A GRAMMAR OF KAYAN LAHTA

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

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

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

วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้เป็นไวยากรณ์เชิงวรรณาภาษาคะยันลาห์ตา (Kayan Lahta) ภาษาที่มีผู้พูดในทางตะวันออกของประเทศพม่า บริเวณรัฐคะยาห์ และรัฐฉาน ภาษาคะยันลาห์ตานั้นเป็นภาษาในตระกูลทิเบต-พม่า สาขาภาษากระเหรี่ยง ผู้พูดภาษาคะยันลาห์ตานั้นเป็นของตนเอง งานวิจัยฉบับนี้ศึกษาเฉพาะภาษาควบหตู (Kaung Htu) ที่พูดในทางใต้ของรัฐฉานเท่านั้น

นอกจากจะเป็นการพรรณาระบบไวยากรณ์ภาษาคะยันลาห์ตาแล้ว วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้ยังบรรยายระบบเสียงในภาษาที่ใช้ด้วย ภาษาคะยันลาห์ตานั้นมีลำดับคำแบบ SVO โดยคำกริยาประจำประโยคในรูปของหน่วยสร้างกริยาเรียง และเต็มไปด้วยอนุภาคต่างๆ รวมถึงอนุภาคหลักประโยค ในทางสร้างประโยคก็ภาษาคะยันลาห์ตานี้เป็นภาษาที่มีวรรณยุกต์ในระดับคำ วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้ก็ได้กล่าวถึงระบบเสียง โครงสร้างนามมูล สิ่งต่างระบบประโยคความสัมพันธ์และประเภทของส่วนขยายของพยัญชนะ นอกจากนี้ยังบรรยายถึงภูมิลักษณ์ทางภาษา ภูมิลักษณ์ทางประวัติศาสตร์ของผู้พูดภาษา ประชากร ถิ่นฐาน และศาสนาด้วย

ด้านการเก็บข้อมูลผู้วิจัยเก็บข้อมูลจากผู้บอกภาษาจำนวนหนึ่งหมู่บ้าน โดยใช้รายการคำศัพท์จำนวน 500 คำ และคำศัพท์จากวิเคราะห์ดำกรีกจำนวนหนึ่งมากวิเคราะห์ระบบเสียง สำนวน การวิเคราะห์ระบบไวยากรณ์และการตอบผู้วิจัยใช้ข้อมูลจากเรื่องราวภาษาคะยันลาห์ตานั้นจำนวนตามเรื่อง และแบบสอบถามเกี่ยวกับระบบไวยากรณ์หนึ่งชุด
ประโยชน์ที่คาดว่าจะได้รับจากงานวิจัยชิ้นนี้คือเป็นแนวทางสำหรับการศึกษาระบบไวยากรณ์ในภาษาคะยันลาห์ตาในอนาคต เนื่องจากยังไม่มีงานวิจัยทางด้านไวยากรณ์ในภาษาฯ มาก่อน นอกจากนี้ยังช่วยสร้างรูปแบบการเขียนที่แตกต่างจากภาษาคะยันลาห์ตาอื่นๆ ซึ่งเป็นการช่วยให้ไม่ให้ภาษาคะยันลาห์ตาต้องสูญพันธุ์ไป นอกจากนี้ยังถือได้ว่ามีเอกสารสำคัญเกี่ยวกับภาษาฯ ที่กำลังจะสูญพันธุ์อยู่เพิ่มขึ้นอีกหนึ่งฉบับด้วย
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

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

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

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

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

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

Chapter four provides a description of noun phrases, adpositional phrases and relative clauses. Noun phrase heads, possessives, adjectives, demonstratives,
quantifiers, numbers and classifiers are discussed in this chapter. Classifiers, appositions and relative clauses are also included in this chapter.

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

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

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

1.3 Historical background
The Kayan are one of the Karen groups living in eastern Burma (Myanmar). Linguistically, Kayan is a Tibeto-Burman language (Figure 1). Kayan Lahta is one of the sub-groups under Kayan (Figure 2).
Figure 1 Classification of Sino-Tibetan (Matisoff 2003)
The Kayan Lahta mostly live in southern Shan state. There are a few Kayan Lahta villages in Kayah state. Kayan Lahta people believe that they originally lived in Babylonia then moved to Myanmar to a place called Tha Hton city together with the Pa O. Tha Hton is situated in upper part of Myanmar. The Kayan Lahta and Pa O were good friends and they lived together in Tha Hton for many years.
Their main occupation was hunting. The Kayan Lahta and the Pa O usually went hunting together and shared what they got with each other. One day, when they went hunting, the Pa O got an elephant and the Kayan Lahta killed a porcupine. The Pa O shared the elephant meat with the Kayan. But the Kayan did not give any porcupine meat to the Pa O as it was too small and not enough to share. Later, the Pa O saw a big quill of the porcupine near the house of the Kayan Lahta. And they thought the Kayan Lahta had gotten a very big animal from hunting and did not share it. So the Pa O got angry. From that time, they could not live together peacefully. So the Kayan Lahta moved to Shan state and Kayah state.

1.4 Location

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

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

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

They state that over 20,000 of Kayan Lahta are living in Shan state and about 10,000 are living in Kayah state. In Kaung Htu village, the population is 200 and there are 50 households in the year 2011.
1.6 Religion and beliefs
The Kayan Lahta people are mostly Buddhist but they still practice their traditional beliefs. There are about 8 villages which practice a traditional belief system but they are not Buddhist. A few people are Christians, mostly Catholic.

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

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

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

Figure 4 The Traditional ‘Ka Khwan’ festival
Lahta traditional dress is woven with white and red thread. For men, it is made into a shirt and short pants. For women, a blouse is sewn with white thread into a long piece of cloth having a red stripe. They wrap it around the waist unit under the knee like a Burmese traditional longyi. The shirt and the blouse are decorated by a red thread made like flowers.

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

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

They may have different costumes and each carries different meaning. The tusk of the wild pig is pieced with a white thread and put on the neck of the men. It is used as a weapon when they encounter dangerous animals as they are hunting. Four or five black threads are wrapped on the calf. By using these, they get much energy when they climb the mountain.
Figure 5 The traditional dress of a Kayan Lahta man

Figure 6 The traditional dress of a Kayan Lahta woman
1.8 Language
Kayan is a language of Tibeto-Burman language of the Karen branch. The Kayan divide themselves into four groups: Kayan Lahwi, Kayan Ka Khaung, Kayan Lahta and Kayan Ka Ngan. All four groups, except for Kayan Lahta, speak mutual intelligible dialects. According to a recent survey (reported in Manson 2010) Lahta has a 25-30% difference in its lexicon to other Kayan dialects.

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

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

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

There is a place called the ‘Hall’ in a Lahta village. The women’s ‘Halls’ are separated from the men’s. There are at least two ‘Halls’ for the men in every Lahta. ‘Halls’ for the women are built inside the village and ‘Halls’ for the man are usually built at the outside of the village. The purpose of building at the outside of the village is to protect the villagers from their enemies. People gather in ‘Halls’ to work in daytime. The ‘Hall’ is also used for meetings.
Figure 7 A Kayan Lahta woman making a bowl with bamboo

Figure 8 A ‘Hall’ where the Lahta people gather
1.10 Education

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

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

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

1.11 Scope and limitation

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

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

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

The researcher speaks the Pa Dan Khu dialect which is under the Kayan Kangan group. But the Pa Dan Khu dialect could not be used to communicate with the villager as the two dialects are not mutual intelligible. For this reason, the Phekhon
dialect and the Burmese language which is the national language of the country were used for data collection. It cannot be determined how widely this dialect is spoken.

1.12 Benefits of the research
The benefits of this research will be to provide data for the Kayan Lahta grammar as there is no research that has been done on this language. As Lahta is lexically different from Pekhon (at least 25% different), the grammar of Lahta is expected to determine if it is significantly different or not to the other dialects. And it will help for making decisions about creating a different orthography from other Kayan groups. It will also help documenting an undescribed and endangered language.
Chapter 2
Phonology

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

2.1 Consonants

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

Table 1 Kayan Lahta consonant chart

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labio-dental</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Post-alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
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<tr>
<td>Plosive</td>
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<td>b</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>k</td>
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<td>Fricative</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

2.1.2 Plosive
In Kayan Lahta, there are a series of three plosives: aspirated, voiceless and voiced; with four points of articulation: bilabial, alveolar, velar and uvular. The plosive
consonants occur with any vowel. They never occur as a second or third element in a consonant cluster and they only occur syllable initial.

\( /p^h/ \) voiceless aspirated bilabial plosive

\( /p^h\alpha/ \) ‘father’  \( /p^h\epsilon\theta/ \) ‘kapok’  \( /p^h\iota/ \) ‘rice husk’  \( /p^h\sigma/ \) ‘cough’

\( /p/ \) voiceless bilabial plosive

\( /\text{ph}/ \) ‘sea’  \( /\text{pl}\alpha/ \) ‘vomit’  \( /\text{pl}^h\alpha\theta/ \) ‘old’  \( /\text{pl}^h\alpha\lambda/ \) ‘tongue’

\( /b/ \) voiced bilabial plosive

\( /\text{bi}/ \) ‘paddy rice’  \( /\text{be}/ \) ‘wet rice field’  \( /\text{ba}\lambda/ \) ‘bamboo shoot’  \( /\text{bu}^t\omega\eta/ \) ‘wash’

\( /t^h/ \) voiceless aspirated alveolar plosive

\( /t^h\alpha\lambda/ \) ‘sharp’  \( /t^h\alpha\l/ \) ‘heavy’  \( /t^h\alpha\l/ \) ‘bird’  \( /t^h\alpha\l/ \) ‘burn’

\( /t/ \) voiceless alveolar plosive

\( /\text{ta}\lambda/ \) ‘ant’  \( /\text{te}\eta\lambda/ \) ‘come’  \( /\text{to}\lambda\omega/ \) ‘hide’  \( /\text{to}\lambda\k/ \) ‘swallow’

\( /\text{d}/ \) voiced alveolar plosive

\( /\text{de}\eta/ \) ‘tight’  \( /\text{d}\omega/ \) ‘thick’  \( /\text{di}/ \) ‘frog’  \( /\text{do}\omega\eta/ \) ‘village’

\( /k^h/ \) voiceless aspirated velar plosive

\( /k^h\alpha/ \) ‘head’  \( /k^h\alpha\l/ \) ‘bitter’  \( /k^h\alpha\l/ \) ‘leg’  \( /k^h\iota/ \) ‘tiger’

\( /k/ \) voiceless velar plosive

\( /\text{ku}/ \) ‘warm’  \( /\text{ka}\gamma\l/ \) ‘spider’  \( /\text{kwa}\gamma\l/ \) ‘trousers’  \( /\text{ka}\gamma\theta\alpha\l/ \) ‘eggplant’

\( /q/ \) voiceless uvular plosive

\( /\text{qu}/ \) ‘snake’  \( /\text{ql}\l/ \) ‘gibbon’  \( /\text{q\l}\l/ \) ‘chin’  \( /\text{q\l}\l/ \) ‘cheek’
The following are selections of minimal sets that show evidence for the different plosive consonant phonemes.

/p/ and /b/
/plaː/ ‘person’  /plaː/ ‘child’  /paŋ/ ‘gong’
/blaː/ ‘lazy’  /bluː/ ‘dry’  /baŋ/ ‘bamboo shoot’

/pb/ and /b/
/pbɑː/ ‘father’  /pbɑː/ ‘cough’
/baː/ ‘at’  /bəː/ ‘rest’

/pb/ and /p/
/pbːl/ ‘rice husk’  /pbaː/ ‘father’  /taːpbː/ ‘saliva’
/piː/m/ ‘small’  /paː/ ‘kick’  /taːpiː/ ‘fly’

/p/ and /t/
/peŋ/ ‘forget’  /paː/ ‘kick’  /paŋ/ ‘gong’
/teŋ/ ‘porcupine’  /taː/ ‘fish’  /taŋ/ ‘ant’

/pb/ and /t/
/pbɑː/ ‘cough’  /pbaː/ ‘father’
/taː/ ‘from’  /taː/ ‘fish’

/tb/, /t/ and /d/
/tbːl/ ‘iron’  /tbɔː/ ‘heavy’  /tuː/ ‘bird’
/təl/ ‘fish’  /taː/ ‘scorpion’  /tuː/ ‘firewood’
/dal/ ‘can’  /dəː/ ‘and’  /duː/ ‘big’

/t/ and /k/
/tjaː/ ‘owner’  /teŋ/ ‘porcupine’  /taː/ ‘fish’
/kjaː/ ‘market’  /keŋ/ ‘thing’  /taː/ ‘ask’

/k/, /q/ and /kh/
/kul/ ‘warm’  /kaː/ ‘ask’
/quːl/ ‘snake’  /qaːl/ ‘gibbon’
/khəl/ ‘head’  /khəl/ ‘bitter’
2.1.3 Nasal
Kayan Lahta has a series of nasals with four points of articulation, bilabial, alveolar, palatal and velar. All the nasal consonants occur syllable initial in this data. However, the voiced velar nasal /ŋ/ is mostly found as a final consonant in Kayan Lahta.

/m/ voiced bilabial nasal
/meŋ/ ‘correct’ /maŋ/ ‘wife’ /muŋ/ ‘sky’ /moŋ/ ‘do’

/ŋ/ voiced alveolar nasal
/neŋ/ ‘year’ /naŋ/ ‘sit’ /nəŋ/ ‘sweet’ /naŋmuŋ/ ‘betel nut’

/nj/ voiced palatal nasal

/ŋ/ voiced velar nasal
/ngŋ/ ‘cost’ /ŋaŋŋ/ ‘sarong’ /ŋəŋŋ/ ‘laugh’ /ŋŋŋ/ ‘boil’

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

/m/ bilabial nasal
/mlŋ/ ‘buy’ /mbŋ/ ‘shoulder’ /mbŋ/ ‘feed’ /mjŋ/ ‘cat’

/n/ alveolar nasal
/ndŋ/ ‘weave’ /ntŋ/ ‘grass’, /ŋŋŋ/ ‘choose’

/nj/ palatal nasal
/ŋçŋ/ ‘mushroom’ /ŋŋŋ/ ‘speak’ /ŋŋ/ ‘stick’

/ŋ/ velar nasal
/ŋkŋ/ ‘find’ /ŋŋŋ/ ‘shave’

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

/m/, /n/ and /ŋ/
/mŋ/ ‘drunk’ /m/ ‘wife’ /mɛ̆/ ‘if’
/nŋ/ ‘smelly’ /n/ ‘listen’ /nɛ̆/ ‘and’
/ŋŋ/ ‘two’ /ŋ/ ‘I’ /ŋɛ̆/ ‘crocodile’

/m/ and /ŋ/
/ma/ ‘disappear’ /mo/ ‘make’ /kəlmi/ ‘tail’
/ŋa/ ‘top part’ /ŋo/ ‘cost’ /kəlşi/ ‘now’

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

/f/ voiceless labiodental fricative
/fo/ belly /fa/ ‘throw’ /fi/ ‘light’

/v/ voiced labiodentals fricative
/val/ ‘bamboo’ /vaŋ/ ‘smooth’ /vo/ ‘make dry’ /ve/ ‘bee’

/θ/ voiceless inter-dental fricative
/θi/ ‘alcohol’ /θi/ ‘straight’ /θaŋ/ ‘tree’

/s/ voiceless aspirated alveolar fricative
/sʰa/ ‘star’ /sʰo/ ‘hard’ /sʰaŋ/ ‘elephant’ /sʰaŋʃʰa/ ‘sell’
/s/ voiceless alveolar fricative
/si̞saŋi/ ‘carry’ /səltʃi/ ‘run’ /səʃqo̞i/ ‘rough’

/ʃ/ voiceless post-alveolar fricative
/ʃo̞i/ ‘take’ /ʃaʔi/ ‘chicken’ /ʃwi̞i/ ‘dog’

/ʃ/ voiceless palatal fricative
/ʃo̞i/ ‘wet’ /ʃu̞qɑ̃i/ ‘cold’ /ʃwe̞i/ ‘pull’

/h/ voiceless glottal fricative
/hwi̞i/ ‘whistle’ /heʔi/ ‘spicy’ /haŋi/ ‘soil’

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

/f/ and /v/
/foi̞i/ ‘steal’ /fa̞i̞i/ ‘throw’
/vo̞i̞i/ ‘dry’ /va̞i̞i/ ‘shiver’

/f/ and /θ/
/fi̞i/ ‘light’
/θi̞i/ ‘alcohol’

/s/ and /ʃ/
/sɔi̞i/ ‘needle’ /swaʔi/ ‘six’
/ʃɔi̞i/ ‘hard’ /ʃaʔi/ ‘sew’

/s/ and /ʃ/ 
/swaʔi/ ‘six’ /səlu̞i/ ‘crawl’
/ʃwi̞i/ ‘bone’ /ʃələŋi/ ‘flow’

/ʃ/ and /ʃ/ 
/ʃaʔi/ ‘hurt’ /ʃɔi̞i/ ‘hard’ /ʃu̞i̞i/ ‘eight’
/jai̞i/ ‘chicken’ /jo̞i̞i/ ‘take’ /ju̞i̞i/ ‘suck’
/sʰ/ and /θ/ 
/sʰæl/ ‘sour’ /sʰæŋ/ ‘elephant’ 
/θæl/ ‘heart’ /θæŋ/ ‘tree’ 

/f/ and /ç/ 
/faːl/ ‘throw’ /foːl/ ‘steal’ 
/çaːl/ ‘louse’ /çəl/ ‘wet’ 

/v/ and /ç/ 
/veɪ/ ‘brother’ /voːl/ ‘dry’ 
/çeɪ/ ‘skinny’ /çəl/ ‘wet’ 

/s/ and /ç/ 
/swaʔl/ ‘six’ /kwæsəl/ ‘comb’ 
/çwaːl/ ‘spoon’ /kwætʃəl/ ‘cheek’ 

/sʰ/ and /ç/ 
/sʰʌl/ ‘six’ /sʰəl/ ‘hard’ 
/çuːl/ ‘land leech’ /çəl/ ‘wet’ 

/j/ and /ç/ 
/jweɪl/ ‘dog’ /jwaːl/ ‘go’ /joːl/ ‘take’ 
/çwɪl/ ‘blood’ /çwaːl/ ‘spoon’ /çəl/ ‘wet’ 

/v/ and /h/ 
/veʔl/ ‘full’ /væŋl/ ‘clean’ 
/heʔl/ ‘spicy’ /hæŋl/ ‘soil’ 

/θ/ and /h/ 
/θæl/ ‘people’ /θəŋ/ ‘tree’ 
/həl/ ‘perfect’ /həŋ/ ‘soil’ 

/s/ and /h/ 
/səŋl/ ‘mountain’ 
/hoŋl/ ‘call’
/sʰ/ and /h/
/sʰaŋ]/ ‘elephant’
/haŋ]/ ‘soil’

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

/j/ voiced palatal approximant
/jɔː]/ ‘swollen’ /ja]/ ‘wind’ /ja]/ ‘give’ /joŋ]/ ‘house’

/w/ voiced labial-velar approximant
/wi]/ ‘delicious’ /wa]/ ‘tired’ /mwaŋ]/ ‘pillow’

/l/ voiced alveolar lateral approximant
/lwi]/ ‘think’ /le]/ ‘wide’ /la]/ ‘descend’

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

/j/ and /w/
/mjaŋ]/ ‘soft’
/mwaŋ]/ ‘pillow’

/j/ and /l/
/pjaŋ]/ ‘get’
/mwaŋ]/ ‘pillow’

/j/ and /h/
/jɔː]/ ‘fly’
/hɔː]/ ‘perfect’

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

/ʌ/
/plaʌ/ ‘feet’
/bluʌ/ ‘dry’
/kʰloŋ/ ‘then’
/nlɐ̃/ ‘choose’

/j/
/pjaŋ]/ ‘like’
/mjaŋ]/ ‘mouth’
/tjaŋ]/ ‘owner’
/jkaŋ]/ ‘market’

/w/
/pwaŋ]/ ‘festival’
/mwaŋ]/ ‘pillow’
/twaŋ]/ ‘pig’
/swaŋ]/ ‘six’
/ɬwiŋ]/ ‘think’
/jwiŋ]/ ‘dog’

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

/pljuŋmaŋ]/ ‘lightning’
/nçwiŋ]/ ‘stick’
/sʰaŋʔplwɔŋboŋ]/ ‘elephant task’
2.2 Vowels
There are 14 vowels - 9 monophthongs and 5 diphthongs. They all are voiced. The vowel system is symmetrical. Kayan Lahta provides evidence for 10 monophthongs with three degrees of vowel height for the front, central and back position. The front and central vowels are unrounded and the back vowel is rounded. The vowel inventory of Kayan Lahta is in table 2.

