A DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR OF
EASTERN LAWА

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Finally, I must thank my wife for her support and love during the last few years as I have struggled to balance time on my thesis and time with my family. You are awesome!

Greg Blok
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 participants 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

วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้ศึกษาไวยากรณ์ของภาษาตะวันออก ตามแนวภาษาศาสตร์ คั่นคดี ภาษาตะวันออกเป็นภาษาคำใดที่พูดในจังหวัดเชียงใหม่ ซึ่งอยู่ทางตอนเหนือของประเทศไทย ภูมิภาคเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ ภาษาตะวันออกเป็นภาษาปัจจุบันที่มีผู้พูดมากที่สุดในสองภาษา โดยข้อมูลที่ใช้ในการวิเคราะห์มาจากประโยค เรื่องเล่า การบันทึกเสียงสนทนา และความรู้ที่ได้จากการเรียนภาษาของผู้วิจัย

ในทางแบบลักษณ์ภาษาพบว่าภาษาตะวันออกเป็นภาษาในกลุ่มส่วนหลักน้ำหน้า ส่วนขยาย หรือภาษาที่มีส่วนขยาย (คำคุณศัพท์ คำบอกจำนวน ฯลฯ) ปรากฏตามหลังคำนาม และกรดปรากฏตามหลังคำกริยา อย่างไรก็ตามค่าแสดงปฏิกิริยาในภาษาตะวันออกสามารถปรากฏได้ทั้งในตำแหน่งหน้าและหลังคำกริยา ระบบเสียงในภาษาตะวันออกประกอบไปด้วยหน่วยเสียงพยัญชนะทั้งหมด 33 หน่วยเสียง หน่วยเสียงสะท้อน 10 หน่วยเสียง ระยะเวลา 12 หน่วยเสียง และระดับเสียงสามารถแสดง 2 หน่วยเสียง ภาษาตะวันออกเป็นภาษาที่ไม่มีหน่วยค่าวิภัตติปัจจัย แต่มีหน่วยค่าแปลงอยู่บางเล็กน้อย ลำดับคำในภาษาสามารถสลับได้ระหว่าง SV และ VS แต่ลำดับคำแบบ VS จะใช้อย่างแพร่หลายกว่า ลำดับคำแบบ VOS จะเกิดขึ้นเมื่อมีผู้วิจัย
เหตุการณ์เพิ่มขึ้นในบทสนทนา หมวดคำเป็นในภาษาตะวันออกมีคำนาม คำกริยา คำคุณศัพท์ และคำกริยาเศษชน หมวดคำเป็นในภาษาตะวันออกมีคำบอกกำหนด คำบอกจำนวน คำสั่งคำนาม ส่วนคำคุณศัพท์และคำกริยาช่วยสนับสนุนในภาษาตะวันออก สามารถประกอบแบบมีคำสรรพนาม คำประสม คำคุณศัพท์ที่แปลงเป็นคำนาม คำสรรพนามที่แปลงเป็นคำนามและคำบอกกำหนดที่แปลงเป็นคำนามเป็นส่วนหลักได้ องค์ประกอบข้ออื่น ๆ ของนำมวลี มีคุณศัพท์ อนุพกษ์ขยายนาม บุพบทวศัพท์ คำแสดงความเป็นเจ้าของ คำบอกปริมาณ และวลีแสดงจำนวน ส่วนกริยาจะใช้ได้ตั้งแต่กริยาเดี่ยวไปจนถึงกริยาหลายตัวประกอบกัน
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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
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CNT.EXP</td>
<td>Counter expectational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMPL</td>
<td>Compleative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONN</td>
<td>Conjunction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COP</td>
<td>Copula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DECL</td>
<td>Declarative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEG</td>
<td>Degree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>Demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DET</td>
<td>Determiner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUR</td>
<td>Durative aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXP</td>
<td>Experiential aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FN</td>
<td>Foot note</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>Future marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPER</td>
<td>Imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INCEP</td>
<td>Inceptive aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INSTR</td>
<td>Instrument</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTERJ</td>
<td>Interjection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIT</td>
<td>Literal translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>Location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LRP</td>
<td>Language resource person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOD</td>
<td>Modal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>Noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>Negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG.IMPR</td>
<td>Negative imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NMLZR</td>
<td>Nominalizer</td>
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<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>Noun phrase</td>
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<tr>
<td>NPROP</td>
<td>Proper noun</td>
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<td>NUM</td>
<td>Number</td>
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<td>OBJ</td>
<td>Object</td>
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<tr>
<td>OBL</td>
<td>Oblique</td>
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<tr>
<td>PAST</td>
<td>Past tense</td>
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<tr>
<td>PAST.NC</td>
<td>Non-contiguous past</td>
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<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>Possessive marker</td>
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<td>POSSP</td>
<td>Possessive pronoun</td>
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xiv
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>PP</td>
<td>Prepositional phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREP</td>
<td>Preposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRO</td>
<td>Pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRT</td>
<td>Particle</td>
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<tr>
<td>PRT.NEG</td>
<td>Negative particle</td>
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<tr>
<td>QP</td>
<td>Question particle</td>
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<td>QUANT</td>
<td>Quantifier</td>
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<tr>
<td>QW</td>
<td>Question word</td>
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<tr>
<td>RECPL</td>
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<tr>
<td>RECPT</td>
<td>Recipient</td>
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<tr>
<td>PRO.SUBJ</td>
<td>Reflexive</td>
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<td>REL</td>
<td>Relativizer</td>
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<td>REL.CL</td>
<td>Relative clause</td>
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<tr>
<td>S</td>
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<td>SUBJ</td>
<td>Subject</td>
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<td>SVC</td>
<td>Serial verb construction</td>
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<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Vowel (only in Chapter 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vd</td>
<td>Voiced (only in Chapter 2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Voiceless (only in Chapter 2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>VP</td>
<td>Verb phrase</td>
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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.

Austro-Asiatic
   Mon-Khmer
      Southern Division
      Northern Division
         Khmuic
            Palaungic
               Western
                  Danau
               Eastern
                  Waic
                     Wa
                     Plang
                     Lawa
                     Western Lawa
                     Eastern Lawa

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 [ləvɨəʔ] 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 (Amphoeer), 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 [phê], 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 [juŋ newm] 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 - [juŋ newm]
- Ban Bo Sangae - ยวง เตียง - [juŋ tiaŋ]
- Ban Bo Pawaen - ยวง กะเวียน - [juŋ kawian]

Ban Bo Sangae [juŋ 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Bo Luang</th>
<th>Bo Sangae</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Person singular (I/me)</td>
<td>[ʔaj]</td>
<td>[ʔawʔ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snake</td>
<td>[saʔŋ]</td>
<td>[saʔeŋ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moon</td>
<td>[kʰɛjʔ]</td>
<td>[kʰeʔ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eight</td>
<td>[saʔtɛʔ]</td>
<td>[saʔteʔ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pine</td>
<td>[ⁿgeʔ]</td>
<td>[ⁿgeʔ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Origin / dialect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bo Luang</td>
<td>BL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bo Pawaen</td>
<td>BL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bo Sangae</td>
<td>BS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kong Loy</td>
<td>BS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na Fon</td>
<td>BL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ban Khun</td>
<td>BS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tong Luang</td>
<td>BL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bo Sali</td>
<td>BL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wang Kong</td>
<td>BL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MaeSanam</td>
<td>BL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiu Lom</td>
<td>BL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mae Tian</td>
<td>BL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samlang</td>
<td>BL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanam</td>
<td>BL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 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 military 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.

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 among 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.


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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Point of articulation</th>
<th>Manner of articulation</th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labiodental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stops</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oral</td>
<td>vl. unaspirated</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vl. aspirated</td>
<td>pʰ</td>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td>cʰ</td>
<td>kʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vd. prenasalized</td>
<td>m'b</td>
<td>d'</td>
<td>²</td>
<td>⁹g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vd. preglottalized</td>
<td>ʔb</td>
<td>ʔd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n̄</td>
<td>n̄</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>n̄</td>
<td>n̄</td>
<td>n̄</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>preglottalized</td>
<td>ʔm̄</td>
<td>ʔn̄</td>
<td>ʔn̄</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>Slit</td>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>f</td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Groove</td>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approx.</td>
<td>Median</td>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>l̄</td>
<td>l̄</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>preglottalized</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

² Mitani includes ９ (prenasalized palatal voiced stop) in his list of consonants but only gives one example of it, which is the word [ʔaⁿɡp] – ‘wooden bowl’. The word I found for a wooden bowl is [ʔeCaⁿp] 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Consonant</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p - pʰ</td>
<td>puan</td>
<td>‘eat’</td>
<td>pʰuan</td>
<td>‘five’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p - b</td>
<td>piaʔ</td>
<td>‘father’</td>
<td>biaʔ</td>
<td>‘to break’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b - m b</td>
<td>bɛiŋ</td>
<td>‘to beat’</td>
<td>bɛiŋ</td>
<td>‘mud’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m b - m</td>
<td>bɛiŋ</td>
<td>‘mud’</td>
<td>meiŋ</td>
<td>‘to count’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m - n</td>
<td>maic</td>
<td>‘good’</td>
<td>naic</td>
<td>‘sand’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m - n m</td>
<td>mow?</td>
<td>‘approximately’</td>
<td>mow?</td>
<td>‘rope’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m - n m</td>
<td>mow</td>
<td>‘lungs’</td>
<td>mow</td>
<td>‘rope’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b - n m</td>
<td>baw</td>
<td>‘classifier for things’</td>
<td>maw</td>
<td>‘axe’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n - n</td>
<td>newm</td>
<td>‘true’</td>
<td>newm</td>
<td>‘snore’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n - n</td>
<td>newm</td>
<td>‘to urinate’</td>
<td>newm</td>
<td>‘to sit’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n - n</td>
<td>nəŋ</td>
<td>‘seed’</td>
<td>nəŋ</td>
<td>‘knee’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n - n</td>
<td>nəŋ</td>
<td>‘seed’</td>
<td>nəŋ</td>
<td>‘dead/fallen tree’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n - n</td>
<td>nəŋ</td>
<td>‘man made pond’</td>
<td>nəŋ</td>
<td>‘dead/fallen tree’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n - n</td>
<td>əap</td>
<td>‘to yawn’</td>
<td>əap</td>
<td>‘early morning’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n - j</td>
<td>nuʔ</td>
<td>‘to push’</td>
<td>nuʔ</td>
<td>‘to cry out in pain’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n - j</td>
<td>jum</td>
<td>‘tasty’</td>
<td>jum</td>
<td>‘to die’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j - j</td>
<td>jəʔ</td>
<td>‘to see’</td>
<td>jəʔ</td>
<td>‘to pour’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʰg - n</td>
<td>ʰgə</td>
<td>‘to fell a tree’</td>
<td>ʰgə</td>
<td>‘fire’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʰg - ʰg</td>
<td>ʰgianŋ</td>
<td>‘pregnant’</td>
<td>ʰgianŋ</td>
<td>‘short’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʰg - d</td>
<td>ʰgə</td>
<td>‘upper back’</td>
<td>ʰdə</td>
<td>‘rain spouting’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʰd - t</td>
<td>ʰdaik</td>
<td>‘rattan’</td>
<td>taik</td>
<td>‘to hang’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t - n</td>
<td>ʰtain</td>
<td>‘wall’</td>
<td>ʰtain</td>
<td>‘to return’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t - tʰ</td>
<td>tum</td>
<td>‘a tumor’</td>
<td>tʰum</td>
<td>‘to cover with earth’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t - c</td>
<td>tak</td>
<td>‘tongue’</td>
<td>cak</td>
<td>‘blind’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c - cʰ</td>
<td>cuanŋ</td>
<td>‘foot’</td>
<td>cʰuanŋ</td>
<td>‘light (weight)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʰd - ʰn</td>
<td>ʰde</td>
<td>‘forehead’</td>
<td>ʰde</td>
<td>‘biting fly’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʰn - ʰn</td>
<td>ʰdaiʔ</td>
<td>‘near’</td>
<td>ʰnaiʔ</td>
<td>‘hat’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʰɛ - ʰde</td>
<td>ʰɛɛ</td>
<td>‘sweet’</td>
<td>ʰde</td>
<td>‘forehead’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f - w</td>
<td>fiaŋ</td>
<td>‘dark’</td>
<td>wiak</td>
<td>‘stomach’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l - ʰ</td>
<td>leit</td>
<td>‘pig’</td>
<td>ʰleit</td>
<td>‘iron’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r - ʰ</td>
<td>rei</td>
<td>‘thin (material)’</td>
<td>ʰrei</td>
<td>‘iron’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l - r</td>
<td>lak</td>
<td>‘fence post’</td>
<td>rak</td>
<td>‘love’ (Thai loan)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k - kʰ</td>
<td>kua</td>
<td>‘ten’</td>
<td>kʰua</td>
<td>‘cook’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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, ṭb, m, t, tʰ, ṭd, d, c, cʰ, k, kʰ, ṭg, ṭ, m, m, ṭn, ṭn, ṭŋ, ṭŋ, ṭŋ, ṭŋ, w, j, j, r, l, l, 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>piŋ</td>
<td>‘tooth’</td>
<td>muan</td>
<td>‘enjoyable/fun’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tia</td>
<td>‘flower’</td>
<td>nian</td>
<td>‘look’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiat</td>
<td>‘bite’</td>
<td>piaʔ</td>
<td>‘house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?iak</td>
<td>‘older brother’</td>
<td>ηɡ</td>
<td>‘fire’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wiak</td>
<td>‘stomach’</td>
<td>sɔʔ</td>
<td>‘dog’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jum</td>
<td>‘die’</td>
<td>liak</td>
<td>‘enter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riŋ</td>
<td>‘strong’</td>
<td>fiaʔ</td>
<td>‘monkey’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hian</td>
<td>‘clever’</td>
<td>kʰua</td>
<td>‘clothes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰuan</td>
<td>‘five’</td>
<td>tʰaik</td>
<td>‘to spit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuŋ</td>
<td>‘foot’</td>
<td>cʰuak</td>
<td>‘heavy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭjoʔ</td>
<td>‘to pour’</td>
<td>m⁵bia</td>
<td>‘forget’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭdiam</td>
<td>‘low’</td>
<td>ṭ⁵gej</td>
<td>‘pine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭbak-⁴buen</td>
<td>‘between/centre’</td>
<td>ᶜdaŋ</td>
<td>‘long’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭaʔ</td>
<td>‘leaf’</td>
<td>ᶡmiah</td>
<td>‘with’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭɔŋ</td>
<td>‘hear’</td>
<td>ṭam</td>
<td>‘blood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭɔŋ</td>
<td>‘dead/fallen tree’</td>
<td>ṭga</td>
<td>‘twenty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭew</td>
<td>‘to smell something’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Velar + alv. approx.</th>
<th>Velar + approx.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vl. stop + vd. lateral</td>
<td>pl</td>
<td>kl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vl. stop + vd. flap</td>
<td>pr</td>
<td>kr</td>
<td>kw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vl. asp. stop + vd. flap</td>
<td>pʰl</td>
<td>kʰl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vl. asp. stop + vd. flap</td>
<td>pʰr</td>
<td>kʰr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vd. prenasal stop + vd. lateral</td>
<td>mʰbl</td>
<td>mʰgl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vd. prenasal stop + vd. flap</td>
<td>mʰbr</td>
<td>mʰgr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7 Examples of words with initial consonant clusters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>plawm</td>
<td>‘a leech’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pr</td>
<td>pruk prak</td>
<td>‘lightning’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰl</td>
<td>pliaʔ</td>
<td>‘coconut’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰr</td>
<td>pʰraj</td>
<td>‘roof’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mʰbl</td>
<td>mʰbləŋ</td>
<td>‘horse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mʰbr</td>
<td>mʰbrak</td>
<td>‘bat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kl</td>
<td>kləm</td>
<td>‘carry on shoulder’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kr</td>
<td>kra</td>
<td>‘to drive out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰl</td>
<td>kʰləŋ</td>
<td>‘river’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰr</td>
<td>kʰrəŋ</td>
<td>‘to hate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʰgl</td>
<td>ʰglawm</td>
<td>‘under’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʰgr</td>
<td>ʰgram</td>
<td>‘trash’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kw</td>
<td>kwaj</td>
<td>‘kite / eagle’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.3 Final Consonants
Only twelve consonants can occur in the word final position. These are /p, t, c, k, ?, h, m, n, j, ɲ, ŋ, w, j/. 
Table 8 shows examples of words with these final consonants (C3).

