A GRAMMATICAL SKETCH OF LACID

HKAW LUK

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS
IN
LINGUISTICS

Payap University
April 2017
Title: A Grammatical Sketch of Lacid

Researcher: Hkaw Luk

Degree: Master of Arts in Linguistics

Advisor: Larin Adams, Ph.D.

Approval Date: 5 April 2017

Institution: Payap University, Chiang Mai, Thailand

The members of the thesis examination committee:

1. ____________________________ Committee Chair
   (Nathan W. Hill, Ph.D.)

2. ____________________________ Committee Member
   (Larin Adams, Ph.D.)

3. ____________________________ Committee Member
   (Peter Freeouf, Ph.D.)
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and the knowledge of the Holy One is understanding (Proverbs 9:10, NKJV).

Firstly, I would like to give praise to God, the heavenly Father, for all that He has done for me through His Love and Grace.

I would like to thank Rev. Khoi Lam Thang (Secretary of Bible Society of Myanmar), Rev.Dr. Hkalam Samson (General Secretary of Kachin Baptist Convention), Rev.Dr. Nalaw Dai Hkawng (Principal of Kachin Theological College and Seminary), Rev. Xoolang Khoo Yeing (President of Lacid Bible Translation Committee) and Pastor Matoug Teing Lhug (Secretary of Lacid Bible Translation Committee) for their letters of recommendation, so that I could study Linguistics at Payap University. I am grateful to Mr. Mangshang Deing Yeing and Mrs. Zashid Khoo Voin, and Mr. Mangshang Sau Khoo for their help while I was preparing to study at Payap University. I would also like to thank Rachel Craft and Jonathan Wright for teaching me English.

I wish to express my gratitude to Payap University and to all of the Professors in the Linguistics Department. Especially, I am thankful to Ajarns Art and Pam Cooper, for their encouragement through love; to Ajarn Chris, Ajarn Terry, and Khun Yui, for their guidance and encouragement; and to SIL International, for its financial support throughout my studies.

I would like to express my gratitude to the members of my thesis examination committee: Dr. Nathan W. Hill, for his observant comments; Dr. Peter Freeouf, for his time and insightful notes; and Dr. Larin Adams, who helped me accomplish my thesis with his precious time, guidance and effort.

I am gratitude to all of my classmates and friends who helped me during my studies. I am thankful to my LRPs: Phare Khoo Lhug, Yendam Yeing Zung, Deingdang Khoo
Yeing, Mangshang Boem Yeing, Lagyoem Zung Kyang, and Laguid Boem Zung, for their time and effort in telling me stories and providing elicited sentences. I would like to thank Napatchaya Tipsutthee, for translating my abstract into Thai.

I would like to express my gratitude to my family: firstly, Mahkaw Hkawn Lum, my wife, who has been understanding and has helped me by taking care of all of our family members and relatives; and secondly, my children, Lagyawm Luk Bawm, Lagyawm Luk Nam, and Lagyawm Luk Yaw, for their obedience, hard work in their studies and their good behavior. I am so grateful to my church members, for their love and prayers.

Hkaw Luk
Title: A Grammatical Sketch of Lacid

Researcher: Hkaw Luk

Degree: Master of Arts in Linguistics

Advisor: Larin Adams, Ph.D.

Approval Date: 5 April 2017

Institution: Payap University, Chiang Mai, Thailand

Number of Pages: 104

Keywords: Lacid, phonology, morphology, procedure texts

ABSTRACT

This thesis presents a grammatical sketch of Lacid, one of the Kachin languages spoken in north-eastern Kachin state and northern Shan state of Myanmar, and in the Yunnan province of China (Mann 1996). The Lacid people speak a language belonging to the Tibeto-Burman language family (Lewis, Simons & Fennig, 2016). This is the first English documentation of the grammar of Lacid. The data for this study comes from oral texts transcribed from 6 Lacid speakers. In addition, the author is a native speaker and provides relevant data where useful.

There are nine chapters in this thesis. Chapter one gives the background history of the Lacid people and language. Chapter two reviews the previous works on the Lacid language and other related languages, as well as the basic grammatical methods and technical terms used in this thesis. Chapter three provides a brief phonology, morphology and basic grammar of Lacid. Chapter four describes word classes including nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, pronouns, demonstratives, numerals, classifiers, quantifiers, verbal particles, adpositions, conjunctions and interrogatives. Chapter five presents various types of noun phrases and their modifiers. Chapter six examines verbs phrase constituents including verb heads, negation, ability and permission, directionals, auxiliaries, politeness and adverbs. Chapter seven discusses passive-like constructions. It also covers reflexives, reciprocals, causatives and applicatives. Chapter eight describes simple sentences, complex sentences, and comparisons. Chapter nine gives a brief conclusion. A set of elicited grammar sentences and four interlinear procedure texts are appended.
บทคัดย่อ

วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้ศึกษาทฤษฎีทางไวยากรณ์ในภาษาลาชิด ซึ่งเป็นหนึ่งในภาษาที่ใช้พูดในทางตะวันออกเฉียงเหนือ ของจังหวัดเชียงราย จังหวัดเชียงใหม่ ประเทศไทย และภาษาลาชิดเป็นภาษาที่อยู่ในตระกูลภาษาทิเบต-พม่า (Lewis, Simon และ Fennig, พ.ศ. 2559) วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้เป็นผลงานทางวิชาการภาษาฝั่งพม่า ฉบับแรกที่กล่าวถึงภาษาลาชิด และข้อมูลที่ได้ศึกษามาจากการถ่ายถอดข้อมูลโดยปากเปล่าของผู้ใช้ภาษาทั้งหมด 6 คน อีกทั้งผู้วิจัยก็เป็นคนท้องถิ่นที่ใช้ภาษาลาชิด จึงมั่นใจว่าข้อมูลที่ได้มาจะไม่ผิดเพี้ยนแต่อย่างใด

วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้มีผู้วิจัย 9 บท ซึ่งบทแรกจะนำเสนอประวัติศาสตร์ของชาวลาชิดและภาษาที่ใช้ บทที่สองจะนำเสนอระบบทางไวยากรณ์ในภาษาลาชิดและภาษาอื่นๆที่เข้ามาเกี่ยวข้อง รวมถึงวิธีที่ หลักไวยากรณ์ขั้นพื้นฐานและคำศัพท์เฉพาะ บทที่สามจะกล่าวถึงหลักทัศนคติทางไวยากรณ์ และพื้นฐานทางไวยากรณ์ในภาษาลาชิด บทที่สี่จะอธิบายเรื่องกลุ่มคำ อาทิ คำนาม คำกริยา คำอุปสรรค คำศัพท์คำศัพท์ คำสรรพนาม คำปกชื่อ คำสกุล คำแบบกระทำ อุปблагоสกุลคำชื่อ คำนาม คำสกุล และประโยคคำถาม บทที่ห้ากล่าวถึง ความแตกต่างของนามสวัสดิ์และคำขยายนามสวัสดิ์ บทที่หก วิเคราะห์ส่วนประกอบของไวยากรณ์ ที่มีคำศัพท์คำอุปสรรค คำปริภูมิ คำใช้เพื่ออธิบายความสามารถและการขออนุญาต คำบอกทิศทาง คำกริยาช่วย คำสูญภัย และคำวิเศษณ์ บทที่เจ็ดให้คำอธิบายถึง
โครงสร้างกรรมวาจาในคำว่าชอบ รวมถึงสรรพนามสะท้อน ส่วนกลับ คำกริยาสะท้อน และคำปรับใช้
บทที่แปด อธิบายเรื่องเอกประโยค (ประโยคความเดียว) ประโยคความซ้อนและประโยคความรวม
บทที่เก้า เป็นบทสรุป ส่วนการดึงความจากประโยคในเชิงไวยากรณ์และ ข้อความที่เรียงตามลำดับ
ขั้นตอน จำนวน 4 ข้อความ ผู้วิจัยได้จัดไว้ในภาคผนวก
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements ........................................................................................................... i
Abstract .............................................................................................................................. iii
บทคัดย่อ ......................................................................................................................... iv
List of Tables ...................................................................................................................... xi
List of Figures .................................................................................................................... xiii
List of Abbreviations and Symbols .................................................................................. xiv

Chapter 1 Introduction ..................................................................................................... 1
  1.1 Overview .................................................................................................................... 1
  1.2 The People and their language .................................................................................. 2
  1.3 The informants and the data ..................................................................................... 3
  1.4 Contribution of the thesis ......................................................................................... 4
  1.5 Limitations and scope .............................................................................................. 5

Chapter 2 Literature review ............................................................................................. 6
  2.1 Introduction ................................................................................................................. 6
  2.2 Previous studies on Lacid .......................................................................................... 6
  2.3 Descriptions of closely related languages .................................................................. 7
    2.3.1 Zaiwa .................................................................................................................. 8
    2.3.2 Ngo Chang .......................................................................................................... 9
    2.3.3 Lhaovo ............................................................................................................... 9
  2.4 General grammatical studies .................................................................................... 10
  2.5 Summary .................................................................................................................... 12