Table 2 Kayan Lahta vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>ɪ</td>
<td>ɪ</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close-mid</td>
<td>ɛ</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɛ̠</td>
<td>ə̠</td>
<td>ō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open-mid</td>
<td>ɛ</td>
<td></td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a̠</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.1 Monophthongs
Examples of each of the monophthongs is provided below.

/i/ close front unrounded vowel
/lwi/ ‘think’ /pʰi/ ‘rice husk’ /mi/ ‘face’ /pi/ ‘sea’

/e/ close-mid front unrounded vowel
/pe/ ‘cut’ /çwe/ ‘pull’ /heʔ/ ‘spicy’ /ʃweʔ/ ‘seven’

/e/ open-mid front unrounded vowel/
/səneʔ/ ‘what’ /leʔ/ ‘go’ /jeʔ/ ‘cooked rice’ /ŋweʔ/ ‘name’

/a/ open back unrounded vowel
/jaʔ/ ‘wind’ /paŋaʔ/ ‘pot’ /θaŋaʔaʔ/ ‘fruit’ /tʰaʔ/ ‘iron’
/i/ close central unrounded vowel
/biː/ ‘paddy rice’ /miɲi/ ‘mother’ /kiː/ ‘slip’ /mbiː/ ‘feed’

/ə/ close-mid central unrounded vowel
/jəː/ ‘die’ /jəː/ ‘old’ /jəŋjə/ ‘house’ /pʰəŋjə/ ‘near’ /ŋəj/ ‘sleep’

/ɒ/ close-mid back unrounded vowel
/pʰɔːj/ ‘cough’ /məŋliti/ ‘morning’ /məŋj/ ‘sun’ /tɔːl/ ‘scorpion’

/u/ close back rounded vowel
/tʰuː/ ‘bird’ /pʊː/ ‘cow’ /ntuː/ ‘smooth’ /tʰuːəŋj/ ‘rabbit’ /sʰuː/ ‘leaf’

/o/ close-mid back rounded vowel
/foːj/ ‘steal’ /tsɔːj/ ‘wet’ /moːj/ ‘make’ /pʰoːj/ ‘tie’ /boŋj/ ‘pole’

/ɔ/ open-mid back rounded vowel
/ɔːkʰuː/ ‘brother’ /pɔː/ ‘hit’ /kʰɔː/ ‘another’

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

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

/ei/ starts as a closed-mid front unrounded vowel and concludes as a close front unrounded vowel [e̞ː]:
/meiŋj/ ‘correct’ /eŋʔj/ ‘ginger’ /θeŋj/ ‘weave’ /keiːl/ ‘road’

/ai/ starts as a slightly advanced open unrounded vowel and concludes as a close front unrounded vowel [aː]:
/faiː/ ‘throw’ /caiː/ ‘louse’ /lwaːi/ ‘slow’ /æjkaːl/ ‘wing’

/oʊ/ starts as a close-mid back rounded vowel and concludes as a close back rounded vowel [oʊ]:
/loʊŋj kiːl/ ‘sarong’ /loʊŋj/ ‘stone’ /doʊŋj/ ‘village’ /sa.lnoʊl/ ‘thumb’
/ə/ starts as a mid central unrounded vowel and concludes as a close central unrounded vowel [ə]:
/bəɬ/ ‘rest’ /θəɬ/ ‘straight’ /ɲəɬ/ ‘cry’ /təɬ/ ‘three’

One more diphthong /aʊ/ is found in the data. But it only occurs in loan words from Burmese and in proper names. For example:
/pjaʊ/ ‘move’ (loan word from Burmese)
/kaʊ.lu/ ‘Kaung Htu’ (the name of the village)

### 2.2.3 Evidence for vowel contrasts

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

/i/ and /ɛ/
/pi/ ‘small’ /li/ ‘book’ /çwi/ ‘blood’
/pe/ ‘cut’ /le/ ‘wide’ /çwe/ ‘pull’

/i/ and /ɛ/
/li/ ‘shine’ /ni/ ‘long’ /njwi/ ‘snail’
/le/ ‘go’ /ne/ ‘crocodile’ /njwe/ ‘this’

/i/ and /ɪ/
/pi/ ‘small’ /qi/ ‘rattan’
/bi/ ‘paddy rice’ /ki/ ‘slip’

/i/ and /u/
/i/ ‘excrement’ /mi/ ‘face’ /di/ ‘frog’
/u/ ‘drink’ /mu/ ‘sky’ /du/ ‘big’

/i/ and /o/
/i/ ‘excrement’ /pʰi/ ‘give’ /fi/ ‘light’
/o/ ‘have’ /pʰo/ ‘tie’ /fo/ ‘belly’

/i/ and /ɔ/
/pi/ ‘long’ /ni/ ‘five’
/ɲi/ ‘sleep’ /ɲo/ ‘weep’
/e/ and /ɛ/
/lejl/ ‘wide’ /e?l/ ‘able’
/lel/ ‘go’ /e?l/ ‘angry’

/e/ and /ɛl/
/e?l/ ‘able’ /lel/ ‘wide’
/e?l/ ‘ginger’ /leηl/ ‘thousand’

/e/ and /a/
/nte/ ‘slip’ /lel/ ‘go’
/nta/ ‘gress’ /la/ ‘hot’

/i/ and /ɔ/
/pbiɔl/ ‘short’ /diɔl/ ‘shallow’
/pbɔnl/ ‘near’ /dɔnl/ ‘thick’

/i/ and /o/
/bi/ ‘paddy rice’ /ki/ ‘slip’
/bonl/ ‘pole’ /kɔnl/ ‘chair’

/u/ and /o/
/u/ ‘drink’ /pul/ ‘cow’ /sul/ ‘eight’
/o/ ‘have’ /pol/ ‘blunt’ /sɔl/ ‘hard’

/u/ and /ɔ/
/kul/ ‘warm’ /kul/ ‘head’ /pul/ ‘cow’
/kɔl/ ‘then’ /kɔl/ ‘another’ /pɔl/ ‘hit’

/u/ and /ɔn/
/sul/ ‘leave’ /lul/ ‘all’
/sonl/ ‘mountain’ /loŋl/ ‘stream’

/o/ and /ɔ/
/pol/ ‘blunt’
/pɔl/ ‘hit’
2.3 Tones

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

Low (\(\downarrow\))

Mid (\(\uparrow\))

High (\(\downarrow\))

High glottal (\(\uparrow\)])
2.3.1 Contrasts

(i) low tone
/qal/ ‘gibbon’ /θal/ ‘know’ /meŋl/ ‘fire’ /vanŋ/ ‘clean’

(ii) mid tone
/teŋl/ ‘come’ /jeŋl/ ‘narrow’ /banŋ/ ‘cup’ /doŋl/ ‘say’

(iii) high tone
/peŋl/ ‘forget’ /əlwaŋl/ ‘termite’ /ŋwanŋl/ ‘neck’ /ŋkoŋl/ ‘sing’

(?) high glottal
/sbɑŋl/ ‘look’ /ʃaŋl/ ‘chicken’ /eŋl/ ‘ginger’ /veŋl/ ‘full’

2.3.2 Evidence

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

(i) and (ii)
/qal/ ‘gibbon’ /banŋ/ ‘bamboo shoot’ /liŋ/ ‘book’
/qal/ ‘rice seedling’ /banŋ/ ‘cup’ /liŋ/ ‘shine’

/i/ and /ŋ/
/vanŋl/ ‘clean’ /tbaŋl/ ‘up’ /ʃwliŋ/ ‘dog’
/vanŋl/ ‘smooth’ /tbaŋl/ ‘sharp’ /ʃwliŋ/ ‘bone’

/i/ and /ŋ/
/tbaŋl/ ‘up’ /tiŋl/ ‘alcohol’ /tbaŋl/ ‘iron’
/tbɑŋl/ ‘bear’ /tiŋl/ ‘know’ /tbaŋl/ ‘gold’

/ŋ/ and /ŋ/
/jenŋl/ ‘narrow’ /θeŋl/ ‘again’ /doŋl/ ‘say’
/jenŋl/ ‘cooked rice’ /θeŋl/ ‘weave’ /doŋl/ ‘village’

/ŋ/ and /ŋ/
/kanŋl/ ‘fast’ /veŋl/ ‘brother’ /sbaŋl/ ‘star’
/kanŋl/ ‘spider’ /veŋl/ ‘full’ /sbaŋl/ ‘hurt’
/l/ and /?url/  
/sʰaŋղ/ ‘elephant’ /mbaղ/ ‘shoulder’ /joղ/ ‘deep’  
/sʰaŋʔղ/ ‘look’ /mbaʔղ/ ‘porcupine’ /joʔղ/ ‘lift’

The following sets provide the minimal contrasts for all tones in Kayan Lahta. The first set is with the approximant /l/ and the second is the voiceless alveolar fricative. /ʃ/  
/ʃa/  
/ʃa/ ‘under’ /ʃà/ ‘insect’  
/ʃàl/ ‘hot’ /ʃàl/ ‘on’  
/ʃàl/ ‘time’ /ʃàl/ ‘ten’  
/ʃàʔl/ ‘hot’ /ʃàʔl/ ‘water’

2.4 Syllable structure

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

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

2.4.1 Major syllable

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

![Figure 9 Kayan Lahta syllable structure](image-url)
The following observations are terms of Kayan Lahta syllable structure: (symbols refer to figure 7).

(i) \( C_1 \) all consonant from Table 1 Kayan Lahta consonant chart occur in this position.

(ii) \( C_2 \) /l/ /j/ and /w/ occur in this position.

(iii) \( C_3 \) /j/ and /w/ occur in this position.

(iv) \( V \) Every vowel occurs in this position.

(v) Only the velar nasal occurs syllable final

(vi) The glottal stop is considered a tone feature.

(vii) Every syllable has tone. (not shown in diagram)

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

V

/\textipa{i}/ ‘excrement’ /\textipa{ɛ}]/‘question’ /\textipa{u}/‘drink’ /\textipa{o}.]/’have’

V\texteta

/\textipa{e}.\texteta]/‘ginger’ /\textipa{aŋ}.]/‘eat’ /\textipa{ə}.\texteta]/‘shadow’

CV

/t\texteta]/‘heavy’ /\textipa{ke}.]/‘road’ /\textipa{na}.]/‘listen’ /\textipa{qa}.]/‘gibbon’

CV\texteta

/k\texteta\texteta]/‘leg’ /\textipa{laŋ}.]/‘down’ /\textipa{poŋ}.]/‘wait’ /\textipa{dɔŋ}.]/‘with’

CCV

/pl\textetap]/‘sea’ /\textipa{qua}.]/‘scratch’ /\textipa{kja}.]/‘market’ /\textipa{lwi}.]/‘think’

CCV\texteta

/pl\textetap]/‘bottle’ /\textipa{pjaŋ}.]/‘like’ /\textipa{mwaŋ}.]/‘pillow’

CCCV

/pl\textetap\texteta]/‘elephant tusk’ /pl\textetap\texteta]/‘lightning’
2.4.2 Minor syllable

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

Initial nasal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nasal [/m/ or /n/ or /ɲ/ or /ŋ/]</th>
<th>[C] ə</th>
<th>syllable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/mbaɿ/</td>
<td>‘shoulder’</td>
<td>/sə.lneɿ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ŋqaɿ/</td>
<td>‘shave’</td>
<td>/tə.ɲpìɿ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɲwaɿ/</td>
<td>‘play’</td>
<td>/tə.ŋkweɿ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/mə.ɿciɿ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/kəɿ sʰəɿ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/ə.ɿpʰiɿ/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

First syllable of two syllables

2.5 Distribution of phones

2.5.1 Initial consonant-tone distribution

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

Table 3 Initial consonant-tone distribution

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>p</th>
<th>pʰ</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>tʰ</th>
<th>d</th>
<th>kʰ</th>
<th>q</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>n̥</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>θ</th>
<th>sʰ</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>ç</th>
<th>h</th>
<th>l</th>
<th>j</th>
<th>w</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɿ</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔl</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.5.2 Monophthong vowel-tone distribution

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>i</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>ɛ</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>ɛ</th>
<th>u</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>ɛ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>↓</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>↓</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>↓</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>↓</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 5 Kayan Lahta nasal rhymes distribution

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>iŋ</td>
<td>iŋ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close-mid</td>
<td>eŋ</td>
<td>eŋ</td>
<td>oŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>eŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open-mid</td>
<td>eŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td>eŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>aŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.5.3 Diphthong vowel-tone distribution

Table 6 Diphthong vowel-tone distribution shows the summary of the distribution of diphthongs and the tones. According to the data, the high glottal /ŋ/ does not occur with the two diphthongs /e/i and /a/i. Moreover the mid tone /1/ is not found with the vowel diphthong /e/i.

### Table 6 Diphthong vowel-tone distribution

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>e/i</th>
<th>a/i</th>
<th>o/u</th>
<th>o/i</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>↓</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>↓</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>↓</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>↓</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>↓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.5.4 Consonant vowel sequences

The table shows the distribution of consonants and vowels. There are many gaps for /e/, /ə/ and /ɔ/. The open-mid front vowel /e/ never occurs with any fricatives nor aspirated stope except /kʰa/. The mid central vowel /ə/ and the open-mid back vowel /ɔ/ do not occur with most of the fricatives. The distribution chart indicates that the fricative consonant is quite restricted. There is also many gaps for diphthongs and they are also rare in the data.
### Table 7 Consonant vowel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>p_*</th>
<th>p^h_*</th>
<th>b_*</th>
<th>t_*</th>
<th>t^h_*</th>
<th>d_*</th>
<th>k_*</th>
<th>k^h_*</th>
<th>q_*</th>
<th>m_*</th>
<th>n_*</th>
<th>n^*</th>
<th>f_*</th>
<th>v_*</th>
<th>θ_*</th>
<th>s_*</th>
<th>s^h_*</th>
<th>f^h_*</th>
<th>h_*</th>
<th>l_*</th>
<th>j_*</th>
<th>w_*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>e</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>27</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>7</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>7</td>
</tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>œi</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.6 Conclusion

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

Plosive, nasal, fricative, approximant and approximant in clusters were presented in the consonant section. Monophthongs and diphthongs were presented in the vowel section. Major syllable structure and minor syllable structure were discussed under the syllable structure. Finally, the distribution of phones that include initial consonant-tone distribution, monophthong vowel-tone distribution, nasal rhymes, diphthong vowel-tone distribution and consonant vowel sequences were presented.
Chapter 3
Word Classes

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

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

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

(1) $\text{ʃwi} \quad \text{du} \quad \text{təŋ} \quad \text{daʔ}$
   $\text{dog} \quad \text{big} \quad \text{three} \quad \text{clf}$
   N \quad \text{ADJ} \quad \text{NUM} \quad \text{CLF}
   ‘three big dogs’

(2) $\text{jəŋ} \quad \text{du} \quad \text{lwə} \quad \text{ma}$
   $\text{house} \quad \text{big} \quad \text{four} \quad \text{clf}$
   N \quad \text{ADJ} \quad \text{NUM} \quad \text{CLF}
   ‘four big houses’
In these two noun phrases, (1) and (2), the nouns, \textit{fw}i	extsuperscript{.}j ‘dog’ and \textit{joη}j ‘house’ function as heads and they are followed by adjectives, numerals and classifiers.

The schema for a noun is:

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

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

### 3.1.1.1 Proper noun

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

\begin{enumerate}
  \item \textit{aʔ}j
  \begin{itemize}
    \item \textit{θο\text{.}η}j
    \item \textit{Ai}
    \item \textit{hungry}
  \end{itemize}
  \begin{itemize}
    \item N.PROP
    \item V
  \end{itemize}
  \begin{itemize}
    \item ‘Ai is hungry.’
  \end{itemize}

  \item \textit{doŋ}j
  \begin{itemize}
    \item \textit{pə\text{.}paŋj}
    \item \textit{village}
    \item \textit{Papai}
  \end{itemize}
  \begin{itemize}
    \item N
    \item NPROP
  \end{itemize}
  \begin{itemize}
    \item ‘the village Papai’
  \end{itemize}

  \item \textit{doŋ}j
  \begin{itemize}
    \item \textit{tjuŋ}
    \item \textit{village}
    \item \textit{Tju}
  \end{itemize}
  \begin{itemize}
    \item N
    \item NPROP
  \end{itemize}
  \begin{itemize}
    \item ‘the village Tju’
  \end{itemize}
\end{enumerate}

In Kayan Lahta, proper nouns can be associated with titles. For people, the title precedes the proper noun. But, for the other proper nouns, the title can either precede or follow the noun.
In example (6), the title precedes the proper noun that expresses a person, $a'\text{"ai}$. It is unnatural for the proper noun that expresses a person to precede the title as shown in example (7). The title can precede or follow the other proper noun as in examples (8) and (9).

(8) $d\text{"o}n\text{"ai}$  
    $p\text{"a}/p\text{"ai}^i$  
    village  Papai  
    N  N.PROP  
    ‘Papai village’

(9) $p\text{"a}/p\text{"ai}^i$  
    $d\text{"o}n\text{"ai}$  
    Papai  village  
    N.PROP  N  
    ‘Papai village’

### 3.1.1.2 Common nouns

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

(10) $\text{\text{"fwi}}$  
    $\text{\text{"lwi}}$  
    $d\text{"o}n\text{"ai}$  
    dog  four  clf  
    N  NUM  CLF  
    ‘four dogs’

(11) $\text{\text{"th\text{"o}kwa\text{"o}a}}$  
    $\text{\text{"lwi}}$  
    $m\text{"a}$  
    mango  four  clf  
    N  NUM  CLF  
    ‘four mangos’
In example (10), the classifier *daʔ* is used for the large, four-legged animal. The classifier *maʔ* is for the fruit as shown in example (11). The human classifier, *plaʔ* is associated with a human in example (12).

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

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

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

### 3.1.1.3 Compound nouns

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

#### 3.1.1.3.1 Subordinate compound

Subordinate compounds are derived from relationships that often are marked by the possessive in English. There are many relationships included in the idea of subordination.
a) Both elements are nouns and the first noun functions as the larger whole of which the second noun is a part of. \([N-N]_N\)

(15) \(\theta\etaŋj-\thetaaʃ\)

\textit{tree-fruit}

N-N

‘fruit’

(16) \(\theta\etaŋj-kwiʃ\)

\textit{tree-root}

N-N

‘root’

(17) \(tʰuʃ-rwiʃ\)

\textit{bird-sparrow}

N-N

‘sparrow’

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

(18) \(jḥŋj-kʰuʃ\)

\textit{house-top}

N-LOCZR

‘roof’

(19) \(loŋŋj-kuʔʃ\)

\textit{stone-inside}

N-LOCZR

‘cave’

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

(20) \(taʃ-moʃ\)

\textit{thing-do}

N-V

‘work/job’
3.1.1.3.2 Attributive compounds
Attributive compounds are derived from a modified noun phrase where one element modifies the head element. \([N\text{-}ADJ]_N\)

(21) faʔn-nəŋ.
    water-sweet
    N\text{-}ADJ
    ‘coffee’

(22) bæŋ-tʰuː.
    weapon-long
    N\text{-}ADJ
    ‘spear’

(23) bɪ-pəŋ.
    bean-rotten
    N\text{-}ADJ
    ‘soybean’

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

(24) ʋɔ-veː.
    younger-elder
    N\text{-}N
    ‘sibling’

(25) moŋ-pʰə.
    mother-father
    N\text{-}N
    ‘parents’

(26) pʰiʔ-λəː.
    short-tall
    ADJ\text{-}ADJ
    ‘high’
3.1.1.3.4 Idiomatic compounds
Idiomatic compounds are those whose meaning cannot be predicted from the internal parts. There are very few examples of idiomatic compounds in this Kayan Lahta data.

(27) čwi.-ʃəʔ?
    blood-water
    N-N
    ‘energy’

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

(28) taːsʰəŋpʰu.ve
    love
    N
    ‘love’

(29) taːlwiʔ
    think
    N
    ‘thinking’

(30) taːblaː
    lazy
    N
    ‘laziness’

In examples (28) and (29), taː is added to the verbs, sʰəŋpʰu.ve ‘love’ and lwiʔ ‘think’ to form the abstract noun. Similar to this, taː is added to the adjective blaː ‘lazy’ to form the abstract noun taːblaː ‘laziness’ in example (30). The nominalizing use of this prefix is discussed in section 3.1.1.5.
3.1.1.5 Nominalizers

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

Table 8 Verb nominalization

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>mo/</td>
<td>‘make/do’</td>
<td>ta./mo/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>aŋ/</td>
<td>‘eat’</td>
<td>ta./aŋ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>iŋ/</td>
<td>‘shadowy’</td>
<td>a./iŋ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>sʰaŋʔ/</td>
<td>‘join’</td>
<td>a./sʰaŋʔ/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9 Adjective nominalization

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>bu/</td>
<td>‘white’</td>
<td>a./bu/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>bwaŋ/</td>
<td>‘fat’</td>
<td>a./bwaŋ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>lə/</td>
<td>‘tall’</td>
<td>a./lə/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>pʰiə/</td>
<td>‘short’</td>
<td>a./pʰiə/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

3.1.2 Verbs and verb morphology

In this section, verb and verb morphology are discussed.