### Table 8 Final consonants (C3)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Final</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>ṭap</td>
<td>‘yawn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>kiat</td>
<td>‘bite’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>?aic</td>
<td>‘sleep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>wiak</td>
<td>‘stomach’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔ?</td>
<td>joʔ?</td>
<td>‘see’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>kih</td>
<td>‘salt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>jum</td>
<td>‘die’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>nian</td>
<td>‘look’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>ṭaij</td>
<td>‘return’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>piŋ</td>
<td>‘tooth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>ṭow</td>
<td>‘lungs’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>ṭgej</td>
<td>‘pine’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Final</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wp</td>
<td>cewp</td>
<td>‘meet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wh</td>
<td>pewh</td>
<td>‘float’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wm</td>
<td>newm</td>
<td>‘sit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wʔ?</td>
<td>kʰbwʔ?</td>
<td>‘tree’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Mid</th>
<th>Back</th>
<th>Diphthongs</th>
<th>Triphthongs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unrounded</td>
<td>Rounded</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>iu/ iɔ⁴</td>
<td>iau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid-close</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>uai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid-open</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td></td>
<td>ai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>ai ai au</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3.1 Proof of Vowels
Table 11 shows examples of vowel contrasts.

Table 11 Vowel contrasts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel contrast</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i - i</td>
<td>tia</td>
<td>‘flower’</td>
<td>- tia</td>
<td>‘bored’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i – e</td>
<td>tiʔ</td>
<td>‘one’</td>
<td>- teʔ</td>
<td>Subject pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e - ə</td>
<td>teʔ</td>
<td>Subject pronoun</td>
<td>- toʔ</td>
<td>‘so’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e - ε</td>
<td>teʔ</td>
<td>Subject pronoun</td>
<td>- te</td>
<td>‘sweet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ε - a</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>‘sweet’</td>
<td>- taʔ</td>
<td>‘grandfather’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a - ɔ</td>
<td>taʔ</td>
<td>‘grandfather’</td>
<td>- toʔ</td>
<td>‘meat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u - o</td>
<td>juh</td>
<td>‘make / do’</td>
<td>- joʔ</td>
<td>‘see’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o - ɔ</td>
<td>pɔŋ</td>
<td>‘stairs’</td>
<td>- pɔŋ</td>
<td>‘window’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔ - ɔ</td>
<td>tɔm</td>
<td>‘egg’</td>
<td>- tɔm</td>
<td>‘liver’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3.2 Proof of Diphthongs
Table 12 shows examples of diphthongs.

Table 12 Diphthongs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diphthong</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Diphthong</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iu</td>
<td>?asitŋ</td>
<td>‘a little’</td>
<td>- vu</td>
<td>nou</td>
<td>‘put down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ia</td>
<td>tia</td>
<td>‘bored’</td>
<td>- au</td>
<td>ɔklau</td>
<td>‘chicken cage’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ui</td>
<td>tui</td>
<td>‘fat’</td>
<td>- ji</td>
<td>laʔi</td>
<td>‘three’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ia</td>
<td>kiat</td>
<td>‘bite’</td>
<td>- aj</td>
<td>kaj</td>
<td>‘have.exists’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>əj</td>
<td>lawaj</td>
<td>‘sunset’</td>
<td>- ai</td>
<td>tgiʔ</td>
<td>‘probably’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ua</td>
<td>muan</td>
<td>‘fun’</td>
<td>- ei</td>
<td>hei</td>
<td>‘this’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Breathy</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kʰɛ</td>
<td>‘moon/month’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰɛ</td>
<td>‘salt’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Creaky</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kʰwʔ</td>
<td>‘tree’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sətaj</td>
<td>‘eight’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. /ʔoːk paʔ nɛwm-ka’nom/ ‘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) ʔə-ˈleθ ‘seven’
   ˈbuŋ-ˈbaŋ ‘butterfly’

(ii) nak-ˈnəʔ ‘pomelo’
    ˈbaŋ-ˈbuən ‘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:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{nɛw} & \text{‘true’} \\
\text{nɛw} & \text{‘year’} \\
\text{nɨɔ} & \text{‘married’} \\
\text{jɨɔ} & \text{‘house’} \\
\text{lɑj} & \text{‘raining’} \\
\text{lɑj} & \text{‘rain’ (n.)}
\end{array}
\]

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.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{māt} & \text{‘good’} \\
\text{jia?-māt} & \text{‘good house’} \\
\text{kāik} & \text{‘hot’} \\
\text{laʔawm-kāik} & \text{‘hot water’} \\
\text{kūat} & \text{‘cold’} \\
\text{niam-kūat} & \text{‘cold season’}
\end{array}
\]

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’  he ‘bee’
kʰoʔ ‘tree’  niʔa ‘house’

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

laʔəwəm ‘water’ ʔaʔmoʔ ‘banana’ kuiʔet ‘papaya’
səʔəŋ ‘snake’ baʔho ‘pumpkin’

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

maʔsaʔŋaj ‘afternoon’ piʔaʔpaŋ ‘woman’
piʔawʔmaiʔ ‘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.
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compounds</th>
<th>Literal translation</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>laʔawm he</td>
<td>water bee</td>
<td>‘honey’</td>
<td>Subordinate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɔ klai</td>
<td>meat pig</td>
<td>‘pork’</td>
<td>Subordinate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plej kʰawʔi</td>
<td>fruit tree</td>
<td>‘fruit’</td>
<td>Subordinate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maʔ piaʔ</td>
<td>mother father</td>
<td>‘parent’</td>
<td>Coordinate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuin ?amajʔ</td>
<td>child male</td>
<td>‘boy’</td>
<td>Attributive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Table 14 Eastern Lawa noun-verb compounds

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compound</th>
<th>Literal translation</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>laʔawm noʔ</td>
<td>water drink</td>
<td>‘drinking water’</td>
<td>Subordinate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mai cia</td>
<td>silver spend</td>
<td>‘money’</td>
<td>Subordinate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ṭaık pu sɔm
person be.at.stay person eat
‘husband and wife’ / ‘a couple’

(b) ṭaık ra? ṭaık to?
brother.older big brother.older oldest
‘brothers and sisters’

(c) to rum to ro?
in forest in forest
‘in the forest’

(d) mait ṭapʰawm mait pewh
good heart good spirit
‘has a good heart/spirit’

(e) kaʔ ḥa 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 ṭaʔ ṭaʔ
go go return return
‘to describe someone who never stays in one place.’

(b) sɔm sɔm ṭaʔc ṭaʔc
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

\[
lak \ log \ ton \ ten^5
\]

‘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 pi? which changes verbs into nouns. pi? is therefore marked as a nominalizer and discussed more in section (3.2).

(7) puan - pi?-puan

‘eat’ ‘food’

(8) ?ah - pi?-?ah

‘speak’ ‘words spoken’

Eastern Lawa has a diminutive prefix kuin which is possibly derived from the word ka’ndaw? ‘child’ but is also used for diminutives elsewhere.

(9) ?ɛ - kuin-?ɛ

‘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-ŋlawm | ‘under’ |
| kaʔ-duaŋ  | ‘on top’ |
| kaʔ-ⁿka   | ‘in front’ |
| kaʔ-veʔ   | ‘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
\[
\begin{array}{l}
kam tʰɔ aʔ ploŋ tʰɔ
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{after.that } \text{burn} \text{ roof DEM}
\end{array}
\]

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 haik 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#. 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 bə kɔŋ kɔp

dog leap catch frog

The dog leaped to catch the frog.

# 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
    ?o liak pa? 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 plŋ tʰo
    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 newm nian kaʰ²owʔ ?aiŋ
    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 ?uʔ eh lowh 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause Types</th>
<th>Order</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Section</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive</td>
<td>ok ok (19)</td>
<td>(20)</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive clauses</td>
<td>ok ok (21)</td>
<td>(22)</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complement clauses</td>
<td>ok (ok)9 (205)</td>
<td></td>
<td>9.3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent clauses (Time)</td>
<td>* ok (212)</td>
<td></td>
<td>9.3.2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent clauses (Reason)</td>
<td>ok ok (213)</td>
<td>(74)</td>
<td>9.3.2.2/4.6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent clauses (Conditional)</td>
<td>* ok (216)</td>
<td></td>
<td>9.3.2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent clauses (Concession)</td>
<td>ok ok (219)</td>
<td>(218)</td>
<td>9.3.2.1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative clauses</td>
<td>* ok (223)</td>
<td></td>
<td>9.3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serial verb constructions</td>
<td>ok * (126)</td>
<td></td>
<td>6.2.2.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 confirm 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 separately.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word order</th>
<th>SV</th>
<th>VS</th>
<th>Zero subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Questions</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main Clauses</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subordinate Clauses</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Table 17 Percentage of SV/VS clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word order</th>
<th>SV</th>
<th>VS</th>
<th>Zero</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Questions</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main Clauses</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subordinate Clauses</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word order</th>
<th>SV</th>
<th>VS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>questions</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main Clauses</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subordinate Clauses</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>89%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
\text{puih} & \text{ploŋ} & \text{sam} & \text{juh} & \text{muŋ} & \text{teʔ} & \text{niŋ} & \text{ʔawia} & tʰɔ
\
\text{carry.on.back} & \text{grass.roofing} & \text{FUT} & \text{do.make} & \text{roof} & \text{PRO.SUBJ} & \text{place} & \text{tiger} & \text{DEM}
\
\text{V} & \text{O} & \text{V} & \text{O} & \text{S}
\end{array}
\]

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

(24) LC.16

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
\text{caʔ} & \text{nat} & \text{tew} & \text{paʔ} & \text{jʊŋ} & \text{mo} & \text{tʰɔ}
\
\text{possible} & \text{make.appointment} & \text{NEG} & \text{you} & \text{maybe} & \text{doctor} & \text{DEM}
\
\text{V} & \text{O} & \text{S}
\end{array}
\]

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.

\[
\text{S: } [\text{V} (\text{NP}_{\text{SUBJ}}) \text{ NP}_{\text{OBJ}} laʔ \text{ NP}_{\text{RECPt}}]
\]

\(^{10}\) 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

\[ kəh \quad kiah \quad sa?' \quad ?əŋ \quad laʔ \quad ma?' \quad ne' \]

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.

\[ S: \left[ (NP_{\text{SUBJ}}) \ V \ laʔ \ NP_{\text{OBJ}} \ NP_{\text{BEN}} \right] \]

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

\[ kiah \quad puj \quad to \quad juaq \quad hej \]

have people in village this

ET.36b

\[ huaq \quad ?awp \quad pit \quad laʔ \quad paʔ \quad ?aw \quad tiʔ \quad ?ahuq \]

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.

\[ S: \left[ (NP_{\text{SUBJ}}) \ V \ (LOC) \ miah \ NP_{\text{ACCOM}} \right] \]

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

(27)

\[ puʔ \quad ?aj \quad kuat \quad hew \quad kat \quad miah \quad puʔnew \ teʔ \quad ?əŋ \]

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.

\[ S: [(\text{NP}_{\text{SUBJ}}) \ V \ \text{NP}_{\text{OBJ}} \ taʔ \ \text{NP}_{\text{INSTR}}] \]

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

(28)

\[ \text{kaⁿdɒwʔ} \ tʰɔ \ soj \ pe \ taʔ \ mit \]

\[ \text{child} \ \text{DEM} \ \text{slice} \ \text{mango} \ \text{with} \ \text{knife} \ (\text{TH}) \]

The child sliced the mango with a knife.

3.4.5 Source

The preposition nɨŋ is used to mark “source” is Eastern Lawa. A clause with an NP\_SOURCE can be schematized as below.

\[ S : [(\text{NP}_{\text{SUBJ}}) \ V \ nɨŋ \ \text{NP}_{\text{SOURCE}}] \]

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

(29)

\[ \text{fɪaʔ} \ rai \ nɨŋ \ kʰoʔ \]

\[ \text{monkey} \ \text{fall} \ \text{from} \ \text{tree} \]

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:

\[ S_{\text{EQUATIVE}} : [mah \ \text{PRO} \ \text{NP}] \ or \ [\text{NP} \ mah \ \text{NP}] \]
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)
\[
mah \ tʰɔ \ ta \ saw \\
be \ 3SG \ uncle \ Saːw
\]
He is Uncle Saaw.

(31)
\[
puj \ hej \ mah \ taʔke \\
person \ DEM \ be \ village.headman
\]
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)
\[
puj \ tʰɔ \ luaŋ \\
3SG \ tall
\]
He (is) tall.
(33)
ʔamɔiʔi:tum
banana already ripe
The banana is already ripe.

(34)
pirapətʰɔmait
woman DEM good.nice.pretty
That woman is beautiful.

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

(35)
viwhejmaitluan
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)*
viumahmait
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 ?aik ‘be.at’ (which is also related to the verb ?aik ‘stay.at’). The locative copulas kaj and ?aik are obligatory in locative sentences.

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

\[ S_{LOC} : [NP_{SUB} kaj XP_{LOC}] \]

\[ S_{LOC} : [NP_{SUB} ?aik XP_{LOC}] \]

?aik is used with people, animals and inanimate objects, whereas kaj is mostly used with inanimate objects.
Example (37) shows ?aik used for people.

(37)

\[
\text{ka’dow? } \text{ʔaik} \quad /\text{?kaj} \quad \text{nia?}
\]

child be.at house

The child (is) at home.

Example (38) shows ?aik 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)

\[
pap \quad tʰɔ \quad \text{ʔaik} \quad \text{niŋ} \quad \text{toʔ}
\]

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)

\[
pap \quad \text{hej} \quad \text{kaj} \quad \text{niŋ} \quad \text{toʔ}
\]

book this be.at on table

This book is on the table.

### 3.5.4 Existential 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.

\[
S_{\text{EXISTENTIAL}}: [\text{kaj (NEG) NP}_{\text{SUB}} (PP)]
\]

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

(40)

\[
\text{maʔɔŋ} \quad \text{kaj} \quad \text{ʔawia} \quad \text{niŋ} \quad \text{him} \quad \text{juaj}
\]

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)

\[\begin{align*}
  \text{juaŋ ta?} & \quad \text{\textit{kaj}} & \quad k^b\text{wʔ} & \quad \text{\textit{keʔ}} \\
  \text{Ban Khun} & \quad \text{exists} & \quad \text{tree} & \quad \text{pine} \\
  \text{Ban Khun has pine trees.}
\end{align*}\]

Example (42) demonstrates a negative existential.