Chapter 3 Overview of Lacid phonology, morphology and basic grammar ..................... 13
  3.1 Introduction ............................................................................................................... 13
  3.2 Phonology ................................................................................................................. 13
    3.2.1 Consonants ........................................................................................................ 13
    3.2.2 Vowels ............................................................................................................ 15
    3.2.3 Tone and phonation ....................................................................................... 16
3.2.4 Syllable and word structure ........................................... 16
3.3 Morphology ........................................................................ 17
  3.3.1 Productive affixes ................................................................ 17
  3.3.2 Compounds ...................................................................... 18
  3.3.3 Reduplication ................................................................... 19
3.4 Basic grammar ...................................................................... 22
  3.4.1 Verbal clause structures ....................................................... 22
  3.4.2 Non-verbal or copula clauses .............................................. 26
  3.4.3 Word order typology ............................................................ 32
3.5 Summary ............................................................................. 32
Chapter 4 Word classes .............................................................. 33
  4.1 Introduction .......................................................................... 33
  4.2 Major word classes ............................................................... 33
    4.2.1 Nouns ........................................................................... 33
    4.2.2 Adjectives ...................................................................... 37
    4.2.3 Verbs ............................................................................ 37
    4.2.4 Adverbs ......................................................................... 39
4.3 Minor Word Classes ............................................................. 39
  4.3.1 Pronouns .......................................................................... 40
  4.3.2 Demonstratives ................................................................. 44
  4.3.3 Numerals .......................................................................... 44
  4.3.4 Quantifiers ........................................................................ 46
  4.3.5 Classifiers ......................................................................... 48
  4.3.6 Directional verbs ............................................................... 49
  4.3.7 Locators ............................................................................ 50
  4.3.8 Conjunctions .................................................................... 51
  4.3.9 Summary .......................................................................... 52
Chapter 5 Noun phrases ............................................................. 53
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.1 Introduction</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2 Structure and order of constituents</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3 Heads</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.1 Modified nouns</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.2 Pronouns as heads</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.3 Demonstratives as heads</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.4 Possessed nouns as heads</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4 Adjectives</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.1 Order of adjectives with classifier phrases</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.2 Order of adjectives with plural marker</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5 Classifier phrases</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6 Quantifier phrases</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.7 Relative clauses</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.8 Demonstratives</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.9 Possessive noun phrases</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.10 Coordinate noun phrases</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.11 Summary</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 6 Verb phrases</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1 Introduction</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2 Verb heads</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.1 Simple intransitive verbs</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3 Tense, aspect and modality (TAM)</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.1 Tense</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.2 Aspect</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.3 Tense-aspect interactions</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.4 Modality</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4 Directionals</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.5 Negation</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.6 Transitive verbs</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.7 Ditransitive verbs</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.8 Serial verb constructions</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.9 Politeness</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 7 Voice and valence changing ........................................... 83
  7.1 Introduction ........................................................................... 83
  7.2 Passive-like constructions ...................................................... 83
    7.2.1 Affected passive bji:t....................................................... 83
    7.2.2 Passives eáu and kʰa:m................................................... 84
    7.2.3 Zero agent passives ....................................................... 85
    7.2.4 Conclusion ...................................................................... 85
  7.3 Reflexives ............................................................................. 86
  7.4 Reciprocals ........................................................................... 86
  7.5 Causatives ............................................................................ 87
  7.6 Applicatives .......................................................................... 89
  7.7 Summary .............................................................................. 89
Chapter 8 Sentence structures ....................................................... 90
  8.1 Introduction ........................................................................... 90
  8.2 Simple sentence .................................................................... 90
    8.2.1 Declarative ..................................................................... 90
    8.2.2 Interrogative ................................................................... 91
    8.2.3 Imperatives .................................................................... 94
  8.3 Complex sentences ............................................................... 95
    8.3.1 Coordination .................................................................. 95
    8.3.2 Subordination .................................................................. 97
    8.3.3 Relative clauses ............................................................. 100
    8.3.4 Comparison clauses ....................................................... 101
  8.4 Summary .............................................................................. 102
Chapter 9 Conclusion .................................................................. 103
  9.1 Introduction ........................................................................... 103
  9.2 Summaries of previous chapters ........................................... 103
  9.3 Further investigation ............................................................. 104
Bibliography ................................................................................. 105
LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 Wannemacher’s phonemic consonants ........................................... 7
Table 2 Wannemacher’s phonemic vowels ..................................................... 7
Table 3 Lacid phonemic consonants ............................................................ 14
Table 4 Consonants plus áŋ ........................................................................ 14
Table 5 Consonant clusters plus áŋ with difference tones ............................ 15
Table 6 Lacid phonemic vowels ................................................................. 15
Table 7 Short and long vowels in Lacid ......................................................... 15
Table 8 Lacid phonemic tones .................................................................... 16
Table 9 Compare creaky and non creaky voice ............................................ 16
Table 10 Syllable and word structure of Lacid ........................................... 17
Table 11 Compounds in Lacid ..................................................................... 18
Table 12 Word order typology ..................................................................... 32
Table 13 Common nouns ............................................................................ 34
Table 14 Proper nouns ............................................................................... 35
Table 15 Abstract Nouns ........................................................................... 36
Table 16 Nominalization in Lacid ............................................................... 36
Table 17 Personal pronouns in Lacid ........................................................... 40
Table 18 Possessive pronouns in Lacid ......................................................... 42
Table 19 Interrogative pronouns in Lacid .................................................... 43
Table 20 Demonstratives in Lacid ............................................................... 44
Table 21 Numbers zero to ten in Lacid ......................................................... 45
Table 22 Numbers eleven to nineteen in Lacid .......................................... 45
Table 23 Numbers twenty to ninety in Lacid ............................................. 46
Table 24 Higher numbers in Lacid ............................................................... 46
Table 25 Quantifiers in Lacid ..................................................................... 47
Table 26 Classifiers in Lacid ....................................................................... 48
Table 27 Lacid directional verbs .................................................................. 49
Table 28 Locators in Lacid ......................................................................... 51
Table 29 Conjunctions in Lacid ................................................................. 51
Table 30 Noun phrase structure ................................................................. 54
Table 31 Verb phrase position chart (Preverb) .................................................. 61
Table 32 Verb phrase position chart (Postverb) ............................................... 62
Table 33 Aspect markers in Lacid ................................................................. 64
Table 34 Lacid aspect particles with different types of states and events ............. 65
Table 35 Lacid directionals [V_{DIR} V_{MAIN}] .................................................. 73
Table 36 Lacid directionals [V_{MAIN} V_{DIR}] .................................................. 74
Table 37 Lacid directionals [V_{MANNER} V_{MAIN} V_{DIR}] .............................. 74
Table 38 Reflexives in Lacid ......................................................................... 86
Table 39 Lexical causative verbs ................................................................. 87
Table 40 Periphrastic causative verbs ........................................................... 88
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 The Lacid language speaking area...............................................................2
Figure 2 Lacid language family tree (adapted from Lewis et al. 2016) .......................3
# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>#</td>
<td>Semantically ill-formed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( )</td>
<td>Optional (in examples and schema)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*</td>
<td>Ungrammatical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*( )</td>
<td>Obligatory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>Information not present in original (in free translation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{ }</td>
<td>Either or (in schema)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>//</td>
<td>Phonemic transcription (only in Chapter 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>First person singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>First person plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>Second person plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>Second person singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>Third person plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>Third person singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>Ablative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>Accusative case marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADJ</td>
<td>Adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADJP</td>
<td>Adjective phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADV</td>
<td>Adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADVLR</td>
<td>Adverbial marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>Allative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPL</td>
<td>Application marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASP</td>
<td>Aspirated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEN</td>
<td>Beneficiary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Consonants (only in Chapter 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>Causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLF</td>
<td>Classifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLFP</td>
<td>Classifier phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COP</td>
<td>Copula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEG</td>
<td>Degree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>Demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>Direction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL</td>
<td>Dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXC</td>
<td>Exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXPE</td>
<td>Experiential aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>Future marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>Imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INCEP</td>
<td>Inceptive aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INC</td>
<td>Inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INSTR</td>
<td>Instrument</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LNK</td>
<td>Linking particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>Locator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LRP</td>
<td>Language resource person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>Noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>Negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>Nominative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NMLZ</td>
<td>Nominalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>Noun phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUM</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>Object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFM</td>
<td>Performative aspectivizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PN</td>
<td>Proper noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POL</td>
<td>Politeness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>Possessive marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP</td>
<td>Postpositional phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRON</td>
<td>Pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST</td>
<td>Past tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>Question particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUANT</td>
<td>Quantifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL</td>
<td>Relativizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RELCL</td>
<td>Relative clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RFLX</td>
<td>Reflexive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RLS</td>
<td>Realis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>Subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAM</td>
<td>Tense Aspect Modality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Vowel (only in Chapter 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VBLZ</td>
<td>Verbalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vd</td>
<td>Voiced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Voiceless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VP</td>
<td>Verb phrase</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1 Overview
This thesis presents a brief grammatical sketch of Lacid. Lacid is one of the Kachin ethnic groups in Myanmar. A few unpublished research papers on the Lacid phonology and grammar have been found. A summary of Leqi (Lacid) in 2006 and a study of Leqi (Lacid) in 2007 have been published in Chinese by Dai Qingxia and Li Jie. The purpose of writing this thesis is to fill this gap in descriptions of Lacid. This paper primarily focuses on the description of phrase and clause constituents.