3.1.2.1 Copula

In Kayan Lahta, copulas are used to link the subject to the complement. The following table give the different copula used in different situation. See 5.3.1.
Table 10 Copulas in Kayan Lahta

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Copula</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Locative copula</td>
<td>o./</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existential copula</td>
<td>o./</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equative copula</td>
<td>mwa\textsuperscript{i}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Table 11 Aspect in Kayan Lahta

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ha\textsuperscript{i}</td>
<td>complete</td>
<td>See 6.3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka\textsuperscript{i}</td>
<td>negative result</td>
<td>See 6.10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o./</td>
<td>on going</td>
<td>See 6.3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mj\textsuperscript{a}</td>
<td>finish</td>
<td>See 6.3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da./</td>
<td>ability</td>
<td>See 6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo./</td>
<td>cause</td>
<td>See 6.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(31)\[\text{p}lu\text{i}\quad\text{pi}\quad\text{pl}a\text{i}\]
\text{child}\quad\text{small}\quad\text{clf}
\text{N}\quad\text{ADJ}\quad\text{CLF}
\text{‘a small child’}
In examples (31) and (32) the adjectives piʔ ‘small’ and duʔ ‘big’ follow the nouns, pluʔ ‘child’ and jəŋ.j ‘house’ and precede the classifier plaʔ and the quantifier phrase lwiʔ maʔ ‘four houses’.

The following examples are predicative uses in sentences.

(33) pʰuʔ lplaʔ meʔ lblaʔ
son clf top lazy
N CLF TOP ADJ
‘The son is lazy.’

(34) lwiʔ lkaʔməiʔ ləʔ
dog tail long
N N ADJ
‘dog’s long tail’ or ‘The dog’s tail is long.’

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

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

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

(35) pʰuʔ doʔ pʰaʔ jəŋj lə.kwaʔ.lə.
father conj father sit together
N CO.CONJ N V ADV
‘The father and the son are sitting together.’

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

(36) bə.lə lwaŋj lwaʔ lwaʔ səʔəj
PaO run slowly slowly elephant
N.RPOP V ADV ADV N
‘PaO runs very slowly after the elephant.’
3.2 Minor word class
The minor word classes: pronouns, classifiers, interrogatives, demonstratives, quantifiers, conjunctions and localizers are discussed in this section.

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

\[(37)\quad a'?q\quad \eta\sigma\, m\bar{a}l\quad m\bar{u}\]
\[Ai\quad \text{dream}\quad Mu\]
\[\text{NPROP}\quad \text{V}\quad \text{N.PROP}\]
\[\text{‘Ai dream of Mu.’}\]
\[(38)\quad ve\quad \eta\sigma\, m\bar{a}l\quad na\]
\[2s\quad \text{dream}\quad 1s\]
\[\text{PRO}\quad \text{V}\quad \text{PRO}\]
\[\text{‘You dream of me.’}\]

In example (38) the second person singular pronouns ve substitutes for the proper noun a’?q of example (37) and the first person pronoun na substitutes the proper noun m\bar{u}.

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

\[(39)\quad na\quad \eta\sigma\, m\bar{a}l\quad ve\]
\[1s\quad \text{dream}\quad 2s\]
\[\text{PRO}\quad \text{V}\quad \text{PRO}\]
\[\text{‘I dream of you.’}\]
By looking at the two examples (39) and (40), it is clear that the subject personal pronoun for the first person singular is \( na\hat{a} \) and the object personal pronoun is also \( na\hat{a} \). Likewise, the subject personal pronoun for the second person singular is \( ve\hat{a} \) and the object personal pronoun is also \( ve\hat{a} \).

In Kayan Lahta, 2\textsuperscript{nd} and 3\textsuperscript{rd} personal plural pronouns are derived by adding the suffix \( \eta do\hat{a} \) to the singular form. And the 1\textsuperscript{st} personal plural pronoun is derived by adding the \( pu\hat{a} \) to the singular form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 12 Personal pronouns in Kayan Lahta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>First person</strong> (Inclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Second person</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Third person</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

\[
\begin{align*}
(41) & \quad p_{\text{3pl}} k\hat{a} u ? l \quad j\eta \hat{a} l \quad p l a \hat{a} l \quad o \hat{i} l \quad b_{\text{LOCZ}} k\hat{a} w a l o \hat{a} l \quad j\eta \hat{a} l \quad k u ? l \\
& \quad \text{man} \quad \text{two} \quad \text{clf} \quad \text{exist} \quad \text{together} \quad \text{house} \quad \text{in} \\
& \quad N \quad \text{NUM} \quad \text{CLF} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{ADJ} \quad N \quad \text{LOCZ} \\
& \quad \text{‘The two men live together in a house.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(42) & \quad \eta pl a \hat{a} do \hat{a} l \quad j\eta \hat{a} l \quad p l a \hat{a} l \quad o \hat{i} l \quad b_{\text{LOCZ}} k\hat{a} w a l o \hat{a} l \quad j\eta \hat{a} l \quad k u ? l \\
& \quad \text{3pl} \quad \text{two} \quad \text{clf} \quad \text{exist} \quad \text{together} \quad \text{house} \quad \text{in} \\
& \quad \text{PRO} \quad \text{NUM} \quad \text{CLF} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{ADJ} \quad N \quad \text{LOCZ} \\
& \quad \text{‘The two of them live together in a house.’}
\end{align*}
\]
3.2.1.2 Interrogative pronouns

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

Table 13 Interrogative pronouns in Kayan Lahta

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>səlmeʃl</td>
<td>who</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>səlnɛʃl</td>
<td>what</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰuʃl doʃl məl kʰɛʃl</td>
<td>when (future)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puʃl doʃl məl kʰɛʃl</td>
<td>when (past)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbeʃl</td>
<td>where</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gweʃl</td>
<td>why</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aʔlaʔaʃl</td>
<td>how many</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(44) veʃ moʃ səlnɛʃl
2s   do what
PRO   V   Q
‘What are you doing?’

(45) veʃ nəiʃl eʃ baʃ səlnɛʃl
2s   cry   quest   happen why
PRO   V   Q   V   Q
‘Why do you cry?’

In Kayan Lahta, eʃ is the interrogative marker which is used to ask questions that have a ‘yes’ or ‘no’ answer.
In the examples (46) and (47), ɛ/ is used to ask the question. The interrogative marker ɛ/ is always followed by the verb in both examples.

### 3.2.1.3 Possessive pronouns

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

**Table 14 Possessive pronouns in Kayan Lahta**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Possessive pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>ɲa/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td></td>
<td>ve/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td></td>
<td>mplə/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>plural</td>
<td>ɲəŋdo/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td></td>
<td>veŋdo/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td></td>
<td>mpləŋdo/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(48) ɲa/ jəŋl duŋ lwiŋ maŋ
     1s    house  big  four  clf
     POSS  N  ADJ  NUM  CLF
     ‘my four big house’
The examples (48) and (49) show possessive pronouns in noun phrases. In a noun phrase the possessive pronouns occur before the possessed noun, typically in the initial position. (see section 4.1.2)

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

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

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

(49) ŋtŋjəŋdu:\ljwimə\+)
3pl house big four clf
POSSESS N ADJ NUM CLF
‘their four big houses’

(50) jəŋ\jəŋ\yaŋ\yaŋ\plə\4k\k\l\ /
N N NUM CLF
‘a candle’

(51) ə\j\pla\ /
N N NUM CLF
‘a woman’
\textit{ma̰}\(\text{-}\text{round things}\)
\textit{ma̰}\(\text{-fruit}\)
\textit{ma̰}\(\text{-insect}\)
\textit{ma̰}\(\text{-thing made of wood/house}\)

\textit{ba=b̥}\(\text{-small animals}\)
\textit{ba=b̥}\(\text{-body part on head}\)
\textit{ba=b̥}\(\text{-weapons}\)

\textit{boŋ}\(\text{-long things}\)

\textit{doʔ}\(\text{-animal}\)

\textit{fʷan̥}\(\text{-body hair}\)

\textit{pʰlon̥}\(\text{-seed}\)

\textit{bla=b̥}\(\text{-flat things}\)

\textit{pla=b̥}\(\text{-person}\)

\textit{pʰa\text{-ashes}\)

\textbf{3.2.2.2 Measure (measural) Classifiers}

Measure classifiers occur with a numeral or quantifier: they rarely occur with demonstratives. Semantically, measure classifiers measure nominals as containers, lengths, weights, parts and time periods. In this case, nouns denoting quantities are used as the classifiers.
Table 16 Measure Classifiers in Kayan Lahta

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classifiers</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e³ʔʔ</td>
<td>basket/bag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaːlan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lœŋ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(54) ɲtsaʔ|        œ]-bloŋ|  
mushroom   one-pile  
N        NUM-CLF  
‘a pile of mushroom’

(55) pla|        œ]-pu|  
people     one-group  
N        NUM-CLF  
‘a group of people’

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

Manson (2010:220) defines auto-classifiers as a semi-open class with any monosyllabic word occurring as the head noun being able to be used as a classifier.
Restrictions depend on how well known the generalised classifier is for that referent. Often the head noun is omitted when it is classified with an auto-classifier.

The followings are examples that show auto-classifiers.

(56)  \textit{miːt′aɭ} \textit{taŋ} \textit{miːt′aɭ}  
forehead three forehead  
N NUM CLF  
‘three foreheads.’

(57)  \textit{loŋ-kʊʔɭ} \textit{taŋ} \textit{kʊʔɭ}  
stone-hole three hole  
N-N NUM CLF  
‘three caves’

Table 17 Auto-classifiers in Kayan Lahta

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classifier nouns</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textit{fwiɭ}</td>
<td>rib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{ŋaŋ tuɭ}</td>
<td>forest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{θaŋɭ}</td>
<td>tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{ləɭ}</td>
<td>leaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{miɭ t′aɭ}</td>
<td>forehead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{miɭ pʰiɭ}</td>
<td>eyelid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{foɭ pliɭ}</td>
<td>intestines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{doŋɭ}</td>
<td>village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{tsəɭ diaɭ}</td>
<td>elbow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{pʰoʔɭ}</td>
<td>flower</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2.3 Demonstratives

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

\[(58) \quad \text{dog} \quad \eta\text{we} \quad \text{da}?
\]

\(N \quad \text{DEM} \quad \text{CLF}
\)

‘this dog’

\[(59) \quad \text{dog} \quad ja\eta\text{we} \quad lwi \quad \text{da}?
\]

\(N \quad \text{DEM} \quad \text{NUM} \quad \text{CLF}
\)

‘these four dogs’

In example below, the demonstrative pronoun replaces the noun.

\[(60) \quad ja\eta\text{we} \quad me \quad mp\text{la} \quad \text{wi}
\]

\(\text{DEM} \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{POSS} \quad \text{N}
\)

‘These are her dogs.’

The demonstrative pronouns can be seen in Table 18.

**Table 18 Demonstrative pronouns**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>this</th>
<th>(\eta\text{we})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>these</td>
<td>(ja\eta\text{we})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that</td>
<td>(do)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>those</td>
<td>(ja\eta\text{do})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2.4 Numbers and Quantifiers
This section describes numbers and quantifiers.

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

\[(61) \quad təiŋɬ-ʃaɬ\]
\[\text{three-ten}\]
\[\text{NUM-NUM}\]
\[\text{‘thirty’}\]

The frame for numbers is:

[N clf]

Table 19 Number in Kayan Lahta

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aɬ</td>
<td>one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naŋɬ</td>
<td>two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>təiŋɬ</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lwiɬ</td>
<td>four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nɨŋɬ</td>
<td>five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sʷaɬɭ</td>
<td>six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jʷeɬɭ</td>
<td>seven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sʰuɬ</td>
<td>eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰwiɬ</td>
<td>nine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʃaɬ</td>
<td>ten</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2.4.2 Quantifiers

Quantifiers in Kayan Lahta are as shown in Table 20.

Table 20 Quantifiers in Kayan Lahta

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quantifiers in Kayan Lahta</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>p</code>pl<code>u</code></td>
<td>every</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>qo</code>ita`</td>
<td>many</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>lu</code></td>
<td>all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>m</code>na`</td>
<td>some</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>a</code>kwa`</td>
<td>half</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>b</code>a<code>ca</code>ta`</td>
<td>few</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The quantifier `p`pl`u` ‘every’ precedes the verb or follows the verb with a slight change in meaning.
In the two examples, the quantifier precedes the verb in the first example and follows the verb in the second example. In the first example, the speaker emphasizes on the quantifier ‘every’ when the second example emphasizes the verb ‘die’.

Similarly in (63), everything is destroyed but no degree of distinction is entailed.

3.2.5 Conjunctions

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

3.2.5.1 Coordinators

Coordinators connect conjuncts with the same functions in the sentence. In Kayan Lahta, daː is the coordinator that is mostly often used.
In the above examples show the conjunction $da$ is used to connect the different elements that have the same syntactic category. In the example (65), the conjunction connects the two nouns. In the example (66), it connects the two verb phrases and it connects two sentences in the example (67).

### 3.2.5.2 Subordinators

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

(68)  
*pa/mo/ plal/ ja/ van/ kɔ/ tʰaŋ/ an/ maŋ/o*  
girl clf not clean so that ascend eat wrong  
N CLF NEG ADJ SUB.CO.NJ V V ADJ  
‘The girl is inappropriate to sacrifice.’ (Lit: The girl was not clean so that the spirit ate inappropriately.)

(69)  
*pla/ba/ita/ ja/ pjeŋ/ ma/.ra/me/ ja/ ɲbi/ lo./kaŋ*  
children not feeling-well because not sacrifice spirit  
N NEG V SUB.CO.NJ NEG V N  
‘Children are not feeling well because (the villagers) do not sacrifice to the spirit.’

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

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

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

Frame for localizers:

\[
\text{[NP LOCZR]}
\]

(70)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{pu} & \text{pl} & \text{fo} & \text{sa} & \text{va} & \text{ta} & \text{ba} \\
\text{child} & \text{clf} & \text{take} & \text{chair} & \text{clf} & \text{hit} & \text{fly} \\
\text{N} & \text{CLF} & \text{V} & \text{N} & \text{CLF} & \text{V} & \text{N} & \text{CLF} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘The child took the chair then hit the fly.’

3.2.6 Localizers and prepositions

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

Frame for localizers:

\[
\text{[NP LOCZR]}
\]

(71)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{bu} & \text{ba} & \text{fo} & \text{t\text{\texttheta}} & \text{\texttheta} & \\
\text{bird} & \text{clf} & \text{exist} & \text{tree} & \text{on} \\
\text{N} & \text{CLF} & \text{V} & \text{N} & \text{LOCZR} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘The bird is on the tree.’

(72)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{je} & \text{lo} & \text{la} & \text{ku} & \\
\text{rice} & \text{exist} & \text{plate} & \text{inside} \\
\text{N} & \text{V} & \text{N} & \text{LOCZR} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘The rice is inside the plate.’

(73)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{mj} & \text{lo} & \text{la} & \text{la} & \\
\text{cat} & \text{clf} & \text{exist} & \text{basket} & \text{under} \\
\text{N} & \text{CLF} & \text{V} & \text{N} & \text{LOCZR} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘The cat is under the basket.’

These three examples show the localizers in Kayan Lahta.

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

(74)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{bu} & \text{ba} & \text{fo} & \text{do} & \text{t\text{\texttheta}} & \text{\texttheta} & \\
\text{bird} & \text{clf} & \text{exist} & \text{prep} & \text{tree} & \text{on} \\
\text{N} & \text{CLF} & \text{V} & \text{PREP} & \text{N} & \text{LOCZR} \\
\end{array}
\]

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

### 3.2.7 Topic marker

\( me \) is a topic marker which specifies what argument is the old information. The topic marker marks the topic in a sentence. In example below, the topic \( nə\ s^h\ tə\ kl\ ) \( s^h\ tə\ m\ ) \( me\ ) \( sə\ kə\ ) \) is marked by the topic marker, \( me \). It is ungrammatical to mark the complement as in example (77).

\[
(75) \quad nə\ s^h\ tə\ kl\ me\ sə\ kə\ sʰ\ m\ sʰ\ d\ m\ ɛ\ b\ ɲ\ \begin{array}{l}
\text{sleep} \\
\text{dark} \\
\text{inside} \\
\text{top} \\
\text{afraid}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{lc}
V & \text{ADJ} \\
& \text{LOCZR} \\
& \text{TOP} \\
& \text{V}
\end{array}
\]

‘Sleeping in the dark makes me afraid.’

\[
(76) \quad *sə\ kə\ me\ nə\ s^h\ tə\ kl\ \begin{array}{l}
\text{afraid} \\
\text{top} \\
\text{sleep} \\
\text{dark} \\
\text{inside}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{lc}
V & \text{TOP} \\
& \text{V} \\
& \text{ADJ} \\
& \text{LOCZR}
\end{array}
\]

‘Sleeping in the dark makes me afraid.’

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

\[
(77) \quad s^h\ ɲ\ d\ m\ b\ ɲ\ s\ l\ ɲ\ \begin{array}{l}
\text{elephant} \\
\text{big} \\
\text{clf} \\
\text{top} \\
\text{PaO} \\
\text{go} \\
\text{get}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{lc}
N & \text{ADJ} \\
& \text{CLF} \\
& \text{TOP} \\
& \text{N.PROP} \\
& \text{V} \\
& \text{V}
\end{array}
\]

‘The big elephant was hunted by PaO.’

\[
(78) \quad *s^h\ ɲ\ d\ m\ b\ ɲ\ s\ l\ ɲ\ \begin{array}{l}
\text{elephant} \\
\text{top} \\
\text{big} \\
\text{clf} \\
\text{PaO} \\
\text{go} \\
\text{get}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{lc}
N & \text{TOP} \\
& \text{ADJ} \\
& \text{CLF} \\
& \text{N.PROP} \\
& \text{V} \\
& \text{V}
\end{array}
\]

‘The big elephant was hunted by PaO.’
Example (79) is the clearest example as the pronoun ɲaː is resumed after mɛː.

(79) ɲaː mɛː ɲaː səkəŋ kʰiʔ

1s top 1s afraid tiger

IPRO TOP PRO V N

‘I am afraid of a tiger.’

3.3 Conclusion

This chapter discussed many of the word classes in Kayan Lahta. The word classes were divided into two groups: major word class and minor word class. In the first section, major word class including nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs were discussed. The minor word classes: pronouns, classifiers, demonstratives, numbers, quantifiers, conjunction, localizers and prepositions were then discussed in another section.
Chapter 4
Noun Phrase

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

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

The noun phrase schema in Kayan Lahta is:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[(NP}\text{poss)} & \ N \ (\text{REL CL}) \ (\text{ADJ Phrase})^* \ (\text{DEM}) \ (\text{QNT}) \ (\text{NUM}) \ (\text{CLF})]_n \\
[\text{ADJ (INTS)}]_{AP}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
(80) na^i \ fa?l \ pi^l \ do^l \ s^u^l \ ba^l
\]

\[
1s \quad \text{chicken} \quad \text{small} \quad \text{that} \quad \text{six} \quad \text{clf}
\]

POSS N ADJ DEM QNT CLF

‘those six small chickens of mine’

In this structure, \text{fa?l} ‘chicken’ is the head of the noun phrase. It is preceded by the possessive pronoun \text{na}^i ‘my’ and modified by the adjective \text{pi}^l ‘small’, demonstrative pronoun \text{do}^l ‘that’, quantifier \text{s}^u^l ‘six’ and classifier.

Seven noun phrase structures are shown below. Each sentence represents a different noun phrase structure.
Noun phrase structure 1

\[ \text{[N]}_{\text{NP}} \]

\[(81) \text{jɛŋ} \]

*rice-cooked*

N

‘rice-cooked’

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

Noun phrase structure 2

\[ \text{[N CLF]}_{\text{NP}} \]

\[(82) \text{jw丢失} \text{do丢失} \]

dog clf

N CLF

‘a/the dog’

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

Noun phrase structure 3

\[ \text{[N NUM CLF]}_{\text{NP}} \]

\[(83) \text{jɘŋ} \text{lu丢失} \text{ma丢失} \]

house four clf

N NUM CLF

‘four houses’

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

Noun phrase structure 4

\[ \text{[N ADJ NUM CLF]}_{\text{NP}} \]

\[(84) \text{jɘŋ} \text{du丢失} \text{lu丢失} \text{ma丢失} \]

house big four clf

N ADJ NUM CLF

‘four big houses’
In this noun phrase structure, the noun head is followed by the adjective, number and classifier.