(42)

\[\begin{align*}
  \text{juaŋ newm} & \quad \text{\textit{kaj}} & \quad \text{tew} & \quad k^b\text{wʔ} & \quad \text{\textit{keʔ}} \\
  \text{Ban Bo Luang} & \quad \text{exists} & \quad \text{NEG} & \quad \text{tree} & \quad \text{pine} \\
  \text{Ban Bo Luang doesn’t have pine trees.}
\end{align*}\]

### 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 possessive clause construction can be schematized as below.

\[S_{\text{poss}} : [\text{NP}_{\text{possessed}} \text{ mah pi jaʔ}^{11} \text{ NP}_{\text{possessor}}]\]

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)

\[\begin{align*}
  \text{pap} & \quad \text{hej} & \quad \text{mah} & \quad \text{pi} & \quad \text{jaʔ} & \quad \text{Rosie} \\
  \text{book} & \quad \text{this} & \quad \text{be} & \quad \text{REL} & \quad \text{of} & \quad \text{Rosie} \\
  \text{This book is (the one) that belongs to Rosie.}
\end{align*}\]

(44)

\[\begin{align*}
  \text{jiəʔ} & \quad \text{laŋ} & \quad \text{hej} & \quad \text{mah} & \quad \text{pi} & \quad \text{jiəʔ} & \quad \text{mɔ prasət} \\
  \text{house} & \quad \text{CLF} & \quad \text{this} & \quad \text{be} & \quad \text{REL} & \quad \text{of} & \quad \text{Mor Prasert} \\
  \text{This house is (the one) that belongs to Mor Prasert.}
\end{align*}\]

---

11 This genitive possessive marker takes many different forms including *jaʔ*, *jiəʔ* and *mɔ* 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.

\[ S_{\text{POSS}}: [(NP_{\text{SUBJ}}) \ kaj \ NP_{\text{POSS}} \ jaʔ \ NP_{\text{POSSESSOR}}] \]

(45)

\begin{align*}
\text{kaj} & \quad \text{mah.i} & \quad \text{jaʔ} & \quad \text{teʔ} \\
\text{have} & \quad \text{money} & \quad \text{of} & \quad \text{PRO.SUBJ} \\
\end{align*}

(I) have my money

(46)*

\begin{align*}
\text{ʔaj} & \quad \text{kaj} & \quad \text{mah.i} \\
\text{1SG} & \quad \text{have} & \quad \text{money} \\
\end{align*}

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Agentive Nominalization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NMLZR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. sətɔk ‘teach’</td>
<td>pi? sətɔk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Ḩaʔ ‘play’</td>
<td>pi? Ḩaʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. juh ‘do/make’</td>
<td>pi? juh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 20 Time nominalization**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Time Nominalization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NMLZR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. saʔ ‘early’</td>
<td>maʔ saʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. pu ‘late’</td>
<td>maʔ pu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. saŋaj ‘sun’/‘day’</td>
<td>maʔ saŋaj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. sewm ‘dark’</td>
<td>maʔ sewm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 21 Place nominalization**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Place Nominalization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NMLZR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. naj ‘in’</td>
<td>kaʔ naj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. nɔk ‘out’</td>
<td>kaʔ nɔk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. hej ‘this’</td>
<td>kaʔ hej</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. hɔ ‘that’</td>
<td>kaʔ hɔ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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. Table 22 summarizes personal pronouns in Lawa.

Table 22 Personal pronouns in Lawa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>First Person</strong></td>
<td>?aj</td>
<td>mu ?ɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Second Person</strong></td>
<td>paʔ</td>
<td>maʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(informal)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(formal)</td>
<td>maʔ</td>
<td>maʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Third Person</strong></td>
<td>puj tʰɔ</td>
<td>mu tʰɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keʔ</td>
<td></td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is no unique possessive form of these pronouns. However, teʔ and ?aj 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)

\[
\text{puj tʰɔ \ cow kuan teʔ \ hew wiŋj}\\
\text{He \ tell \ child \ his \ go \ Chiang Mai}\\
\text{He told his son to go to Chiang Mai.}
\]

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.
They hit the drunk person.

I already met them.

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 ?am ?ah and bowh that are used both with content questions and tag questions. Interrogative sentences are discussed more in section (8.3).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interrogative</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pen tʰɔ</td>
<td>‘who’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>‘what’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>juh man</td>
<td>‘why’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saŋ man</td>
<td>‘when’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaʔnom</td>
<td>‘where’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>məʔ</td>
<td>‘where’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom</td>
<td>‘which one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka”dawʔ</td>
<td>‘how many’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaŋ man</td>
<td>‘how’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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
tsuck not mother PRO.SUBJ
    His mother didn’t suckle (him).

Example (52) shows that nouns cannot be negated.

(52)*
    jiaʔ 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
    hoit hewm nɔʔ ?i ?aic 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.

\[(54)\] * 
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{hoit} & \text{ni\texttt{a}ʔ} & \text{jiaʔ} & \text{paʔ} \\
\text{finished} & \text{house} & \text{of} & \text{2SG}
\end{array}
\]
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 \(\text{piʔ}\). Only verbs can appear directly before and directly after \(\text{piʔ}\).

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

\[(55)\] BL22
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{poit} & \text{piʔ} & \text{kiah} & \text{la} & \text{ʔɛ} \\
\text{pick.up} & \text{v.chain} & \text{give} & \text{to} & \text{chicken}
\end{array}
\]
Pick (it) up and give it to the chickens.

Example (56) shows an adjective cannot appear with the serial verb marker \(\text{piʔ}\).

\[(56)\] *
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{poit} & \text{piʔ} & \text{klaic} & \text{kiah} & \text{la} & \text{ʔaj} \\
\text{pick.up} & \text{v.chain} & \text{fast} & \text{give} & \text{to} & \text{1SG}
\end{array}
\]
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). \([\text{N Adj}]\) 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)
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 comparative 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**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>lia</em> NP</td>
<td><em>lia poʔ teʔ</em> / <em>lia puj</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(59)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>laʔawm</em></th>
<th><em>niŋ</em></th>
<th><em>klɔŋ</em></th>
<th><em>saʔŋat</em></th>
<th><em>lia</em></th>
<th><em>laʔawm</em></th>
<th><em>tʰale:sàp</em></th>
<th><em>tʰɔ</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>water</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>river</td>
<td>clean</td>
<td>than</td>
<td>water</td>
<td>lake DEM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(60)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>laʔawm</em></th>
<th><em>ˈmɔ</em></th>
<th><em>tʰɔ</em></th>
<th><em>saʔŋat</em></th>
<th><em>lia</em></th>
<th><em>poʔ teʔ</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>water</td>
<td>bore</td>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>clean</td>
<td>than</td>
<td>each other</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

That bore water is the cleanest.

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

(61)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>nam</em></th>
<th><em>tʰɔ</em></th>
<th><em>tɔ</em></th>
<th><em>lia</em></th>
<th><em>puj</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nam</td>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>run</td>
<td>than</td>
<td>others</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(63)*

\[ neic \ hej \ mah^* \ saʔjâte \]
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 \( ṅewm \) ‘sit’ is ungrammatical.

(64)*

\[ puj\ tʰɔ \ mah \ ṅewm \]
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 \textit{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 te?
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)

```
muʔɛ sam hew wiąj 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kaŋ</td>
<td>‘before’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaʔ tʰɔ</td>
<td>‘before that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔaːkɨa</td>
<td>‘first/before’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰot</td>
<td>‘till then’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kam tʰɔ</td>
<td>‘after that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰɛk</td>
<td>‘previously’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h৳it tʰɔ</td>
<td>‘when finished’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miat</td>
<td>‘after’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mia tʰɔ</td>
<td>‘after that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’bat</td>
<td>‘when’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maʔsaʔ</td>
<td>‘morning’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maʔpu</td>
<td>‘evening’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰraŋ saŋaj</td>
<td>‘every day’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haik</td>
<td>‘until’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰɛʔ ka</td>
<td>‘a long time ago’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>newm mah</td>
<td>‘since’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 25 Other time expressions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>laʔeh</td>
<td>‘today’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saʔej</td>
<td>‘tomorrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saʔteʔ</td>
<td>‘two days time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saʔtiak</td>
<td>‘three days time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kəʔewh</td>
<td>‘yesterday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kɔʔteʔ</td>
<td>‘two days ago’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kɔʔtiak</td>
<td>‘three days ago’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)  
\[
\text{klaic} \quad \text{hew} \quad \text{keʔ} \quad (\text{laʔ}) \quad \text{hoŋhian} \\
\text{fast} \quad \text{go} \quad 3\text{SG} \quad \text{to} \quad \text{school}
\]

He walked quickly to school

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

(68)  
\[
\text{puj} \quad tʰɔ \quad \text{co} \quad \text{hew} \quad (\text{laʔ}) \quad \text{hoŋhian} \\
\text{s/he} \quad \text{slow} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{to} \quad \text{school}
\]

She went slowly to school

(69)  
\[
\text{maʔ} \quad ?əŋ \quad \text{kuej} \quad sə \quad \text{kuan} \quad \text{teʔ} \quad kɔh \\
\text{mother} \quad 3\text{SG} \quad \text{gently} \quad \text{wake} \quad \text{child} \quad \text{POSS} \quad \text{awake}
\]

(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.
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 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 po? te? / 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)

```
ʔa ɛʔ tʰɔ ʔuː saʔɔ mah kʰaw laj 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 *pin* ‘if’.

(75) LC.91b

\[
\begin{array}{ccccccccc}
\text{pin} & \text{ca?} & \text{bwh} & \text{pa?} & \text{ʔu} & \text{pa?} & \text{kuat} & \text{kok} & \text{ʔuʔeh} & \text{lah} \\
\text{if} & \text{possible} & \text{experience} & \text{you} & \text{not} & \text{you} & \text{want} & \text{eat} & \text{anything} & \text{eh} \\
\text{If you have that experience, you don’t want to eat anything eh?}
\end{array}
\]

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Near</th>
<th>Far</th>
<th>Very Far</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nominal demonstratives</strong> (Pointing to objects)</td>
<td><em>hej</em> – ‘this’</td>
<td><em>hɔ</em> – ‘that’</td>
<td><em>ʔɔ</em> – ‘that (over there)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Locative demonstratives</strong> (Pointing to locations)</td>
<td><em>kaʔhej</em> – ‘here’</td>
<td><em>kaʔhɔ</em> – ‘there’</td>
<td><em>tʰɔt kaʔhɔ</em> – ‘way over there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Verbal demonstratives</strong> (Pointing to propositions)</td>
<td>ˀ<em>jaŋ</em> hej – ‘like this’</td>
<td>ˀ<em>jaŋ</em> hɔ – ‘like that’</td>
<td>ˀ<em>jaŋ</em> ʔɔ – ‘like that’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 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

\[ \text{num} \; \text{kok} \; \text{ŋo} \; \text{lah} \; \text{piʔ} \; \text{kaj} \; \text{kuan} \; \text{hej} \; \text{lah} \]
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

\[ \text{hej} \; \text{ʔu} \; \text{søŋej} \; \text{ləwh} \; \text{laʔawm} \; \text{nej} \]
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 *kaʔ hej* and *kaʔ hɔ* refer to places. *kaʔ hej* refers to a place which is near the speaker and *kaʔ hɔ* to a location which is far from the speaker. *tʃt* *kaʔ hɔ* 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

\[ \text{hew} \; \text{loŋpoŋ} \; \text{kaʔ hɔ} \]
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

\[ \text{pewh} \; \text{pi} \; \text{pʰraŋ} \; \text{tʰ} \; \text{hɔ} \; \text{mah} \; \text{jaŋ} \; \text{hej} \]
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 \([\text{kua} \text{‘ten’} + \text{NUM}]\) as can be seen in Table 28.

### Table 27 Numbers 1 to 10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lawa Numerals</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>teʔ</td>
<td>‘one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laʔa</td>
<td>‘two’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laʔɔj</td>
<td>‘three’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paiŋ</td>
<td>‘four’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰuən</td>
<td>‘five’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leh</td>
<td>‘six’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?aleh</td>
<td>‘seven’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>satajʔ</td>
<td>‘eight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>satajʔn</td>
<td>‘nine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kua</td>
<td>‘ten’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 28 Numbers 11 to 19

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lawa Numerals</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kua laʔteʔ</td>
<td>‘eleven’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kua laʔa</td>
<td>‘twelve’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kua laʔɔj</td>
<td>‘thirteen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kua paiŋ</td>
<td>‘fourteen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kua pʰuən</td>
<td>‘fifteen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kua leh</td>
<td>‘sixteen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kua ?aleh</td>
<td>‘seventeen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kua satajʔ</td>
<td>‘eighteen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kua satajʔn</td>
<td>‘nineteen’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

### Table 29 Numbers 20 to 90

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lawa Numerals</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ˀŋa</td>
<td>‘twenty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ˀŋɔi</td>
<td>‘thirty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aʔ aɨŋ</td>
<td>‘forty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rᵃʔ uən</td>
<td>‘fifty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la“greʔ</td>
<td>‘sixty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?aŋleh</td>
<td>‘seventy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raʔtaiʔ</td>
<td>‘eighty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raʔtaŋ</td>
<td>‘ninety’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 30 Lawa higher numbers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lawa Numerals</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tiʔ ?ajiaʔ</td>
<td>‘one hundred’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiʔ pian</td>
<td>‘one thousand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiʔ ŋiaŋ</td>
<td>‘ten thousand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiʔ sian</td>
<td>‘one hundred thousand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiʔ lan</td>
<td>‘one million’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lawa Numerals</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tiʔ ?ajiaʔ paj raʔhuan</td>
<td>‘one hundred and fifty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiʔ pian paj laʔa jiaʔ</td>
<td>‘one thousand two hundred’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti ŋiaŋ paj pʰuǎn pian</td>
<td>‘fifteen thousand’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ?aj cuaj  
three     CLF.time  
Three times.

