP_{LOC}   ?   NPROP   DEM

(They) were from Bo Pawaen village, over there at Iket's (Birt's sister)

S: M La

Right dislocation of new participant.

LC.184

maʔ   ʔəŋ   piʔəpəŋ   ɲa   ʔaj   bə   mə   ʔika   tʰoh   mə

mother   his   wife   of   khun   Bə   is.cop   Ika   DEM   is.cop

NP_{SUBJ}	POSS	NP	PP	NP	V

His mother the wife of khun Bə was Ika

S: M La

Right dislocation of new participant.

LC.185

ʔi	mah	tʰɔ	maʔ	ʔəŋ
alread	be	that	mother	his
	V		NP	POSS

That's right (she's) his mother

S: La

LC.186

ʔi	pen	ʔɔʔ	kɯin	kʰreʔ	ʔəŋ	pi	rɨ	tʰɔh
	who	that	child	daughter	hers	person	big	that

Who is that? Her daughter – that big person (half-sister of Birt)

S: La

LC.187

kɛh	kɨah	saʔ	ʔəŋ	la	ma	nɛ	marɔŋ	ʔəŋ
able	give	??	he	to	you	eh	back.then	PRO
V	V		NP	PP	NP	Q		

How is it that he was given to you? Way back then.

S: La

LC.188

ʔuː	keh	ʔuː	kɨah	ʔəŋ
not	able	not	give	him
NEG	V	NEG	V	NP_{OBJ}

(She) wasn't able to not give him (she had to)

S: M La

LC.189

kamtʰɔ	*maʔ*	*ʔəŋ*	*mah*	*ɲaŋ*	*pi*	*ʔah*	*pa*
after.that	mother	his	be	(female?)	who	told	you(me)
ADV	NP$_{SUBJ}$	POSS	V$_{COP}$	NP	REL	V	NP

After that his mother was the one who told me

S: M La

LC.190

teʔ	*ɲia*	*kʰrɔʔ*	*keʔ*	*lah*
but/then?	marry	again.new	her	eh

Then she marry again eh

S: M La

LC.191

pia	*ʔa*	*bət*	*ma*	*tʰɔ*	*teʔ*	*hu*	*maŋ*	*poteʔ*
father	khun	Birt	mother	that	PRO.SUBJ	flirt	with	each.other

Birts father and mother flirted with each other

S: M La

LC.192

marɔŋ	*mah*	*jaŋ*	*hej*
back.then	be	like	this

Back then it happened like this

S: M La

LC.193

hu	*maŋ*	*poteʔ*	*teʔ*	*rɨ*	*viak*	*ʔika*	*thɔ*
flirt	with	each.other	then	bit	stomach	Ika	that
V	PP						

159

(They) flirted with each other. Then Ika got a big stomach.

S: M La

LC.194

kamtʰɔ   *ʔaj*   *tʰɔ*   *teʔ*   *hew*   *tʰamŋan*   *viaŋ*

after.that   man   PRO.SUBJ   go   work   Chiang Mai

ADV   NP   DEM   V   V

After that the man he went to work in Chiang Mai

S: M La

LC.195

tʰamŋan   *viaŋ*   *ʔuː*   *caʔ*   *ʔatia*   *ˀmɛ*   *kʰaŋ kʰaj*   *teʔ*

work   Chiang Mai   not   possible   return   again   after.that   he

Worked in Chiang Mai but he didn't return again after that

S: M La

LC.196

teʔ   *joʔ*   *pi*   *kʰrɔʔ*   *teʔ*   *hɔʔ*

so   see   person   new   he   eh

So he saw someone new eh

S: M La

LC.197

pewh   *pi*   *pʰraˑɲ*   *tʰɔ*   *hɔ*   *mah*   *jaŋ*   *hej*

discard   that.one   old   DEM   also   be   like   this

That old one (girlfriend) (he) discarded eh. Its like this.

S: M La

LC.198

pewh   *mah*   *ʔəŋ*   *hɔʔ*   *lah*

discard   that's right   that   eh

That's right (He) discarded (her) eh

S: La

LC.199

ʔuː   ti   tian   ɲiaʔ   rɨ   viak   ʔakɨa   mah   ɲaŋ   hej

not   yet   return   marry   big   stomach   first   be   like   this

         V   V   ADV

Not yet married and already pregnant – it's like that

S: M La

LC.200

kamtʰɔ   ʔah   ʔaj   bət   ʔuː   mah   kuin   teʔ   ʔaj   tʰɔ

after.that   say   khun   Birt   not   be   child   my   man   that

         V   PRO.SUBJ NP   DEM

After that, that man said "Birt isn't my child."

S: M La

Right dislocation of *ʔaj tʰɔ*.

LC.201

padia   kʰaj   ka   ʔəŋ   ʔɔʔ

now   behind   time   it   eh

Now that was a long time ago eh

S: M La

LC.202

ʔam   mah   lɒwh   puj   juaŋ   ʔe   ʔah

Q   be   or.not   person   village   our   Q

Was he from our village or not?

S: A

161

lɒwh – 'or not'.

LC.203

kuin	*ta*	*miⁿdat*	*tʰɔ*	*mə?*	*ⁿkɒw?*
child	Mr	Mindat	that	long.time.ago	he

He is Mindat's son

S: M La

LC.204

padia	*kaj*	*ˀdaŋ*	*ˀah*
now	exists	still	Q

Is (he) still (alive) now?

S: A

LC.205

ta	*mindat*	*tʰɔh*
Mr	Mindat	that

My Mindat? (you mean)

S: M La

LC.206

kaj	*kaj*	*lampaŋ*	*kanom*	*ka?*	*ˀəŋ*	*joŋ*	*hew*	*la*	*ˀəŋ*	*joŋ*
exists	exists	Lampang	where	place		maybe	go	to	there	maybe

Yes Yes Lampang is where. Maybe he went (somewhere else?)

S: M La

LC.207

ɲɨa?	*juaŋ*	*ka*	*haˀɲ*
marry	village	place	other
V	NP		

162

(He) married (in) another village

S: M La

LC.208

ləj   ʔaɨk   kahɔ   lah
then (TH)   stay.at there   eh

Then (he) stayed there eh

S: A

LC.209

puʔ   mu   sommi   tʰɔʔ   ʔɔʔ
younger   group   Sommi   that   eh

Sommi is his younger brother eh

S: M La

tʰɔʔ with a new participant.

LC.210

ʔoh ʔah puj   ʔəŋ ʔuː mah kɨin teʔ hɔʔ lah
oh   say   person   he   not   be   child   my   also   eh

oh, to say that "that person(child) is not my child also" eh

S: A

LC.211

sᵱw sain   luan   saməʔ   lah
heartless   very   much   eh

That's totally heartless eh

S: A

LC.212

163

ʔiah   mu   maj   ʔən   kamtʰɔ   lah
have.get   group   ours   he   after.that   eh
V
want him in our group (village) after that eh

S: A

LC.213

ʔdɔ   ʔən   la   ʔaj   maʔ kuat   ʔən
tell   it   to   me   grandmother   his
his grandmother told it (all this) to me

S: M La

Right dislocation of new subject.