Noun phrase structure 5

\[ [\text{Nposs} \quad \text{ADJ} \quad \text{NUM} \quad \text{CLF}]_{\text{NP}} \]

(85) \text{nəɬ} \quad jəŋɬ \quad duɬ \quad lwiɬ \quad maɬ
1s house big four clf
POSS N ADJ NUM CLF
‘my four big houses’

In this noun phrase, \text{jəŋɬ} ‘house’ is a head and it is modified by an adjective \text{duɬ} ‘big’. So it is called modified noun phrase.

Noun phrase structure 6

\[ [\text{N} \; \text{təɬ-\text{NUM}}]_{\text{NP}} \]

The morpheme, \text{təɬ} is used as a classifier for people and it attaches to the number. Different from other noun phrase structures, this classifier precedes the number in a noun phrase. This structure is used in informal speech.

(86) \text{pləɬ} \quad təɬ-lwiɬ
people clf-peopl
N CLF-NUM
‘four people’

Noun phrase structure 7

\[ [\text{N ADJ} \quad \text{DEM} \quad \text{NUM} \quad \text{CLF}]_{\text{NP}} \]

(87) \text{jəŋɬ} \quad duɬ \quad jəɬdoɬ \quad lwiɬ \quad maɬ
house big that four clf
N ADJ DEM NUM CLF
‘that four big houses’

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

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

(88) pʰaŋ peŋ neŋj

father cut leaf

N V N

‘The father cuts the leave.’

(89) plaŋbaŋjataŋ sʰajisʰaŋ tʰuŋ baŋ

child sell bird clf

N V N CLF

‘The child sells a bird.’

In examples (88) and (89), pʰaŋ ‘father’ and plaŋbaŋjataŋ ‘child’ are single nouns that are noun phrases in the sentences and they are the heads of noun phrases. They also function as the subject in both examples.

(90) muŋ daŋ laʔaŋ kʰaŋ

sun and moon shine

N CONJ N V

‘The sun and the moon shine.’

In example (90), the two nouns muŋ ‘sun’ and laʔaŋ ‘moon’ are connected by the coordinate conjunction daŋ ‘and’. In this noun phrase structure, both nouns are the heads of the subject noun phrase.

(91) pluŋ plaŋ aŋj jeŋj

child clf eat rice-cooked

N CLF V N

‘The child eats rice.’

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

A proper noun can be a head noun in a noun phrase. In (92) and (93), the two proper nouns *aiʔ* and *kʰuʃ* occur as a single noun in each sentence in noun phrase positions. They are the head nouns of each noun phrases. They function as the subjects of the sentences.

(92) $aʔ$ sʰaŋ iš $a$ tʰuʃ $ba$Ai sell bird clf

N.PROP V N CLF

‘Ai sells a bird.’

(93) kʰuʃ pe i neŋʃ Khu cut leaf

N.PROP V N

‘Khu cuts the leaf.’

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

(94) ŋp tŋ $a$ weaving basket clf

NEG V V N.PROP

‘(Kayan) do not give Pa O to eat.’

4.1.1.2 Pronoun

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

(95) $na$ pʃan $tʃ$man $ma$ $1s$ weave basket clf

PRO V N CLF

‘I weave a basket.’

(96) $na$ nʃman $ve$ $1s$ dream $2s$

PRO V PRO

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

(97) \(\text{mpla} \text{|do|} \ j\text{ŋ}\text{ŋ} \text{|} \text{pla|} \ o| \ \text{l}a\text{j}\text{kwa|lo|} \ j\text{ŋ}\text{ŋ} \text{|} \text{ku?|} \)
3pl two clf exist together house in
PRO NUM CLF V ADJ N LOCZR
‘The two of them live together in a house.’

In example (97) a pronoun \(\text{mpla} \text{|do|} ‘they’ is modified by a number \(j\text{ŋ}\text{ŋ} ‘two’ and a classifier \(\text{pla|} ‘person’."

4.1.2 Possessive Noun Phrase

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

The following examples use possessive pronouns in a noun phrases.

(98) \(\text{mpla|} \ j\text{ŋ}\text{ŋ} \text{|} \text{me|} \text{|} \text{du|} \)
3s house top big
POSS N TOP ADJ
‘His house is big.’

(99) \(\text{na|} \ p\text{h}a| \ s\text{ŋ}\text{ŋ}s\text{ŋ}s\text{ŋ} \text{|} \text{ta|} \text{ma|} \text{ŋ}\text{ŋ} \)
1s father sell basket
POSS N V N
‘My father sells basket.’

In example (98) and (99), the possessive pronouns \(\text{mpla| ‘3s’ and p\text{h}a| ‘1s’ precede the head nouns j\text{ŋ}\text{ŋ} ‘house’ and p\text{h}a| ‘father’. In these two examples, the head nouns are \(j\text{ŋ}\text{ŋ} ‘house’ and p\text{h}a| ‘father’."

(100) \(\text{fwi|} \ k\text{ŋ}\text{mi|} \text{|} \text{me|} \text{|} \text{la|} \)
dog tail top long
N N TOP ADJ
‘The dog’s tail is long.’

In the example (101), two nouns, \(\text{fwi| ‘dog’ and k\text{ŋ}\text{mi| ‘tail’ can be seen in a noun phrase position. In this noun phrase, the first noun \(\text{fwi| ‘dog’ functions as the possessive noun. The second noun, k\text{ŋ}\text{mi| ‘tail’ is the head of the noun phrase. In

67
In this example, the adjective long modifies the noun ka\text{\textipa{mi}}\ ‘tail’ instead of fwi\ ‘dog’. The possessive is a full noun phrase in example (101).

\begin{verbatim}
(101) pla\text{\textipa{j}} ja\text{\textipa{v}} ve\text{\textipa{l}} li\text{\textipa{l}} a\text{\textipa{l}}-be\text{\textipa{i}} pla\text{\textipa{j}} a\text{\textipa{f}}wi\text{\textipa{j}} ka\text{\textipa{mi}}\text{\textipa{j}} me\text{\textipa{l}} la\text{\textipa{f}}

person give 2s book one-clf clf dog tail top long
N V PRO N NUM-CLF CLF N N TOP ADJ

‘The dog’s tail of person who gives me a book is long.’
\end{verbatim}

(Lit. The person who gives me a book’s dog’s tail is long.)

\subsection*{4.1.3 Adjective}

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

\begin{verbatim}
(102) ja\text{\textipa{ŋ}} du\text{\textipa{l}}

house big
N ADJ

‘a/the big house’
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
(103) ta\text{\textipa{m}}an\text{\textipa{ŋ}} pi\text{\textipa{l}}

basket small
N ADJ

‘a/the small basket’
\end{verbatim}

In example (102) and example (103) ja\text{\textipa{ŋ}} and ta\text{\textipa{m}}an\text{\textipa{ŋ}} are the heads of the noun phrases ja\text{\textipa{ŋ}} du\text{\textipa{l}} and ta\text{\textipa{m}}an\text{\textipa{ŋ}} pi\text{\textipa{l}}. The two adjectives du\text{\textipa{l}} and pi\text{\textipa{l}} modify the head nouns in the two noun phrases.

\begin{verbatim}
(104) ja\text{\textipa{ŋ}} lo\text{\textipa{ŋ}} du\text{\textipa{l}}

house black big
N ADJ ADJ

‘a/the big black house’
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
(105) fwi\text{\textipa{j}} ka\text{\textipa{mi}}\text{\textipa{j}} a\text{\textipa{l}}la\text{\textipa{ŋ}}

dog tail long
N N ADJ

‘a/the dog’s long tail’
\end{verbatim}
In example (104) both the adjectives \(\text{lo}^\text{ŋ} \text{ŋ} \text{d}^\text{u} \text{ŋ}\) and \(\text{du}^\text{ŋ}\) modify the head noun \(\text{ja}^\text{ŋ}\) in the noun phrase. In example (105), there are two nouns in the noun phrase. The first noun \(\text{fw}^\text{ŋ}\) ‘dog’ functions as the possessive noun and the second noun \(\text{k}^\text{ŋ}^\text{mi}^\text{ŋ}\) ‘tail’ is the head of the noun phrase. In this example, the adjective \(\text{a}^\text{ŋ}^\text{ŋ}^\text{t}^\text{a}^\text{o}\) ‘long’ modifies the head noun \(\text{k}^\text{ŋ}^\text{mi}^\text{ŋ}\) ‘tail’, not the possessive noun \(\text{fw}^\text{ŋ}\) ‘dog’.

\[
(106) \quad \text{ja}^\text{ŋ} \quad \text{lo}^\text{ŋ} \quad \text{du}^\text{ŋ} \quad \text{me}^\text{ŋ}^\text{t}^\text{a}^\text{o} \\
\text{N} \quad \text{ADJ} \quad \text{ADJ} \quad \text{ADJ} \\
\text{a very big black house}
\]

Example (106) shows that two adjectives, \(\text{lo}^\text{ŋ} \text{ŋ}\) ‘black’ and \(\text{du}^\text{ŋ}\) ‘big’ are modified by an intensifier \(\text{me}^\text{ŋ}^\text{t}^\text{a}^\text{o} \text{ŋ}\) ‘very’.

### 4.1.4 Demonstratives

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

\[
(107) \quad \text{s}^\text{ŋ}^\text{a} \quad \text{du}^\text{ŋ} \quad \text{ja}^\text{ŋ}^\text{d}^\text{o} \quad \text{lw}^\text{ŋ} \quad \text{da}^\text{o}^\text{l} \\
\text{N} \quad \text{ADJ} \quad \text{DEM} \quad \text{NUM} \quad \text{CLF} \\
\text{Those four big elephant}
\]

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

\[
(108) \quad \text{s}^\text{ŋ}^\text{a} \quad \text{ja}^\text{ŋ}^\text{d}^\text{o} \quad \text{lw}^\text{ŋ} \quad \text{da}^\text{o}^\text{l} \\
\text{N} \quad \text{DEM} \quad \text{NUM} \quad \text{CLF} \\
\text{Those four elephants}
\]

### 4.1.5 Quantifiers

In grammar, quantifiers indicate a quantity. In Kayan Lahta, quantifiers are used to indicate the number or amount of the noun in a noun phrase. They can occur with adjectives or demonstratives but they never occur with a classifier. In a noun phrase where the demonstrative or adjective are absent, the quantifiers directly follow the head noun.
In example (109) the quantifier directly occurs after the head noun and it occurs after the demonstrative in example (110).

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

\[(111) \text{mpla}^1 \text{ fo}^1 \text{ fo?}^1 \text{ shu}^1 \text{ ban}^1\]
\[3s \quad \text{bring} \quad \text{water} \quad \text{eight} \quad \text{clf}\]
\[\text{PRO} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{N} \quad \text{NUM} \quad \text{CLF}\]

‘She brings eight glasses of water.’

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

Frame for classifiers in Kayan Lahta:

N (NUM) CLF

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

\[(112) \text{pro}^1 \text{ mo}^1 \text{ lw}^1 \text{ pla}^1\]
\[\text{woman} \quad \text{four} \quad \text{clf}\]
\[\text{N} \quad \text{NUM} \quad \text{CLF}\]

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

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

(113) ʃwi l daʔla
      dog  clf
      N  CLF
   ‘a/the dog’ or ‘one dog’

(114) puʔla
      child clf
      N  CLF
   ‘a/the child’ or ‘one child’

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

4.2 Adpositional phrases and relative clauses

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

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

(115) kəlalaŋ l (daʔ) o l daʔ kəŋ l kʰu l ba l pʰaʔ l
      plate  rel  exist  prep  chair  on  clf  break
      N  REL  V  PREP  N  LOCZR  CLF  V
   ‘The plate on the chair is broken.’ (Lit. The plate that is on the chair.)

(116) ʃwi l (daʔ) o l meʔ l tʰaŋ l ba l eʔ l ɲa l
      dog  rel  exist  tooth  sharp  clf  bite  3s
      N  REL  V  N  ADJ  CLF  V  PRO
   ‘The dog with sharp teeth bites me.’ (Lit. The dog that has sharp teeth.)
The preposition $da$ can alternate with $ba$ but the relative clause use of $da$ cannot be substituted with $ba$.

(117) $kɔləŋ$ *(ba) $o$ $ba$ $kɔŋ$ $kʰu$ $ba$ $pʰaʔ$*  
plate prep exist prep chair on clf break  
N PREP V PREP N LOCZ CLF V  
‘The plate on the chair is broken.’

(118) $ʃwi$ $o$ *(ba) $mɛ$ $tʰaŋ$ $ba$ $eŋ$ $na$  
dog exist prep teeth sharp clf bite 3s  
N V PREP N ADJ CLF V PRO  
‘The dog with sharp teeth bites me.’

**4.3 Conclusion**

In this chapter, the noun phrase, appositional and relative were mainly discussed. Noun phrase head, possessives, adjectives, demonstratives, quantifiers, numbers and classifiers were also presented. Noun phrase head included proper nouns and pronouns.
Chapter 5
Simple Clauses

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

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

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

\[(\text{NP}_{\text{SUB}}) \text{ V} (\text{NP}_{\text{OBJ}})(\text{NP}_{\text{OBJ}})(\text{PP})\]

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

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

\[(119) \quad \eta\eta \begin{array}{ll}
\text{ŋ} & \text{ŋ} \\\
3s & \text{sleep} \\
\text{PRO} & \text{V} \\
\text{‘He sleeps.’} & 
\end{array}\]

\[(120) \quad \eta\eta \begin{array}{ll}
\text{ŋ} & \text{ŋ} \\\
1s & \text{cry} \\
\text{PRO} & \text{V} \\
\text{‘I cry’} & 
\end{array}\]
Two independent clauses can be connected by conjunction as in (124). In this example, there are two simple independent clauses ta.¶i bai ja¶ ‘the fly flew’ and p²a¶ pla¶ s¹aj?¶ la¶ ‘the father saw (the fly)’ and they are connected by the conjunction da¶ ‘and’.

(121) ta.¶i bai ja¶ da¶ p²a¶ pla¶ s¹aj?¶ la¶
fly clf fly and father clf look see
N CLF V CONJ N CLF V V
‘The fly flew and the father saw (it).’

Two clauses also can be connected by the conjunction kɔ¶ ‘after that’ as in example below shows.

(122) o¶ nj¶ lo¶ so²¶ k²u¶ kɔ¶ lwaj¶ ta.¶ajaj¶
exist sleep together mountain on then go hunting
V V ADV N LOCZR CO.CONJ V N
‘Sleep together on the mountain, after that go hunting.’

In example (122) the two clauses o¶ nj¶ lo¶ so²¶ k²u¶ ‘sleep together on the mountain’ and lwaj¶ ta.¶ajaj¶ ‘go hunting’ are connected by the conjunction kɔ¶ ‘then’. In this sentence, the subject is omitted.

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

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

5.3.1.1 Attributive clauses
‘mej’ is used in a manner that looks like a verb in some sentences in Kayan Lahta shown as in examples (126) and (127). In this kind of sentence, the adjective functions as a complement.
5.3.1.2 Equative clauses

Equative clauses identify two noun phrases as denoting the same individual. A copula mwa⁴ is used to link the two noun phrases in equative clauses in Kayan Lahta. Equative clauses have two main meanings: that two individuals are the same or that the noun phrase subject entity is a member of a set. See (128), (129) and (130).

(127) ṃplaŋ mwa⁴ naŋ pʰaŋ
3s is 1s father
PRO COP POSS N
‘He is my father.’

The topic marker ‘mɛ.’ can co-occur with the copula ‘mwa⁴’ in equative clause as in example (128) or the copula can be omitted as in example (129). To change an
affirmative sentence into negative sentence, the copula mwa\textsuperscript{i} ‘is’ can be negated, not the topic marker me\textsuperscript{i}, see (130).

\[(128)\] pʰuʔ\textsubscript{l} pla\textsubscript{l} me\textsubscript{l} mwa\textsuperscript{i} pla\textsubscript{l} bla\textsuperscript{i}
son clf top is human lazy
N CLF TOP COP CLF ADJ
‘The son is a lazy one.’

\[(129)\] pʰuʔ\textsubscript{l} pla\textsubscript{l} me\textsubscript{l} pla\textsubscript{l} bla\textsuperscript{i}
son clf top human lazy
N CLF TOP CLF ADJ
‘The son is a lazy one.’

\[(130)\] pʰuʔ\textsubscript{l} pla\textsubscript{l} me\textsubscript{l} jə\textsuperscript{1} mwa\textsuperscript{i} pla\textsubscript{l} bla\textsuperscript{i}
son clf top not is human lazy
N CLF TOP NEG COP CLF ADJ
‘The son is not a lazy one.’

5.3.1.3 Existential clauses

An existential clause expresses the existence of an entity. The verb o\textsubscript{i} is used in existential clauses.

Existential clause structure:

Noun Phrase + ‘o\textsubscript{i}’ forms an existential clause, as in (131).

\[(131)\] mwə\textsubscript{l} mə\textsubscript{l}kəŋ\textsubscript{l} o\textsubscript{i}
spirit festival exist
N N V
‘There is a Spirit festival.’

5.3.1.4 Clausal possession

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

\[(132)\] ɲa\textsuperscript{i} jəŋ\textsubscript{1} o\textsubscript{i}
1s house exist
PRO N V
‘I have a house.’
Different from example (131), oɬ can be a full verb and it has the meaning ‘live’ or ‘stay’ in example (134).

(134) laɬ maɭkoɭaɭ kʰaɭ pʰaɭ doɭ pʰuɭ oɬ lo
time long-ago when father and son live together
‘Long ago, the father and the son lived together.’

5.3.1.5 Quantification prediction
Quantity can be expressed by a combination of number and classifier which is separated from the subject NP by oɬ.

(135) naɬ pʰuɭ oɬ ɲəŋ pləɬ
1s son exist two clf
‘I have two sons.’

(136) naɬ ɲəŋ oɬ ɲəŋ maɭ
1s house exist two clf
‘I have two houses.’

5.3.2 Verbal clauses
In verbal clauses, different clause types can be distinguished based on transitivity. They are based on the number of arguments.
Table 21 Verbal clauses in Kayan Lahta

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause Types</th>
<th>SUBJ</th>
<th>OBJ1</th>
<th>OBJ2</th>
<th>OBL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verbal</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transitive</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intransitive</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>motion</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ditransitive</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.3.2.1 Intransitive clause

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

The basic structure of the intransitive clause is:

\[
[NP_{agent/patient} \ V_{\text{complex}}]
\]

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

(137)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{child} & \text{not} & \text{feel.well} & \text{and} & \text{die} \\
N & \text{NEG} & V & \text{CONJ} & V \\
\end{array}
\]

‘The child is not feeling well and died.’

(138)  
\[
\begin{array}{lllll}
\text{person} & \text{many} & \text{on.going} & \text{sit} \\
N & \text{QNT} & \text{ASP} & V \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Many people are sitting.’

In the example (137) the noun \( \text{pla}/\text{bo}\.ta/ \) is followed by the verbs \( p^u\text{ija}/ \) and \( f\text{s}/ \), connected by the conjunction \( da/ \). The noun phrase \( \text{pla}/\text{bo}\.ta/ \) is the subject in this clause and the verb \( p^u\text{ija}/ \) and \( f\text{s}/ \) are the verbs of the clause.
The next two examples are predicate adjectives which are also intransitive.

(139) $\textsf{fwi}$ $\textsf{kə.mi}$ $\textsf{a.ιa}$
dog tail long
N N ADJ
‘The dog’s tail is long.’

(140) $\textsf{pla}$ $\textsf{pla/bo.ta}$ $\textsf{ləŋ}$
human child fat
CLF N ADJ
‘The child is fat.’

### 5.3.2.2 Transitive clause

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

The basic structure of the transitive clause is:

$$\text{[NP}_{\text{SUB}} \ V \ \text{NP}_{\text{OBJ}}]$$

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

(141) $\textsf{plu}$ $\textsf{pla}$ $\textsf{aŋ}$ $\textsf{jeŋ}$
child clf eat rice-cooked
N CLF V N
‘The child ate cooked-rice.

(142) $\textsf{plu}$ $\textsf{pla}$ $\textsf{lo}$ $\textsf{vanŋ}$ $\textsf{ta.pi}$ $\textsf{ba}$
child clf follow hit fly clf
N CLF V V N CLF
‘The child follows (and) hits the fly.’