Chapter one gives a short introduction to the Lacid language and people, the informants and the data that are used in this thesis, the contribution of the thesis, and its limitation and scope.

Chapter two reviews research on the Lacid language and other related languages. It also presents a section on the basic grammatical concepts and technical terms that are used in this analysis.

Chapter three discusses an overview of the phonology, morphology and basic grammar of Lacid. The phonology section presents the consonant and vowel inventory, a description of tone and phonation, and a brief presentation on syllable and word structure. The morphology section discusses productive affixes, compounds, and reduplication. In the section on basic grammar, verbal clauses, non-verbal (or copula) clauses, and typological word order are discussed.

Chapter four presents word classes in Lacid. Both the major classes: nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs; and the minor classes: pronouns, demonstratives, numerals, classifiers, quantifiers, verbal particles, adpositions, conjunctions and interrogatives are discussed.

Chapter five discusses various types of noun phrases and their modifiers in Lacid. It presents nouns, pronouns, possessive noun phrases and coordinate noun phrases. It also describes the modifiers including relative clauses, demonstratives,
postpositional phrases, possessives, modifier nouns, adjective phrases and classifier phrases.

Chapter six describes verb phrases in Lacid. It presents various verb phrase constituents including verb heads, negation, ability and permission markers, directionals, auxiliaries, politeness, and adverbs. It also discusses serial verbs.

Chapter seven presents voice and valence changing. It discusses passive-like constructions, reflexives, reciprocals, causatives and applicatives.

Chapter eight discusses different sentence types in Lacid. The simple sentence section includes declaratives, interrogatives, and imperatives. In the complex sentence section, relative clauses, coordinate clauses, and subordinate clauses are presented.

Chapter nine provides a conclusion of this thesis, summary of the analysis and a brief suggestion for future research. There is also an appendix section that give the texts that are used for this research.

1.2 The People and their language
Lacid (also called Leqi in Chinese and Lashi in Jinghpo) is spoken in the north-eastern Kachin state and the northern Shan state of Myanmar, as well as in the Yunnan province of China (Mann, 1996, p. 47) as in Figure 1. According to the Ethnologue, Lacid’s ISO code is “lsi”. Lacid is spoken by approximately 60,000 speakers and is most closely related to Lhaovo (Maru, Langsu), Zaiwa (Atsi), and Achang (Ngochang) (Wannemacher, 2011, p. 1). Some words of Lacid are very similar to Burmese.

Figure 1 The Lacid language speaking area
The Lacid people speak a language belonging to the Tibeto Burman language family. Figure 2 shows Lacid in the Tibeto Burman language (Lewis, Simons & Fennig, 2016).

Figure 2 Lacid language family tree (adapted from Lewis et al. 2016)

The Lacid people worshiped as animists before foreign missionaries came to the Kachin land. The missionaries introduced them to Christianity and as a result all the Lacid people became Christian. Now they have the Bible and hymns written with an orthography that the Lacid themselves developed. This orthography is based on Roman script.

Lacid is a tonal language with the basic word order being SOV although on rare occasions OSV is used. In conversation, the subject is sometimes omitted resulting in an OV word order. (Eg: dzug kʰjō jĩ ɰe 'go to school'). In Lacid modifiers occur after the noun. Most Lacid words are monosyllabic although they can be up to four syllables.

1.3 The informants and the data
The research methodology is as follows: sequence (or procedure) texts were collected from native Lacid speakers in Kachin state in Myanmar, in Yunan province in China, and in Lam Phun, Thailand. Six LRPs (language resource persons) were involved in the data collection. They are:
(1) Phare Khoo Lhug (46 years) is from China and is the deacon of Pyang Dom village. He speaks Lacid, Zaiwa, and Chinese.

(2) Yendam Yeing Zung (25 years) is a student of Waing Maw Bible School in Waing Maw, Kachin state. He lives in Cangmookhung, near the border of China and Myanmar and speaks Lacid, Lhaovo, Jinghpaw, and Burmese.

(3) Deingdang Khoo Yeing (53 years) is the secretary of the Lacid literature and culture committee in Myitkyina. He speaks Lacid, Lhaovo, Zaiwa, Jinghpaw, and Burmese.

(4) Mangshang Boem Yeing (38 years) is from the Waing Maw church. He speaks Lacid, Lhaovo, Zaiwa, Jinghpaw, and Burmese.

(5) Lagyoem Zung Kyang (62 years) is also from the Waing Maw church. He speaks Lacid, Lhaovo, Jinghpaw, and Burmese.

(6) Laguid Boem Zung (40 years) is from Lam Phun, Chiang Mai, in Thailand. He is the pastor of Lam Phun Grace Church and speaks Lacid, Lhaovo, Jinghpaw, Burmese, Thai, and English.

The elicited data was segmented, transcribed, interlinearized, glossed and translated by the researcher using the SayMore and Fieldworks programs. If extra examples for the research were needed, the researcher, who is a native Lacid speaker, provided them under the guidance of the supervisor.

The analytical process is to:

(1) Use traditional typological-functional ideas to organize the data (Kroeger and Shopen).

(2) Identify appropriate examples.

(3) Make general schemas that describe the categories under discussion.

(4) Add Lacid procedure texts and a grammar set as an appendix to the thesis.

1.4 Contribution of the thesis

A people group can not be known without their own language. Therefore, this research will help to strengthen the Lacid people by preserving the Lacid language. The Lacid culture and literature committee in Kachin state in Myanmar is trying to sustain their language by producing written and oral literature. They also think that the written style of the Lacid language needs to be refined, especially tone marking because some punctuation marks of English are being used for tone marking.
plan is to change the tone marks from the punctuation marks of English to the international tone marks or other ways. In this research, all example phrases of Lacid use International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) tone marks instead of the punctuation marks of English.

This research will be helpful for any future researchers, Lacid or non-Lacid, who wish to study the Lacid language and its related languages.

1.5 Limitations and scope

This thesis is based on texts collected from six LRPs who are all native speakers of Lacid. Five procedured texts and three traditional stories were elicited: six texts were recorded in Kachin state in Myanmar in August, 2016, one text was recorded in Pyangdom village, Yunan province in China on July 12, 2016, and another one text in Lam Phun, Chiang Mai in Thailand on August 20, 2016. Only four texts and a grammar set were transcribed, glossed and free translated with a FLEX (FieldWorks Language Explorer). They are in appendix.