LC.214

kaj   jaŋ   mu   kaʔewh   tʰɔ   kɨt   rɔŋ jia?   ʔɔ
have   like   group   yesterday   that   born   hospital   eh
They had (him) like (that day) yesterday, born in hospital

S: M La

LC.215

laʔai   tʰɔ   pʰot   ʔan   hew   ʔdɔ   ʔan   la   ʔaj   hɔʔ
today   that   arrive   quickly   go   tell   quickly   to   me   eh
then the next day arrived and (they) quickly came and told (me) eh

S: M La

LC.216

maj   ʔia   mah   ʔən   kaⁿdɒwʔ   saŋaic   mah   ʔən
you   have.get   be   him   how.many   day   be   him
You got him how many days (how many days till you got him)

S: La

164

LC.217

ʔia   newm rɛk   kɨt   ʔah na hɔ   ʔah

have.get from   first born say eh that say

I said "I would take (him) from when first born" I said that

S: M La

LC.218

kɨt   jaŋ   kaʔewh   laʔaj doklɔŋ   ʔan   ʔaj ʔia

born   like   yesterday today   decide (TH) quickly I   have.get

(He) was born like yesterday (and) today I quickly decided I'll have (him)

S: M La

LC.219

kɨah ʔaj liaŋ   laʔa kʰej   paj   kua səŋaj

give   me   look.after two   months   and   ten   days

V   NP

He was given to me to look after two months and ten days

S: M La

LC.220

cewp   caŋwaʔ   mah juh   puj   cɨk   mah tʰɔ   ʔaʔ

meet   around.time   be   make people field be   that eh

Met (received him) around when people were planting rice in their fields eh

S: M La

LC.221

ⁿdi   ʔan   nom   hew ⁿdua ʔəŋ la   ʔəŋ hɔʔ

buy   quickly   milk   go   send   him   to   me   eh

V   NP   V   V   NP

(I) bought milk and (they) came sent him to me eh

S: M La

LC.222

ʔi   ʔaik   lɒwh   maŋ   maj   kʰe   nɛ   newm   mah   tiaʔ   ʔəŋ

already   stay.at   or.not   with   you   here   eh   from   be   small   he

already stay with you here or not? from when he was small

S: A

LC.223

pen

who

Who?

S: M La

LC.224

ʔaj   bət   tʰɔ   ʔɔʔ

khun   Birt   that   eh

Birt eh

S: A

LC.225

taʔ   liaŋ   ʔaj

so   look.after   I

     V   NP

So I adopted (him)

S: M La

LC.226

taʔ   kɨah   ʔaj   ma   ʔəŋ   liaŋ

so   give.let   me   mother   look.after

    V   NP   DEM   V

So his mother let me adopt (him)

S: M La

166

LC.227

laʔa kʰej   paj kua səŋaic ˀnɔŋ
two   month and ten days   *only*

two months and ten days only

S: M La

LC.228

kɨt   hɔʔ   paj
think HORT you

You think about that

S: M La

LC.229

kamtʰɔ   kɨah ma   ʔəŋ   moʔ ʔəŋ kamtʰɔ   lah
after.that give mother him?   suck him after that eh
                              DEM?

After that his mother suckled (breast fed) him after that eh?

S: A

LC.230

mɔʔ   nom
suck   milk (TH)
suckle milk?

S: M La

LC.231

mɔʔ   tew maʔ   teʔ
suck   not mother PRO.SUBJ
His mother didn't suckle (him)

S: M La

LC.232

ⁿdi ʔaj nom   tʰɔ   lah

buy I   milk (TH) that eh

I bought that milk eh

S: M La

LC.233

meici jaŋ   hej   tʰɔ

Meiji brand this eh

This Meiji brand eh

S: M La

LC.234

rɨ   maŋ   nom   m̥ɔj hej

big   with milk boy   this

This boy grew up with milk

S: M La

Right dislocation of subject.

LC.235

rak   luan maj lɒwh lah

love (TH) very you   or.not eh

You love him a lot eh?

S: A

LC.236

kɛh ʔuː rak   ʔəŋ

able not love him

(I) couldn't but love him

S: M La

LC.237

168

ta   klaj chit   luan pa

so intimate (TH) very you

when you are so intimate

S: M La

LC.238

taʔ liaŋ   ʔaj newm mah tiaʔ   ʔəŋ

so   adopt I   from be   small him

        V   NP

So I adopted him from when he was small

S: M La

LC.239

ʔaj ʔia   tew joŋ   mah kuin liaŋ   maj ʔaʔ

I   have.get   not know be   child adopt your eh

I hadn't known (he) was your adopted child eh

S: A

LC.240

kɛh   mah jaŋ man

able   be   how

How would (you) be able (to know)

S: M La

LC.241

tɛ   joŋ   ʔəŋ hɔʔ kɒw ʔəŋ   lah

but (TH) know him eh   him   eh

          V   NP   DEM

But he knows it eh? (Birt)

S: A

LC.242

ʔa joŋ   ʔəŋ

so know he

169

He knows it

S: M La

LC.243

kɛh   ʔuː   joŋ   jaŋ man

able   not   know   how

How could (he) not know?

S: M La

LC.244

ti   ʔi   liaŋ   ʔa maŋ

so   already   adopt

So (you) adopted (him)

S: A

LC.245

ʔah   newm   mah   kət   əŋ   hɔʔ   lah

tell   since   be   born   him   that   eh

told him since he was born eh

S: A

LC.246

ʔah   na   rɛk   kɨt   ʔən | liaŋ   ʔaj   əŋ   ʔɔʔ

tell   time   first (TH)   born   him | adopt   you

You told him from (when he was) first born - that you adopted (him)

S: A

LC.247

ʔam   mah   lɒwh   mah   puj   ɲaŋ   nɛ   mu   maj

Q   be   or.not   be   relatives   group   your

                                                    (polite)

Are you related (family group) or not?

S: A

LC.248

mah   tew

be   not

No

S: M La

LC.249

ma   mah   tew   ?ara?   ?ato?   pote?

you   be   not   older   younger   together

You not siblings?

S: A

LC.250

mah   tew   ti   jaŋ   newm

be   not   at.all   like   true

Not at all truly

S: M La

LC.251

te? mah juaŋ   newm   maŋ juaŋ   tiaŋ   ?e juaŋ   kawian

so be   village Bo Luang and village Bo Sangae e! village Bo Pawaen

So (he) is (from) Bo Luang and Bo Sangae eh no Bo Pawaen

S: M La

LC.252

sam   mah   kɨt   jaŋ   hej   joŋ

will   be   think   like   this   maybe

Should think like this maybe

S: M La

LC.253

maʔ   pɨa   ʔə   ta   jia   əŋ   kʰaj   ka   ʔəŋ
mother father e grandfather grandmother his   back time.ref that
His mother and father eh (no) his grandmother and grandfather back then

S:

LC.254a

kamtʰɔ   pɨn   ɲia   kʰrɒw   maʔ   hlat
after.that if marry again mother scared
After that if (she) married again, the mother was scared

S: M La

LC.254b

pɨaʔ   kʰrɒw   ʔəŋ   ʔuː   kuat   joʔ   əŋ   mah   jaŋ   hej
father new   hers not want see him   be   like this
[   ]SUBJ   V   V   NPOBJ
her new husband wouldn't want to see him – it's like this