(81)  **Ordinal Number Phrase**

cuaj laʔ ?aj  
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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Example nouns</th>
<th>Semantic property</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bew</td>
<td>eggs, bananas, rocks</td>
<td>small objects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰuk</td>
<td>book, story, poem, song</td>
<td>literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kw:</td>
<td>clothes, shoes</td>
<td>a set of something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plah</td>
<td>shirt, towels, clothes</td>
<td>a piece of cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>səŋaiʔ</td>
<td>day</td>
<td>day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laŋ</td>
<td>house</td>
<td>building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puj</td>
<td>people</td>
<td>human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doh</td>
<td>places</td>
<td>place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuanŋ</td>
<td>times</td>
<td>times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baŋ</td>
<td>bamboo</td>
<td>sticks?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Example nouns</th>
<th>Semantic property</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʔəⁿg ew</td>
<td>rice</td>
<td>a small amount</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uaŋ</td>
<td>rice</td>
<td>a mid sized amount</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔaⁿdɔ</td>
<td>rice</td>
<td>a large amount</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔk</td>
<td>liquids</td>
<td>a cup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aŋ</td>
<td>liquids</td>
<td>a bottle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰaŋ</td>
<td>liquids and mass nouns like rice</td>
<td>20 litres</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Moveable</th>
<th>Fixed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Quantifiers</td>
<td>Gloss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>əⁱⁿ</td>
<td>‘many’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taŋ ʔɔik</td>
<td>‘all’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?asiw</td>
<td>‘a few’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sia sia</td>
<td>‘a little’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>TAM</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tense</td>
<td>ʔiː</td>
<td>PAST</td>
<td>Past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tense</td>
<td>sam</td>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>Future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspect</td>
<td>ūwh</td>
<td>‘experienced’</td>
<td>Past (experience)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspect</td>
<td>sam</td>
<td>PROG</td>
<td>Progressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspect</td>
<td>kəmʔəʔ</td>
<td>‘first time’ or ‘beginning to’</td>
<td>Inceptive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspect</td>
<td>ʔmɛ</td>
<td>COMPL</td>
<td>Perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspect</td>
<td>ʔdaŋ</td>
<td>‘still’</td>
<td>Durative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspect</td>
<td>tɨən</td>
<td>‘un-done action’</td>
<td>Incomplete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mood</td>
<td>loʔ \ lɔp</td>
<td>CNT.EXP</td>
<td>Counter expectation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mood</td>
<td>hoʔ</td>
<td>HORT</td>
<td>Hortative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prepositions</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kaʔnaj</td>
<td>‘in’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saⁿdaʔiʔ</td>
<td>‘near’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sanja</td>
<td>‘far’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>him</td>
<td>‘beside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamtʰɔ</td>
<td>‘after’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niŋ</td>
<td>‘from’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kag kʰaiʔ</td>
<td>‘behind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaʔduŋ</td>
<td>‘above / on top’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaʔglawm</td>
<td>‘under’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miah</td>
<td>‘with’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiah</td>
<td>‘for’ (give)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰaʔ</td>
<td>‘to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaŋka</td>
<td>‘in front’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bak buin</td>
<td>‘among / in center’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“giap</td>
<td>‘next to’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conjunction</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>miₕ₆</td>
<td>‘and / with’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rɔh</td>
<td>‘too’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔam</td>
<td>‘or’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔmɛ</td>
<td>‘but’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kai</td>
<td>‘so’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pin</td>
<td>‘if’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nɪŋ</td>
<td>‘because’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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):

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Head</th>
<th>Modifiers</th>
<th>Possession</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Orientation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N\text{_HEAD}</td>
<td>ADJP</td>
<td>NP</td>
<td>NUMP</td>
<td>DEM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRON</td>
<td>RELCL</td>
<td>PRON</td>
<td></td>
<td>PP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>QUANT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that Table 38 shows the options for each slot but does not imply any necessary co-occurrence. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun Head</th>
<th>MOD ADJP</th>
<th>MOD ADJP</th>
<th>MOD RELCL</th>
<th>MOD QUANT</th>
<th>POSS</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Orientation /Place</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>young</td>
<td>small</td>
<td>that.died</td>
<td>many</td>
<td>my/yours</td>
<td>two</td>
<td>those / there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i.  sɔʔ</td>
<td>kʰrɔʔ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>laʔa(tua) kɔʔhɔ (LOC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii. sɔʔ</td>
<td>tiaʔ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hɔʔη</td>
<td>jaʔ ?aj</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii. sɔʔ</td>
<td>kʰrɔʔ</td>
<td>piʔ ?i jum</td>
<td></td>
<td>jaʔ pa?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv. sɔʔ</td>
<td></td>
<td>hɔʔη</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tʰɔ (DEM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v. sɔʔ</td>
<td>kʰrɔʔ</td>
<td>tiaʔ</td>
<td>piʔ ?i jum</td>
<td></td>
<td>jaʔ pa?</td>
<td>laʔa(tua)</td>
<td>tʰɔ (DEM)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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)

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{mu} & \text{tʰɔ} & \text{laʔɔj} & \text{puj} & \text{hew} \\
\text{3SG} & \text{three} & \text{CLF} & \text{go} \\
\end{array}
\]

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 *kaⁿdɒwʔʔamaj* ‘boy’.

(83) R.1

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{kaⁿdɒwʔ} & \text{ʔamaj} & \text{cŋ} & \text{poʔ} \\
\text{child} & \text{male} & \text{stand} & \text{next to} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{ŋeŋ} & \text{poŋ} \\
\text{at} & \text{window} \\
\end{array}
\]

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

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{soʔ} & \text{jaʔ} & \text{ʔəŋ} & \text{newm} \\
\text{dog} & \text{of} & \text{his} & \text{sit} \\
\end{array}
\]

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

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{hej} & \text{ʔu} & \text{səŋej} & \text{lw} & \text{laʔawm} & \text{neŋ} \\
\text{this (one)} & \text{not} & \text{yellow} & \text{or not} & \text{water} & \text{breast} \\
\end{array}
\]

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 nəj ɲaʔ ʔaj
little.one of my
kit bw Whitney cum toŋ hɔ
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 ʔakia tʰɔ
REL first that
saʔŋej bw Whitney sia sia
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\(^\text{15}\) when a number phrase and possession are introduced into the clause. They also show that the classifier is optional.

(88)

sɔʔ laʔa (tua) jaʔ ʔaj hej
dog two CLF of my these
smʔ ʔawp
eat rice
These two dogs of mine eat rice

\(^\text{15}\) 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.
These two dogs of mine...

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. The demonstrative hej directly follows the head noun kaⁿdɒwʔ ‘child’.

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.

Presumably there is a zero relativizer before ‘ʔu kaj satanʔ 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.

\[
\text{NP: } [\text{head} \ A \ P]
\]

5.5.1 Order of adjectives with demonstratives

Example (93) shows an adjective phrase modifying the attributes of the head noun where the adjective ɨʔ ‘big’ directly follows the head noun ɲɨaʔ ‘house’ and precedes the demonstrative tʰɔ ‘that’.

(93)

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{ɲɨaʔ} \quad ɨʔ \quad tʰɔ \quad pʰlug \quad əŋ \quad ?əŋ \\
\text{house} \quad \text{big} \quad \text{that} \quad \text{burn} \quad \text{fire} \quad \text{3SG} \\
\text{That big house burnt down}
\end{array}
\]

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)

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{ɲɨaʔ} \quad ɨʔ \quad laʔɔj \quad laŋ \quad (tʰɔ) \quad pʰlug \quad əŋ \quad ?əŋ \\
\text{house} \quad \text{big} \quad \text{three} \quad \text{CLF.house} \quad \text{those} \quad \text{burn} \quad \text{fire} \quad \text{3SG} \\
\text{Those three big houses, they burned down.}
\end{array}
\]

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).
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.

\[
\text{NP: } [\text{N Head NUMP}]
\]

Example (96) provides a simple noun phrase consisting of a head noun \(təm\) ‘egg’ and a number phrase composed of a number \(laʔa\) ‘two’ and a classifier \(ʔbewh\).

(96)
\[
təm \quad laʔa \quad ʔbewh
\]
\[
\text{egg} \quad \text{two} \quad \text{CLF.round.objects}
\]
\[
\text{Two eggs}
\]

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

(97)
\[
puj \quad laʔa \quad tʰə
\]
\[
\text{people} \quad \text{two} \quad \text{those}
\]
\[
\text{Those two people}
\]

---

\(^{17}\) 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)  
\[
\text{ka?ewh} \quad \text{bu}\text{n} \quad k^{h}i\text{an} \quad \text{cotmaj} \quad ^{\text{doj}} \quad \text{la}? \quad \text{ma}? \quad \text{ti}? \quad p^{h}i\text{an} \\
\text{yesterday Boon write letter send to mother one CLF.letter} \\
\text{Yesterday Boon wrote a letter to send to his mother}
\]

In example (99), the number phrase ti? p^{h}i\text{an} 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)  
\[
\text{ʔajʔ} \quad \text{kiah} \quad \text{pap} \quad \text{la}? \quad \text{bu}\text{n} \quad \text{ti}? \quad p^{h}i\text{an} \quad \text{la}? \quad \text{pia}? \quad t^{3}\text{g} \\
\text{1SG give book to Boon one CLF.letter for father 3SG} \\
\text{I gave a book to Boon for his father}
\]

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)  
\[
\text{k^{h}u} \quad \text{ti}? \quad \text{puj} \quad \text{kiah} \quad \text{s^{o}i}? \quad \text{la}?\text{a} \quad \text{tua} \\
\text{teacher one CLF.human give dog two CLF.nonhuman} \\
\text{la}? \quad \text{kuin} \quad \text{ʔamaj} \quad \text{la}\text{?oj} \quad \text{puj} \quad \text{ka?ewh} \\
\text{to child male three CLF.human yesterday} \\
\text{A teacher gave two dogs to three boys yesterday}
\]

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)

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
  kʰu & tiʔ & puj & kiah & sɔʔ & laʔ & kuin & ?amaj \\
  \text{teacher} & \text{one} & \text{CLF.human} & \text{give} & \text{dog} & \text{APPL} & \text{child} & \text{male}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
  laʔɔj & puj & kaʔewh & laʔa & tua \\
  \text{three} & \text{CLF.human} & \text{yesterday} & \text{two} & \text{CLF.nonhuman}
\end{array}
\]

A teacher gave two dogs to three boys yesterday

Example (102) proves that moving the number phrase out of the \(NP_{\text{sub}}\) is ungrammatical.

(102)*

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
  kʰu & kiah & sɔʔ & laʔa & tua & laʔa & kuin & ?amaj \\
  \text{teacher} & \text{give} & \text{dog} & \text{two} & \text{CLF.nonhuman} & \text{APPL} & \text{child} & \text{male}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
  laʔɔj & puj & kaʔewh & tiʔ & puj \\
  \text{three} & \text{CLF.human} & \text{yesterday} & \text{one} & \text{CLF.human}
\end{array}
\]

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)*

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
  kʰu & tiʔ & puj & kiah & ?apeʔ & paiŋ & plah \\
  \text{teacher} & \text{one} & \text{CLF.human} & \text{give} & \text{shirt} & \text{four} & \text{CLF.cloth}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
  laʔ & \text{napʰrian} & kaʔewh & laʔa & puj \\
  \text{APPL} & \text{student} & \text{yesterday} & \text{two} & \text{CLF}
\end{array}
\]

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 ‘person’.

(104)

\[ \begin{array}{cccccc}
  kaj & tiʔ & puj & ?aik & him & ?awia & tʰɔ \\
  \text{have.is} & \text{one} & \text{person} & \text{at} & \text{close} & \text{door} & \text{DEM} \\
\end{array} \]

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 piʔ19. The schema for a noun phrase that consists of a relative clause as a modifier is as follows.

\[ \text{NP: [N_{HEAD} (piʔ) S_{REL}]} \]

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)

\[ \begin{array}{cccccc}
  kaⁿdɒwʔ & piʔ & pian & lok & tʰɔ & jum & kaʔewh \\
  \text{child} & \text{who} & \text{catch} & \text{disease} & \text{that} & \text{die} & \text{yesterday} \\
\end{array} \]

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).
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.

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_head PP]

In sentence (108) a prepositional phrase appears in the subject noun phrase and modifies the noun kaⁿdówʔ ‘child’.

Children in your house are playing together

In example (109) the preposition niŋ ‘in’ is in the subject noun phrase.

The monkey in the tree is eating a banana
Example (110) has the preposition is *newm* ‘from’ and fits the pattern.

(110)

```
kaⁿdowʔ  newm  njiaʔ  naʔ  ?aj  hew  hohhian
  child  from  house  POSSESS  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 possesse which is the head of the phrase, a possessor and an optional possessive marker *jaʔ*. The structure of possessive noun phrases is as follows.

\[
\text{NP: } [\text{N}(\text{NP}_{\text{POSSESS}}) \ldots ]
\]

\[
\text{NP}_{\text{POSSESS}: } [(\text{jaʔ}) \text{N} \ldots ]
\]

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

Example (111) shows a possessive noun phrase which consists of *njiaʔ* ‘house’ as the possesse which is possessed by *bun* ‘Boon’.

(111)