In addition, the researcher is a Lacid native speaker. He can speak Lacid well and has ten years of experience in Lacid Bible translation. He also can speak other related languages such as Lhaovo (Maru), Zaiwa (Atsi), Jinghpaw, and Burmese.

The limitations of this study are:

(1) The data collected are from male LRPs only. They might not reflect some of the usage of female speakers.

(2) Only procedured texts are used in this thesis.

(3) The example phrases or sentences from the procedure texts are not enough to provide exhaustive examples for all sections of this thesis.

(4) Very little previous research has been published on Lacid phonology and grammar. Some existing research is written in Chinese and not all research was accessible to the author.

(5) The LRPs of this study are from different regions, therefore, their pronunciation will not be the same in some words.
Chapter 2

Literature review

2.1 Introduction
This chapter discusses the previous research studies on Lacid (2.2), studies on grammatical analysis in the related languages Zaiwa, Ngo Chang, and Lhaovo (2.3), and general grammatical background (2.4).

2.2 Previous studies on Lacid
This section presents the previous research studies on Lacid which is one of the Kachin languages of Kachin state in Myanmar.

The first study is ‘A preliminary report on the study of the Maru, Lashi and Atsi languages of Burma’ by Yabu, Shiro (1988). The author explores a brief description of the phonology, and grammar of the Maru (Lhaovo), Lashi (Lacid) and Atsi (Zaiwa) languages. In his discussion of Lacid phonology (the author uses the term ‘pronunciation’), the author describes 24 consonant phonemes and 5 consonant clusters, 6 monophthong vowels and 8 diphthong vowels, and three tones (low-level, high-level and high-falling). The paper mainly focuses on the verb phrase, noun phrase and some particles related to verb and noun phrases. Personal pronouns, demonstratives, numerals and some classifiers are also presented. This study is a short document of only 15 pages.

A second paper ‘A phonological reconstruction of proto northern Burmic’ by Mann (1998) identifies a phonological analysis of two non-Northern Burmic languages (Burmese and Jinghpo) and six northern Burmic languages (Achang, Bela, Lashi, Maru, Phon, and Zaiwa). In the Lashi (Lacid) phonological analysis, the author describes syllable structure, consonants, vowels and tones. The author claims that Lacid has tense-lax voice contrast and some vowels have creaky voice. This study provides no grammatical analysis.

A third research paper is ‘A phonological overview of the Lacid language’ by Wannemacher (2011). The author examines two previous studies and provides his own phonological analysis of the Lacid language. Wannemacher concludes the Lacid
phonological inventory includes 21 consonants, 8 consonant clusters, 6 diphthongs, 7 monophthongs, and 3 tones (high-fall, high-mid, low). The author analyzed the consonantal system as shown in Table 1 and vowel phonemes as shown in Table 2.

**Table 1 Wannemacher’s phonemic consonants**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Labiodental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Alveolo-palatal</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plosive</strong></td>
<td>pʰ b</td>
<td>tʰ d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kʰ g</td>
<td></td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Affricate</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tsʰ dz</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fricative</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>ç</td>
<td>γ</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nasal</strong></td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>η</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lateral</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Approx:</strong></td>
<td>w</td>
<td>ɹ</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2 Wannemacher’s phonemic vowels**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front unrounded</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back rounded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hi</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i u</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lacid phonemic diphthongs include /au, ai, ei, ou, ua, ui/. Wannemacher also analyzes syllable and word structure, morphophonemics and concludes with a comparison of the previous studies with his own analysis. His study also does not provide any grammatical analysis.

### 2.3 Descriptions of closely related languages

This section describes studies on grammatical analysis in the related languages Zaiwa, Ngo Chang, and Lhaovo.
2.3.1 Zaiwa

A Grammar and Dictionary of Zaiwa by Lustig Anton (2010) presents grammatical and lexical categories of Zaiwa in volume I and a dictionary, stories and songs in volume II. It is based on Zaiwa as it is spoken in southwest China. The author is not a native speaker of Zaiwa. The author states that Zaiwa is the closest linguistic relative of Achang (Ngo Chang), Maru (Lhaovo), Lashi (Lacid) and Bola. He claims that Zaiwa is a tonal language with SOV word order. He presents a short phonology and phonetic description first, and numerous grammatical and lexical categories precisely and vividly with rich examples. Lustig focuses on morphemes, prefixes, suffixes, and other particles in every type of sentence. He also discusses morphophonological processes, nominal morphology, verbal basic categories and clause marker in Zaiwa. The most interesting characteristics of Zaiwa are as follows. 1) Zaiwa has a phonological distinction between six tones. 2) The functional versatility of many of the Zaiwa verbal morphemes, which, apart from being used as main verbs, can be used adverbially and as auxiliary verbs. 3) Zaiwa is richer in simplex-causative and simplex-directive verb pairs than other Tibeto-Burman language. 4) The extensive use of marking morphemes near the end of the clause, expressing numerous different mood, tense and aspect categories. He also distinguishes two new word classes: the clause markers and the attitude markers. This is a very thorough study and helps this current analysis by providing ideas for analyzing grammar.

The basic structure of the Zaiwa noun phrase by Wannemacher (2010): The author provides a basic description of the Zaiwa noun phrase. It includes a brief review of Zaiwa phonology (Zaiwa has 26 consonants, 8 simple consonant clusters, 5 simple vowels, 4 diphthongs and 4 tones), word classes (nouns, pronouns, postpositions, numbers, quantifiers, classifiers, adjectives, demonstratives, and noun particles), and constituent order typology. In a description of the noun phrase, the author focusses on noun types, nominal modifiers, conjunctions and aspects of discourse grammar. Chapter five in this study is similar.
2.3.2 Ngo Chang

Elements of Ngo Chang grammar by Kayoko Nagakura (2006): The author describes the important elements of Ngo Chang grammar within a general theoretical frame of functional grammar. His work is based on interviews with two Ngo Chang informants and some Ngo Chang books, which are based on religious beliefs, moral education and tradition. One of the texts is used as a sample in the appendix. He primarily discusses an overview of Ngo Chang phonology including syllables, consonants, vowels and tones. After that word classes, phrases, clauses types, clause modifications and sentences are presented using several illustrative examples. Ngo Chang has seven case-markers: accusative, genitive, locative, instrumental, benefactive, topic marker and contrastive topic. The author mentions that Ngo Chang verbs had a causative prefix historically, but now it is lost. Ngo Chang verbs are also nominalized by addition of the nominalizers. The nominalizer $dz$ designate a process, while the nominalizer $tʃ$ retains a state. The author notes that in noun phrases, demonstratives, possessive pronouns and noun (specific) precede the head noun, and adjectives, quantifiers, numeral classifier phrases follow the head noun. He proves that the negative and ability modality occurs before main verbs whereas tense, aspect, possibility modality, necessity modality, obligation modality and probability modality occur after main verbs. His paper helps to provide expectation for various phrase and clause structures.