S: M La

LC.256

sam   pewh   ʔmɛ   əŋ   hɔʔ   lah
will discard again her also eh
(He) would also discard her again

S: M La

LC.257

sam   poʔ   puj   tʰɔ   kuat   ʔia   ʔəŋ
will request person that want have.get him
      V   NP
Another person could request "We want him"

S: M La

LC.258

172

ʔuː kɨah ʔəŋ
not give him

(She) wouldn't give him

S: M La

LC.259

ta kɨah ʔəŋ la ɲaʔ ʔaj ˀnɔŋ pa joŋ ʔaʔ
so give she to place my only you know eh
So, she gave (him) to my place only – you know eh

S: M La

LC.260

caj di luan ma
heart (TH) good (TH) very you
You (are) a very good person

S: A

LC.261

pian luan kun la ma padia nian ma la
is very beneficial to you now look.after you eh

That's very beneficial to you now – (Birt) looks after you eh

S: A

LC.262

caʔ joŋ tew jaŋ ʔaj
irrealis know not like I

I'm not so sure

S: M La

LC.263

pumiʔˀmak maŋ ʔaj bət maʔtiw ʔəŋ

173

lots.of.trouble   with   I   Birt   very.small   him

I've had lots of trouble with Birt (since) he was very small

S: M La

LC.264

ta   kɔ   jɨam

so   often   cried

I cried so often!

S: M La

APPENDIX B

BOY DOG FROG STORY

A wordless storybook told by Birt. Recorded mid 2012.

BDF.1a

kaⁿdɒwʔ	*ʔamaj*	*klɔm*		*piʔ*	*hew*	*saʔwiŋ*	*ᵐbain*	*katʰaŋ*
child	male	carry on shoulder		take		net	hold	bucket

A boy walking carrying a net on his shoulder, holding a bucket

BDF.1b

kaj	*sɔʔ*	*ʔia*	*teʔ*	*kʰriap*	*kʰan*	*kʰaih*
have	dog	of	PRO.SUBJ	follow		behind

with his dog following behind

BDF.1c

hew	*pʰɔt*	*niŋ*	*tuŋ*	*tiʔ*	*tɔhw*	*kanai*	*pʰeʔ*
go	arrive	at	pond	one	place	inside	forest

is going to a pond at a place in the forest

BDF.2

sɔʔ	*ʔia*	*ʔəŋ*	*ɲewm*	*ᵑgiap*	*tuŋ*	*caj*	*tiap*	*teʔ*
dog	of	his	sit	next to	pond	scratch	fleas	PRO.SUBJ

His dog sat down on the edge of the pond scratching its fleas

BDF.3

coŋ	*ᵑgiap*	*tuŋ*	*joʔ*	*kop*	*ɲewm*	*niŋ*	*hlaʔ*	*buạ*
stand	next to	pond	see	frog	sit	on	leaf	lillie

(The boy) stood next to the pond (and) saw a frog sitting on a lillie pad

BDF.4a

ᵐbain   piʔ   tɔ   sawiŋ   teʔ
hold   v.chain   run   net   his
holding his net he ran,

BDF.4b

sɔʔ   ʔia   ʔəŋ   tɔ   lɒwh   mia   ʔəŋ
dog   of   his   run   was   with   3SG
his dog ran with him

BDF.5

ʔah   sam   m̥ɔak   kop   piʔ   ʔaɨk   toʔ   tuŋ
say   FUT   catch   frog   REL   stay.at   in   pond
he says "I'll catch the frog that is in the pond"

BDF.6a

wat   pʰɔt   niŋ   tuŋ   sandʒ̰w   miah   kak   kʰɔ̰w   saʔɔh
when   reach   at   pond   trip   with   branch   tree   dry
when (he) reached the pond (he) tripped on a dry tree branch

BDF.6b

lak loŋ lak ledeʔ   kam   sɔʔ   kam   pui
head.over.heels   both   dog   both   person
Both the boy and the dog went head over heels

BDF.6c

səwm   kain   teʔ   raɨ̰   toʔ   tuŋ
submerse   head   PRO.SUBJ   fall   at   pond
falling head first into the pond.

BDF.7a

wat   sapʰloː   naː   teʔ   krataŋ   cewp   kain
when   emerge   face   PRO.SUBJ   bucket   wear   head
when his face emerged the bucket was on his head

176

BDF.7b

ⁿdaː   *nian*   *miah*   *kop*   *tʰɔ*

look.eye.to.eye   see   with   frog   that

(and he was) eye to eye with the frog

BDF.8a

wat naː   *m̥oak*   *kop*   *kop*   *paʔtiat*   *ʔatcua*   *ʔəŋ*

about.to   catch   frog   frog   jump   past   3SG

(he) was about to catch the frog, (but) the frog jumped past (him)

BDF.8b

hew   *pot*   *niŋ*   *kak*   *kʰə̥w*   *saʔɔh*

go   arrive   at   branch   tree   dry

(and) landed on a dry tree branch

BDF.9

kaⁿdɒwʔ   *kʰriap*   *piʔ*   *m̥oak*   *kop*

child   follow   V chain   catch   frog

the boy followed to catch the frog

BDF.10

coh   *sɔʔ*   *ʔia*   *teʔ*   *ʔɔm meh*   *hew*   *tiʔ luaŋ*

tell   dog   of   PRO.SUBJ   another.way   go   each.way

(he) told his dog to go the other way

BDF.11

sam   *hew*   *tak*   *ʔəŋ*   *tiʔ*   *pui*   *tiʔ*   *luaŋ*

FUT   go   catch   it   one   person   one   way

we will catch it, each going a different way

BDF.12

wat   *dak*   *ʔəŋ*   *ti pui*   *tiʔ luaŋ*   *pʰɔt*   *la*   *kop*   *tʰɔh*

when   sneak up   3PL   each person   each way   arrived   at   frog   DEM

When they had both sneaked up from different directions, they reached the frog

BDF.13

sɔʔ   bəp   m̥ɔək   kop
dog   leap   catch   frog
The dog leaped to catch the frog

BDF.14a

kaⁿdɒwʔ wat   saʔwiŋ ʔia te   sam wat   cewp kop tʰɔh
child   when swing   of PRO.SUBJ FUT when catch frog DEM
The child, when his net was about to catch the frog,

BDF.14b

kop   paʔtiat
frog   jump
the frog jumped

BDF.14c

hew   cewp   sɔʔ   ʔia teʔ   ʔia̰h
go   catch   dog   his   instead
(and he) caught his dog instead

BDF.15

kop   paʔtiat   liak   toʔ   tuŋ   hew   pot   niŋ   sam̰ɒw
frog   jump   enter   into   pond   go   arrive   at   rock
The frog jumped into the pond and went to a rock

BDF.16

saʔwiŋ   cewp   sɔʔ   ʔia teʔ   tʰuŋ tʰɛŋ
swing   catch   dog   his   hang.down
The net caught his dog - hanging down

BDF.17a

wat   ʔuː   ca pɨn   kop   kaⁿdɒwʔ   ʔah   la   kop   tʰɔh
when   NEG   possible able   frog   child   speak   to   frog   DEM
When he wasn't able (to catch the frog), the child spoke to the frog