```
jiaʔ  (naʔ)  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

```
piaʔ  *(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 *naʔ* or *pjaʔ* depending on the preceding consonants.
(113)* Part-whole
   cuan *(jaʔ) ?aj
   leg of 1SG
   My foot.

(114)* Part-whole
   cuan *(jaʔ) taŋi:
   leg of chair
   Leg of the chair

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

(115)
   kʰɔkʰwan jaʔ naŋsi
   message of book
   the book's message

(116)
   sɔʔ jaʔ ?aj
   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.

\[ \text{NP}_{\text{COORDINATE}}: [\text{N(P)} \text{ miah N(P)}] \]

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

(117)
   hew "dua pe miah laʔgwm laʔ piaʔ teʔ
   go take mango and water to father yours
   Go take \textbf{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:

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

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

(118)
\[
\text{soʔ } \text{həʰ } \text{kiap}
\]
\[
\text{dog } \text{many } \text{have fleas}
\]
Many dogs have fleas

Example (119) shows that the quantifier kʰəŋ ‘every’ appears in a number phrase.

(119)
\[
\text{hew } \text{kaʔhɔ } \text{niŋ } kʰəŋ \text{ saʔŋaiʔ}
\]
\[
\text{go there look every CLF.day}
\]
(He) went there to look everyday.

In example (120) the quantifier həŋ ‘many’ occurs following a verb.

(120) BL14
\[
\text{Bl14 kək } \text{həŋ } \text{həŋ } \text{ʔo } \text{ʔe } \text{ŋmain}
\]
\[
\text{eat much much INTERJ chicken male}
\]
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)
\[
\text{tiʔ } \text{ka"brah } \text{saʔŋaiʔ}
\]
\[
\text{one half CLF.day}
\]
Half a day.
One and a half days.

5.12 Summary

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

Partial noun phrase schema:

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

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:

\[
\text{VP: } [(\text{NEG})(\text{tiʔ})(\text{TAM})(\text{ADV}) \ V (V_{\text{direction}})(\text{ADV})(\text{TAM})(\text{NEG})]\]

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)\(^{22}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negation</th>
<th>Preverb</th>
<th>Adverbial phrase</th>
<th>Head</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>yet</td>
<td>TAM1 TAM2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?u₂</td>
<td>tiʔ</td>
<td>?iʔ - PAST</td>
<td>klaic - fast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pu₂</td>
<td>caʔ - possible</td>
<td>sam - FUT</td>
<td>kue - slow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sam - imperfective</td>
<td>?an - quickly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>serial verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>V_{ADJ}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Postverb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V_{DIRECTION}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{22}\) 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 hoit nian pa?
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 ?aj samɔŋ jum 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.
During (that time) you don’t want to eat rice.

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

\[ ^{mbain} \ pi? \ to \ sawij \ te? \]

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

\[ puj \ to \ pi? \ hew \ nian \ tuk \ so? \ te? \]

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.
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 *pʰot* ‘arrive’ followed by the goal in a prepositional phase. In (130) *pʰot* ‘arrive’ indicates the reached goal.

(130)  
BDF.1c

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hew</th>
<th>phot</th>
<th>niŋ</th>
<th>tuŋ</th>
<th>tiʔ</th>
<th>tʰhw</th>
<th>kanai</th>
<th>pʰɛʔ?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>go</td>
<td>arrive</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>pond</td>
<td>one</td>
<td>place</td>
<td>inside</td>
<td>forest</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

6.3 Negation

There are three negative operators in Eastern Lawa. *ʔu:* and *tew* are used for declarative sentences, and *pu:* 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mah</th>
<th>tew</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>be</td>
<td>not</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 tʰ  paʔ  kuat  kok  kuat  səwm  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  kʰpʔ  hej  tiʔ  tum  tew
fruit  tree  this  yet  ripe  NEG
This fruit is not yet ripe. (Implies that it is close)

(135)

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

\[ S_{NEG}: [ ꜀u (caʔ) (PRO) (ADV) V ] \]
Examples (136) and (137) show examples of the negator \( ?u \).

(136) LC.146
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\end{array}
\]
\textbf{not} possible able water breast my eh
My breast milk wasn’t enough eh

(137) LC.195
\[
\begin{array}{lllllllllll}
t\text{amgan} & vi & ?u & ca & ?atia & ?m & k\text{aaj} & k\text{aaj} & te& ?
\end{array}
\]
work Chiang Mai \textbf{not} possible return again after.that PRO.SUBJ
(He) worked in Chiang Mai but he didn’t return again after that

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

(138) LC.165
\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
?u & ti & ri & lah & ?u & ti & ri & k\text{apoo} & ?
\end{array}
\]
\textbf{not} yet big eh \textbf{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 \( ti? \) ‘not yet’ between the negator and the verb

(139) LC.67b
\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
te & mah & ?u & pa & ti & sokia & vi & lah & ?
\end{array}
\]
but be \textbf{not} you yet pain stomach eh
But you weren’t having labour pains yet eh

6.3.2.1 Differences between \textit{tew} and \textit{?u}.

The negative operators \textit{tew} and \textit{?u} are used to express different types of negation. The following examples are a direct comparison between these two negators. In example (140) the verb \( ?ia \) ‘want’ is negated with \textit{tew}.
In example (141) the verb ?ia ‘want’ is negated with ?u which adds the semantic content of not wanting something at all.

(141)

\[
\text{NEG} \quad \text{possible} \quad \text{want} \quad \text{have} \quad \text{already}
\]

(I) don’t want (it) at all – (I) have already

To summarize, ?u 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 versus the other, but ?u 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 pu:

Negatives in imperative sentences use the negative operator pu, with an optional ca? ‘possible’. The subject is not expressed in negative imperative clauses. The simple schema for negative imperative constructions in Eastern Lawa clauses is as below.

\[
S_{\text{NEG.IMPR}}: [\text{pu: (ca?) V --- }]
\]

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

(142)

\[
\text{NEG.IMPER} \quad \text{possible} \quad \text{forget} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{Pa Sang} \quad \text{tomorrow}
\]

Don’t forget to go to PaSang tomorrow!

---

23 I suspect pu is a combination of pa? – 2SG and ?u – 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)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pin } & \text{ʔuː } \text{paʔ } \text{kəh } \text{juh } \text{puː } \text{caʔ } \text{juh} \\
\text{If } & \text{NEG } 2\text{SG able do } \text{NEG possible do} \\
\text{If he is not able (he) shouldn’t do it}
\end{align*}
\]

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.

\[
\text{VP}_{\text{DIRECTION}}: [\text{V}_{\text{MAIN}} \text{ V}_{\text{DIRECTION}} (\text{PP})]
\]

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)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mu tʰɔ } & \text{tɔ } \text{hew } pʰ\text{aʔ } ?\text{ajʔ} \\
\text{3PL } & \text{run away from } 1\text{SG} \\
\text{They ran away from me.}
\end{align*}
\]

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)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mu tʰɔ } & \text{tɔ } \text{ʔɔk } pʰ\text{aʔ } ?\text{ajʔ} \\
\text{3PL } & \text{run out from } 1\text{SG} \\
\text{They ran out from me.}
\end{align*}
\]
Example (146) has *hew* ‘go’ as the main verb together with the verb *liak* ‘enter’ as the directionals.

(146) LC.169

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hew</th>
<th>liak</th>
<th>toʔ</th>
<th>kʰum</th>
<th>ʔdeijn</th>
<th>puj</th>
<th>laʔej</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>go</td>
<td>enter</td>
<td>into</td>
<td>spa</td>
<td>long</td>
<td>person</td>
<td>today</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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: *Juan* ‘tall’, *pewp* ‘broken’, *viak* ‘to break’, *tɔ* ‘to run’, and *lom* ‘sharp’.

| Table 41 Tense / Aspect markers with different types of events and states |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **TAM** | **Eventuality** | **lom** *‘sharp’* | **Juan** *‘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 |
| *ʔdan* | 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 ʰɔɨt

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

(147)  R.37
\[ \text{wat} \ ʰɔɨt \ \text{som} \ \text{pa} \ \text{pote?} \ \text{ʔo} \ \text{lahə?} \ \text{niŋ} \ ^{\text{m}} \text{brok} \]
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 ʰɔɨt being used with a state (from Table 41).

(148)
\[ \text{mi:t} \ \text{hej} \ \text{ʰɔɨt} \ \text{bəm} \]
knife this COMPL sharp
The knife is finished (being) sharp (it isn’t sharp now).

6.5.2 Aspect ’dəŋ

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

(149)  LC.94
\[ \text{leih} \ \text{cumtəŋ} \ \text{sanəj} \ \text{tʰo} \ \text{kuat hua} \ \text{ʔdəŋ} \ \text{teʔ} \]
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 ’dəŋ being used with a state (from Table 41).

(150)
\[ \text{mi:t} \ \text{hej} \ \text{bəm} \ \text{ʔdəŋ} \]
knife this sharp DUR
The knife is still sharp.
6.5.3 Tense ʔi:

The tense marker ʔi: 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 ʔi.

(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.

ʔi: often co-occurs with the completive aspect marker hoit as in example (152)

(152) LC.174
ʔiː hoit laʔaj cuan newm laʔaj saʔ
already finished three times since today early
(She’s) already finished three times since early today.

Example (153) shows ʔi: being used with a state (from Table 41).

(153) mi:t hej ʔiː bm
knife this already sharp
The knife is already sharp.

Note the different between ʔi: and hoit. ʔi: is past tense whereas hoit 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
laŋ laŋ kit 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

\[ \text{mah \hspace{0.5cm} sam \hspace{0.5cm} keh \hspace{0.5cm} pa? ?ə?} \]
\[ \text{be \hspace{0.5cm} PROG \hspace{0.5cm} pregnant \hspace{0.5cm} you \hspace{0.5cm} eh} \]
\[ \text{Yes during your pregnancy eh?} \]

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

(156)

\[ \text{mit \hspace{0.5cm} hej \hspace{0.5cm} sam \hspace{0.5cm} lɔm} \]
\[ \text{knife \hspace{0.5cm} this \hspace{0.5cm} PROG/FUT \hspace{0.5cm} sharp} \]
\[ \text{This knife is getting sharp /} \]
\[ \text{The knife will be sharp.} \]

### 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: Diagram of aspect / tense markers with state of being sharp - *lɔm*](image)

**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 - ɓɔ.

Figure 5 The meaning of ɓɔ ‘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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modality</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Partial Definition</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɓe</td>
<td>CNT.EXP</td>
<td>Counter-expectational</td>
<td>Post verbal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɓɔʔ</td>
<td>HORT</td>
<td>The eventuality expressed should be done by the addressee</td>
<td>Post verbal - before object NP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The particle ɓɔʔ 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

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{kit} \quad hɔʔ \quad \text{paj} \\
\text{think HORT you} \\
\text{You should think about that!}
\end{array}
\]

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

(158) LC.49

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{ʔo} \quad \text{saʔe} \quad \text{huak} \quad \text{ʔe} \quad \text{pa} \quad \text{laʔ} \quad \text{mə} \quad \text{tə} \\
\text{oh tomorrow go.up again you to doctor really} \\
\text{Oh really! Are you going up to the doctor again tomorrow?}
\end{array}
\]

### 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)

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{klaic} \quad \text{hew} \quad \text{keʔ} \quad \text{laʔ} \quad \text{honghian} \\
\text{fast} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{3SG to school} \\
\text{He walked quickly to school.}
\end{array}
\]
Degree adverbs modify (verbal) adjectives in attributive constructions or other adverbs and appear after the adjective or adverb as in example (160) below.

(160)

\[
puj \quad tʰɔ \quad luan \quad luan
\]

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 aspect and modality and adverbs. Firstly the positions of verb phrase elements were presented.

\[
\text{VP: } [(\neg)(\text{T}\text{am})(\text{ADV}) \ V (V_{\text{DIRECTION}})(\text{ADV})(\text{T}\text{am})(\neg)]
\]

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 ɬb. 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.

\[ S_{\text{PASSIVE-ADVERSATIVE}}: \left[ \text{NP}_{\text{SUB.PATIENT}} \; \text{lok} \; [V \; (\text{NP}_{\text{AGENT}}) \; \cdots \; (X_0)] \right] \]

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

(161)

peː ʔəŋ ɑk
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 ɑk ʷbein taʔ puj ʔuː maic
1SG ADVERS beat by person NEG good
I was beaten by a bad person/people.

### 7.2.2 kla: passive like constructions

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

\[ S_{\text{PASSIVE}}: \left[ \text{kla:} \; \text{NP}_{\text{SUB.PATIENT}} \; V \; \cdots \right] \]

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

(163)

kla: puj ʔəŋ ɑk pʰaʔ (ʔəŋ) ʔəŋ
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-specific 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)

\[ \text{ʔiː } \text{həit } \text{poh } \text{puj } \text{nəŋ } \text{nɨŋ } \text{kaʔ } \text{ej} \]
\[ \text{finished COMPL build person house LOC here} \]
\[ \text{The house has been built here.} \]
\[ \text{Lit: Finished building someone did the house here.} \]

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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cause</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>wiak</em> ‘to break’</td>
<td><em>bewp</em> ‘broken’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pʰluŋ</em> ‘to burn’</td>
<td><em>həʔ</em> ‘burnt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pʰraʔ</em> ‘to frighten’</td>
<td><em>laʔ</em> ‘frightened’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

\[ S_{\text{PASSIVE.RESULT}}: [\text{NP}_{\text{SUB.PATIENT}} \text{ V}_{\text{RESULT}} (\text{NP}_{\text{OBL.AGENT}})] \]
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)
\[ kaʔⁿdɒw\ tʰɔ\ wiak\ kak\ kʰŋ? \]
child\ DEM\ break\ branch\ tree
The child broke the branch.

(166)
\[ kak\ kʰŋ?\ bewp \]
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)
\[ kak\ kʰŋ?\ bewp\ ta?\ kaʔⁿdɒw\ tʰɔ \]
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. \textit{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)
\[ kʰŋ?\ ^{m}bein\ teʔ \]
accidentally\ hit\ PRO.SUBJ
(He) accidentally hit himself
7.3.1 Reflexive emphatics

In Eastern Lawa \( ?\nu?\) is used to express doing something alone and \( po?\) is used to express doing something with others.

\( ?\nu?\ te?\) - to/for oneself

\( po?\ te?\) - to/with each other

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

(169)

\[
\text{ʔaj} \quad \text{sm} \quad ?\nu? \quad te?
\]

I eat.rice do.alone PRO.SUBJ

I ate by myself.

In example (170) the subject \( puj\ tʰo\) ‘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)

\[
puj \quad tʰo \quad sm \quad ?\nu? \quad ʔiah
\]

3SG eat.rice do.alone able

He was able to eat by himself.

The word \( ?\nu?\) semantically includes meanings like - seperately, oneself, not relying on others, alone. In example (171), \( puj\ tʰo\) ‘he’ dressed himself without getting any help from others. The object noun phrase ‘clothes’ comes between \( ?\nu?\) and \( te?\).

(171)

\[
puj \quad tʰo \quad ʔiah^{25} \quad ?\nu? \quad kʰua \quad te?
\]

3SG put.on do.alone clothes PRO.SBJ

He put on his clothes alone

\[^{25}\text{Here we have } ʔiah \text{ –turning up before } ?\nu?, \text{ but it doesn’t have the meaning ‘only just able’. It means ‘to put on (clothes)’. A change in position denotes a change of meaning.}\]
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 pɨnew 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’, kiah ‘cause’ or ɒʔ ‘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; kiah indicates that kaⁿdɒwʔ ‘child’ is the causer of the event of smashing.

(173)
ˀdɔ laʔ kaⁿdɒwʔ pi kiah kracok tʰɔˀbɨaʔ
command to child REL CAUS glass DEM smash
Command the child who caused that glass to break

kiah 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’.
He forced them to enter the forest.

Eastern Lawa causatives can also be formed by using əʔ ‘command’. The result is not entailed in this kind of causative. Example (175) is a simple transitive clause consisting of an NP_{SUB} - kaⁿdəwʔ ‘child’, a verb ʔaːn ‘read’ and an NP_{OBJ} naŋsi: ‘book’.

In example (176), the causer kʰru ‘teacher’ is added with the command əʔ to form a causative construction applied to sentence (175). The agent kaⁿdəwʔ ‘child’ of ʔaːn ‘read’ in (175), becomes the patient for the verb əʔ ‘command’ in (176). The same pattern is also found in example (177).

(175)

kaⁿdəwʔ ʔaːn naŋsi:
child read book

The children (are) reading the book.
(or the children are studying).

(176)

kʰru əʔ kaⁿdəwʔ ʔaːn naŋsi:
teacher command child read book

Lit: The teacher commanded the child to read the book.
The teacher made the children study.

(177)

maʔ əʔ ʔiak raʔ ʔaːj kiah kaⁿdəwʔ əm
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\(^\text{26}\). The order of the verb and the NP\(_\text{SUB} \) are interchangeable. The NP object follows the NP subject and the verb\(^\text{27}\). 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.

\[
S: [V \text{NP}_{\text{SUB}} \text{NP}_{\text{OBJ}} \text{PP}_{\text{LOC/GOAL}} \text{NP} \text{ADV}_{\text{TIME}}]
\]

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

(178) LC.106
\[
k\text{'anat }\quad ?\text{aj }\quad ?\text{no}\? \quad ?\text{enmam }\quad t\text{\textdegree }\quad ?\text{a}\? \quad ?\text{\texteta}
\]
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 ʔa 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.

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

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

(179)

\[
(ʔam) ʔuː pa? ʔə̠w ʔah
\]

Q.PRT NEG 2SG get Q.PRT

Didn’t you get it?

The answer is either ʔə̠w ʔəŋ ‘got it’ or ʔə̠w tew ‘didn’t get it’.

8.3.2 Tag questions

Tag questions are formed by adding the negative particle ʔu 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 ʔu 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.

\[ S_{\text{TAG QUESTION}}: [--- V ʔu V] \]
Example (181) has a subordinate clause which are the thoughts of the boy, and includes a tag question.

(181)   R.21
          ka’dowʔ  lɔŋ  kit  sam  hew  ?uː  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 lɔwh which means ‘or-not’. The schema for ‘Or-Not’ question formation is as below.

S_{OR-NOT QUESTION}: [V lɔwh S]

(182)   kaj  lɔwh  pe  jaʔ  paʔ
         have   or.not  mango of  2SG
         Do you have mangos or not?

(183)   LC.43
         kuat  ?ia  lɔwh  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 jaj man ‘do how’ 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 pia 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 mai paʔ?
be what name 2SG
What is your name?

8.3.4.3 Content questions: When
The Eastern Lawa word sajman ‘when’ is used to get information about when an event will happen. Examples (188) and (187) show content questions using sajman.
When will he go to his field?

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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bun</th>
<th>Hew</th>
<th>Kaʔnom</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boon</td>
<td>go</td>
<td>where</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Where did Boon go?

(190)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q</th>
<th>Keh</th>
<th>Pa?</th>
<th>Kaʔnom</th>
<th>Neh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>give.birth</td>
<td>you</td>
<td>where</td>
<td>eh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 occurred. Example (191) shows a content question using *juhman* ‘why’.

(191)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hew</th>
<th>Pa?</th>
<th>Wiaŋ</th>
<th>Juhman</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>go</td>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>Chiang Mai</td>
<td>why</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)

\[
\text{juh pa? \textit{jaŋman}} \\
do.\text{make} \ 2\text{SG} \ \textit{how} \\
\text{How did you do that?}
\]

(193) LC.240

\[
\text{keh mah \textit{jaŋman}} \\
able \ \text{be} \ \textit{how} \\
\text{How would (you) be able?}
\]

(194) LC.243

\[
\text{keh ?u: joŋ \textit{jaŋman}} \\
able \ \text{not} \ \text{know} \ \textit{how} \\
\text{How could (he) not know?}
\]

8.3.5 Ability questions
The Eastern Lawa word *keh* ‘able’ is used in questions with other question words to ask for information about ability.

The general schema for ability questions is as follows:

\[
S_{\text{ABILITY}}: [(?am) \textit{keh} \ \textit{lowh} \ --- \ ?ah]
\]

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

(195)

\[
\text{keh kʰap \textit{lowh} pa? \textit{lo}t \textit{tʰip} \ ?ah} \\
able \ \text{ride or.not} \ 2\text{SG} \ \text{bicycle (NT)} \ \text{Q.PRT}
\]

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  te?
I  go  plant.rice  PRO.SUBJ
I went and planted my rice

Imperative:

(197)

hew  sewm  te?
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  ɔʔ
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Polite request</th>
<th>Mid (unmarked)</th>
<th>Forceful command</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hɔʔ</td>
<td>teʔ</td>
<td>?an</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 position of the clause. Examples (200) and (201) demonstrate the negative imperative.

(200)

```
puː caʔ jiŋ 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.