2.3.3 Lhaovo

Manual of the Maru language, including a vocabulary of over 1000 word by Abbey (1899): The author composes three sections: grammar and construction of the language, colloquial exercises, and vocabulary. In the section on grammar and construction of the language, the author analyzes nouns, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives, numerals, prepositions (postpositions), negatives, and interrogatives. The gender of animate nouns is distinguished but inanimate objects have no gender. The plural markers occur after a singular noun in order to make a plural noun. The main verb stays the same through all the tenses, which are formed by adding verbal affixes. While adverbs precede the verb and modify it, adjectives follow the noun. Maru language has no prepositions but it has postpositions. Even though this study is short, it shows similarities to Lacid.
2.4 General grammatical studies

Some general linguistic works for the basis of this study. For example, word classes are defined similarly by some researchers. Nouns and verbs are major lexical classes of the four classes (nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs) in all languages (Givón, 2001, p. 49). Kroeger claims that lexical categories include major categories which can function as heads of phrases are noun, verb, adjective, preposition (or postposition) and minor categories which do not normally function as heads of phrases are conjunction, interjection, determiners, demonstratives and quantifiers (Kroeger, 2005, p. 37). Schachter and Shopen state that all languages make a distinction between open and closed parts-of-speech classes. The open classes are nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. Languages differ more from one another in the closed-class distinctions they recognize than in the open-class distinctions. The closed classes are pronouns (personal, reflexive, reciprocal, demonstrative, indefinite, and relative), pro-forms (pro-sentences, pro-clauses, pro-verbs, pro-adjectives, pro adverbs, and interrogative pro-forms), noun adjuncts (role markers, quantifiers, classifiers, and articles), verb adjuncts (auxiliary and verbal particles), conjunctions (coordinating and subordinating), clitics, copulas, predicators, emphasis markers, existential markers, interjections, mood marker, negators, politeness markers and so on (Schachter & Shopen, 2007, p. 3). Lacid does not have articles, but many of the categories proposed by these authors are used in Lacid.

Dryer (2007) states that most verb-final languages are SOV (Subject-Object-Verb). The others are OSV. The verb-initial languages are VSO and VOS and such languages are much less common than verb-final languages. SVO languages are the second most widespread word order type among the languages of the world, more common the verb-initial, but less widespread than verb-final languages. OVS word order is quite rare (Dryer, 2007, p. 68). The word order of the most Tibeto-Burman languages including Lacid are SOV. In Lacid, the OV pattern is used in imperative clauses, and the SV pattern is used in intransitive sentences.

Dryer notes some languages distinguish polar questions from corresponding declarative sentences solely by means of intonation but many languages employ morphemes in polar questions to distinguish them from declarative sentences (Dryer, 2007, p. 91). The Lacid language has three interchangeable question particles that usually occur in the final position of a clause.

Dryer discusses many ways that are used to indicate plurality in a noun phrase as an affix attaches the noun, a clitic which attaches to the last word in the noun phrases
or a plural particle follow the noun. The plurality in a noun phrase in Lacid employs separate particles.

Dryer claims that demonstrative modifiers of nouns are common either before the noun or after the noun among both OV and VO languages. Demonstrative markers occur before a noun in Lacid.

Verbal and nonverbal predicates are two different types of clauses, according to Dryer. There are three types of clauses with nonverbal predicates in any language. These are adjectival predicates, nominal predicates, and locative predicates. Clauses with verbal predicates are apparently more frequent used than clauses with nonverbal predicates (Dryer, 2007, p. 224). In Lacid, all these three types of predicates are found.

Dryer discusses that in accusative languages, subjects in intransitive and transitive clauses are treated one way, while objects are treated distinctly. In ergative languages, subjects in intransitive and objects in transitive are treated the same, and Subjects in a transitive are treated distinctly (Dryer, 2007, p. 252). According to Dryer's definition, Lacid is an accusative language.

Konig and Siemund (2007) mention three basic sentence types (declarative, interrogative, imperative) and some minor sentence types. Declarative sentences are typically used to perform representative speech acts such as assertions and report acts of complaining and bragging. They are also used for acts of predicting and promising. Two main types of interrogative sentences: ‘polar interrogative sentences’ and ‘information questions’ are used for asking questions (Konig & Siemund, 2007, p. 277). In this thesis, the terms ‘Yes-No’ question and ‘content’ question are used instead of ‘polar interrogative sentence’ and ‘information question’. There are many strategies for marking imperative sentences. In Lacid, the imperative particles are used for marking imperative sentences. The Lacid language has no passive like English, but it has some passive-like constructions.

Dryer claims that some languages have a definite article or an indefinite article (Dryer, 2007, p. 153), but Lacid uses demonstrative particles for a definite article and the numeral ‘one’ for an indefinite article. As with all languages, Lacid has two types of demonstratives that are demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative modifiers of nouns, cardinal numerals and ordinal numerals.

“A clause that functions as a modifier within the NP is called a relative clause” (Kroeger, 2005, p. 89). Andrews (2007) defines a relative clause in the following
A relative clause is a subordinate clause which delimits the reference of a noun phrase by specifying the role of the referent of that noun phrase in the situation described by the relative clause” (Andrews, 2007, p. 206).