178

BDF.17b

laʔa   laʔɔj   saʔŋai   saʔeh teʔ
two   three   day   another day
"two or three days or another day,

BDF.17c

sam   hew   m̥ɔək   ʔmɛ   paɲʔ   tiʔ   lɔp
FUT   come   catch   again   2SG   one   time
"(I) will come to catch you again"

BDF.18

kaⁿdɒwʔ   miah   sɔʔ   ʔaiɲ
child   and   dog   return home
The boy and the dog returned home

BDF.19a

kop   ɲewm   nian   kaⁿdɒwʔ   ʔaiɲ
frog   sit   look   child   return
The frog sat looking (at) the boy returning home

BDF.19b

taŋ   laʔaː   teʔ   miah   sɔʔ   ʔia   teʔ
all   two   PRO.SUBJ   with   dog   poss.   PRO.SUBJ
both of them with his dog

BDF.20

kop   ʔuː   kaj   piʔm̥ew   ʔaɨk   ʔnɔŋ   to   tuŋ   ŋɔm   luan laŋ
frog   NEG. have   friend   there   alone   in/at   pond   lonely   intensifier
The frog didn't have a friend he was lonely there in the pond all alone lonely

BDF.21

ləj   kɨt   kuat   kʰriap   kaⁿdɒwʔ   miah   sɔʔ   tʰɔh
then (Thai)   think   want to   follow   child   and   dog   DEM
Then (the frog) thought "(I) want to follow the child and that dog"

BDF.22

ʔjo	kʰrɔ̰m	cuaŋ	miah	laʔaː	kʰriap	taəm	ɲia	kaⁿdɒwʔ
see	prints	foot	with	two	follow	way	house	child

(the frog) saw both sets of footprints (and) followed the way to the child's house

BDF.23a

wat	pʰot	ɲia̰ʔ	ɲa	kaⁿdɒwʔ
when	arrived	house	of	child

when he arrived at the child's house

BDF.23b

ʔjoʔ	kaⁿdɒwʔ	miah	sɔʔ	kamlaŋ	hewm	teʔ	toʔ	ʔa̰ŋ
see	child	and	dog	progrsve.	bathing	Reflex.	in	bath

he saw the boy and the dog washing themselves in a bath

BDF.24

kop	ɲiah
frog	smile

the frog smiled

BDF.25

kaⁿdɒwʔ	miah	sɔʔ	bəp
child	and	dog	leap

The child and dog leapt (for joy)

BDF.26

hew	laʔ	miah	laʔaː	to	maɨh
go	to	with	two	in	bath

(the frog) went to (be) with the two in the bath

BDF.27

laʔɔj	pen	piɱew	poʔ	teʔ
three	is.are (TH)	friends	RECIP	PRO.SUBJ

All three were friends together

APPENDIX C
TIGER AND ELEPHANT STORY

Tiger and Elephant story told by Ta Saai from Ban Khun.

ET.1

kaj   saŋ   tiʔ   ʔawia tiʔ   him   juaŋ   thɔ
have.exist elephant   one   tiger one   close village DEM
Close to a village there was an elephant and a tiger.

ET.2

kʰɛŋ   poʔteʔ   kʰɛŋ   ʔamnat   teʔ
challenge   each.other   challenge   power   PRO.SUBJ
They challenged each other to see who was more powerful

ET.3

saŋ   ʔah   teʔ   riʔ
Elephant   said   PRO.SUBJ   big
The elephant said of himself "I'm big"

ET.4

ʔawia ʔah   teʔ   puj   hlat   taʔ teʔ
tiger   said PRO.SUBJ   people scared of   me
The Tiger said of himself, "People are scared of
me"

ET.5

saŋ   ʔah   puj   hlat   taʔ   teʔ
elephant   said people scared of   me
The elephant said "People are scared of me"

181

ET.6

kam tʰɔ   ʔah   ʔawia   ʔəŋ

after that   said   tiger   SUBJ.MRK

After that the Tiger said

ET.7

sahaj   sahaj   teʔ   riʔ   paʔ

friend   friend   PRO.SUBJ?   big   2SG

"My Friend, my friend you are big "

ET.8

laʔiak   ʔakɨa   na

shout   first   ok

"(you) shout first ok"

ET.9

kuak   saŋ   ʔaʔ   kuak   saŋ

roared   elephant   and   roared   elephant

The elephant roared and roared

ET.10

puj   tɔ   piʔ   hew   nian   tuk soʔ teʔ

people   ran   v.chain   go   look   all of them

People ran to see – all of them.

ET.11

ʔuː   hlat   niŋ   puj   hlat   tew   ta   saŋ

weren't   scared   at.all   people   scared   NEG   of   elephant

But weren't scared at all. The people weren't scared of the elephant.

ET.12a

kam thɔ   ʔə   hɔit   paj

after.that   finished   he

After that he finished (roaring)

ET.12b

puj   hɔit   nian   paj
people   finished   looking   him
The people stopped looking at him.

ET.13

ʔakʰu   ˀmɛ   ʔaj   laʔ   paʔ   ʔaj   ʔah   ʔawia   ʔən
roar   another   I   to   you   mine   said   tiger   SUBJ.MRK
"I'll roar another (time and compare) yours with mine" said the tiger.

ET.14

bat   ʔawia   ʔakʰu   jaŋ   hej
after   tiger   roar   like   this
After that the tiger roared like this

ET.15

puj   tɔ   keʔⁿkaʔ
people   ran   everywhere
People ran everywhere

ET.16

caʔ   joʔ   tew   puj
possible   see   NEG   person
(You) couldn't see anyone.

ET.17

ʔaw   kan   saŋ
oh   lost   elephant
Oh! The elephant lost.

ET.18

nat   laʔpoʔ teʔ   ʔa:leh   saŋaj   ʔaleh   sewm
appointment   together   seven   days   seven   nights
(They) agreed to meet in seven days and seven nights time.

ET.19

ʔaɨk   taʔ   ŋuat   tʰɔh   saŋ   tʰɔ   jɨam
be.at   at   stream DEM   elephant   DEM   weep
At a stream the elephant was weeping

ET.20

pɔ   pi   pat   ŋuat   tiaʔ   tʰɔ
enough   that flow   stream small   DEM
Enough that the small stream flowed

ET.21

krataj   tɨaŋ   kam tʰɔ
rabbit   cross   after.that
A rabbit crossed (the stream) after that

ET.22

bat   tɨaŋ   joʔ   laʔawm   ŋuat   tiaʔ
when   cross   saw   water   stream   small
When (it) crossed (it) saw a small stream of water

ET.23

kʰaj kaŋ   kəj   tew   pat   teʔ
long time   ever (TH)   not   flow   it
"For a long time it has never flowed,

ET.24

peh   laʔawm   karej
but   water   there
but (there is) water here"

ET.25

ʔaɨk tam ʔaɨk teʔ   taʔ   pat   saməʔ   laʔaj
 what has caused this?   to   flow   start   today?
"What has caused this to start flowing today?"