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

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 kaik ‘wash’ in the first clause and hew ‘go’ in the second clause is the same.

\[(202)\]

\[(ʔaj) \text{ kaik na te? miah hew nɨŋ } pʰɛʔ\]
\[\text{I wash face my and go to forest}\]
\[\text{(I) washed my face and went to the forest}\]

In example (203), two sentences with different subjects are conjoined.
Example (204) shows miah combined with ṭəŋ, a subject anaphor, to form maŋ\textsuperscript{28} which is also glossed here as ‘and’.

(204) LC.251

\textit{te? mah juañ newm maŋ juañ 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:

$S_{\text{COMPLEX}}$: \[\text{NP}_{\text{SUB}} \text{ V}_{\text{MATRIX}} \text{ [S}_{\text{COMPLEMENT}]\}}\]

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

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

(205)

\textit{ʔaŋ 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.

\textsuperscript{28} More investigation is required into the properties of maŋ.
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.

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

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)

\[ \text{after.that when wake 3SG morning} \]

R.57 (Main clause)

\[ \text{child get key REL had PRO.SUBJ yesterday DEM} \]

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)

\[
\text{bat} \quad \text{kih} \quad \text{taʔ} \quad \text{saw} \quad pɛ \quad tʰo \\
\text{when} \quad \text{slice} \quad \text{uncle} \quad \text{Saaw} \quad \text{mango} \quad \text{DEM}
\]

(main clause)

\[
kʰo \quad \text{lo}k \quad \text{doih} \quad \text{teʔ} \quad kʰo \\
do.\text{accidently} \quad \text{cut} \quad \text{finger} \quad \text{PRO.SUBJ} \quad \text{do.\text{accidently}}
\]

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.

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

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)

\[
\text{kaŋ} \quad \text{sam} \quad \text{hew} \quad \text{naʔ} \quad \text{take} \quad ?\text{apron} \quad kʰu \quad \text{teʔ} \\
\text{before} \quad \text{FUT} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{to} \quad \text{headman} \quad \text{change} \quad \text{clothes} \quad \text{PRO.SUBJ}
\]

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

(210)

\[
?\text{apron} \quad kʰu \quad \text{teʔ} \quad \text{kaŋ} \quad \text{sam} \quad \text{hew} \quad \text{naʔ} \quad \text{take} \\
\text{change} \quad \text{clothes} \quad \text{PRO.SUBJ} \quad \text{before} \quad \text{FUT} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{to} \quad \text{headman}
\]

(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”.

104
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)

\[ \text{puip} \ t^b \ \text{hew} \ \text{to} \ \text{kat} \quad \text{kas} \ \text{huak} \ \text{te}? \quad \text{ho}^n \text{hian} \]
3SG go to market before go.up PRO.SUBJ school

She slept while I made food.

9.3.2.2 Reason adverbial clauses
Adverbial clauses for ‘reason’ use the subordinate conjunction kʰow. Example (213) provides an example of a ‘reason’ adverbial clause.

(213) (subordinate clause)

\[ \text{kʰow} \quad \text{kuat} \ \text{spm} \ \text{ta} \ \text{saw} \quad t^b \]
because hungry uncle Saw DEM

Because uncle Saw is hungry,

(main clause)

\[ \text{sam} \ \text{hew} \ \text{sewp} \ \text{taih} \quad \text{niij} \ p^b c? \]
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 pin.

In (214), the subordinate conjunction pin is used for conditional clauses and the adverbial clause has a VS construction.
In (215) the subordinate conjunction *pin* is used for a conditional clause and the adverbial clause has a VS construction.

Example (216) has the same conditional adverbial *pin* ‘if’ introducing the subordinate clause.

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.
Even though their boss let them work half a day only, the workers still complained still at having PRO.SUBJ work Saturday.

Example (218) is another example of concession adverbial subordination.

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.

In spite of the fact that he grew up in this village,
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 kʰɾəŋ jaŋ
person must (TH) work every kind
People must do every kind of work,

(subordinate clause)
tián paʔ sam ḥawh som
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) kaʰdowʔ piʔ pʰiat ʰəŋ but not in the same noun phrase in (221).
One of the kids invited the child who arrived alone,

try switching on the light.

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).

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.

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 *hoʔ*, 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 interaction 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


APPENDIX A
LA CONVERSATION

A conversation with La after she had her baby. Participants are La, her mother, (MLa), khru A. Recorded 23/09/2013 and transcribed by Greg Blok with help from khru A.

LC.1

ʔam keh paʔ ?iah kpw 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 neć
Q give.birth you where eh
Q V NP_{SUBJ} INT

Where did you give birth?
S: A

LC.3

ekẹh cum ʔonj

give.birth Chom Thong
V XP

(I) gave birth (in) Chom Thong
S: La

LC.4

cum ʔonj ?eh
Chom Thong PRT.AGRE
Chom Thong eh
S: A
Boy or girl?

S: A

How many kilos was she at birth?

S: A

(she) was two kilos and one hundred grams only

S: La

(That’s) quite small eh

S: A
But she is hopefully perfect and strong.

Interesting we can have ?u ?eh between the verb and the negation.

Did you have to incubate (her)?

Repetition of the verb lwəh lwəh to make it more forceful? – you had to had to.
She was incubated just a little, one night only.

Didn’t the doctor make an apt with you, maybe?

Another appointment to go check vaccines and stuff like this eh?

An appointment was given to me to go check-up at Hot.
LC.20
kit  ləwh  cum  tø  tæŋ  laʔa  te?
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 ʔakia  t³ɔ  saʔŋej  ləwh  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
ʔaik  paʔ  kʰum  teʔ  lah
stay.at  you  spa  PRO.SUBJ  Q
V  NP_SUBJ  NP  PRO.SUBJ  Q
Have you stayed at the spa?
S: A

LC.23
ʔəm  kiaŋ  maʔ  keʔ  ʔaik  kaʔdowʔ  saŋəj  jaŋ  hej  t³ɔh
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  t³ɔh  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.
Not sure if one day was enough eh

S: Mother of La

She wanted that much.

S: Mother of La

\textit{paŋ} includes \textit{paʔ} ‘2/3SG’ and \textit{ŋ} the subject marker (or pronoun).

Really! Only one day?

S: A

that’s (what she) said

S: M La

I was there for a whole week

S: A
LC.29

\(k^{hə} \quad ?əη \quad ti? \quad saŋaic\)

enough she one day

V NP\text{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 ?əη is pronominal and points to La or ‘It was enough one day’ if ?əη is a dummy subject.

LC.30

\(ʔuː \quad k^{hə} \quad əŋ \quad kuat \quad k^{hə} \quad ?əη \quad ho\? \quad la\? \quad ?əη\)

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

\(ɨn \quad ?aić \quad paʔ \quad ta \quad k^{hun} \quad teʔ\)

if stay you in spa PRO.SUBJ

ADV\text{CONDITIONAL} V NP\text{SUBJ} PP NP\text{LOC} POSS

If you stay in your spa,

S: A

LC.31b

\(?am \quad ?ah \quad ?mɛ \quad keʔ \quad man \quad mah \quad ?əη \quad puj \quad ho\)

Q say another 3SG what be it person else

Q V ADV NP\text{SUBJ} INT V\text{COP} NP NP ADV

What's another way to say it? (what does) someone else (call) it?

S: A

LC.33

\(liak \quad k^{haw} \quad saw\)

enter rice (NT) wash (NT)

V NP V

Enter a rice wash

S: M La
No, if we say it in our Lawa (language) - another way

S: A

enter into the spa

enter into the spa

Your steamy (place)

Stay by the fire, is this how you say it – Stay at your steamy (place).

S: A

Is ?a pronominal? Like an unspecified person? Or is it verbal?
LC.40
pʰuaŋ pa? te?
steam you PRO.SUBJ
VADJ NP PRO.SUBJ
Your steamy place
S: M La

LC.41
kaj kuan so? ma? 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
cəŋɔm 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 ?ia bwah ma? pʰapəŋ 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 no lah pi? 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
You enjoy everything you have eh

The appointment for you is when? (To visit the) doctor

I think its tomorrow

Oh really! Are you going up to the doctor again tomorrow?

In this example ‘the doctor’ is again at the end of the sentence but in a prepositional phrase and without the subject marker tʰɔ.
To get vaccinations for her

and I think to check her blood also tomorrow

So was she jaundice before that eh?

But this little one was not too jaundice before that

(She) was 11.5
LC.54

mah man tʰɔ
be what that
V Cop Q DEM
What is that?
S: A

LC.55

saŋej ?enj ?ɔ?
jaundice 3SG eh
V NP Subj
It's jaundice eh
S: A

LC.56

tɛ mah kaʔmˈbrah ?ŋ ñŋ pi kən tʰɔ
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

joʔ jaŋ joŋ kiaŋ pi tia haik 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 kiaŋ ?ŋ ?op teʔ
see give her incubation PRO Subj
V V NP Obj V PRO Subj
(They) saw her (and) incubated her
S: La
They wait till the weight of the little one reaches two kilos.

Oh really! Was (she) born, to start with not reaching (2 kilos)?

(this was... when (she) was born - came out - (she) was to it (2 kilos))

her weight dropped one night (later)

S: La
Were you able (to give birth) naturally – your body? Able to only you?

But the doctor induced me

Oh, your birth due date was already passed?

The due date was already past also eh,
LC.67b

\[ te \ mah \ ?w \ pa? \ ti \ sokia \ viak \ lah \]

but be not you yet pain stomach eh

CONJ V\_COP\_ NP\_SUBJ ADV V NP Q

but you weren’t having labour pains yet eh

S: A

LC.68a

\[ mah \ ?e? \ mar\# \ ma \ mah \ ?\# \]

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

\[ pi \ r\# \ mah \ l\#wh \ ja\# \ h\# \ lah \]

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

\[ ?ia \ tew \ so\#kia \ viak \ | \ mo \ t\#ci \ re\# \ l\#wh \ ?aj \]

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

\[ kam \ t\#ci \ p\#ci \ di \ | \ ?i \ n\#j \ t\#ci \ sam \ haik \ maesa \ lah \]

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 haik mah pi maj puj
will arrive be Songkran
FUT V V\text{cop} NP
(It) was going to arrive (when it) was Songkran
S: A

LC.72a
tew mah pi maj puj
not be Songkran
NEG V\text{cop} NP
But if it was Songkran
S: A
Interesting reversal of mah tew ‘is not’ to tew mah ‘but if it was’.

LC.72b
\text{?u} sam kaj mo ?aik la pa ?ah 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
laj chit jia reŋ la ?e
then (TH) inject (TH) medicine (TH) induce to A
ADV V [NP V]\text{np}_{obj} PP NP
then (they) injected medicine to induce me
S: A

LC.74a
reŋ la? ?aj 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
My little one was born just after lunch eh.

(ʔɔʔ = good emotional content)
The birth (arrive was born) was the middle of the day Saturday.

Born half past twelve.

Born on Saturday eh.

Half past twelve middle of the next day.

Nearly a whole 24 hours.
So, it's not natural pain (like) when you're able to give birth naturally.

S: M La

Is ta a dummy subject?

A whole (24 hours) eh?

S: A

Had another two hours (short of 24)

S: La

This is more of a statement than a question.

The little one was born very small.

S: M La
LC.89

tia? ma? maŋ joŋ
small mother is maybe
ADJ NP_SUBJ V_COP IRREALIS
(because) the mother is small maybe
S: A

maŋ = mah + ?ŋ

LC.89

ʔuː kuat kok joŋ | ?uː pa mak ?uː ?eh
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 ləwh 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 ?ŋ
that’s right
V_COP

That’s right.
S: A

LC.91b

pin caʔ ləwh paʔ | ?uː paʔ kuat kok ?uː?eh 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
I’ve had morning sickness since my pregnancy (started)

S: La

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

S: La

Yes during your pregnancy eh?

S: A

Pretty strong eh?

S: A

This (one) had very bad morning sickness

S: M La
S: A

LC.98a
ʔaj ḕi noj ɲaʔ ʔaj teʔ
1SG little.one of 1SG PRO.SUBJ
NP_SUBJ NP
I, my little one,

S: A

LC.98b
caʔ lōwh praman laʔaʔ kʰeʔ
possible experience approx. (TH) three months
IRREALIS V QTY NUM NP
had (morning sickness) for approximately three months
S: A

LC.98c
haik tew praman laʔa kʰe hōwh
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 ḕan sōwm teʔ kam tʰo
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
paiŋ kʰeʔ hej cak fiaŋ sia paiŋ kʰeʔ hej hewʔʔaʔ
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? haik paig 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 sqwm 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

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 ʰbuŋ 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 ʔenmam tʰɔ la? ʔəŋ
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
ʔə keh ɲo?
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
tə nom hej ta mah kwat kʰa:w
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 ʔə ʔɛ kwat ɫəwh 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 ʔəŋ ʔeh kiw ɫəwh 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
You weren’t able to eat much at all maybe

Morning sickness is pretty bad if that happens to you like that eh

You aren’t able to get out or go anywhere

(I) went from 48 (kilos) to 44 (kilos) only eh
Usually if someone is pregnant,

S: A

LC.116b

many people to big people eh

S: A

LC.118

You eat tasty food like us??

S: A

LC.119

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?
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
kit wansaw lah
born Saturday eh
V ADV_TIME Q
(she was) born on Saturday eh
S: A

LC.122
ti? ?atit paj la?a sayaic
one week and two day
NUM NP CONJ NUM NP
one week and two days
S: A

LC.123
bamruŋ ?ŋ cʰuaŋ hej
fatten (TH) it time this
V 3SG DEM
It'll fatten up (during) this time
S: A

LC.124
bamruŋ paʔkw te? lah maic juh ?ŋ laʔawm neŋ pa?
fatten (TH) body your eh good do.make it water breast you
Your body will fatten eh. Good for making your milk.

This is an interesting inversion of kpw paʔ ‘2SG’ to paʔkpw teʔ ‘your body’

Does she attach well? Her attachment?

(she attaches) well

She is normal eh

improvement have to fat
Improvement to getting fat

S: A

LC.129

kaj ˀme  pʰi lian  ke?
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

laʔaj  ?aj  ?aik  te?
today  I  stay.at
ADV_TIME  NP_SUBJ  V  PRO.SUBJ
Today I’ll be here
S: M La

LC.132

laʔaj  ŋaj  to?
today  only  eh
ADV_TIME  ADV  Q
Only today eh?
(I'm) going to Long Pong over there

picking tomatoes for me

Not fussy maybe? (talking about the baby)

(She's) not fussy if (she's) not wet.
At night (if she) isn’t wet she doesn’t cry

S: M La

Tomorrow she will be fussy

S: M La

Inject vaccination tomorrow will hurt for her a little

S: M La

Vaccinations do hurt a bit eh. (They’ll) take her blood also

S: A
My little one had a similar experience to this.

S: A

LC.141a

cor lōwh ?at? bat kit
take(blood) experienced she after born
V V NP_SUBJ ADV V

She had blood taken after being born,

S: A

?at? is the 3SG ‘she’ or the subject marker?