(143) $\textsf{ka.jaŋ}$ $\textsf{lwaŋ}$ $\textsf{ni}$ $\textsf{teŋ}$ $\textsf{ba}$ $\textsf{da}$ $\textsf{tu}$
Kayan go get porcupine clf in forest
N.PROP V V N CLF PREP N
‘The Kayan got a porcupine in the forest.’
All the examples shown above take both the subjects and the objects. In the example (143) the preposition phrase follows the object.

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

The basic structure of the motion clause is:

\[
\text{[NP} \quad \text{VP}_{\text{goal}}]\]

(144) 
\begin{align*}
\text{mɔ}h\text{ɔ'ʔ} & \quad \text{lɛ} & \quad \text{səkʰoŋ} & \quad \text{qa} \\
\text{yesterday} & \quad \text{go} & \quad \text{rice.field} & \quad \text{s.f} \\
\text{TIME} & \quad \text{V} & \quad \text{N} & \quad \text{PRT} \\
\end{align*}

‘Yesterday (I) went to the rice field.’

(145) 
\begin{align*}
\text{tə.pi} & \quad \text{ba.ļ} & \quad \text{laŋ} & \quad \text{ba.ļ} & \quad \text{pla.ļ} & \quad \text{pla.ļ.ə.taŋ} & \quad \text{səŋoŋ} \\
\text{fly} & \quad \text{clf} & \quad \text{decend} & \quad \text{rest} & \quad \text{on} & \quad \text{clf} & \quad \text{child} & \quad \text{head} \\
\text{N} & \quad \text{CLF} & \quad \text{V} & \quad \text{V} & \quad \text{PREP} & \quad \text{CLF} & \quad \text{N} & \quad \text{N} \\
\end{align*}

‘The fly rest down on the child’s head.’

(146) 
\begin{align*}
\text{tə.pi} & \quad \text{ba.ļ} & \quad \text{laŋ} & \quad \text{ba.ļ} & \quad \text{fwi} & \quad \text{doi} \\
\text{fly} & \quad \text{clf} & \quad \text{descend} & \quad \text{rest} & \quad \text{dog} & \quad \text{clf} \\
\text{N} & \quad \text{CLF} & \quad \text{V} & \quad \text{V} & \quad \text{N} & \quad \text{CLF} \\
\end{align*}

‘The fly rest down on the dog.’

(147) 
\begin{align*}
\text{tə.pi} & \quad \text{ba.ļ} & \quad \text{ja} \\
\text{fly} & \quad \text{clf} & \quad \text{fly} \\
\text{N} & \quad \text{CLF} & \quad \text{V} \\
\end{align*}

‘The fly flew.’

5.3.2.4 Ditransitive clause
A ditransitive clause is distinguished from other clauses by the presence of two objects: direct object and indirect object. In this clause structure, the indirect object
directly occurs after the verb and it is followed by the direct object. They are not marked by any case or other markers.

The basic structure of a ditransitive clause is:

\[
[\text{NP}_{\text{SUB}} \quad \text{VP} \quad \text{NP}_{\text{OBJ}} \quad \text{NP}_{\text{OBJ}}]
\]

(148) \[
\text{tj}a.l \quad j\eta.j \quad \text{pla.l} \quad \text{ple.l} \quad \text{ve}l \quad \text{ja?}l \quad \text{ba}l
\]
\text{owner} \quad \text{house} \quad \text{clf} \quad \text{compensate} \quad 3s \quad \text{chicken} \quad \text{clf}
\text{POSS} \quad \text{N} \quad \text{CLF} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{PRO} \quad \text{N} \quad \text{CLF}

‘The house owner compensated me a chicken.’

(149) \[
\text{k\text{a}j\text{a}n?}l \quad j\omega.l \quad \text{p\text{b}i}l \quad \text{a\eta}l \quad \text{b\text{a}n\text{u}l} \quad \text{te\text{\eta}l} \quad \text{ba}l
\]
\text{Kayan} \quad \text{not} \quad \text{give} \quad \text{eat} \quad \text{PaO} \quad \text{porcupine} \quad \text{clf}
\text{N.PROP} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{N.PROP} \quad \text{N} \quad \text{CLF}

‘The Kayan did not give the Pa O a porcupine to eat.’

(150) \[
\text{b\text{a}n\text{u}l} \quad \text{p\text{b}i}l \quad \text{a\eta}l \quad \text{k\text{a}j\text{a}n?}l \quad \text{s\text{b}a\text{\eta}l} \quad \text{d\text{\eta}?}l
\]
\text{PaO} \quad \text{give} \quad \text{eat} \quad \text{Kayan} \quad \text{elephant} \quad \text{clf}
\text{N.PROP} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{N.PROP} \quad \text{N} \quad \text{CLF}

‘The Pa O gave the Kayan an elephant to eat.’

(151) \[
\text{m\text{p}l\text{a}l} \quad \text{ja}l \quad \text{ve}l \quad \text{li}l \quad \text{a}l \quad \text{be\text{\eta}l}
\]
\text{3s} \quad \text{give} \quad 1s \quad \text{book} \quad \text{one} \quad \text{clf}
\text{PRO} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{PRO} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{NUM} \quad \text{CLF}

‘He/she gave me a book.’

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

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

5.4.1 Agent

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

\[(152)\] pʰa⁴ plə˩ vaŋ˩ fwi˩ doʔ˩
\[father\] clf \[hit\] \[dog\] clf
\[N\] clf \[V\] N clf

‘The father hit the dog.’

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

\[(153)\] fwi˩ doʔ˩ eŋ˩ pʰa⁴ plə˩
\[dog\] clf \[bite\] \[father\] clf
\[N\] clf \[V\] N clf

‘The dog bites the father.’

5.4.2 Experiencer

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

\[(154)\] naⁿ səƛkaj˩ kʰiʔ˩
\[Is\] afraid \[tiger\]
\[PRO\] \[V\] N

‘I am afraid of tigers.’

\[(155)\] kʰiʔ˩ səƛkaj˩ naⁿ
\[tiger\] afraid \[2s\]
\[N\] \[V\] PRO

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

(156) veŋvaŋ veŋnaŋ
1s hit myself
PRO V RFLX
‘I hit myself.’

(157) məŋkaŋ kəŋhoŋŋəŋ təŋŋəŋ səŋŋəŋ pəŋmoŋ
spirit call ascend only woman
N V V PRT N
‘The spirit call only woman.’

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

(158) plaŋbəŋtaŋqəŋ təŋŋəŋ pəŋuŋjaŋ doŋ fəŋ
child not feeling-well and die
N NEG V CONJ V
‘The child is not feeling well and die.’

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

(159) təŋuŋ bəŋ oŋ doŋ təŋŋəŋ fəŋ
bird clf exist prep tree on
N CLF V PREP N LOCZR
‘A bird is on the tree.’

Or

(160) təŋuŋ bəŋ oŋ baŋ təŋŋəŋ fəŋ
bird clf exist prep tree on
N CLF V PREP N LOCZR
‘A bird is on the tree.’
In examples (162), the location, \(\theta aŋ_j fə\) ‘on the tree’ gives the information of where the bird is. In this example, the location phrase \(\theta aŋ_j fə\) ‘on the tree’ is connected by the preposition \(də\) or \(bə\).

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

\[(160)\]  
\(tʰuɭ bəɭ oɭ \theta aŋ_j fəɭ\)  
\(bird\quad clf\quad exist\quad tree\quad on\)  
\(N\quad CLF\quad V\quad N\quad LOCZR\)  
‘A bird is on the tree.’

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

\[(161)\]  
\(naɭ sʰaŋʔaɭ laɭ \theta aŋ_j aɭ oɭ \theta aŋ_m aŋ_j kuʔa\)  
\(Is\quad look\quad see\quad fruit\quad exist\quad basket\quad inside\)  
\(PRO\quad V\quad V\quad N\quad V\quad N\quad LOCZR\)  
‘I see the fruit is inside the basket.’

\[(162)\]  
\(naɭ sʰaŋʔaɭ laɭ tʰuɭ bəɭ oɭ \theta aŋ_j fəɭ\)  
\(Is\quad look\quad see\quad bird\quad clf\quad exist\quad tree\quad on\)  
\(PRO\quad V\quad V\quad N\quad CLF\quad V\quad N\quad LOCZR\)  
‘I see the bird is on the tree.’

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

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

\[(163)\]  
\(oɭ loɭ doŋˇpaɭ\)  
\(live\quad together\quad village\quad PaPai\)  
\(V\quad ADJ\quad N\quad N\quad PROP\)  
‘Live together in the PaPai village.’

\[(164)\]  
\(plaɭba\_taɭ leɭ tʰaŋ\_aŋ soŋ\_aŋ\)  
\(child\quad go\quad descend\quad mountain\)  
\(N\quad V\quad V\quad N\)  
‘The child climbs up the mountain.’
5.4.5 Manner
Manner relationships in Kayan Lahta are coded by adding an adverb. The manner answers the question ‘how’. Adverbs follow the verb and modify the verb.

\[(165) \ fwi| d{o}l \ s\text{\textipa{\textae}tʰi}l \ ka\text{\textipa{\textae}j}\ |
\]
\[
\text{dog} \ \text{clf} \ \text{run} \ \text{fast}
\]
\[\text{N} \ \text{CLF} \ \text{V} \ \text{ADV}
\]
‘The dog runs fast.’

\[(166) \ p\text{\textipa{\textd}}l \ d{o}l \ f\text{\textipa{\textw}}a|l \ l\text{\textipa{\textw}}a|l\ |
\]
\[
\text{cow} \ \text{clf} \ \text{walk} \ \text{slow}
\]
\[\text{N} \ \text{CLF} \ \text{V} \ \text{ADV}
\]
‘The cow walks slowly.’

\[(167) \ v\text{\textipa{\textve}}l \ p\text{\textipa{\textjan}}l \ p\text{\textipa{\textb}u}l \ t\text{\textipa{\textma}n\textipa{\textae}j}l \ ma|l
\]
\[
\text{2s} \ \text{weave} \ \text{nice} \ \text{basket} \ \text{clf}
\]
\[\text{PRO} \ \text{V} \ \text{ADV} \ \text{N} \ \text{CLF}
\]
‘He weaves the basket nicely.’

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

\[(168) \ f\text{\textipa{\textw}}i| d{o}l \ s\text{\textipa{\textae}tʰi}l \ ka\text{\textipa{\textae}j}\ | \ ka\text{\textipa{\textae}j}\ |
\]
\[
\text{dog} \ \text{clf} \ \text{run} \ \text{fast} \ \text{fast}
\]
\[\text{N} \ \text{CLF} \ \text{V} \ \text{ADV} \ \text{ADV}
\]
‘The dog runs very fast.’

\[(169) \ p\text{\textipa{\textd}}l \ d{o}l \ f\text{\textipa{\textw}}a|l \ l\text{\textipa{\textw}}a|l \ l\text{\textipa{\textw}}a|l\ |
\]
\[
\text{cow} \ \text{clf} \ \text{walk} \ \text{slow} \ \text{slow}
\]
\[\text{N} \ \text{CLF} \ \text{V} \ \text{ADV} \ \text{ADV}
\]
‘The cow walks very slowly.’

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

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

\[(172)\] ku da ta daŋ
\[\text{cut bamboo with knife}\]
\[\text{V N INSTR N}\]

‘Cut the bamboo with knife.’

\[(173)\] çwe da pi
\[\text{pull with rope}\]
\[\text{V INSTR N}\]

‘Pull with rope.’

In above examples, the two instruments: ta daŋ ‘knife’ and pi ‘rope’ occur after the instrument marker da. In all examples, the subjects are omitted and the instrument locational phrases occur after the main verbs and the object NP if it appears.

5.4.8 Accompaniment

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

\[(174)\] na le pe aŋ da mu
\[\text{I go cut tree with Mu}\]
\[\text{PRO V V N ACCMP N.PROP}\]

‘I go (and) cut the tree with Mu’
5.4.9 Beneficiary

A beneficiary is coded with the benefactive marker ŋa/ combining with the preposition də/ to express the intended recipient.

Example (175) shows that the intended recipient ŋa/ pʰuʔ/ ‘my son’ occurs after a preposition də/ and it precedes the benefactive marker ŋa/.

(175) ŋa/ pʰaŋ/ tə̂.maŋ/ ma/ də/ ɲa/ pʰuʔ/ ɲa/ 1s weave basket clf prep poss son for
PRO V N CLF PREP POSS N BEN
‘I weave a basket for my son.’

5.4.10 Time

Time gives the information of when the event takes place. The time is mostly coded with the postposition kʰa/. The time phrase always precedes the main clause. They modify the entire clause in the sentence.

(176) ɲi/ sʰaj/ kʰa/ pʰi/ aŋ/ k.a/jajʔ/ get elephant time give eat Kayan
V N TIME V V N.PROP
‘When (they) got the elephant, (they) give the Kayan to eat.’

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

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

(177) məho/səŋ/ le/ sa/kʰaŋ/ qa yesterday go rice.field s.f
N V N PRT
‘Yesterday I went to the field.’

The circum-positions la/ and kʰa/ encode temporality. la/ expresses the past time.

(178) la/ ma.ka.əkʰaʔ/ kʰa/ a.pʰa/ də/ a.pʰuʔ/ o/ θə/ ɲəŋ/ time past time father conj son exist clf two
TIME PAST TIME N CONJ N V CLF NUM
‘Long time ago, there were a father and a son.’
In example (178), the time phrase $la \, məkəsʰərəʔ kʰa$ precedes the core clause $əpʰə di la \, əpʰəuə lə əəl ɲənə$. In this example, by including the time preposition $la$, it means that the events happened in the past.

### 5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, simple clauses were presented. Two types of clauses: copula clauses and verbal clauses were discussed. Under copula clauses, attributive clauses, equative clauses, location clauses, existential clauses, clausal possession and quantification modification were presented. Intransitive clauses, transitive clauses, motion clauses ditransitive clauses were presented under verbal clauses. Specific forms for encoding agent, patient, location, manner, recipient, instrument and time were included in this chapter under the section on semantic relationships.
Chapter 6
Clause types

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

6.2 Major clause types
This section discusses three major clauses: declaratives, interrogatives and Imperative.

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

(179) \text{\textquoteleft}now 1s live in Kaung.Htu\textquoteright
\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{llll}
\textit{kəŋi} & \textit{ve} & \textit{o} & \textit{daŋ} \\
\text{\textit{TIME} \textit{PRO} \textit{V} \textit{PREP}} & \textit{N} & \textit{PROP}
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

(180) \text{\textquoteleft}I think about you\textquoteright
\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{llll}
\textit{na} & \textit{lwi} & \textit{təŋ} & \textit{ve} \\
\text{\textit{TIME} \textit{PRO} \textit{V} \textit{PRO} \textit{LOCZR}} & \textit{V} & \textit{V} & \textit{LOCZR}
\end{tabular}
\end{center}
6.2.2 Interrogative
Interrogatives can be divided into two kinds: content questions and polar questions. Content questions involve interrogative pronouns such as what, why, when, where, how many. Some content questions and all polar questions are formed by the adding the word ɛ before the predicate.

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

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

\[(182) ve \, sʰaŋʔ \, la \, sə.nɛ.\]  
\[
\begin{array}{llll} 
2s & look & see & what \\
\text{PRO} & \text{V} & \text{V} & \text{Q} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘What do you see?’

\[(183) ve \, sʰaŋʔ \, la \, da \, sə.nɛ.\]  
\[
\begin{array}{llll} 
2s & look & see & can \, what \\
\text{PRO} & \text{V} & \text{V} & \text{ABL} \ , \text{Q} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘What can you see?’

In examples (182) and (183), the question word sə.nɛ./ is added at the end of the sentence. For the above questions, the answer can be human and non-human as shown in example (184). Or the answer can be just a noun phrase as shown in example (185).
(184) na\+  sʰaj?\+  la\+  po\-mo\+  sʰa?\+  pla\+  
1s  look  see  woman  six  clf 

PRO  V  V  N  NUM  CLF 

‘I saw six women.’

Or

na\+  sʰaj?\+  la\+  co\-lu\+  tʰa?\+  s\+  ma\+  
1s  look  see  ring  gold  one  clf 

PRO  V  V  N  ADJ  NUM  CLF 

‘I saw a golden ring.’

(185) po\-mo\+  sʰa?\+  pla\+  
woman  six  clf 

N  NUM  CLF 

‘six woman’

Or

cο\-lu\+  tʰa?\+  s\+  ma\+  
ring  gold  one  clf 

N  ADJ  NUM  CLF 

‘a/the golden ring’

6.2.2.1.2 Why (Reason)

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

(186) ve\+  jə\+  mpli\+  foʔ\+  njwe\+  
2s  not  buy  rice  why 

PRO  NEG  V  N  Q  

‘Why don’t you buy rice?’

In example (186) the question word njwe\+ occurs at the end of the sentence.

(187) ve\+  ɲəɪŋ\+  e\+  ba\-sə\-ne\+  
2s  cry  quest  why 

PRO  V  PRT  Q 

‘Why do you cry?’
In example (187), the particle $e_{\downarrow}$ occurs after the predicate $\eta_{\downarrow}i\eta_{\downarrow}$ and it is followed by the question word $ba.ja./ne_{\downarrow}$.

The answer for the question can be as below.

\[(188) \; na_{\downarrow} \; \eta_{\downarrow}i\eta_{\downarrow} \; ma./ra./me_{\downarrow} \; na_{\downarrow} \; p^h_{\downarrow}a_{\downarrow} \; va_{\downarrow}j \; na_{\downarrow} \]

1s cry because 1s father hit 1s

PRO V CONJ POSS N V PRO

‘I cry because my father hit me.’

The answer for this kind of content question is formed by adding the reason clause at the end of the sentence and joining that clause by the subordinate conjunction $ma./ra./me_{\downarrow}$ to the main clause.

Notice that, for ‘why’ question that the interrogative pronoun $jw_{\downarrow}e_{\downarrow}$ does not occupy the position of the ‘answering’ clause. $ba.ja./ne_{\downarrow}$ or $jw_{\downarrow}e_{\downarrow}$ cannot said to be in situ, they are clearly sentence final.

6.2.2.1.3 Why (reason for a future event)

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

\[(189) \; ve_{\downarrow} \; le_{\downarrow} \; fu?k^h_{\downarrow}i\eta_{\downarrow} \; ve_{\downarrow} \; le_{\downarrow} \; mo_{\downarrow} \; sa./ne_{\downarrow} \]

2s go Phekhon 2s go do what

PRO V N.PROP PRO V V Q

‘What will you go to Phekhon to do?’

\[(190) \; ve_{\downarrow} \; le_{\downarrow} \; mo_{\downarrow} \; se.jon_{\downarrow} \; sa./ne_{\downarrow} \]

2s go do hospital what

PRO V V N Q

‘What will you do at the hospital?’

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

\[(191) \; na_{\downarrow} \; le_{\downarrow} \; fu?k^h_{\downarrow}i\eta_{\downarrow} \; da_{\downarrow} \; na_{\downarrow} \; le_{\downarrow} \; s^h_{\downarrow}a_{\downarrow}j{s^h_{\downarrow}a_{\downarrow}} \; ta./ma.n_{\downarrow} \]

1s go Phekhon and 1s go sell basket

PRO V N.PROP CONJ PRO V V N

‘I went to Phekhon to sell the basket.’
6.2.2.1.4 How many
This kind of question is constructed by adding the particle ɛ at the end of the sentences and the question word aʔšʔa at the beginning of the sentences. Using this kind of content question indicates that the speaker expects the unknown element to be a quantity.

(193) aʔšʔa šʔa meʔneŋŋ  sʔʔa  ɛ
how.many get exist age only quest
QNT V V N PRT Q
‘How old are you?’

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

(194) na meʔneŋŋ  oj tanj jəʔ
1s age exist thirty
PRO N V NUM
‘I am thirty.’

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

(195) ʃuʔkŋŋ  njoŋ  ɛ  thəʔ
Phekhon language quest know
N,PROP N Q V
‘Do you know Phekhon language?’