Aikhenvald discusses that traditional parameters used for morphological typology of languages were based on the differences in their internal word structure. There are two kinds of parameters. The first one is based on the transparency of morphological boundaries between the morphemes within a grammatical word, and the second one relates to the degree of internal complexity of words. Based on this first parameter, three types of languages are recognized: isolating, agglutinating, and fusional. An isolating language typically has a one-to-one correspondence between a morpheme and a word: that is, in such a language every morpheme is an independent word. An agglutinating language has a word which may consist of several morphemes but the boundaries between them are clear cut. In fusional languages, there is no clear boundary between morphemes (Aikhenvald, 2007, p. 3-4). Lacid is mostly an isolating language.

Corbett discusses that a language may have two or more such classes or genders (Corbett, 2007, p. 241). Lacid has three different genders (masculine, feminine, and neuter). Animate nouns divide into masculine and feminine, but inanimate nouns are neuter. Personal pronouns do not have gender distinction. One pronominal word can be used for both masculine and feminine.

Comrie and Thompson discuss lexical nominalization which means ‘turning something into a noun’. Some nominalizations are action or state nouns, agentive nouns, instrumental nouns, manner nouns, objective nouns and reason nouns. Most languages make use of one or more devices for creating action nouns from action verbs and state nouns from stative verbs or adjectives (Comrie & Thompson, 2007, p. 334-335). In Lacid a nominalizer is used to create nouns from lexical verbs and adjectives.

2.5 Summary
Only a few studies have been done on Lacid and these are mostly on phonology. The best study of a related language is Zaiwa. My study here attempts to extend the study of Lacid using the concepts from the general studies mentioned above and to pattern the description after work on Zaiwa by Anton Lustig.
Chapter 3
Overview of Lacid phonology, morphology and basic grammar

3.1 Introduction
This chapter provides an overview of the phonology, morphology and basic grammar of Lacid. First, the section of phonology presents an inventory of consonants, vowels and tones along with syllable and word structure. Second, the morphology section discusses productive affixes, compounds and reduplication. Third, verbal clauses, non-verbal (or copula) clauses and typological word order are discussed in the section on basic grammar.

3.2 Phonology
This section presents a summary of Lacid phonology. The consonant, vowel and tone inventories are adopted from ‘A phonological overview of the Lacid language’ by Wannemacher (2011), but some changes have been made. Syllable and word structure is also covered in this section.

3.2.1 Consonants
There are 24 consonant phonemes: p, pʰ, m, t, tʰ, n, k, kʰ, ɲ, c, cʰ, ň, ts, tsʰ, f, v, s, r, l, x, š, y, fi,ʔ as presented by Yabu (1988). Wannemacher (2011) states that the Lacid language has 21 consonants and 8 consonant clusters. Table 3 represents the Lacid consonants as revised from Wannemacher’s analysis. The researcher has confirmed that there are 29 consonants in Lacid. The shaded cells indicate consonants not found in Wannemacher’s analysis.
Table 3: Lacid phonemic consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilial</th>
<th>Labiodental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Alveo-palatal</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosive:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASP</td>
<td>pʰ</td>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VL</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vd</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricate:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASP</td>
<td>tsʰ</td>
<td>tcʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VL</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>tc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vd</td>
<td>dz</td>
<td>dz</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>ç</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>ñ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximant</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>ɹ</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>ù</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Consonant clusters use the palatal approximant /j/. It follows the bilabial plosives /pʰ, p, b/, bilabial nasal /m/, and velar plosives /kʰ, k, g/. There are 7 consonant clusters /pʰj, pj, bj, mj, kʰj, kj, gi/ in Lacid. All consonants and consonant clusters can occur in the onset of syllable. The unreleased voiceless plosive /p, t, k, ʔ/, and the nasals /m, n, ñ/ are the only ones used in the coda of a syllable. All consonants and consonant clusters are contrasted in identical environment (CIE) or contrast in analogous environment (CAE) when áŋ is added to them in Table 4 and Table 5.

Table 4: Consonants plus áŋ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C+áŋ</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>C+áŋ</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>C+áŋ</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pʰáŋ</td>
<td>sunny</td>
<td>fáŋ</td>
<td>stupid</td>
<td>háŋ</td>
<td>who</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>páŋ</td>
<td>help</td>
<td>sáŋ</td>
<td>crisp</td>
<td>wáŋ</td>
<td>yard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>báŋ</td>
<td>have hole</td>
<td>ɡáŋ</td>
<td>tire</td>
<td>jáŋ</td>
<td>invest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰáŋ</td>
<td>firewood</td>
<td>máŋ</td>
<td>gong</td>
<td>ján</td>
<td>health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>táŋ</td>
<td>run</td>
<td>náŋ</td>
<td>pain at thigh</td>
<td>wáŋ</td>
<td>act to bite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dáŋ</td>
<td>to build a fence</td>
<td>nán</td>
<td>even</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰáŋ</td>
<td>have gap</td>
<td>nán</td>
<td>protruded teeth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>káŋ</td>
<td>separate</td>
<td>lán</td>
<td>wait</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gáŋ</td>
<td>cover blanket</td>
<td>ʔáŋ</td>
<td>mustard</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5 Consonant clusters plus áŋ with difference tones

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C+ áŋ</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>C+ áŋ</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pʰjáŋ</td>
<td>worse</td>
<td>tsʰáŋ</td>
<td>give birth (animal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pjáŋ</td>
<td>toss rice in a tray</td>
<td>tsáŋ</td>
<td>active</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bjáŋ</td>
<td>cure</td>
<td>dzáŋ</td>
<td>touch the target</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰjáŋ</td>
<td>complain</td>
<td>tsʰáŋ</td>
<td>expensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kjáŋ</td>
<td>thin</td>
<td>tsáŋ</td>
<td>lay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gjáŋ</td>
<td>pain</td>
<td>dzáŋ</td>
<td>work for wage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mjáŋ</td>
<td>so long</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.2 Vowels

One previous researcher, Yabu presented 6 monophthongs and 8 diphthong vowels in Lacid (Yabu, 1988, p. 92). The 7 monophthongs and 6 diphthongs of Lacid as presented by Wannemacher (2011) are /i, e, ɨ, a, u, o, au, ai, ei, ou, ua, ui/. This researcher suggests that there are 7 short and 7 long monophthongs, and 6 short and 6 long diphthongs in Lacid as in Table 6.