LC.141b

paman ti? ?atit lōwh hej
approx. (TH) one week more.than this
QTY NUM NP ADV DEM
approximately just after one week (old) this

S: A

LC.141c

cor lōwh ti? cuaj
take(blood) experienced one time
V V NUM ADV
first time taking blood

S: A

LC.144

sanej lōwh pi ron tʰə? w mo? neŋ
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 tʰi səŋ tʰɔŋ ?i mo? luan meh
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 tian laʔawm nəŋ ?aj ?ɔ?
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 rəŋ kuat mo? 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
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

\[
\text{ta? } \text{?u: } \text{lowh } \text{mo? } \text{man } \text{?o? } \text{la?awm } \text{neŋ}
\]

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

\[
\text{la?awm } \text{neŋ } \text{roŋ } \text{?ah } \text{keh } \text{la?awm } \text{neŋ } \text{man } \text{mah } \text{?eŋ } \text{?o?}
\]

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

\[
\text{la?awm } \text{neŋ } \text{hua } \text{saw } \text{pa? } \text{to?}
\]

water breast head clean (NT) yours eh

NP NP POSS Q

your head clean milk eh

S: M La

LC.152

\[
\text{?u: } \text{po } \text{maic } \text{te? } \text{jonŋ}
\]

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

\[ juaŋ \ tə \ mah \ \theta ah \ \theta e? \quad man \ mah \ \emptyset \emptyset \ \emptyset ? \]

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

\[ laʔawm \ \emptyset \ \emptyset \ jaŋ \ tʰ \ tʰ \ \emptyset ? \]

water breast like that that eh

NP  NP  DEM  DEM

milk like that eh

S: A

LC.155

\[ laʔawm \ \emptyset \ \emptyset \ səjej \ \emptyset \ \emptyset \ məj \ \emptyset \ \emptyset \ \emptyset \ eh \]

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

\[ pi? \ \emptyset \ \emptyset \ tʰ \ \emptyset \ \emptyset \ eh \]

that.which yellow that eh

REL  ADJ  DEM  Q

That yellow stuff eh?
This one did she have the yellow milk or not?

They say that its good. Good for babies (people)

It's the first milk eh?
LC.161

ʔw ti kuat ʔɔk ho? mah tʰɔ

not yet want out also be that

S: A

LC.162

ʔi rem ʔowh dut te? ʔəŋ te mah ʔw 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 bɔk sah laʔawm neŋ ʔəŋ

this from compare water breast hers

S: M La

LC.164

mah ʔme pi tia tʰɔ ti taic ʔi sak

be only that.one little that quickly already full

REL

that little one is quickly already full

S: M La

LC.165

ʔw ti ri lah ʔw ti ri kapɔ?

not yet big eh not yet big stomach

irrealis V NP

(she) isn’t big yet eh – stomach isn’t big yet

S: A
LC.166
tia \text{ʔ}daŋ kpw tia \text{ʔ}daŋ kapɔ?
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
hoit hewm nɔ? ?i ?ait newm nɔ?
finished bathing eh already sleep before eh
(you) finished bathing eh and (you) already slept before that eh
S: M La

LC.168
ʔia ?ah ?uʔeh ?ah
have.get call anything call
(idiom for a quiet baby)
S: M La

LC.169
hew liak to? kʰum ?deiŋ puj laʔej
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
ʔam liak pa? kaʔdo? chuaməŋ neh liak to? 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
One hour

LC.172

oh pin ʔi mah mok  kuat po  kuat kʰra? pa? 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)

LC.173

kʰra? pa? ʔəŋ ha lah
enough you it also eh

It was enough for you too eh

LC.174

ʔi hɔit laʔaj  cuaj  newm  laʔaj  sa? liak  kʰum  te?
already finished three times since today early enter spa her

She's already finished three times since early today – going into her spa

LC.175

maj ʔə ma lowh pʰuaj te? 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?

LC.176

ʔam keh lowh pʰuaj te? ʔah man ta? ʔə kaj kuin
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
ʔoʔaʔ birt taʔ mo ne
oh khun Birt eh

What about Birt?

S: A

LC.178
temah kuin liajʔaj newm mah tiaʔə hoʔ?
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 mahʔə kua səŋajʔəŋəʔəŋa 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 liajʔajʔəŋ kpw
mother adopt I his

I (am) his adopted mother

S: M La

LC.181
ʔia tew jəŋ ʔaj ʔə?
V NEG V NP
I hadn’t known that eh

S: A

LC.182
ʔam mah pen ma pia ʔəŋ
Q INT NP NP POSS
Who are his parents?

S: A

LC.183
kaj juaŋ newm hə pə ?iket tʰə
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 piʔəʔəŋ pə ʔaj bə mə ?ika tʰoŋ mə
mother his wife of khun Ba is.cop Ika DEM is.cop
NP 
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 tʰ ma? ʔəŋ
alread be that mother his
V NP POSS

That's right (she's) his mother

S: La

LC.186

ʔi pen ?ə kuin kʰre? ?əŋ pi ri tʰəh
who that child daughter hers person big that

Who is that? Her daughter – that big person (half-sister of Birt)

S: La

LC.187

keh kiah sa? ?əŋ la ma ne marəŋ ?əŋ
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

ʔw keh ʔw kiah ʔəŋ
not able not give him
NEG V NEG V NP

(She) wasn’t able to not give him (she had to)
After that his mother was the one who told me.

Then she marry again eh.

Birt's father and mother flirted with each other.

Back then it happened like this.
They flirted with each other. Then Ika got a big stomach.

S: M La

LC.194

kamṭʰ ?aj tʰ te? hew tʰamŋan viaŋ

after.that man PRO.SUBJ go work Chiang Mai

After that the man he went to work in Chiang Mai

S: M La

LC.195

tʰamŋan viaŋ ?u ca? ʔatia ʔme kʰaj kʰaj te?

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

te? jo? pi kʰraʔ te? hɔ?

so see person new he eh

So he saw someone new eh

S: M La

LC.197

pewh pi pʰraʔ tʰ ho 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 ʔeŋ hoʔ lah
discard that’s right that eh
That’s right (He) discarded (her) eh
S: La

LC.199
ʔw ti tian jia? ri viak ?akia mah jaj hej
not yet return big stomach first be like this
V V ADV
Not yet married and already pregnant – it’s like that
S: M La

LC.200
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 ?aj tʰ.

LC.201
padia kʰaj ka ?aŋ ?aŋ?
now behind time it eh

Now that was a long time ago eh
S: M La

LC.202
ʔam mah lwh puj juŋ ?e ?ah
Q be or.not person village our Q

Was he from our village or not?
S: A
lowh – ‘or not’.

LC.203

kuin ta miⁿdat tʰɔ maʔ ʔkwə?
child Mr Mindat that long.time.ago he

He is Mindat’s son

S: M La

LC.204

padia kaj ʔdan ʔah
now exists still Q
Is (he) still (alive) now?

S: A

LC.205

ta mindat tʰəh
Mr Mindat that
My Mindat? (you mean)

S: M La

LC.206

kaj kaj lampəŋ kanom kaʔ ʔəŋ ʔon̥ hew la ʔəŋ ʔon̥
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

niaʔ juan̥ ka haj̥
marry village place other
V NP
(He) married (in) another village

S: M La

LC.208

laj ?aik kaho lah
then (TH) stay.at there eh
Then (he) stayed there eh

S: A

LC.209

puʔ mu sommi tʰɔʔ ?ɔʔ
younger group Sommi that eh

Sommi is his younger brother eh

S: M La

tʰɔʔ with a new participant.

LC.210

ʔoh ʔah puj ʔοʔ ʔu mah kuin 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

spw sain luan samaʔ lah
heartless very much eh

That’s totally heartless eh

S: A

LC.212
have.get group ours he after.that eh V want him in our group (village) after that eh
S: A

LC.213
ʔdo ʔan la ʔaj ma? kuat ʔan
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 ka?ewh tʰo kit ʔan jia? ʔan
have like group yesterday (day) born hospital eh
They had (him) like (that day) yesterday, born in hospital
S: M La

LC.215
laʔai tʰo pʰot ʔan hew ʔdo ʔan la ʔaj ho?
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 ʔan kaʔowʔ saŋaic mah ʔan
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
LC.217
ʔia newm rek kit ?ah na ho ?ah
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
kit jaŋ kaʔewh laʔaj dokloŋ ?an ?aj 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
kiah ?aj liaŋ laʔa kʰej paj kua saŋaj
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 caŋwa? mah juh puj cik mah tʰo ?a?
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
"di ?an nom hew "dua ?aŋ la ?aŋ ho?
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
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

pen
who
Who?

S: M La

Birt eh

S: A

So I adopted (him)

S: M La

So his mother let me adopt (him)
LC.227
laʔa kʰej paj kua səŋaic ʔnəŋ
two month and ten days only

two months and ten days only
S: M La

LC.228
kit hə? paj
think HORT you

You think about that
S: M La

LC.229
kamtʰɑ kiah ma ?əŋ mo? ʔəŋ kamtʰɑ 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
moʔ nom
suck milk (TH)
suckle milk?
S: M La

LC.231
moʔ tew maʔ teʔ
suck not mother PRO.SUBJ
His mother didn’t suckle (him)
S: M La
LC.232
"di ?aj nom tʰ lah
buy I milk (TH) that eh
I bought that milk eh
S: M La

LC.233
meici jaŋ hej tʰ
Meiji brand this eh
This Meiji brand eh
S: M La

LC.234
ri maŋ nom ɪŋ hej
big with milk boy this
This boy grew up with milk
S: M La

Right dislocation of subject.

LC.235
rak luan maj lowh lah
love (TH) very you or.not eh
You love him a lot eh?
S: A

LC.236
kəsh ?w rak ?əŋ
able not love him

(I) couldn't but love him
S: M La

LC.237
S: M La

LC.238

so adopt I from be small him
V NP
So I adopted him from when he was small

S: M La

LC.239

?aj ?ia tew joŋ mah kuin liŋ maj ?a?
I have.get not know be child adopt your eh
I hadn’t known (he) was your adopted child eh

S: A

LC.240

keh mah jaŋ man
able be how
How would (you) be able (to know)

S: M La

LC.241

tc joŋ ?ŋ ho? kow ?ŋ lah
but (TH) know him eh him eh
V NP DEM
But he knows it eh? (Birt)

S: A

LC.242

?a joŋ ?ŋ
so know he
He knows it

S: M La

LC.243

keh ?u: joŋ jaŋ man
able not know how

How could (he) not know?

S: M La

LC.244

ti ?i liaŋ ?a maŋ
so already adopt
So (you) adopted (him)

S: A

LC.245

?ah newm mah kät əŋ hoʔ lah
tell since be born him that eh
told him since he was born eh

S: A

LC.246

?ah na rek kit ?əŋ | liaŋ ?aŋ əŋ ?a?
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

?am mah bōwh mah puj naŋ ne 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
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 juan newm maŋ juan tiaŋ ?e juan 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 kit jaŋ hej joŋ
will be think like this maybe
Should think like this maybe

S: M La
His mother and father eh (no) his grandmother and grandfather back then

After that if (she) married again, the mother was scared

(He) would also discard her again

Another person could request “We want him”
ʔu kiah ?əŋ
not give him

(She) wouldn’t give him

S: M La

LC.259
ta kiah ?əŋ la na? ?aj ʔəŋ pa joŋ ?a?
sogive 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
cəʔ joŋ tew jaŋ ?aj
irrealis know not like I

I’m not so sure

S: M La

LC.263
pumiʔ’mak maŋ ?aj bəʔ maʔtiw ?əŋ
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 ko jäam

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
ka˚daw? ˚amaj ˚lom ˚pi? ˚hew ˚sa?wi˚j ˚m˚bain ˚ka˚t˚a˚j
child  male  carry on shoulder  take  net  hold  bucket
A boy walking carrying a net on his shoulder, holding a bucket

BDF.1b
ka˚j ˚sø? ˚?i˚a ˚te˚? ˚k˚ri˚a˚p ˚k˚˚a˚n ˚k˚ai˚h
have  dog  of  PRO.SUBJ  follow  behind
with his dog following behind

BDF.1c
he˚w ˚p˚ø˚st ˚ni˚j ˚tu˚j ˚ti˚? ˚˚ø˚hw ˚ka˚nai ˚p˚ø˚e˚?
go  arrive  at  pond  one  place  inside  forest
is going to a pond at a place in the forest

BDF.2
˚sø? ˚˚?i˚a ˚˚ø˚n˚e˚w˚m ˚”˚g˚ia˚p ˚tu˚j ˚ca˚j ˚ti˚a˚p ˚te˚?
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
˚co˚n ˚”˚g˚ia˚p ˚tu˚j ˚jo˚? ˚˚k˚ø˚p ˚˚n˚e˚w˚m ˚ni˚j ˚˚h˚la˚? ˚bu˚g˚
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

"bain piʔ to sawiŋ te?
hold v.chain run net his
holding his net he ran,

BDF.4b

soʔ ?ia ?əŋ to ləwh mia ?əŋ
dog of his run was with 3SG
his dog ran with him

BDF.5

ʔaʔ sam ʔəak kop piʔ ʔaik 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 sandɔw miah kak kʰɔw 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 soʔ kam pui
head.over.heels both dog both person
Both the boy and the dog went head over heels

BDF.6c

səwm kain teʔ raʔ toʔ tuŋ
submerge 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
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 芰oak kop kop paʔtiaʔ ?acua 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 kʰyw saʔɔh
go arrive at branch tree dry
(and) landed on a dry tree branch

BDF.9
kaⁿdɒ kʰ iaʔ m oak kop
child follow V chain catch frog
the boy followed to catch the frog

BDF.10
coh sɔʔ ?ia teʔ ?om 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 bəm ɔək kop
dog leap catch frog
The dog leaped to catch the frog

BDF.14a
kaⁿdɒ wat saʔwiŋ ?ia te sam wat cewp kop tʰɔ
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 ?ia teʔ ?iqh
go catch dog his instead
(and he) caught his dog instead

BDF.15
kop paʔtiat liak toʔ tuŋ hew pot niŋ samɔ w
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 ?ia teʔ tʰuŋ tʰɛŋ
swing catch dog his hang.down
The net caught his dog - hanging down

BDF.17a
wat ?w ca pin kop kaⁿdɒw? ?ah la kop tʰɔ
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
BDF.17b
laʔa laʔaj saʔŋai saʔeh te?
two three day another day
“two or three days or another day,”

BDF.17c
sam hew RELEASE and me pay? ti? lip
FUT come catch again 2SG one time
“(I) will come to catch you again”

BDF.18
ka'dowʔ miah so? ?aiʔ
child and dog return home
The boy and the dog returned home

BDF.19a
kop newm nian ka'dowʔ ?aiʔ
frog sit look child return
The frog sat looking (at) the boy returning home

BDF.19b
taj laʔa: te? miah so? ?ia te?
all two PRO.SUBJ with dog poss. PRO.SUBJ
both of them with his dog

BDF.20
kop ?aw kaj piʔnew ?aik ʔnoŋ to tug niam 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
laj kit kuat kʰriap ka'dowʔ miah so? tʰʔh
then (Thai) think want to follow child and dog DEM
Then (the frog) thought "(I) want to follow the child and that dog"
(the frog) saw both sets of footprints (and) followed the way to the child’s house

when he arrived at the child’s house

he saw the boy and the dog washing themselves in a bath

the frog smiled

The child and dog leapt (for joy)

(there) went to (be) with the two in the bath

All three were friends together
Tiger and Elephant story told by Ta Saai from Ban Khun.

ET.1

kaj saŋ tiʔ ?awia tiʔ him juaj tho
have.exist elephant one tiger one close village DEM
Close to a village there was an elephant and a tiger.