ET.26

ʔako   nian   nah   ʔah   kataj   ʔəŋ
follow   look   EXCLM   said   rabbit   DEM
"I'll follow this and see" said the rabbit

ET.27a

miat   ʔako   nian
after   follow   look
After following to look

ET.27b

əə   ᵐbra   ʔam   mah   saŋ   jɨam
oh   sneak   Q   be   elephant   crying
(it) exclaimed "Oh, have I snuck up on a crying elephant?"

ET.28

sahaj   sahaj   man   pi   juh   paʔ   kaʔrɔj
friend   friend   what   REL   do.make   2SG   there
"Friend, friend, what are you doing there?"

ET.29

pʰa tʰa nan   laʔ   ʔawia
fight   with   tiger
"I fought with the tiger"

ET.30

kʰeŋ   poʔ teʔ   maŋ   ʔawia   can   paʔ   ʔawia
challenge   together   with   tiger   lost   to   tiger
"I had a competition with the tiger and lost"

ET.31

ʔaleh   saŋaj   ʔaleh   sewm   sam   ʔaiɲ   kok   paj
seven   day   seven   night   will   return   eat   me
"7 days and 7 nights (he) will return and eat me"

ET.32

can te?　　　?aj　campen　kɨah　?awia　kok　te?
lost　PRO.SUBJ　1SG　have.to　give.let　tiger　eat　me
"I lost (so) I have to let the tiger eat me!"

ET.33

kando?　　saŋaj　ˀmɛ　sahaj
how.many　day　more　friend
"How many days are left friend?"

ET.34

sa?eh
tomorrow
"tomorrow"

ET.35

?əə　　ˀdewm　pu　　?ɔ?　hew　pɔ　?awpit
oh　　tonight　later　eh　go　ask　sticky.rice
"Oh! Later tonight eh, go and ask for sticky rice"

ET.36a

kɨah　puj　　to　juaŋ　　hej
have　people　in　village　this
"Have the people in this village,

ET.36b

huaŋ　?awp pit　la?　pa?　?aw　ti?　?ahuaŋ
steam　sticky.rice　for　you　me　one　pot
steam some sticky rice for you and me one pot"

ET.37

ᵐbroh　　to　　bɔ
pound　in　mortar
"Pound it in a mortar"

186

ET.38

krataj   hiaŋ   ɔʔ
rabbit   smart   eh
The rabbit is smart eh

ET.39

kam tʰɔh   ʔaic   karɔj   paj
after.that   sleep   there   2SG
"After that you sleep here"

ET.40

miat   haɨk   saŋaj   tʰɔ   ᵐbroh   ʔəŋ
when   reach   day   DEM   pound   it
"When the day comes pound it"

ET.41

ləwp   ʔawp pit   tʰɔ   niŋ   kaiɲ
cover   sticky.rice   DEM   on   head
"The sicky rice covers your head"

ET.42

nian   jaŋ man   samɔŋ   saŋ   tʰɔ
look   how   brain   elephant   DEM
"How elephant's brains look"

ET.43

pʰia   ʔawia   ˀmat   haɨk   tam   nat
come   tiger   when   reach   follow   appointment
The tiger came when the appointed time arrived

ET.44

kam mɛ   piʔ   joʔ   ʔawia   jaŋ   hej
after.that   REL   see   tiger   like   this
After that the tiger saw something like this

ET.45

jiaŋ ʔan   ʔawp pit   teʔ
pull   quickly sticky.rice PRO.SUBJ
(The rabbit) quickly pulling the sticky rice

ET.46

hej   jum   saŋ   hej
this   dead   elephant   this
"This is a dead elephant this one"

ET.47

kok   ʔaj   samɔŋ   ɲum   luan
eat   1SG   brain   tasty   very
"I'm eating its brain – its very tasty!"

ET.48

pi   peh samɔŋ saŋ   ʔɔh
REL   brain elephant   eh
"This elephant brain eh"

ET.49

ʔəj   ʔaj   nɔwh   ʔaj   tiʔ   kok
oh   I   put   I   yet   eat
"Oh! I put (it here), but I (haven't) eaten it yet."

ET.50

kok   jaʔ saŋ   jaʔ ʔaj ka
eat   of   elephant   of   my   first
"(He is) eating my elephant before me."

ET.51

mɛ   ʔawia
poor   tiger
The poor tiger

ET.52

saŋ   ʔaiɲ   haɨk   padia

elephant   return   reach   now

the elephant is still here now

APPENDIX D

HOW THE TIGER GOT ITS STRIPES STORY

Told by Ta Saai from Ban Khun. Ta Saai is 70 years old and speaks both Eastern Lawa and Northern Thai.

TS.1a

puih	*plɔŋ*	*sam*	*juh*	*muŋ*	*teʔ*	*niŋ*	*ʔawia*	*tʰɔ*
carry.on.back	grass.roofing	FUT	make	roof	PRO.SUBJ	place	tiger	DEM

The tiger was carrying grass roofing on its back to make a roof at its place

TS.2

tʰɔ	*joʔ*	*kataj*	*tʰɔ*
then	saw	a rabbit	DEM

Then (it) saw a rabbit

TS.3

man	*piʔ*	*puih*	*paʔ*
what	REL	carry	you

What are you carrying?

TS.4

puih	*plɔŋ*
carrying	grass.roofing

(I'm) carrying grass roofing

TS.5

ʔə	*hɔʔ*	*somaiɲ*	*luan*	*teʔ*	*ʔaw*
oh	also	tired	very	PRO.SUBJ	1SG

Oh I'm also very tired

TS.6

pok   paʔ   ʔuː   pian   ʔah
ride   2SG   NEG   able   Q
Couldn't I ride on you?

TS.7

pian   pian   pok   ⁿkɔ   ʔaw   kʰej
able   able   ride   back   1SG   here
(you) can (you) can, ride here on my back

TS.8

mɔŋ   doih   ʔandɛh
hear   sound   flint
hear sound of flint

TS.9

tih   ʔandɛh   ca   tɛk   tɛk   tɛk
strike   flint   possible   tek   tek   tek
strike the flint, tak tak tak

TS.10

man   pi   juh   paʔ   ⁿkɔ   ʔaw
what   that.which   doing?   you   back   1SG
What are you doing - on my back?

TS.11

kiat   piang   teʔ   huŋhiaŋ   sataʔ   teʔ
bite   teeth   my   wave   tail   my
(I'm) biting my teeth and waving my tail

TS.12

tih   ʔandɛh   miah   tok   pop
strike   flint   and   lit   pop
(It) struck the flint and it lit - pop

TS.13

hɑʔ   plɔŋ   tʰɔ

burn   roofing   DEM

The roofing ignited

TS.14

patiat   kataj

jump   rabbit

the rabbit jumped (off)

TS.15

ʔawia   tʰɔ   laj   kam tʰɔ   ha   ŋɔ   tʰɔ   ʔəŋ

the tiger   DEM   stripes   after.that   burn   fire   DEM   3SG

The Tiger was striped after that. The fire burnt it.

TS.16

pian   ʔawia   laj

is   Tigers   stripes

That is how the Tiger got its stripes

This story starts again here.