(196) ve  ɛ  aj  mjɔŋ  jəʔ
2s quest eat finish cook-rice
PRO Q V V N
‘Have you finished eating?’
In examples (195) and (196) the questions are formed by adding the particle ε before the predicates θiʔ and ηj. Notice that in (195), the object is fronted. The answer for the polar question in affirmative would be “yes,” or ε followed by the verb or just the verb as in the examples below.

\[ \begin{align*}
(197) & \quad m\eta\varepsilon & \quad \text{correct} & \quad \theta i\varepsilon & \quad \text{quest} & \quad \theta i\varepsilon & \quad \text{know} \\
& \quad \text{V} & \quad \text{Q} & \quad \text{V} & \quad \text{V} \\
& \quad \text{‘Yes’} & \quad \text{‘Know’} & \quad \text{‘Know’}
\end{align*} \]

The answer in negative would be:

\[ \begin{align*}
(198) & \quad j\varepsilon & \quad \text{not} & \quad m\eta\varepsilon & \quad \text{correct} & \quad j\varepsilon & \quad \theta i\varepsilon & \quad \text{know} \\
& \quad \text{NEG} & \quad \text{V} & \quad \text{NEG} & \quad \text{V} \\
& \quad \text{‘No’} & \quad \text{‘Do not know.’}
\end{align*} \]

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

\[ \begin{align*}
(199) & \quad m\eta\varepsilon & \quad \varepsilon & \quad da\varepsilon & \quad ba\varepsilon & \quad j\eta\varepsilon & \quad ku\varepsilon \\
& \quad \text{PRO} & \quad \text{V} & \quad \text{Q} & \quad \text{ABL} & \quad \text{PREP} & \quad \text{N} & \quad \text{LOCZR} \\
& \quad \text{‘Can I sleep inside your house?’}
\end{align*} \]

In example (199) the question marker ‘ε’ occurs before the ability ‘da’.

### 6.2.3 Imperative

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

\[ V + \text{Complement} \]

See the examples below.

\[ \begin{align*}
(200) & \quad ku\varepsilon & \quad va\varepsilon \\
& \quad \text{cut} & \quad \text{bamboo} \\
& \quad \text{V} & \quad \text{N} \\
& \quad \text{‘Cut the bamboo.’}
\end{align*} \]
In example (200) the imperative question is formed by the verb kuʔə followed by the complement vaʔ.

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

\[(201) \qquad \text{ŋbлю kəi} \quad \text{fo} \quad \text{kə} \quad \text{sʰə} \quad \text{take.off} \quad \text{thorn} \quad \text{then} \quad \text{sew} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{N} \quad \text{SUB.CONJ} \quad \text{V} \\
\text{‘Take off the thorn then sew.’} \]

In the above example, the two commands: ŋbлю kəi and sʰə are combined by the conjunction kə.

### 6.3 Aspect marking

This section discusses different aspect markings in Kayan Lahta.

#### 6.3.1 Completable aspect marker ‘hə’

The completable aspect marker hə is used to indicate that the action or event is complete.

\[(202) \quad \text{ta.pi} \quad \text{ba} \quad \text{jə} \quad \text{ma} \quad \text{hə} \quad \text{fly} \quad \text{clf} \quad \text{fly} \quad \text{disapear} \quad \text{complete} \quad \text{N} \quad \text{CLF} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{ASP} \\
\text{‘The fly flew.’} \]

\[(203) \quad \text{an} \quad \text{lu} \quad \text{hə} \quad \text{тоn} \text{nə} \quad \text{eat} \quad \text{all} \quad \text{complete} \quad \text{fruits} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{QNT} \quad \text{ASP} \quad \text{N} \\\n\text{‘(They) ate all the fruit.’} \]

\[(204) \quad \text{mekən.kə} \quad \text{si-ənə} \quad \text{da} \quad \text{hə} \quad \text{then} \quad \text{sell} \quad \text{able} \quad \text{complete} \quad \text{CONN} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{ABL} \quad \text{ASP} \\
\text{‘Then it is ready to sell it.’} \]

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6.3.2 Perfective or completive aspect marker ‘mŋəɲtʰəɷ’

The aspect marker mŋəɲtʰəɷ is used to indicate a completed action or event.

(205) veɷ  eɷ  aŋɷ  mŋəɲtʰəɷ
 2s  quest  eat  finish
PRO  Q  V  ASP

‘Have you finished eating?’

6.3.3 Ongoing aspect marker ‘oɷ’

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

(206) naɷ  oɷ  nəɷ
 1s  on-going  sleep
PRO  ASP  V

‘I am sleeping.’

(207) naɷ  oɷ  nəɷ  kʰŋəɷ  kʰuɷ
 1s  on-going  sit  chair  on
PRO  ASP  V  N  LOCZR

‘I am sitting on the chair.’

6.4 Ability

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

(208) fuʔkʰŋəɷ  njoŋɷ  daɷ
Phekhon language can
N.PROP  N  ABL

‘(I) can speak Phekhon language.’

(209) pʰaʔɷ  liɷ  daɷ
read book can
V  N  ABL

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

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

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

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

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

(213)  

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
ve & ja & pʰi & anj & pa \\n2s & not & give & eat & 1s \\
PRO & NEG & V & V & PRO \\
\end{array}
\]

‘You do not give me to eat.’

(214)  

\[
\begin{array}{ccccc}
j & nd & da & ja & anj & ba & jo \\nnot & cook & and & not & eat & effect & s.f \\
NEG & V & CONJ & NEG & V & V & PRT \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Do not cook and do not eat.’

In example (213) the negative *ja* occurs before the verb *pʰi*. In example (214), two clauses are joined by the conjunction *da*. In both clauses the verbs *nda* and *anj* are being negated by their own negative marker. In example (215) the ability *e?i* is negated.

(215)  

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
mb & lo & ka & ja & e? & da & pja & lan & pa \\nfeed & spirit & not & able & and & move & descend & village & Pou \\
V & N & NEG & ABL & CONJ & V & V & N & N.PROP \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Since (they) were not able to feed the spirit, then (they) moved to the village Pou.’

(216)  

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
ja & mb & lo & ka & da & pja & lan & pa \\nnot & feed & spirit & and & move & descend & village & Pau \\
NEG & V & N & CONJ & V & V & N & N.PROP \\
\end{array}
\]

‘(They) did not feed the spirit then they moved to the village.’

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

Different from other Kayan varieties, nouns can be negated in Kayan Lahta, although the example below is the only example in my data. It is also possible that the verb ‘be’ is omitted in the sentence. But there is not enough evidence to prove that either
the noun can be negated or the verb ‘be’ is omitted. See section 5.3.1.2 for more on equative sentences.

\[(217) \text{bə.əl} \quad \text{də} \quad \text{ka.jaj?} \quad \text{jə} \quad \text{vo} \quad \text{ve} \quad \text{lo} \quad \text{tʰu-ũə} \quad \text{Pa.O} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{Kayan} \quad \text{not} \quad \text{sister} \quad \text{brother} \quad \text{together} \quad \text{that.time} \quad \text{N.PROP} \quad \text{CONJ} \quad \text{N.PROP} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{N} \quad \text{N} \quad \text{ADV} \quad \text{TIME} \quad \text{‘From that time, the Pa.O and Kayan were not brother and sister anymore.’}\]

In example (217) the two nouns vo and ve are being negated. There is no verb in the sentence.

6.6 Comparative and superlative

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

\[\text{[NP} \quad \text{ADJ} \quad \text{kʰlogɨdə} \quad \text{NP]}\_s\]

\[(218) \text{mpla} \quad \text{a.j.ə} \quad \text{kʰlogɨdə} \quad \text{ve} \quad \text{3s} \quad \text{tall} \quad \text{than} \quad \text{1s} \quad \text{PRO} \quad \text{ADJ} \quad \text{COMP} \quad \text{PRO} \quad \text{‘He is taller than me.’}\]

\[(219) \text{mə.ho} \quad \text{kə} \quad \text{kʰlogɨdə} \quad \text{məjka} \quad \text{yesterday} \quad \text{hot} \quad \text{than} \quad \text{today} \quad \text{N} \quad \text{ADJ} \quad \text{COMP} \quad \text{N} \quad \text{‘Yesterday is hotter than today.’}\]

\[(220) \text{ai} \quad \text{du} \quad \text{kʰlogɨdə} \quad \text{ku} \quad \text{Ai} \quad \text{big} \quad \text{than} \quad \text{Khu} \quad \text{N.PROP} \quad \text{ADJ} \quad \text{COMP} \quad \text{N.PROP} \quad \text{‘Ai is older than Khu.’}\]

Examples (218), (219) and (220) express comparative sentences. In these examples, the first nouns are compared to the second nouns and they are connected by the comparative marker kʰlogɨdə.
In a superlative sentence, a prepositional phrase can occur. The position of the superlative in a sentence in Kayan Lahta is:

\[(\text{adpositional phrase}) \quad N \quad \text{ADJ} \quad k^b\text{log} \quad (\text{adpositional phrase})]_s\]

(221) \(mpla \quad a.la \quad k^b\text{log} \)

3s tall than

PRO ADJ COMP

‘He is the tallest.’

(222) \(na \quad do'\eta \quad ku? \quad mpla \quad a.la \quad k^b\text{log} \)

1s village in 3s tall than

POSS N LOCZR PRO ADJ SUP

‘In my village, he is the tallest.’

Or

\(mpla \quad la \quad k^b\text{log}da \quad na \quad do'\eta \quad ku? \)

3s tall than 1s prep village in

PRO ADJ COMP PRO PREP N LOCZR

‘He is the tallest in my village.’

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

(223) \(m\text{ho} \quad ?\text{na}\eta \quad ku \quad k^b\text{log}da \quad pu\text{,na}\eta \)

yesterday warm than every.day

N ADJ COMP N

‘Yesterday is the warmest.’

Example (223) is marked by the conjunctions \(k^b\text{log}da\). In this sentence, ‘yesterday’ is compared by ‘everyday’. Syntactically, it is a comparative sentence. But semantically, it can be both comparative and superlative sentence.

6.7 Causative

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

(224) \[ \text{pət}pʰ\text{ŋ} \]  
\[ \text{child} \quad \text{do} \quad \text{break} \quad \text{bottle} \quad \text{clf} \]  
N V V N CLF  
‘The child broke the bottle.’

(225) \[ \text{ʃ} \text{ʃ} \text{a?} \]  
\[ \text{make} \quad \text{die} \quad \text{chicken} \]  
V V N  
‘Kill the chicken.’

In examples (224) and (225) the causatives are formed by using the causative verb. It precedes the verb \( pʰ\text{a?} \) ‘break’ in example (224) and \( \text{ʃ} \text{a?} \) ‘die’ in example (225).

(226) \[ \text{ʃ} \text{a?}\text{i} \]  
\[ \text{1s} \quad \text{do} \quad \text{Khu} \quad \text{hit} \quad \text{effect} \quad \text{Ai} \]  
PRO V N.PROP V V N.PROP  
‘I make Khu to hit Ai.’

In (226), ‘\( kʰ\text{u?} \)’ is the object of the first clause \( \text{ʃ} \text{a?}\text{i} \) ‘I make Khu’ and he also functions as the subject of the second clause \( kʰ\text{u?} \text{vaŋ} \text{ba}\text{i?} \) ‘Khu hit Ai’.

### 6.8 Reciprocal

Reciprocals are formed by using \( \text{ʃ} \text{a} \text{l} \text{a} \text{t} \text{a} \) ‘one another’ and \( \text{lo} \text{l} \) ‘each other’ in Kayan Lahta. Semantically, \( \text{lo} \text{l} \) means ‘together’. In the following examples it is used as a reciprocal meaning ‘each other’. In a sentence, the \( \text{lo} \text{l} \) ‘each other’ and \( \text{ʃ} \text{a} \text{l} \text{a} \text{t} \text{a} \) ‘one another’ appear in the object position.

The following examples express the reciprocal.

(227) \[ \text{ŋa} \text{p} \text{u} \text{t} \]  
\[ \text{1pl} \quad \text{love} \quad \text{one.person} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{one.person} \]  
PRO V RECP1 CONJ RECP1  
‘We love one another.’

(228) \[ \text{ai?} \]  
\[ \text{Ai} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{Khu} \quad \text{love} \quad \text{one.person} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{one.person} \]  
N.PROP CONJ N.PROP V RECP1 CONJ RECP1  
‘Ai and Khu love one another.’
(229) man.kɔŋ ka:jaŋ? i la:naŋ? i dɔŋ bɔɾiŋ ma:teŋ? i loŋ
then Kayan Lahta and PaO fight each other

CONJ N.PROP N.PROP CONJ N.PROP V RECPL

‘Then Kayan Lahta and PaO fight each other.’

6.9 Reflexive

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

(230) veŋ vaŋŋi baŋ ŋeŋŋi
2s hit effect yourself
PRO V V REFLX

‘You hit yourself.’

(231) ȵplal vaŋŋi baŋ ŋplal.ŋaŋŋi
3s hit effect himself
PRO V V REFLX

‘He hit himself.’

Or

ŋplal vaŋŋi baŋ ŋa.ŋaŋŋi
3s hit effect himself
PRO V V REFLX

‘He hit himself.’

(232) kuŋ dɔŋ aiʔi vaŋŋi baŋ ŋaŋŋi
Khu and Ai hit effect themself
N.PROP CONJ N.PROP V V REFLX

‘Khu and Ai hit themself.’

(233) naŋpuŋ vaŋŋi baŋ ŋaŋpuŋ.ŋaŋŋi
1pl hit effect ourselves
PRO V V REFLX

‘We hit ourselves.’
The different forms of the reflexive are summarized in Table 22.

**Table 22 Reflexives in Kayan Lahta**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Reflexive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proper Noun</td>
<td>naỹ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naŋ ‘1s’</td>
<td>naŋ naỹ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>veŋ ‘2s’</td>
<td>veŋ naỹ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naŋpuŋ ‘1pl’</td>
<td>naŋpuŋ naỹ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.10 Complex clause types

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

The simple sentence structure is illustrated in (234).

```
[CLAUSE (qa.J)]

(234) mə:nəŋ ‘[nəŋ] naŋ leŋ sə:kəŋəŋ qəŋ
    yesterday 1s go rice.field s.f
    N PRO V N PRT

‘Yesterday I went to the rice field.’
```

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

6.10.1 Coordinate clauses

One way of forming complex clauses is through coordination. There are two coordinate conjunctions, ‘dəl’ and ‘kəŋ’ in Kayah Lahta. They can link the two clauses in a sentence. The two clauses are independent in that they could stand alone to form a sentence.
In (235) and (236), the two clauses are linked by the conjunction \( da. \). The use of the conjunction ‘\( da. \)’ suggests that the two events happened at the same time. It can be translated as ‘and’ or ‘but’ depending on the context. In example (237) the conjunction ‘\( kɔ \)’ is used to link the two clauses in a sentence. The use of the conjunction ‘\( kɔ \)’ suggests that the first event \( ve \ o. \ s^o.j \ k^u.l \) ‘I lived in a mountain’ happened first and then it was followed by the second event \( pja^\eta \ t^\eta \ nate^\eta \) ‘move to the Natei’ happened. They did not happen at the same time.

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

### 6.10.2 Relative clauses

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

Example (238) relativizer is omitted and the relative clause \( o. \ kɔ.\lan \ ku? \) ‘exist inside the plate’ directly follows the noun.
In (239) and (240), the relativizer daŋ is used to mark a relative clause that modifies a noun ‘pla-ha-ta,’ ‘child’ inside the clause.

(239) hoŋ pla-ha-ta daŋ uŋ faŋ
call child rel drink water
V N REL V N
‘Call the child who drunk water.’

(240) faŋ baŋ pla-ha-ta daŋ moŋ ŋaŋ
water cup child rel do destroy
POSS N N REL V V
‘the cup that the child destroyed.’

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

(241) pla-daŋ anŋ jen pla saŋŋaŋ laŋ ta-ŋ.pi baŋ jaŋ leŋ
man rel eat rice-cookedclf look see fly clf fly down
N REL V N CLF V V N CLF V V
‘The man who was eating rice saw the fly fly down.’

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

(242) pla anŋ jen pla saŋŋaŋ laŋ ta-ŋ.pi baŋ jaŋ leŋ
man eat rice-cookedclf look see fly clf fly down
N V N CLF V V N CLF V V
‘The man who was eating rice saw the fly fly down.’
6.10.3 Adverbial clauses

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

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

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

6.10.3.1 Temporal adverbial clauses

In Kayan Lahta, temporal adverbial clauses are included in the main clauses and they usually appear at the beginning of main clause. When the temporal adverbial clauses come first in a sentence, siːkʰɒuŋ ‘when’ is the subordinate conjunction that is used. Look at examples (243a) and (244a). If the temporal adverbial clause comes at the end of the sentence, the subordinate conjunction is ‘baːlʊ̠̃. Look at examples (243b) and (244b).

The two positions of the temporal clauses can be:

[Temporal Clause \quad Main Clause]_s

[........................siːkʰɒuŋ+ \quad Main Clause]_s

Or

[Main Clause \quad Temporal Clause]_s

[Main Clause \quad baːlʊ̠̃......siːkʰɒuŋ]_s

(243) a.[anŋ lo wi siːkʰɒuŋ] ta.-runtime ba jʊ̠̃ lanŋ

\begin{tabular}{llllllllll}
\textit{eat} & \textit{together} & \textit{delicious} & \textit{when} & \textit{fly} & \textit{clf} & \textit{fly} & \textit{descend} \\
\textit{V} & \textit{ADV} & \textit{ADJ} & \textit{TIME} & \textit{N} & \textit{CLF} & \textit{V} & \textit{V}
\end{tabular}

‘When eating deliciously, the fly descended.’
In the two examples above, two positions of the temporal adverbial clauses can be seen. Firstly, the temporal adverbial clauses precede the main clauses and the subordinate conjunctions \( si:ki^b o^u:i \) or \( k^b a:i \) ‘when’ occur at the end of the temporal clause in a sentence. Secondly, the temporal adverbial clauses follow the main clause and the subordinate conjunctions and \( ba:i \) ‘when’ occurs at the beginning of the temporal clauses and \( si:ki^b o^u:i \) or \( k^b a:i \) ‘when’ at the end of the sentence.

### 6.10.3.2 Reason clauses

In Kayan Lahta, \( kɔ \) ‘so’ and \( ma:rai:me:i \) ‘because’ are the conjunctions that are used in a reason clause. \( kɔ \) ‘so’ has more than one meaning. In the following examples it gives a reason. In use, the reason clause precedes the result clause and the two clauses are connected by \( kɔ \) ‘so’ or \( ma:rai:me:i \) ‘because’.

\[(245)\quad \text{plä} \quad \text{plä:ba:ta} \quad \text{ja} \quad \text{pjaŋ} \quad \text{[kɔ]} \quad \text{pjaŋy} \quad \text{teŋy} \quad \text{nateŋy} \]

\begin{align*}
\text{clf} & \quad \text{N} & \quad \text{NEG} & \quad \text{RESN} & \quad \text{V} & \quad \text{V} & \quad \text{N.PROP}
\end{align*}

‘The children are not feeling well, so (they) move to Natei.’

\[(246)\quad \text{ai} \quad \text{θə:wi} \quad \text{[kɔ]} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{an:tonŋ} \quad \text{ta:ŋaŋŋi} \]

\begin{align*}
\text{Ai} & \quad \text{hungry} & \quad \text{so} & \quad \text{3s} & \quad \text{hunt} & \quad \text{animal}
\end{align*}

‘Ai is hungry so he goes hunting.’
In example (249) the coordinator \textit{ma\^{\textacute{r}a\textit{-me\textacute{j}}} is used to connect the two clauses.

\(247\) \(\text{na} \ \text{j\textacute{o}} \ \text{le} \ \text{sa\textacute{k}\text{-}o\textit{n}} \ \text{[ma\text-
\text{"ra\text{"-me\text{"j}] \ \text{k\text"{a}n}\text{"\text{"f}we\text{"}}}]
\begin{tabular}{lllll}
1s & not & go & rice. field & because & rain \\
PRO & NEG & V & N & RESN & V
\end{tabular}

‘I do not go to the rice field because it rain.’

\subsection*{6.10.3.3 Cause-effect clauses}

In Kayan Lahta, the same marker \textit{k\text{"o}} is used for reason clauses and result clause. So syntactically, they cannot be distinguished. The two clauses can be distinguished only by their meaning.

The result clauses are coded by \textit{k\text{"o} ‘so’}. In the sentence, the result clauses follow the main clause and the two clauses are connected by \textit{k\text{"o} ‘so’}.

\(248\) \(\text{mo\text{"n}} \ \text{aq} \ \text{ma\text{"n}} \ \text{lo} \ \text{[k\text{"o}} \ \text{pl} \ \text{to\text{"mo}}\text{"j]}
\begin{tabular}{lllll}
spirit & eat & wrong & so & person & die \\
N & V & ADJ & CAUSE & N & V
\end{tabular}

‘The Spirit eats inappropriately so the people die. \\
(Lit. The Spirit eat (something) wrong so people die.’

\(250\) \(\text{na} \ \text{j\text{"o}} \ \text{aq} \ \text{je\text{"n}} \ \text{[k\text{"o}} \ \text{na} \ \text{th\text{"i}\text{"l}]}
\begin{tabular}{lllll}
1s & not & eat & rice-cooked & so & 1s & hungry \\
PRO & NEG & V & N & CAUSE & PRO & V
\end{tabular}

‘I do not eat rice, so I am hungry.’

In the above three examples, the coordinator \textit{k\text{"o} ‘so’} is used. The cause clauses occur at the beginning of the sentences and they are followed by the main clauses.