ET.2

kʰen poʔteʔ kʰen ?amnat teʔ
challenge each.other challenge power PRO.SUBJ
They challenged each other to see who was more powerful

ET.3

saŋ ?ah teʔ ri?
Elephant said PRO.SUBJ big
The elephant said of himself “I’m big”

ET.4

?awia ?ah 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 ?ah puj hlat taʔ teʔ
elephant said people scared of me
The elephant said “People are scared of me”
ET.6

kam tʰɔʔahʔawiaʔəŋ
after that said tiger SUBJ.MRK
After that the Tiger said

ET.7

sahaj sahaj teʔriʔpaʔ
dfriend friend PRO.SUBJ? big 2SG
“My Friend, my friend you are big ”

ET.8

laʔiakʔakina
shout first ok
“(you) shout first ok”

ET.9

kuaksaŋʔa?kuaksaŋ
roared elephant and roared elephant
The elephant roared and roared

ET.10

pujtoʔhewniantuksoʔteʔ
tpeople ran v.chain go look all of them
People ran to see – all of them.

ET.11

ʔuʔhlatinjpujhlatteʔsaŋ
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 tʰɔʔəhɔitpaj
after.that finished he
After that he finished (roaring)
The people stopped looking at him.

“I’ll roar another (time and compare) yours with mine” said the tiger.

After that the tiger roared like this

(They) agreed to meet in seven days and seven nights time.
ET.19
ʔaik taʔ nyuat tʰɔŋ saŋ tʰɔ jiam
be. at at stream DEM elephant DEM weep
At a stream the elephant was weeping

ET.20
ʔo pi pat nyuat tiaʔ tʰɔ
enough that flow stream small DEM
Enough that the small stream flowed

ET.21
krataj tiaj kam tʰɔ
rabbit cross after. that
A rabbit crossed (the stream) after that

ET.22
bat tiaj joʔ laʔawm nyuat 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
ʔaik tam ʔaik 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 ?ah kataj ?əŋ
follow look EXCLM said rabbit DEM
“I’ll follow this and see” said the rabbit

ET.27a
miat ?ako nian
after follow look
After following to look

ET.27b
ʔəə “bra ?am mah saŋ jiam
oh sneak Q be elephant crying
(it) exclaimed “Oh, have I snuck up on a crying elephant?”

ET.28
sahaj sahaj man pi juh pa? kaʔrəj
friend friend what REL do.make 2SG there
“Friend, friend, what are you doing there?”

ET.29
ʔa tʰa nan laʔ ?awia
fight with tiger
“I fought with the tiger”

ET.30
kʰəŋ poʔ teʔ maŋ ?awia can paʔ ?awia
challenge together with tiger lost to tiger
“I had a competition with the tiger and lost”

ET.31
ʔaleh saŋaj ?aleh sewm sam ?aŋ 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 kiah ?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 ?me sahaj*
how many day more friend

“How many days are left friend?”

ET.34

*sa?eh*
tomorrow

“tomorrow”

ET.35

*ʔəə ?dewm 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

*kiah puj to juanʔ hej*
have people in village this

“Have the people in this village,

ET.36b

*huaj ?awp pit laʔ paʔ ?aw tiʔ ?ahuaj*
steam sticky.rice for you me one pot
steam some sticky rice for you and me one pot”

ET.37

*mbroh to bo*
pound in mortar

“Pound it in a mortar”
ET.38
kratay hiaŋ ɔ?
rabbit smart eh
The rabbit is smart eh

ET.39
kam tʰɔʔai karaj paj
after.that sleep there 2SG
“AAfter that you sleep here”

ET.40
miat haik saŋaj tʰ ʰəmb oʔəŋ
when reach day DEM pound it
“When the day comes pound it”

ET.41
lwpʔaw pit tʰ niŋ kaiŋ
cover sticky.rice DEM on head
“The sticky rice covers your head”

ET.42
nian jaŋ man samŋ saŋ tʰ
look how brain elephant DEM
“How elephant's brains look”

ET.43
pʰiaʔawia ʰmat haik tam nat
come tiger when reach follow appointment
The tiger came when the appointed time arrived

ET.44
kam me piʔ joʔ ʔawia jaŋ hej
after.that REL see tiger like this
After that the tiger saw something like this
ET.45
jiŋ ?an ?awp pit te?
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 ?aj samɔŋ jum luan
eat 1SG brain tasty very
“I'm eating its brain – its very tasty!”

ET.48
pi peh samɔŋ saŋ ?ɔh
REL brain elephant eh
“This elephant brain eh”

ET.49
oh I put I yet eat
“Oh! I put (it here), but I (haven't) eaten it yet.”

ET.50
kok ja? saŋ ja? ?aj ka
eat of elephant of my first
“(He is) eating my elephant before me.”

ET.51
me ?awia
poor tiger
The poor tiger
ET.52

*saŋ* ʔaiɲ  haik  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 te? niŋ ?awia 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 jo? kataj tʰɔ
then saw a rabbit DEM
Then (it) saw a rabbit

TS.3
man pi? puih pa?
what REL carry you
What are you carrying?

TS.4
puih plɔŋ
carrying grass.roofing
(I'm) carrying grass roofing

TS.5
ʔɔ ho? somaŋ luan te? ?aw
oh also tired very PRO.SUBJ 1SG
Oh I'm also very tired
TS.6
pok pa? ?w pian ?ah
ride 2SG NEG able Q
Couldn’t I ride on you?

TS.7
pian pian pok "ko ?aw kej
able able ride back 1SG here
(you) can (you) can, ride here on my back

TS.8
moŋ doih ?andsh
hear sound flint
hear sound of flint

TS.9
tih ?andsh ca tek tek tek
strike flint possible tek tek tek
strike the flint, tak tak tak

TS.10
man pi juh pa? "ko ?aw
what that.which doing? you back 1SG
What are you doing - on my back?

TS.11
kiat piang te? hughiaŋ sata? te?
bite teeth my wave tail my
(I’m) biting my teeth and waving my tail

TS.12
tih ?andsh miah tok pop
strike flint and lit pop
(It) struck the flint and it lit - pop
TS.13

haʔ plŋ 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 ɳɔ tʰɔ ʔŋ
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 plŋŋ ʔawia tʰɔ
carry grass roof tiger DEM
The tiger was carrying grass roofing

TS.18

puih plŋŋ sam juh munŋ paʔaic teʔ nipŋ
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
Oh what are you carrying friend? (Rabbit speaking)

(I'm) carrying roofing

What are you going to make there?

(I'm) going to make a roof at the place I sleep

oh (I) am very tired - climbing this mountain

Please can (I) sit on your roofing?

(you) can (you) can - sit on my back here
TS.27
newm  jaŋ  hej
sat down  like  this
(the rabbit) sat down like this

TS.28
teh  ?ande - tek  tek
strike  flint  -  tak  tak
struck a flint – tak rak

TS.29
man  pi  juh  pa?  sahaj
what  that  do.make  2SG  friend
What are you doing friend?

TS.30
kiat  piaŋ  huŋ  hiaŋ  sata?  te?  ho?
biting  teeth  waving  tail  my  also
(I’m) biting my teeth and also waving my tail

TS.31
tek  tek
tak  tak
(sound of flint)

TS.32
man  pi?  juh  pa?
what  are  doing  you
What are you doing?

TS.33
kiat  piaŋ  te?  oh
biting  teeth  PRO.SUBJ
(I’m) biting my teeth
TS.34
tek  tek
tak  tak
(sound of flint)

TS.35
tɔk
(sound of ignition)
(ignition)

TS.36
kam tʰ  haʔ  plŋ  tʰ
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  ho
tiger ran up mountain that
The tiger ran up the mountain

TS.39
oh  tɔ  leih  to  yuat
oh run down to stream
Oh (he) should run down to the stream

TS.40
tɔ  leih  to  yuat  tɔ  leih  to  yuat  tʰ
run down to stream run down to stream there
run down to the stream, run down to the stream
(The tiger) ran down to the stream

The wind blew it (the fire) (stoked the fire)

(breath) blew it (and) burnt the tiger.

it has stripes even until today

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
kaⁿdowʔ ʔamaj ɕŋ poʔ ɲɨŋ poŋ
child male stand next to at window
A boy stands next to a window,

R.1b
saŋko: nian ɬe ʔɔk kanok poŋ
peer look rain out outside window
staring at the rain outside the window

R.2
tiaʔ ʔu: ɬŋ 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 bɔŋ 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
teiḥ paj teiḥ ma bɔŋ ja ʔoŋ
kick go kick come ball of his
(He) kicked his ball around
R.4b
raŋ  poŋ  mak  maew  liak  "glawm  taŋi:
fell  stairs  roll  enter  under  chair
(it)  fell  down  the  stairs  and  rolled  under  a  chair

R.5
laŋ  pɔk  "glawm  taŋi:  sam  "di  bon  ʔia  te?
then  reach  under  chair  ASP  get  ball  of  his
then  (he)  reached  under  the  chair  to  get  his  ball

R.6
waŋ  pɔk  ʔẹj  taic  ʔu  mah  haik
when  reach  3SG  arm  not  be  enough
when  he  reached  for  it,  (his)  arm  was  not  long  enough

R.7
waŋ  sawp  pa  pia  bon  ʔia  te?  cawp  kunce:  ti?  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
ɛnok  ʔu  jŋ  mah  kunce  man
confused  not  know  be  key  what
confused  (he)  didn’t  know  what  the  key  was  for

R.9
laŋ  kit  ɛŋ  hew  pɔt  ʔu  ʔeih  to?  kanaj  jia?  ʔia  te?
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
laŋ  pɔt  hip  tia?  ʔu  pin
try  open  box  small  NEG  able
(He)  tried  opening  a  small  box,  but  (he)  wasn’t  able  to
R.11
lɔŋ  pøt  tuː  ?u  pin
try  open  cupboard  NEG  able
(He) tried opening a cupboard, but wasn't able to

R.12
lɔŋ  pøt  kɔŋ  kep  viak  ?u  pin
try  open  box  store  insects  NEG  able
(he) tried opening a box that stored insects, but wasn't able to

R.13
lɔŋ  pøt  ?awiaʔ  ?u  pin
try  open  door  NEG  able
(he) tried opening a door, but wasn't able to

R.14
hew  cawp  hit  riʔ  pʰrain  tiʔ  bew
go  find  casket  big  old  one  CLF
(He) went and found a big old casket

R.15
laj  lɔŋ  kit  sam  pøt
then  try  think  FUT  open
then (he) thought “will it open?”

R.16
wat  pøt  pin  ?əŋ
when  open  able  it
when (he) tried opening it he was able!

R.17
wat  pøt  hit  tʰɔ  ?ək  cawp  ponj  kaʔnaj
when  open  casket  DEM  out  find  ladder  inside
When the casket was opened (he) found a ladder inside
have a hole going down

The boy started down the ladder inside the casket

When (he) arrived at the base of the ladder, (he) found a tunnel

The boy thought “Should I go or not?”

After a while (he) decided to go down the path.

After walking for ages (he) didn’t even get to the end

(he) tried jogging
R.25

\(\text{wat} \to \text{newm} \to \text{newm} \text{ cawp} \ ?\text{awia} \ \text{ti?} \ \text{ban}\)

when run only run only find door one CLF

When (he) had run and run, (he) found a door.

R.26

\(\text{kando?} \ \text{lo} \ \text{pzh} \ ?\text{awia} \ \text{wat} \ \text{pzh} \ \text{?en}\)

boy try open door when open it

The boy tried opening the door and it opened!

R.27

\(\text{kanaj} \ \text{hoen} \ \text{kaj poh} \ \text{?en}\)

inside room is.exists stairs S.F.

Inside the room was some stairs

R.28

\(\text{ka"dow?} \ \text{lo} \ \text{huak tam poh to? kanaj hoen}\)

child try climb follow stairs in inside room

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

R.29

\(\text{puit poh} \ \text{kaj ceh huak ?en}\)

top stair is.exists hatch climb S.F.

At the top of the stairs was a hatch to climb through

R.30

\(\text{ka"dow?} \ \text{poh ceh huak ni of puit poh t'eh}\)

child open hatch climb to top stairs that

The boy opened the hatch to climb to the top of the stairs

R.31

\(\text{wat ?ok p'eha? to tow ceh nia? ?ok te?}\)

when out from hole stand smile out PRO.SUBJ

When (he) came out from the hole, (he) stood there smiling to himself
(He) had arrived at the top of a lighthouse!

The boy stood looking around (and) saw a small island.

A place (he) didn't know.

The three children took the child who came alone that

and retruned to eat at their house.
When (they) finished eating, (they) went out together to play in the yard.

In front of their house, (they) went and played with a kite together.

When (they) finished playing with the kite, (they) went together to make a sand castle.

A child wearing a green t-shirt, pointed at the sun.

(He said) to all of them, “It is already night and they needed to return (home)”
All four of the children went together back to the lighthouse.

It was already dusk when (they) climbed up top

It was already starting to get dark

One of the kids invited the child who arrived alone to try switching on the light

When (he) switched the light on, the boy who arrived alone was happy

(He) had never done this before even once

The child who came alone, asked for his leave from his friends
R.49
leih nɪŋ cɔŋ ɲa huak te? kamrɔŋ te?
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 pɔŋ to? kʰaj kʰra? ?umɔŋ ?ɔk te?
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 te? te mait
when finished stop end PRO.SUBJ happy
When he came to the end he was happy

R.52
huak pɔŋ ʔɔk to hit pi? pɔt ti? 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 nia? ʔia te? cewp som ?awp 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 kʰe?
night.time child peer look moon
That night the boy stared at the moon

R.55
ʔat samah ɲɔ nɪŋ ho pa pʰa kʰanŋ pɔt ?dein ?aik
light at lighthouse switched.on long.time sleep
After that when (he) awoke in the morning

The child got that key that he had yesterday

He snuck out and went and opened the old casket

(he) snuck again and ran to his friends that he had played with all yesterday

The child was happy to meet with his friends

(He) didn’t know his friends were coming

When he saw his friends,
The one boy led his three friends to play at his house.

At the open window he saw that lighthouse on the small island.

Close but far away from his house.
APPENDIX F
BO LUANG SONG

By Wandi

Recorded mid 2012.

Intro:

BL1
ʔa me mu ma? ʔa pen tʰo
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 ṭȵ
say.speak what REL bring PRT
Tell us of one who brings to us...

BL3
rək kuan saŋ "daj ʔapəj
bring baby elephant long trunk
brings a baby elephant with a long trunk

BL4
rək kuan maj "daj ʔadik
bring baby bull long horns
brings a baby bull with long horns
brings a baby phesant with a long tail

brings a baby fish (that) talks with a pointy mouth

Go to the rice field, go and mend the walkway between the paddies

See Aunty Saw carrying baskets on her shoulder (with a pole between)

See uncle Njuang, holding an umbrella

They have two grandchildren
BL11
ʔɛ kotet ʔəŋ ʔɛ kotan
chicken clucking chicken clucking
Chickens clucking
kotet - is the sound that chickens make

BL12
ʔɛ pʰalɑŋ ʔaŋ dəŋ 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 həŋ həŋ ʔo ʔɛ ʔnaiŋ
eat much much INTERJ chicken male
eats too much too much, oh, the father chicken

Verse 2:

BL15
ciak ʔəŋ ʔeŋ ʔa kʰəŋ kʰeŋ to samow
frog type of frog sit cross legged on stone
The ʔəŋ ʔeŋ frog sits cross legged on a rock

BL16
ciak ʔain kʰɾpw na ʔa jəŋ sokik
frog come new NEG know scared of
the frog just arrived, it doesn’t know what to be scared of
When it fights another, it doesn’t know it has a headache.

The one who has no food, doesn’t know (he) wants to eat (is hungry).

Pick a leaf, burn the teak leaf that is smelly.

Eat lime juice (but) didn’t swallow (it).

not able to eat frog, curry not tasty.

pick it up and give it to the chickens.

This line repeats another 2 times.
# RESUME

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name:</th>
<th>Gregory Blok</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date of Birth:</td>
<td>10 August 1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of Birth:</td>
<td>New Zealand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutions Attended:</td>
<td>2003, BMin, Bible College of NZ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>