TS.17

puih   plɔŋ   ʔawia   tʰɔ

carry   grass roof   tiger   DEM

The tiger was carrying grass roofing

TS.18

puih   plɔŋ   sam   juh   muŋ   ɲaʔaic   teʔ   niŋ

carry   grass roof   FUT   do.make   roof   bed   PRO.SUBJ   place

Carrying grass roofing to make a roof over its bed

TS.19

joʔ   piʔ   kataj   tʰɔ

see   that   rabbit   DEM

A rabbit saw that

192

TS.20

ooh   man   pi?   puih   pa?   sa?haj
oh   what   REL   carry   you   friend
Oh what are you carrying friend? (Rabbit speaking)

TS.21

puih   plɔŋ
carry   roof.grass
(I'm) carrying roofing

TS.22

juh   pa?   man   nɨŋ
make   2SG   what   place
What are you going to make there?

TS.23

juh   muŋ   ɲa?aic   te?   nɨŋ
make   roof   bed   PRO.SUBJ   place
(I'm) going to make a roof at the place I sleep

TS.24

əə   so?maiɲ   luan   huak   mɔ   hej
oh   tired   very   climb   mountain   this
oh (I) am very tired - climbing this mountain

TS.25

pɔ   ?ah   ɲewm   plɔŋ   pa?   pian   ?ah
request   say   to sit   roof   2SG   can   Q
Please can (I) sit on your roofing?

TS.26

pian   pian   ɲewm   ⁿkɔ   ?aj   kʰej
can   can   sit   back   1SG   here
(you) can (you) can - sit on my back here

TS.27

ɲewm   jaŋ   hej
sat down   like   this
(the rabbit) sat down like this

TS.28

teh   ʔande - tɛk   tɛk
strike   flint   -   tak   tak
struck a flint – tak rak

TS.29

man   pi   juh   paʔ   sahaj
what   that do.make   2SG   friend
What are you doing friend?

TS.30

kiat   piaŋ   huŋ hiaŋ   sataʔ teʔ   hɔʔ
biting   teeth waving   tail   my   also
(I'm) biting my teeth and also waving my tail

TS.31

tɛk   tɛk
tak   tak
(sound of flint)

TS.32

man   piʔ   juh   paʔ
what   are   doing   you
What are you doing?

TS.33

kiat   piaŋ   teʔ   oh
biting   teeth PRO.SUBJ
(I'm) biting my teeth

TS.34

tɛk   tɛk

tak   tak

(sound of flint)

TS.35

tɔk

(sound of ignition)

(ignition)

TS.36

kam tʰɔ   haʔ   plɔŋ   tʰɔ

after that   burn   roof   DEM

After that the roofing burns

TS.37

tewh   kataj

flee   rabbit

the rabbit flees

TS.38

ʔawia   tɔ   huak   mɔ   hɔ

tiger   ran   up   mountain   that

The tiger ran up the mountain

TS.39

oh   tɔ   leih   to   ŋuat

oh   run   down   to   stream

Oh (he) should run down to the stream

TS.40

tɔ   leih   to   ŋuat   tɔ   leih   to   ŋuat   tʰɔ

run   down   to   stream   run   down   to   stream   there

run down to the stream, run down to the stream

TS.41

tɔ leih to ŋuat

ran   down   to   stream

(The tiger) ran down to the stream

TS.42

kai tʰɔ pʰle ʔəŋ

wind   DEM   blow   it (fire)

The wind blew it (the fire) (stoked the fire)

TS.43

pʰle ʔəŋ ha awia

blow   it   burn   tiger

(the wind) blew it (and) burnt the tiger.

TS.44

laj səʔ haik padia

stripe   ???   till   nowadays

it has stripes even until today

TS.45

laj newm ʔawia tʰɔ

stripe   true   tiger   DEM

The tiger was truly striped

APPENDIX E
RAINSTORM STORY

A wordless storybook told by Birt (28 years old) from Bo Luang. Aug 2012.
Recorded and transcribed by Greg Blok.

R.1a

kaⁿdɒwʔ ʔamaj cɔŋ poʔ nɨŋ pɔŋ

child male stand next to at window

A boy stands next to a window,

R.1b

saŋkɔ: nian l̥ɛ ʔɔk kanɔk pɔŋ

peer look rain out outside window

staring at the rain outside the window

R.2

tɨaʔ ʔuː jɔŋ pi juh teʔ

bored NEG know REL do himself

(he) was bored (and) didn't know what to do with himself

R.3

kue kue teih bɔn toʔ kanaj ɲiaʔ ʔia teʔ

softly.gently softly.gently kick ball in inside house POSS his

(He) carefully kicked a ball around inside his house

R.4a

teih paj teih ma bɔn ja ʔəŋ

kick go kick come ball of his

(He) kicked his ball around

R.4b

rɑ̰ɨ poŋ   mak maew liak   ᵑglɑ̰wm taŋi:
fall stairs roll   enter under   chair
(it) fell down the stairs and rolled under a chair

R.5

ləj pɔk   ᵑglɑ̰wm taŋi: sam ⁿdi bɔn ʔia teʔ
then reach under   chair ASP get ball of   his
then (he) reached under the chair to get his ball

R.6

wat   pɔk   ʔəŋ   taic ʔu: mah haɨk
when   reach 3SG   arm   not   be   enough
when he reached for it, (his) arm was not long enough

R.7

wat   sawp   pa pɨa   bɔn ʔia teʔ cawp   kuncɛ: tiʔ   tɔk
when try.find feel.around ball of   his found key   one   CLF
when (he) tried to find it (he) felt around for his ball and found a key

R.8

ɲɔik   ʔu: jɔŋ   mah kuncɛ man
confused not   know be   key   what
confused (he) didn't know what the key was for

R.9

ləj kɨt   lɔŋ hew pət   ʔu: ʔeih toʔ kanaj ɲɨaʔ ʔia teʔ
then think try go   open things at   inside house of   his
Then (he) thought "I'll go and try opening things in the house"

R.10

lɔŋ pət   hip tiaʔ   ʔu: pɨn
try open box small NEG   able
(He) tried opening a small box, but (he) wasn't able to

198

R.11

lɔŋ	*pət*	*tuː*	*ʔuː*	*pɨn*
try	open	cupboard	NEG	able

(He) tried opening a cupboard, but wasn't able to

R.12

lɔŋ	*pət*	*kɔŋ*	*kep*	*vɨak*	*ʔuː*	*pɨn*
try	open	box	store	insects	NEG	able

(he) tried opening a box that stored insects, but wasn't able to

R.13

lɔŋ	*pət*	*ʔawɨaʔ*	*ʔuː*	*pɨn*
try	open	door	NEG	able

(he) tried opening a door, but wasn't able to

R.14

hew	*cawp*	*hit*	*rɨʔ*	*pʰrain*	*tɨʔ*	*bew*
go	find	casket	big	old	one	CLF

(He) went and found a big old casket

R15

ləj	*lɔŋ*	*kɨt*	*sam*	*pət*
then	try	think	FUT	open

then (he) thought "will it open?"

R.16

wat	*pət*	*pɨn*	*ʔəŋ*
when	open	able	it

when (he) tried opening it he was able!