\subsection*{6.10.3.4 Conditional clauses}

Conditional clauses are marked by the subordinate conjunction \textit{me\text{"j} ‘if’}. Conditional clauses describe some hypothetical situation and the consequences of the situation. In a sentence in Kayan Latha, the first part of the sentence is the condition clause
and it describes the hypothetical situation. The second part of the sentence is the clause that describes the consequence of the condition clause.

The following are the examples of conditional clauses.

(251) \[ve\text{i} \text{tan}\text{j}\text{ka}\text{ʔ} \text{o} \text{me} \text{j} \text{ve} \text{i} \text{k}\text{o} \text{mo} \text{ʔ} \text{s}\text{a}\text{ʔ}\text{ne}\text{j} \]
2s money exist if 2s will do what
PRO N V SUB.CONJ PRO V V Q

‘If you have money, what will you do?’

(252) \[na \text{j} \text{j}\text{ŋ} \text{s}\text{h}\text{o} \text{m} \text{e} \text{j} \text{k} \text{a} \text{j} \text{j}\text{ŋ} \text{a} \text{ŋ}\text{j} \text{je}\text{n} \]
1s not look see mother if 1s will not eat rice
PRO NEG V V N SUB.CONJ PRO V NEG V N

‘If I do not see mother, I will not eat.’

(253) \[ai\text{ʔ} \text{l} \text{e} \text{ŋ} \text{na}\text{j}\text{tu}\text{j} \text{me} \text{j} \text{a} \text{k}\text{o} \text{l}\text{w}\text{a}\text{j} \text{t} \text{a}\text{j}\text{n}\text{o}\text{j}\text{ʔ} \]
Ai go forest if 3s will go hunting
N.PROP V N SUB.CONJ PRO V V N

‘If Ai go to the forest, he will go for hunting.’

(254) \[ma\text{j}\text{k}\text{w}\text{a}\text{ʔ}\text{o}\text{j} \text{ka}\text{j}\text{ŋ}\text{sw}\text{e} \text{me} \text{j} \text{na}\text{j} \text{k}\text{o} \text{le} \text{ʔ} \text{s}\text{a}\text{l}\text{k}\text{b}\text{o}\text{n}\text{ʔ} \]
today rain if 1s will go rice.field
N V SUB.CONJ PRO V V N

‘If it rains today, I will go to the rice field.’

6.11 Serial verb constructions

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

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

In example (255), the two verbs, s\text{h}\text{aŋ}\text{ʔ} ‘look’ and \text{l}\text{ŋ} ‘see’ co-occur. However, the meaning of the combined verbs is not compositional. The two verbs are combined to form one meaning ‘see’. This is a coordinate compound and not a compositional
serial verb construction. The meaning of serial verbs is more compositional than with compound verbs.

(255) \[ bc\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}l}\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}l} \ s^3\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}n}\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}j}\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}l} \ bs\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}n}\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}j} \ ba\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}l} \ jswa\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}n}\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}j}\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}l} \]
\[ PaO \ look \ see \ porcupine \ clf \ feather \ N\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}PROP} \ V \ V \ N \ CLF \ N \]
‘Pa.O sees the porcupine’s feather.’

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

6.11.1 Action with purpose (different agent)
In this serial verb construction, the first verb shows the action of the agent and the second verb express the purpose of the action in each sentence.

(256) \[ bc\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}l}\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}l} \ p^h\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}j}\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}l} \ a\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}j}\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}j} \ kaja\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}n}\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}j}\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}l} \ s^3\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}n}\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}j}\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}j} \ ja\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}l} \]
\[ PaO \ give \ eat \ Kayan \ elephant \ meat \ N\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}PROP} \ V \ V \ N\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}PROP} \ N \ N \]
‘Pa.O give Kayan elephant meat to eat.’

In example (257), there are two participants: the agent and the recipient. In this sentence, the action verb \( p^h\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}j}\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}l} \ ‘give’ \) precedes the verb \( a\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}j}\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}j} \ ‘eat’ \) which express the purpose of the first action. The purpose of Pa.O for giving the meat to Kayan is to eat.

(257) \[ da\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}l} \ a\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}j}\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}j} \ jen\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}j} \]
\[ cook \ eat \ rice-cooked \ V \ V \ N \]
‘Cook rice to eat.’

(258) \[ ma\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}l} \ a\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}j}\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}j} \ k\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}j}\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}m}\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}n}\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}w}\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}j}\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}l} \]
\[ make \ eat \ snack \ V \ V \ N \]
‘Make snack to eat.’

In the above two examples, the agents are omitted and there are no recipients or patients. The verbs \( a\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}j}\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}j} \ ‘eat’ \) is followed by the action verbs, \( da\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}l} \ ‘cook’ \) and \( ma\text{\textnormal{\textperiodcentered}l} \ ‘make’ \). The meaning of both sentences is that the implied agents make something with the purpose of eating.
6.11.2 Action (cause) - result

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

(259) *ka* | *pla=*b*ø*|ta* | *mo* | *pʰaʔ* | *ple*|ŋ* | *ma* | *call* | *child* | *make* | *break* | *bottle* | *clf*

V | N | V | V | N | CLF

‘Call the child who broke the bottle.’

(260) *na* | *mo* | *aŋ*|j*ja* | *va* | *1s* | *make* | *split* | *bamboo* | *PRO* | V | V | N

‘I split the bamboo.’

In examples (259) and (260), the causative verb *mo.* ‘make’ is followed by the result verb *pʰaʔ* ‘break’ and *aŋ*|j*ja* ‘split’.

6.11.3 Motion with arbitrary goal

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

(261) *ve* | *le* | *mo* | *s*|ø*|n*|e* | *2s* | *go* | *do* | *what* | *PRO* | V | V | Q

‘What are you going to do?’

(262) *tʰaŋ*|ʔ* | *da*|ʔ* | *le* | *e*|ŋ* | *pla* | *bear* | *clf* | *go* | *bite* | *human* | N | CLF | V | V | N

‘The bear go bite the man.’

(263) *pla* | *pla* | *lo* | *v*|aŋ* | *ta*|pi* | *ba* | *child* | *clf* | *follow* | *hit* | *fly* | *clf* | N | CLF | V | V | N | CLF

‘The child follow hit the fly.’
6.11.4 Motion with direction

In this type of serial verb construction, the two verbs are combined to express motion with direction. The first verb expresses the motion of the agent and the second verb denotes the direction of the action.

(264) ta.pi\+ \ ba\+ jə\+ | laŋ\+  
fly \clf \fly \descend  
N \CLF \V \V  
‘The fly came down.’

(265) pja\+Tŋ \ te\+Tŋ \ do\+Tŋ \ Tju  
move \come \village \Tju  
V \V \N \N.PROP  
‘(They) move to the Tju village.’

(266) mə.kaj\+ \ kə.ho\+Tŋ \ tə\+Tŋ \ sʰa?\+ \ pə.jmo\+  
spirit \call \ascend \only \woman  
N \V \V \PRT \N  
‘The spirit calls only the women.’

6.11.5 Action with result

In this “action with result” serial verb construction, the two verbs are combined to each other to show an action that has the result. The first verb expresses the action of the agent and the second verb denotes the result in this construction. See the examples below:

(267) ka.laj?\+ \ lwaj\+ \ ni\+ \ te\+Tŋ \ ba\+  
Kayan \hunt \get \porcupine \clf  
N.PROP \V \V \N \CLF  
‘Kayan hunted (and) get a porcupine.’

In example (267) the first verb, \lwaj\ ‘hunt’ shows the action of the agent, ‘Kayan’ and has the result that the Kayan get a porcupine.

This serial verb construction can be used in a question form as can be seen in the following example.

(268) ve\+ \ε\+ \ aj\+ \ mjəŋ \ləö\+  
2s \quest \eat \finish  
PRO \Q \V \V  
‘Have you finished eating?’
6.11.6 Action with completion

The verb *baː* is combined with the action verb to express that an action is complete. In this serial verb construction, the action verb is followed by the verb *baː* ‘touch’ which indicates that the action is completed. Events modified by *baː* must be of short duration. When *baː* is used with long duration, events denote the experiential past.

(269)  \( pʰaː \ vaŋʲ \ baː \ taːpiː \ baː \)

father  hit  touch  fly  clf

N  V  V  N  CLF

‘The father hits the fly.’

(270)  \( pluː \ plaː \ eŋʲ \ baː \ saːnoʊ\i \ maː \)

child  clf  bite  touch  thumb  clf

N  CLF  V  V  N  CLF

‘The child bites his thumb.’

(271)  \( npləː \ vaŋʲ \ baː \ nplə:\naŋʲ \)

3s  hit  touch  himself

PRO  V  V  REFLX

‘He hits himself.’

(272) is the example that *baː* is used with long duration event that denotes the experimental past

(272)  \( maːhoʊʔ\i \ neŋ \ naː \ leː \ baː \ saːliːŋː \)

yesterday  year  1s  go  experience  Tha-Hton

N  N  PRO  V  V  N.PROP

‘Last year, I had an experience going to Tha Hton.’

6.11.7 Action with negative result

The verb *kaː* literally means ‘destroy’. In this kind of serial verb construction, the verb *kaː* follows the action verbs to show that the action results in a negative outcome. In each sentence, it has intention. The examples below show actions with a negative purpose.

(273)  \( pʰaː \ vaŋʲ \ kaː \ taːpiː \ baː \)

father  hit  action  fly  clf

N  V  V  N  CLF

‘The father hits the fly.’
6.12 Conclusion

In this chapter, single clause types were discussed. In the clause types, declarative, content questions and imperative were included. Interrogative and polar questions were discussed under content questions, aspect, ability, negation, comparative and superlative, causative, reciprocal and reflexive were also presented. Brief discussions of complex sentence types which contain coordinate, relative and adverbial clauses were included in this chapter. Finally, several serial verb constructions were presented.
Chapter 7
Conclusion

7.1 Introduction
This chapter is the conclusion of the thesis and it summarizes each chapter that has presented in previous. Suggestions for the further study on the Kayan Lahta are included in this chapter.

7.2 Summary
Chapter 1 provided information about the thesis and gave a briefly summer of each chapter. It introduced the Lahta people, the language that they are using, their education, religion, and beliefs. It also provided information about where they live, how they dress, what they do for their living and how many people there are. Finally the limitations, scope, and benefit of the research were discussed.

Chapter two described Lahta phonology. The consonant and vowel inventory, the tones and the syllable structure of the language were discussed. The consonant section was divided into plosives, nasals, fricatives, and approximants. In the vowel section monophthongs and diphthongs were covered. Major syllable structure and minor syllable structures were discussed under the syllable structure. Finally, the distribution of phones that include initial consonant-tone distribution, monophthong vowel-tone distribution, nasal rhymes, diphthong vowel-tone distribution and consonant vowel sequences were described.

The phonology analysis concluded that there are 24 consonants and 14 vowels (10 monophthongs and 4 diphthongs) in Kayan Lahta. It is a tonal language and there are 4 tones in Kayan Lahta.

Chapter three started the grammatical analysis of the Kayan Lahta language. This chapter described the word classes of the language. Both major word classes and minor word classes were discussed in this chapter. In the major word classes section, nouns, verbs, adjective and adverb were discussed. Nouns were sub-divided into proper nouns, common nouns and compound nouns. Subordinate compounds, attributed compounds, coordinate compounds and idiomatic compounds were
included under the compound noun section. The minor word classes consisted of pronouns, classifiers, demonstratives, numbers, quantifiers, conjunctions and localizers.

Chapter four described noun phrases, classifier phrases, adpositional and relative clauses. Under the noun phrase section, head nouns, possessives, adjectives, demonstratives and quantifiers were presented.

In the classifier phrase section, the classifiers were shown to mostly occur with numerals, quantifiers, or with demonstratives. Sometimes, the classifiers directly follow the noun. Adpositional and relative clause modification was also discussed in this chapter.

Chapter five was about the simple clauses of the Lahta. The linear order of elements in the clause was represented in this chapter. Two types of clauses: non-verbal and verbal clauses were presented in this chapter. The copula clause was subdivided into attributive clauses, equative clauses, location clauses, existential clauses, clausal possession and quantification predication. The verbal clause section included intransitive clauses, transitive clauses, motion clauses and ditransitive clauses. Specific forms for encoding agent, patient, location, manner, recipient, instrument and time were presented in this chapter under the section of semantic roles and relationships.

In Chapter six, two clause types: major clause types and complex clause types in the Kayan Lahta were discussed. In the major clause types section, declarative, imperative and content question were presented. Then the question section was subdivided into interrogative and polar questions. Verbal aspect, ability, negation, comparative and superlative, causative, reciprocals and reflexives were also presented. The complex types discussed included coordinates, relative clauses, adverbial clauses and subordinate clauses. Finally serial verb constructions were presented.

7.3 Further research
As the thesis is the brief grammar description of Kayan Lahta, more research is needed to go deeper. A number of questions need to be answered.

For the phonology chapter, it is necessary to learn more about the tones as the data collection was not focus on the tones. Breathy phonation is not considered in this thesis. More data is required to know whether the Kayan Lahta language has a
breathy phonation or not. Some words like ‘θi’l’, ‘ja’l’ are probably loan words from Burmese. They need to be investigated too.

As Kenneth Neil Manson states ‘A grammar of a language language is never finished,’ Kayan Lahta language needs to be studied further. Especially, verbal particles such as modals and aspect markers are needed to be studied more. Unfortunately, the meaning of some particles cannot be described as they occur only one or two times in the data. More data needs to be collected to improve the analysis.

Adpositional phrases are also needed to be studied more. Complex sentences including coordinate, subordinate and relative clauses need to be explained more in detail.

There are three different groups in Kayan. These four different groups speak different dialects, yet except for Kayan Lahta, they are mutual intelligibility. According to a recent survey Lahta has a minimal 25% lexical difference to other Kayan dialects. As Lahta is lexically different from other Kayan, there is a question how the grammar of Lahta is different. To answer that question, it needs to be studied further in comparison with other Kayan grammars.
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Appendix A

SONGS AND STORIES

1 tʰaŋ?ɬ dəɬ jwiɬ daŋ?ɬ pluɭ plaɭ, pluɭ piɭ plaɭ
bear and dog clf child clf child small clf
N CONN N CLF N CLF N ADJ CLF
A bear and a dog, a child, a small child

2 jwiɬ daŋ?ɬ pluɭ plaɭ bəltaɬ plaɭ pluɭ plaɭ aŋɬ jeŋɬ
dog clf child clf person child clf child clf eat rice-cooked
N CLF N CLF N N CLF N CLF V N
A dog, a child, a child , child ate rice-cooked.

3 aŋɬ kəɬmwaŋɬ
	eat snack
V N
Ate snack.

4 uɬ əiɬ

drink alcohol
V N
Drank alcohol.

5 aŋɬ əaŋɬ əaɬ
	eat tree fruit
V N N
Ate fruit.

6 pʰuʔɬ dəɬ pʰaɬ naŋɬ laŋkwaɬloɬ
son and father sit together
N CONN N V ADV
The son and the father sat together.

7 naŋ₁ ləŋkwa₁lo₁ da₁ anŋ₁ ləŋkwa₁lo₁
sit together and eat together
V ADV  CONN V ADV
Sitting together and eating together.

8 ngaŋpu₁ anŋ₁ ləŋkwa₁lo₁ me₁ wi₁
we(1p) eat together is delicious
PRO V ADV V ADJ
Eating together was delicious.

9 plu₁ pla₁ anŋ₁ thaŋ₁ tha₁ kəŋlaŋ₁ kuʔ₁
childclf eat fruit plate inside
N CLF V N N N PREP
The child ate fruit in the plate

10 tʰanŋ₁ jaŋ₁taʔ₁ boŋ₁
burn candle clf
V N CLF
Burned the candle.

11 u₁ tho₁
drink alcohol
V N
Drank alcohol.

12 anŋ₁ jeŋ₁
eat rice-cooked
V N
Ate rice-cooked.
People ate rice-cooked.

The man ate rice-cooked and drank alcohol.

People drank water.

People ate fruit.

A bottle

A fly came.

His mother was together (with him).
The bear went bit a person.

Opened his mouth.

The child took thing to hit.

The child followed hit the fly.

(They) ate rice-cooked together.

(They) drank alcohol together.

(He) bit his thumb.
The mother got angry.

The mother hit the fly.

The fire burned.

All things were destroyed.

The son (the child) was scare.

Water rice-cooked were destroyed.

The mother got angry.
The fly flew disappear.

He hit his child (the child was hit by his father).

All things were destroyed.

(The father) hit.

The father hit the fly.

The son got angry.
The dog went bit the child's leg.

The son got angry.

(They) ate all fruit.

The fly rested down on the child's head.

The mother drank alcohol.

The father hit the fly.

Rested on the son's head.
The son cried.

The dog went run after the child.

The son hit (the fly)

(The fly) fly dissapeared.

The fly rested down on the dog.

The child hit (the fly)

The fly flew down rest on the dog.
The child took the chair.

The bear climbed on chair and hit.

Rested down on the fruit

All destroyed on the ground.

The child went and stayed on the chair

And took (the stick) and hit the things.

And (he) could not (hit).
The child fell down.

All fell down on the ground.

And they were not able to eat.

10 song (Rec5)

(I) could not sleep tonight.

What happened?

The sun and the moon shine.
4 lwiŋ tʰaŋŋ veŋ səŋŋŋŋ. I thought about you.

5 ṇəŋəmŋ. I dreamed (you).

6 ṇəŋəmŋ kuʔ ləŋ məŋ naŋ daŋ veŋ. In my dream, I saw you and me.

7 naŋ daŋ veŋ jəŋ sʰaŋʔ ləŋ məŋ daŋ bəŋəŋəŋ. Why I and you could not see (each other).

8 måŋ neŋ ləʔ kʰaŋ neŋ məŋ pjaŋŋ veŋ baŋwaŋ. Your life was like the sky, the moon and the sun shine.

9 taŋ məʃəŋ moŋ taŋmoŋ moŋ jəŋ thəʔ. In the morning, I worked (but) I didn’t know that I was working.

10 lwiŋ tʰaŋŋ laʔŋ veŋ səŋŋŋŋ veŋ jwaŋpləŋ. Always thinking about you, your image.
When I ate, I didn't know that I was eating.

My head always went to you again. (I think about you again and again.)

I didn't know when the morning come.

I didn't know when the night came.

Everything was confuse in my head.

(We) stayed together in (the village name) Pa Pai.
(It was) the time of (secrificing) Nat.

There was a festival for the Mwa Nat.

In the festival, (Nat) called only the woman.

(He) call the woman and the woman was not clean. (the lady who is called by Nat is not clean)

The woman was inappropriate to eat. (Lit: The woman is not clean and he eat wrong.)

Ate wrong then people died.
Many people died together within a day.

Many people died together, two or three (a day).

Then they could not stay together.

(They) moved to the village called Tju.

They moved to the village called Tju then the children did not feeling well.

The children did not feeling well so they moved to the village named Natei.

The chickens were not good.
The chicken were not good then they moved to another Tan Pon village.

They moved to the village called Tan Pon then they could stay together longer.

Then they did not able to sacrifice nat anymore.

They did not want to sacrifice nat anymore than they moved down to the village named Pau.

They became Buddish together.

They lived in the village called Pou until now.
3 how to weave

1 pa|pe| ne|ŋ\j
   cut    leaf
   V      N
   Cut leaf.

2 blu| se|ŋ\l mjɛ\lman|]\ vo|]\ jə|\l
   dry  dry  then  make dry  water
   V    V  CONN  V    N
   Dry (the leaves) and then make dry

3 mjɛ\l vaŋ\l
   take off  smooth
   V  ADJ
   Make them smooth.

4 mjɛ\lman|]\kɔ\l  də|\l  s^a|\l
   then  and  sew
   CONN    CONN  V
   And then saw (it).

5 s^a|\l mjɛ\lman|]\kɔ\l  ηa|\l
   sew  then  top part
   V  CONN  LOCZR
   Sew then (sew) the top part.

6 ηa|\l mjɛ\lman|]\ ηda|\l
   top part  then  weave
   LOCZR  CONN  V
   (Sew) the top part then weave.
7 nda \ mjel\manj bɔ\l
weave then V
V CONN V
Weave then (make the head part to be) round.

8 bɔ\l tʰa\l
fold V V
(Make the head part to be) round (then) fold up.

9 tʰa\l mjel\manj saʔl\u
fold then cover V CONN V
Fold (it) up then cover.

4 how to make basket

1 pʰa\l tə\lmanj ma\l
make basket CLF
V N CLF
Make a basket.

2 na\l pʰa\l tə\lmanj ma\l
1s make basket CLF
PRO V N CLF
I make a basket.