R.17

wat	*pət*	*hit*	*tʰɔ*	*ʔɔk*	*cawp*	*poŋ*	*kaʔnaj*
when	open	casket	DEM	out	find	ladder	inside

When the casket was opened (he) found a ladder inside

R.18

kaj   to? t̥ɒw? leih   ?əŋ
have.exist hole   down it
It had a hole going down

R.19

kaⁿdɒw? lɔŋ leih   tam   poŋ   to? kanaj hit
boy   try down follow ladder in   inside casket
The boy started down the ladder inside the casket

R.20

wat   pʰɔt   cuaŋ poŋ   cewp to? t̥ɒw kʰra?
when COMPL foot ladder find hole   path.road
When (he) arrived at the base of the ladder, (he) found a tunnel

R.21

kaⁿdɒw? lɔŋ kɨt   sam hew ?uː hew
boy   try think FUT go   not go
The boy thought "Should I go or not?"

R.22

teɲ   ?ia ?apʰawm te?   hew hew taŋ   kʰaj kʰra?
a.while decide   PRO.SUBJ go   go follow path.road
After a while (he) decided to go down the path.

R.23

hew paj hew ma   ?uː ti?   pʰot   lɔp
walk.go.walk.come   not one finish   round
After walking for ages (he) didn't even get to the end

R.24

lɔŋ kʰet   tɔ
try not.fully run
(he) tried jogging

R.25

wat tɔ newm tɔ newm cawp ʔawɨa tiʔ ban
when run only run only find door one CLF
When (he) had run and run, (he) found a door.

R.26

kandɒʔ lɔŋ pɔ̰h ʔawɨa wat pɔ̰h ʔəŋ
boy try open door when open it
The boy tried opening the door and it opened!

R.27

kanaj hɔŋ kaj poŋ ʔəŋ
inside room is.exists stairs S.F.
Inside the room was some stairs

R.28

kaⁿdɒwʔ lɔŋ huak tam poŋ toʔ kanaj hɔŋ
child try climb follow stairs in inside room
The boy tried climbing up the stairs that were inside the room

R.29

puit poŋ kaj cɔŋ huak ʔəŋ
top stair is.exists hatch climb S.F.
At the top of the stairs was a hatch to climb through

R.30

kaⁿdɒwʔ pət cɔŋ huak nɨŋ puit poŋ tʰɔh
child open hatch climb to top stairs that
The boy opened the hatch to climb to the top of the stairs

R.31

wat ʔɔk pʰaʔ to tɒw cɔŋ ɲɨaʔ ʔɔk teʔ
when out from hole stand smile out PRO.SUBJ
When (he) came out from the hole, (he) stood there smiling to himself

R.32

hew   pot   niŋ   puit   hɔ pa pʰa kʰaŋ
go   arrive   at   top   lighthouse
(He) had arrived at the top of a lighthouse!

R.33

kaⁿdɒwʔ   cɔŋ   nian   rɔp   teʔ   joʔ   kɔʔ   tiʔ   tiaʔ   tiʔ   kɔʔ
child   stand   look   around   himself   see   island   one   small   one   CLF
The boy stood looking around (and) saw a small island.

R.34

ɲaʔ   ʔuː   tiʔ   jɔŋ   piʔ   mah
place   NEG   yet   know   REL   be
A place (he) didn't know

R.35a

wat   mɛŋkɛh   ʔəŋ   kʰaj   ʔia teʔ
when   look.around   3SG   behind   of his
When he looked around behind it,

R.35b

kaj   kaⁿdɒwʔ   laʔɔj   puj   miah   sɔʔ   teʔ
is.have   child   three   Clf.   and   dog   POSS
there were three children and a dog

R.36a

kaⁿdɒwʔ   laʔɔj   puj   pa   kaⁿdɒwʔ   piʔ pʰiat   ʔnɔŋ   tʰɔ
child   three   Clf.   take   child   who.came   alone   that
The three children took the child who came alone

R.36b

ʔaiɲ   sɔm   ɲiaʔ   ʔia teʔ
return   eat   house   theirs
and retruned to eat at their house.

R.37a

wat *hɔit* *sɔm* *pa* *poteʔ* *ʔɔk* *lahaʔ* *niŋ* *ᵐbrɔk*
when finish eat take together out play in yard
When (they) finished eating, (they) went out together to play in the yard

R.37b

na *ɲɨaʔ* *ʔia* *teʔ*
front house of theirs
in front of their house

R.38

hew *len* *klaŋ* *miah* *poteʔ* *taŋ* *ʔuː* *teʔ*
go play kite and together all.of.them
(They) went and played with a kite together

R.39

wat *hɔit* *len* *klaŋ*
when finish play kite
When (they) finished playing with the kite,

R.39

pa *poteʔ* *hew* *juh* *pasat* *m̥ait*
take together go make castle sand
(they) went together to make a sand castle.

R.40

kaⁿdɒwʔ *tiʔ* *puj* *ʔiah* *pɛʔ* *saʔŋaː* *ciʔ* *saŋaic*
child one CLF wear t-shirt green point.at sun
A child wearing a green t-shirt, pointed at the sun.

R.41

laʔ *poteʔ* *ʔiː* *pu* *pa* *poteʔ* *ʔaiɲ*
to (all) together already night take together return
(He said) to all of them, "It is already night and they needed to return (home)"

R.42

kaⁿdɒwʔ taŋ paiŋ pa poteʔ ʔaiɲ niŋ hɔ pa pʰa khaŋ
child all.four take together return to lighthouse
All four of the children went together back to the lighthouse.

R.43

ʔi: lawəj wat huak niŋ kaʔduaŋ
already dusk when climb PP top
It was already dusk when (they) climbed up top

R.44

ʔi rəm fiak teʔ
already start dark PRO.SUBJ
It was already starting to get dark

R.45

kaⁿdɒwʔ tiʔ pui cɔh kaⁿdɒwʔ pʰiat ʔnɔŋ tʰɔ lɔŋ pət ŋɔ
child one CLF invite child arrive alone Dem. try switch.on light
One of the kids invited the child who arrived alone to try switching on the light

R.46

wat pət ŋɔ kaⁿdɒwʔ piʔ pʰiat ʔnɔŋ mait ʔaphawm
when switch.on light child REL arrive alone happy
When (he) switched the light on, the boy who arrived alone was happy

R.47

ʔu: kəj juh teʔ ʔəŋ tiʔ cuaŋ
NEG ever do him 3SG one time
(He) had never done this before even once

R.48

kaⁿdɒwʔ pʰi pʰiat ʔnɔŋ tʰɔ pɔ ʔaiɲ toʔ puɲew teʔ
child who came alone that request return from friend PRO.SUBJ
The child who came alone, asked for his leave from his friends

R.49

leih   niŋ   cɔŋ   ɲa   huak   teʔ   kamrɔŋ   teʔ
go.down   in   hatch   place   climb.up   it   before   he
(he) went down through the hatch at the place he had climbed up before

R.50

kaⁿdɒwʔ   leih   tam   poŋ   toʔ   kʰaj kʰraʔ   ʔumɔŋ   ʔɔk   teʔ
child   go.down   follow   stairs   to   path   tunnel   out   it
The boy went down the stairs and to the path out of the tunnel

R.51

wat   pʰɔt   cɔt   kʰua   teʔ   tɛ mait
when   finished   stop   end   PRO.SUBJ   happy
When he came to the end he was happy

R.52

huak   poŋ   ʔɔk   to   hit   piʔ   pət   tiʔ   kamrɔŋ
climb   ladder   out   at   casket   REL   open   one   first.time
(He) climbed up the ladder and out of the casket that he opened before

R.53

wat   pɔt   ɲɨaʔ   ʔia   teʔ   cewp   sɔm   ʔawp   pu
when   finish   house   of   his   meet   eat   rice   evening
When (he) arrived to his house (he) found dinner ready

R.54

maʔsawm   kaⁿdɒwʔ   saŋkɔ   nian   kʰeʔ
night.time   child   peer   look   moon
That night the boy stared at the moon

R.55

ʔat samah   ŋɔ   niŋ   hɔ pa pʰa khaŋ   pət   ˀdein   ʔaik
    light   at   lighthouse   switched.on   long.time   sleep

R.56

kam tʰɔh   *bat*   *kɔh*   *masaʔ*
after.that   when   wake   morning
After that when (he) awoke in the morning

R.57

kaⁿdɒwʔ   *ⁿdi*   *kuncɛ*   *piʔ*   *l̥ɔh*   *teʔ*   *kaʔɛwh*   *tʰɔ*
child   get   key   REL   had   PRO.SUBJ   yesterday   DEM
The child got that key that he had yesterday

R.58

ᵐbraʔ   *mɛːh*   *hew*   *pət*   *hit*   *maw*   *pʰrain*   *tʰɔ*
sneak   ??   go   open   casket   ??   old   Dem.
He snuck out and went and opened the old casket

R.59

mbraʔ   *ˀmɛ*   *tɔ*   *hew*   *laʔ*   *pum̥ew*   *piʔ*   *lahaʔ*   *tem*   *mok*   *kaʔɛwh*
sneak   again   run   go   to   friends   REL   play   full   ??   yesterday
(he) snuck again and ran to his friends that he had played with all yesterday

R.60

kaⁿdɒwʔ   *mait ʔapʰawm*   *sam*   *cewp*   *miah*   *pihmew*   *teʔ*
child   happy   FUT   meet   with   friend   his
The child was happy to meet with his friends

R.61

ʔuː   *jɔŋ*   *pihmew*   *hew*   *la*   *laŋ*
Neg.   know   friends   go   to   ASP
(He) didn't know his friends were coming

R.62a

wat   *joʔ*   *pim̥ew*   *teʔ*
when   see   friends   his
When he saw his friends,

R.62b

kaⁿdɒwʔ ti̯ʔ puj pa piɲew laʔɔj puj teʔ
child   one CLF lead friends three CLF his
The one boy led his three friends to play at his house

R.62b

len laha nɨŋ ɲɨaʔ ia teʔ
play   at house of his
to play at his house

R.64

pɔh pɔŋ kaj joʔ pa hɔ pa pha khan tʰɔ nɨŋ kɔʔ ti tia
open window have.exist see 2SG lighthouse   that at island small
At the open window he saw that lighthouse on the small island

R.65

saŋia paih ɲɨaʔ ia teʔ
close away house of his
Close but far away from his house

APPENDIX F
BO LUANG SONG

By Wandi

เจีย ละเวือะ นาง วันดี

Recorded mid 2012.

Intro:

BL1

ʔa mɛ mu maʔ ʔa pen tʰɔ
say.speak mother plural 2SG speak.say who DEM
Lit: Say mother ours, say is who?
Talk mother of ours, tell (us) who we are

Verse 1

BL2

ʔah man pi rək ʔiŋ
say.speak what REL bring PRT
Tell us of one who brings to us…

BL3

rək kuan saŋ ⁿdaŋ ʔapɔj
bring baby elephant long trunk
brings a baby elephant with a long trunk

BL4

rək kuan moj ⁿdaŋ ʔadɨk
bring baby bull long horns
brings a baby bull with long horns

BL5

rǝk   kuan   kɨt   ⁿdaŋ   sataʔ
bring   baby   phesant   long   tail
brings a baby phesant with a long tail

BL6

rǝk   kuan   kaʔ   ʔa   pʰoit   ʔambɔm
bring   baby   fish   speak tip.point   mouth
brings a baby fish (that) talks with a pointy mouth

Chorus A:

BL7

hew   niŋ   cɨk   hew   bɨk   kʰana
go   to   field go   mend.dig   paddy.walkway
Go to the rice field, go and mend the walkway between the paddies

BL8

jo   jɨa   saw   klɔm   puaŋ
see   aunt   Saw   carry.on.shoulder   stick with 2 baskets
See Aunty Saw carrying baskets on her shoulder (with a pole between)

BL9

jo   taʔ   ɲuaŋ   kaŋ   cɔŋ
see   uncle ɲuaŋ   hold   umbrella
See uncle Njuang, holding an umbrella

BL10

kaj   luk   nɔŋ   laʔa   puj
have.is child grandchild   2   clf.people
They have two grandchildren

Chorus B:

BL11

ʔɛ   kotɛt   ʔəŋ ʔɛ   kotaŋ

chicken clucking   chicken clucking

Chickens clucking

kotɛt - is the sound that chickens make

BL12

ʔɛ   pʰalaŋ   ʔan   daŋ ciam

chicken foreigner across long MaeJam

foreign chicken from across the MaeJam river

BL13

kok sak sak ʔɨŋ ʔo   ʔɛ   kəŋ

eat full full it INTERJ chicken female

eats to over full, oh, the mother chicken

BL14

kok həⁱŋ həⁱŋ ʔo   ʔɛ   ṃaiɲ

eat much much INTERJ chicken male

eats too much too much, oh, the father chicken

Verse 2:

BL15

ciak ʔɔŋ ʔeŋ   ŋa kʰɔŋ kʰeŋ   to   samow

frog type of frog   sit cross legged on stone

The ʔɔŋ ʔeŋ frog sits cross legged on a rock

BL16

ciak ʔaiɲ kʰrṇw na ʔuː jɔŋ   sokik

frog come new   NEG know scared of

the frog just arrived, it doesn't know what to be scared of

BL17

na pi ⁿda ʔatik   na ʔuː joŋ so kaiɲ
REL fight hit each other   NEG know sore head
When it fights another, it doesn't know it has a headache

BL18

pi plaiɲ   naʔ ʔuː jɔŋ kuat sɒm
REL no food / doesn't eat   NEG know want eat
The one who has no food, doesn't know (he) wants to eat (is hungry)

BL19

paih hlaʔ nɔŋ ʔaw tɔŋ hlaʔ jo pi saʔaw
pick leaf type take burn leaf teak REL smelly
Pick a nɔŋ leaf aw, burn the teak leaf that is smelly

BL20

puan nam manaw   ʔuː liak
eat lime.juice   NEG swallow
Eat lime juice (but) didn't swallow (it)

BL21

puan ciak ʔuː lɔk tɔhŋa ʔuː lɔj
eat frog NEG able curry NEG yummy
not able to eat frog, curry not tasty

BL22

poit pi kɨah la ʔɛ
pick.up v.chain give to chicken
pick it up and give it to the chickens
This line repeats another 2 times

RESUME

Name: Gregory Blok

Date of Birth: 10 August 1970

Place of Birth: New Zealand

Institutions Attended: 2003, BMin, Bible College of NZ