3 kuʔl va\l
cut bamboo.plant
PREP N
Cut bamboo.
4 ɲa˧  kuʔ˩  va˩
1s cut bamboo.plant
PRO PREP N
I cut the bamboo.

5 kuʔ˩  va˩  dә˩  ta:ɗәŋ˩
inside bamboo.plant with knife/blade
PREP N PREP N
Cut the bamboo with knife.

6 çwe˩  dә˩  pi˩
pull and rope
V CONN N
Pull with rope.

7 aŋ:jia˧
split
V
split out (to make the bamboo smooth).

8 aŋ:jia˧  mjeʔmaŋ:jko˧  ntu˧
split then smooth
V CONN V

9 ntu˧  mjeʔmaŋ:jko˧  tʰa˧  ɲdi˩  kaŋ˧
smooth then weave weave under part
ADJ CONN V V N
Make smooth then weave under part (of the basket).

10 tʰa˧  tʰaŋ˩  sa:na˩
weave ascend frame
V V N
Weave up the frame (of the basket).
Weave with cane/rattan.

Then (you) can carry it.

Sell in the market.

My father sells basket.

He makes the basket nicely.

6 the fly and the bear(Rec15)

A bear and his mother eat rice.
The fly come.

3 ᵉղიบางคน θαλ
angry heart
ADJ V
(He) get angry.

4 ვარს თალიჟ ბლა
hit fly clf
V N CLF
Hit the fly.

5 თალიჟ მალჟ წყალ ჰაფ
fly clf go away gone
N CLF V V
the fly go away

6 ვარს მალჟ ჰაფ შამელჟ ლაჟ
hit clf in he/she mother
V CLF PREP PRO N
Hit his wife.

7 (father and son) Rec.25

1 ლამა-limitა ჰაფ / კჷაჟ , ლე ჰაფ ლაფ ლე ჰაფ ჰუბი / ჰაფ ჰეფ
time long ago when he/she father and one son exist together clf
ADJ ADV Q PRO N CONN PRO N V ADV CLF

2 ნუმ
two
NUM

Long long ago, the father and the son stayed together.
The two men were stayed together in a house.

The son was lazy.

The son is a lazy one.

(The son) ate only. (Only know to eat.)

Then, his father pull the head.

Then, the father got angry.
I had sons.

The father said.

Then I find a job' he said.

Then the son, sold the fly.

(He) sold, sold then the night came.

Then (he) asked one of the woner of the house in a village.

'Can I sleep in the house?'
"You can sleep" the house owner said.

Then sleep.

Slept there.

'What do you sell' asked the house owner.

Sell fly.

'So he' left (the flies) on the ground.
9 history of Lahta and Pa.O

1 Kayan Lahta and Pa.O exist together on Tha Hton
   Kayan Lahta and Pa.O lived together in Tha Hton

2 exist area together place mountain on
   (They) lived together in mountain area.

3 Then (they) go together for hunting.

4 Sleep together on the mountain, after that go hunting.

5 Kayan got a porcupine.

6 The PaO ran very slowly after the elephant.
Then Pa O got an elephant.

The big elephant is hunted by PaO.

When Kayan got a porcupine they did not give to eat to Pa O.

Did not give to eat to Pa O.

Then Pa O got an elephant.

When (Pa O) get elephant (they) gave to eat to Kayan.

Then many Pa O see porcupine's feather were big.
Then said that the elephant was big.

If so, then bigger than the elephant.

The elephant's feather was big.

You do not give me to eat.'

Then fought each other.

From that time (Kayan) left from Pa O.

From that time, Kayan and Pa O did not become together as brother and sister.
Appendix B

GRAMMAR QUESTIONS

1 plaɺ təɺ lwiɺ.
   person clf four
   N CLF NUM
   four people

2 [wɪɺ lwiɺ dəʔ]ɺ
   dog four clf
   N NUM CLF
   four dogs

3 jəɺ lwiɺ maɺɺ
   house four clf
   N NUM CLF
   four houses

4 lwiɺ jəɺɺ
   four house
   NUM N
   four house

5 jəʔɺ lwiɺ bəŋɺɺ
   water four cup
   N NUM N
   four cups of water

6 əɺ jəŋɺɺ
   one house
   NUM N
one house

7 _VOL OTA
one  day
NUM  N
one  day

8 _VOL AUKA
day  half
N    QUNT
half  day

9 _VOL KEH
two  clf
NUM  CLF
two  things

10 _VOL KWA QAL  WU MA
mango  four  clf
N    NUM  CLF
four  mangos

11  VOL BALTAL OTA PLA
child  two  clf
N    NUM  CLF
tow  children

12  VOL  VOL BALTAL ALE PLA
clf  child  one  clf
CLF  N    NUM  CLF
a  child
13 jotl du lj lwi lj ma l
   house big four clf
   N  ADJ NUM CLF
   four big houses

14 na l jotl du lj lwi lj ma l
   1s house big four clf
   PRO N  ADJ NUM CLF
   my four big houses

15 na l ja rl s bi lj ba l
   1s chicken eight clf
   PRO N  NUM CLF
   my eight chickens

16 na l ja rl p i l do l s bi lj ba l
   1s chicken small that eight clf
   PRO N  ADJ CONN NUM CLF
   my that eight small chickens

17 na l ja rl p i l s bi lj ba l
   1s chicken small eight clf
   PRO N  ADJ NUM CLF
   my eight small chickens

18 na l jotl du lj ja l do l lwi lj ma l
   1s house big that four clf
   PRO N  ADJ DEM NUM CLF
   this is my four big houses

19 jotl jo l lwi lj ma l
   house old(thing) four clf
   N  ADJ NUM CLF
   four old houses
20 ʃwiʃ kɔjmiʃəlɔ
  dog tail tall
N N ADJ
dog's long tail

21 ʃwiʃ jəŋɬ ləl
  dog house under
N N PREP
Dog is under the house./ dog which is under the house

22 ʃwiʃ məɬçiʃ jaŋ naŋ
  dog friend give 1s
N N V PRO
dog that my friend give me

23 ʃwiʃ kɔjmiʃəlɔdəl
  dog tail tall that
N N ADJ DEM
that long tail dog

24 apweʔ kuʔ plal təŋɬ plal
  group inside clf three clf
N PREP CLF NUM CLF
three people from the group

25 plal təŋɬ plal dəɬ plal lwiɬ plal kuʔɬ
  person three clf on clf four clf inside
N NUM CLF PREP CLF NUM CLF LOCZR
three people from six people

26 mplal jəŋɬ duɬ lwiɬ maɬ
  he/she(3s) house big four wife
PRO N ADJ NUM N
his four big houses
27 mpla\  jəŋ\  
he/she(3s) house  
PRO N  
his house

28 plə\ du\ mpla\ jəŋ\  
person big he/she(3s) house  
N ADJ PRO N  
that big person's house

29 pləːbəːta\ jə\ pʰuːja\ da\ jə\  
child not not felling well and die  
N PRT V CO.CONJ V  
The child that is not felling well and die.

30 hoʰə\ pləːbəːta\ mo\ ŋka\ lu\ jəʔ\ baŋ\  
call child do destroy all water cup  
V N V ADV QUNT N N  
call the child that make the glass broke

31 hoʰə\ pləːbəːta\ mo\ ŋka\ lu\ jəʔ\ baŋ\ mə:jə\ hoʔ\  
call child do destroy all water cup yesterday day  
V N V ADV QUNT N N N N  
.Call the child that make the glass broke yesterday

32 fa\ ʔəŋ\pʰəŋʔ\  
throw branch  
V N  
Throw the branch.

33 fa\ ʔəŋ\pʰəŋʔ\ jə\ me\jə\  
throw branch not good  
V N PRT ADV  
Throw the branch that are not good.
34 ʧəjəl o tʰəl ʃənəsə
    cloth exist iron on
    N  V  N  N
Cloth which is on the iron

35 hoᵲŋə plaːbəʈəl u jəʔə
    call child drink water
    V  N  V  N
Call the child drinking the water.

36 plaːbəʈəl mejətəl o plaŋ
    child good one clf
    N  ADV  NUM  CLF
The child who is good

37 doᵲŋə o plaŋ duŋ
    village one person big
    N  PRO  N  ADJ
the leader of the village

38 jəl o pʰəŋ
    Kyaw one father
    N  PRO  N
Kyaw's father

39 naː pʰuʔə loʃəŋə plaŋ
    1s son exist two person
    PRO  N  V  NUM  N
I have two sons.

40 naː jəŋə loʃəŋə maŋ
    1s house exist two clf
    PRO  N  V  NUM  CLF
I have two houses.
41 plaŋ  ñaŋ
    person  top part
    N      LOCZR
    top of the arrow

42 plaŋ  aŋ plal  oļ  laætaŋ aļ  doaŋ
    person one  person exist  Lahta village
    N      NUM  N    V    N    N
    a man who lives in Lahta village

43 ñaŋ  doaŋ
    1s  village
    PRO  N
    my village

44 ñaŋ  kææŋ
    1s  leg
    PRO  N
    my leg

45 waŋ  plaŋ
    Wa  person
    N    N
    Wa people

46 veŋ  taŋkaŋ
    2s  money
    N    N
    your money

47 aŋ  ðææviŋ
    Ai  hungry
    NPROP  ADJ
    Ai is hungry
48 ɲaɬ ʃaŋʔɬ ɬaɬ mplaɬ
    1s look see he/she(3s)
    PRO V V PRO
I see him.

49 məɬhoʔɬ ɭəŋɬ ɲaɬ ʃaŋʔɬ ɬaɬ mplaɬ
    yesterday day 1s look tall he/she(3s)
    N N PRO V V PRO
Yesterday, I saw him.

50 məɬkwəʔniŋɬ ɲaɬ ʃaŋʔɬ ɬaɬ mplaɬ
    tomorrow 1s look see he/she(3s)
    N PRO V V PRO
Tomorrow I see him.

51 ɲaɬ ʃaŋʔɬ ɬaɬ mplaɬ
    1s look see he/she(3s)
    PRO V V PRO
I have seen him.

52 ɲaɬ jɬ ʃaŋʔɬ ɬaɬ mplaɬ
    1s not look see he/she(3s)
    PRO PRT V V PRO
I do not see him.

53 ɲaɬ ʃaŋʔɬ ɬaɬ mplaɬ
    1s look see he/she(3s)
    PRO V V PRO
I am not seeing him.

54 ɲaɬ ɭəɬjiɬ ʃaŋʔɬ ɬaɬ mplaɬ
    1s want look see he/she(3s)
    PRO V V V PRO
I want to see him.
I have never seen him.

I can see him.

I walk slowly.

I walk fastly.

I walk very fast.

I walk very very fast.

It is raining.
62 mplaɭ ɲəɭ ɬe/ʃe(3s) sleep ɬRO V He sleep.

63 plaɭ qoɭtaɭ oɭ naŋɭ ɭe/ʃe(3s) sleep ɬRO V Many people are sitting.

64 mplaɭ ɲəɭ ɬe/ʃe(3s) sleep ɬRO V He sleep.

65 plaɭ plaɭbəɭtaɭ ɭəŋɭ ɭe/ʃe(3s) take water six ɬup ɬRO V N NUM N The child is fat.

66 mplaɭ ʃoɭ ʃəɭ sʰəɭəɭ bəŋɭ he/she(3s) take water six ɬup ɬRO V N NUM N She brings six glasses of water.

67 mplaɭ vaŋɭ plaɭ duɭ əɭ plaɭ he/she(3s) hit clf big one clf ɬRO V CLF ADJ NUM CLF He hit the big man.

68 mplaɭ əɭtʰəŋɭ ɬe/ʃe(3s) stand ɬRO V He stand.
69 mpla\l jəŋ\l mɛ̃ du\l
   he/she(3s) house is big
   PRO    N   V   ADJ
   Her house is big.

70 mpla\l ja\l ve\l li\l a\l beŋ\l
   he/she(3s) give 2s book one clf
   PRO     V   N   N   NUM   CLF
   He give me a book.

71 mpla\l ja\l plə du\l a\l plə li\l a\l beŋ\l
   he/she(3s) giveclf big one clf book one clf
   PRO     V     CLF  ADJ   PRO   CLF   N   PRO   CLF
   He give that man a book.

72 da\l fuʔĩŋ\l təpʰoʔ\l a\l qoʔ\l
   on Phekhon flower exist many
   PREP  NPROPN  N   V   QUNT
   There are many flowers in Phekhon.

73 ve\l kə̃hɔ̃ŋ\l mpla\l aʔ\l
   2s    call    he/she(3s) Ai
   N    V   PRO   N
   I call him Ai.

74 mpla\l mɛ̃ aʔ\l
   he/she(3s) is Ai
   PRO     V   N
   He is Ai.

75 mpla\l mɛ̃ doŋ\l a\l plə du\l
   he/she(3s) is village one clf big
   PRO     V   N   PRO   CLF  ADJ
   He is the leader of the village.
We choose him the leader of the village.

He live in Phekhon.

He go to Phekhon.

He take the child to the Phekhon.

He speak.

He is my father.
He told me that the man is going to Phekhon.

Today is hot.

yesterday is wormer than today.

He is tall.

I afraid of Tiger.

The dog's tail is long.
The dog's tail of person who gave him a book is long.

The plate on the chair is broken.

The dog with sharp teeth bites me.

He is taller than me.

Ai is taller than Khu.

In the village, Khu is the tallest.
Ai is bigger than Khu./ Ai is older than Khu.

He/she(3s) one tall than and 2s possible may be he is taller than me.

There are six people.

He is 6 feet tall.

One book is one hundred.

The book is two hundred more expensive than the slipper.

I make Khu to hit Ai.
Ai sells a bird.

Call the child who breaks the bottle.

The plate on the chair is broken.

The dog with sharp teeth bites me.

Sleeping inside the dark makes me afraid.

I hit myself.
He hit himself.

I and Ai hit him.

Ai goes to the field then come return home.

Ai go to the forest and he go for hunting.

Ai is hungry and then he goes for hunting.

Yesterday I went to the east side.

Next year, I will go to the east side.
118 ai?l le\- mbe\-
Ai go where
N V ADV
where does Ai go?

119 ai?l e\- le\- fu\-lk\-η\-
Ai question go Phekhon
N Q V N
Does she go to Phekhon?

120 be\-sə\-me\- le\- ai?l be\-
who go Ai wet rice field
ADV V N N
Who go to Ai's wet rice field?

121 ve\- le\- be\- bə\- sə\-ne\-
2s go wet rice field happen what
N V N V Q
Why you go the the field?

122 ai?l aŋ\- ḏaŋ\- ḏaŋ\-
Ai eat tree fruit
N V N N
Ai eats fruit.

Preposition

1 pla\-bə\-ta\- pla\- o\- jəŋ\- kə\-u\-
child clf exist house on
N CLF V N PREP
A child is in the house.
Rice is on the table.
The child go up to the mountain.
The child climb on the tree.
The bird is on the tree.
The child(young person) is in the house.
Fruit is in the basket.
Cooked rice is inside the plate.
Money is inside the bag.

The child is under the house.

The tree is under the mountain.

The child climbs up the mountain.

A tree is under the mountain.

The plate is under the chair.
16 ကျော်သုံး သုံး ကျော်

plate exist chair under
N V N PREP

The plate is under the chair.

17 ကျော် ကျော် သုံး

cat clf exist basket under
N CLF V N PREP

A cat is under the busket.

18 ကျော် ကျော် သုံး ကျော်

cat clf exist basket under
N CLF V N PREP

A cat is under the busket.

19 ကျော် ကျော် ကျော် ကျော်

1s exist Kaung Htu
PRO V N
I live in Kaung Htu.

20 ကျော် ကျော် ကျော်

1s husband exist
PRO N V
I have a husband

21 ကျော် ကျော် ကျော် ကျော်

1s son exist clf three
PRO N V CLF NUM
I have three children.

22 ကျော် ကျော် ကျော် ကျော်

1s house exist one clf
PRO N V PRO CLF
I have a house.
There are 100 people in our village.

There are 100 houses in our village.

I have one thousand money.

(All thing) destroy (fall down) on the ground.

The child stay on the chair.

I see the fruit is inside the basket.
Questions

1 veŋ puteŋ seŋmeŋ
   2s name what
   N N N
   What is your name?

2 fuŋkʰiŋŋ njoŋŋ eŋ əŋ
   Phekhon language question know
   N N Q V
   Do you know Phekhon language?

3 fuŋkʰiŋŋ njoŋŋ eŋ daŋ
   Phekhon language question can
   N N Q V
   Can you speak Phekhon language?

4 aʔlsʰaŋ bal oŋ meŋ neŋŋ aʔaŋ
   how many happen exist age only
   ADV V V N PRT
   How old are you?

5 seŋmeŋ veŋ seŋmeŋ
   thing 2s what
   N N Q
   What is that?

6 taŋdoŋŋ pjanŋ seŋmeŋ
   that tell what
   DEM V Q
   What are you talking about?
What are you doing? / What do you do?

What do you see?

Have you finished eating rice-cooked?

Have you finished eating?

Has the celebration finished?

I finished going to Phekhon. / Have you gone to Phekhon?

What did you do yesterday?
14 məlku:wone ləŋəl ve:mol səlnev
next day 2s do what
ADJ N N V Q
Today, what do you do?

15 məlku:wone ləŋəl ve:mol səlnev
tomorrow day 2s do what
N N N V Q
What will you do tomorrow?

16 ve:wle:salbontə lənwel
2s not go rice field why
N PRT V N ADV
Why don't you go to the rice field?

17 ve:wle:nəiŋə bal səlnev
2s cry question happen what
N V Q V Q
Why do you crying?

18 nəl nəiŋə məlratme:la nəl pə:laŋə nəl
1s cry because 1s father hit 1s
PRO V SUB.CONJ PRO N V PRO
I cry because my father hit me.

19 nəl pə:laŋə nəl do:l nəl nəiŋə
1s father hit 1s and 1s cry
PRO N V PRO CONN PRO V
My father hit me and I cry.

20 ve:wle:fu?ləkəiŋə ve:wle:mo:səlnev
2s go Phekhon 2s go do what
N V NPROPP N V V Q
For what you go to do to Phekhon?/ Why you go to Phekhon?
21 ɲaɬ ɬeɬ foʔɬkʰiŋɬ dɔɬ ɲaɬ ɬeɬ ʂʰaŋɬisʰaɬ təɬmaŋɬ.
   1s go Phekhon and 1s go sell basket
   PRO V NPROP CONN PRO V V N
   I went to Phekhon to sell the basket.

22 ʋeɬ ɬeɬ moɬ seɭjoŋɬ saɬneɬ.
   2s go do hospital what
   N V V N Q
   what you go to do to the hospital?/ Why you go to the hospital?

23 ɲaɬ ɬeɬ seɭjoŋɬ daɬ ɲaɬ ɬeɬ ʂʰaŋɬ saɬraɬ.
   1s go hospital and 1s go look doctor
   PRO V N CONN PRO V V N
   I went to the hospital to see the doctor.

24 ʋeɬ jɔɬ mpiɬ foʔɬ ɲweɬ.
   2s not buy pounded rice why
   N PRT V N ADV
   Why don't you buy rice?

25 ʋeɬ jɔɬ ɬeɬ ɲweɬ.
   2s not go why
   N PRT V ADV
   Why don't you come?

26 ʋeɬ tʰaŋɬɬaɬ bəɬ saɬneɬ.
   2s angry happen what
   N V V Q
   Why you get angry?
Tenses

1 maŋhoŋ'ŋ day leŋ sa'lkʰoŋŋ qaŋ
   yesterday day go rice field S.F
   N  N  V  N  PRT
   I went to the rice field yesterday.

2 maŋkwaŋ day leŋ sa'lkʰoŋŋ qaŋ
   today day go rice field S.F
   N  N  V  N  PRT
   I go to the rice field today.

3 maŋkwaŋ day əŋaŋ leŋ sa'lkʰoŋŋ qaŋ
   tomorrow day go rice field S.F
   N  N  V  N  PRT
   I will go to the rice field tomorrow.

4 maŋhoŋ'ŋ əŋaŋ naŋŋəŋmaŋŋ veŋ
   yesterday day 1s dream 2s
   N  N  PRO  V  N
   yesterday I dreamed you. (I saw you in my dream)

5 veŋ əŋ mŋajliŋ'ŋ
   2s eat finish
   N  V  V
   I have finished eating.

6 veŋ əŋ mŋajliŋ'ŋ jeŋ
   2s eat finish rice-cooked
   N  V  V  N
   I have finished eating rice.
long long ago, you lived in Tha Hton.

now you live in Kaung Htu.

yesterday I was angry.

today I am angry.
	tomorrow I will angry

yesterday the child was in the house.

today, the child is in the house.
tomorrow the child will be in the house.

Now, I live in Kaung Htu village.
RESUME

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