Table 6 Lacid phonemic vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front unrounded</th>
<th>Central unrounded</th>
<th>Back rounded</th>
<th>Diphthongs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>i i:</td>
<td>i i:</td>
<td>u u:</td>
<td>ua ua:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid-close</td>
<td>e e:</td>
<td></td>
<td>o o:</td>
<td>oi oi: oe oe: ou ou:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid-open</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>o o:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>a a:</td>
<td></td>
<td>ai ai: au au:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7 provides examples for the contrast between short and long vowels in Lacid.

Table 7 Short and long vowels in Lacid

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short vowel</th>
<th>Long vowel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ji ‘laugh’</td>
<td>ji: ‘necklace’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de ‘wealth’</td>
<td>de: ‘build (village)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>li ‘easy’</td>
<td>li: ‘move’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰaŋ ‘open’</td>
<td>pʰaŋ: ‘flee’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nu ‘talkative’</td>
<td>nu: ‘cow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jo ‘field’</td>
<td>jo: ‘itch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɕɔ ‘shy’</td>
<td>ɕɔ: ‘looking for’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short vowel</td>
<td>Long vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bain ‘plate’</td>
<td>bai:n ‘flower’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bau ‘hill’</td>
<td>bau: ‘carry on the back’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duan ‘clear mark’</td>
<td>duan: ‘hole’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>louan ‘hot’</td>
<td>louan: ‘add’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzoin ‘slave’</td>
<td>dzoin: ‘wizard’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.3 Tone and phonation
There are three phonemic pitch-based tones (high, mid, low) as in Table 8. Creaky vowels are found with the nasal initials /m, n, ɳ/, lateral initial /l/ and approximant initials /w, ɹ, j/. Table 9 shows distinctions of creaky and non creaky voice.

Table 8 Lacid phonemic tones

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>High</th>
<th>Mid</th>
<th>Low</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lacid</td>
<td>Gloss</td>
<td>Lacid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lɔ́</td>
<td>go</td>
<td>lɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jɪt</td>
<td>urine</td>
<td>jɪt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰáŋ</td>
<td>firewood</td>
<td>tʰáŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jɔ́</td>
<td>have</td>
<td>jɔ̰</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9 Compare creaky and non creaky voice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Creaky</th>
<th>Non-creaky</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lacid</td>
<td>Gloss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɹé</td>
<td>chew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jɪt</td>
<td>liquor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>láŋ</td>
<td>hang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jɔ́:ŋ</td>
<td>spend</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.4 Syllable and word structure
The syllable structure in Lacid is C₁(C₂)V₁(V₂)(C₃). In this structure, C₁ is the onset of syllable and any consonant is allowed, C₂ permits only the palatal approximant /j/, V₁ is any vowel, V₂ is /i,e,a,u/, C₃ is /p,t,k,ʔ, m, n, ɳ/. Separately, there are two syllabic nasals /m, ɳ/ and a reduced presyllable Cə in Lacid. There are up to four
syllable words, but the majority of words in Lacid are mono- or bi-syllabic. Table 10 exemplifies the Lacid syllable and word structure.

Table 10 Syllable and word structure of Lacid

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable forms</th>
<th>Word Structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C /m/ ‘five’</td>
<td>CVC /bit/ ‘sun’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV /nuː/ ‘cow’</td>
<td>CVC.CV /juk.gi/ ‘man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC /ɕiː/ ‘gold’</td>
<td>CV.CV.CV /ʔa.je.nap/ ‘yesterday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVV /ŋau/ ‘cry’</td>
<td>CV.CV.CV.CVVC /tɕi.tɕi.la.bouʃ/ ‘lizard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCV /bju/ ‘people’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCVC /kjaj/ ‘basket’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVVC /bain/ ‘flower’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCVV /ɡjau/ ‘break’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCVVC /kjouk/ ‘dry’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3 Morphology

Most Lacid words are monosyllabic. Some multi-syllabic words are created by attaching morphemes as affixes to a word. In this section, affixation, compounding and reduplication are presented.

3.3.1 Productive affixes

Even though worldwide, there are many different affixation process such as infixing, circumfixing, prefixing, suffixing etc; only prefixes and suffixes are found in Lacid. The prefix ?a- has a nominalization and a separate negation sense as in (1) and (2) respectively.

(1)  

\[
\text{siːŋ} \rightarrow \text{ʔa-siːŋ} \\
\text{own} \rightarrow \text{owner}
\]

(2)  

\[
\text{koit} \rightarrow \text{ʔa-koit} \\
\text{do} \rightarrow \text{don’t do}
\]

The suffix -nú which attaches to possession pronouns (ŋá, ná, ɲaː) is a plural marker as in examples (3), (4) and (5).

(3)  

\[
\text{ŋá} \rightarrow \text{ŋa-nú} \\
\text{my} \rightarrow \text{we or ours}
\]

(4)  

\[
\text{ná} \rightarrow \text{na-nú} \\
\text{your} \rightarrow \text{you (plural) or yours}
\]
(5) \(na: \rightarrow na-nú\)
his or her   they or theirs

3.3.2 Compounds
Most monosyllabic words in Lacid are combined in a compound structure which can be categorized as headed (endocentric) and headless (exocentric) types. There are Noun-Noun compounds, Verb-Verb compounds, Noun-Adjective compounds, Verb-Adjective compounds and Noun-Verb compounds, Adjective-Adjective compounds in Lacid. Table 11 shows examples of compounds words in Lacid.

Table 11 Compounds in Lacid

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compounds</th>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Pattern</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gji dзо:</td>
<td>enemy child</td>
<td>soldier</td>
<td>[N N]_N</td>
<td>Endocentric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gji pói</td>
<td>enemy party</td>
<td>battle</td>
<td>[N N]_N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dʑuŋ dзо:</td>
<td>school child</td>
<td>student</td>
<td>[N N]_N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bjo: jıt</td>
<td>bee liquor</td>
<td>honey</td>
<td>[N N]_N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɕa:m ɕl</td>
<td>sword fruit</td>
<td>bullet</td>
<td>[N N]_N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mji: rɨy</td>
<td>fire cart</td>
<td>train</td>
<td>[N N]_N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mji: kouk</td>
<td>fire cup</td>
<td>lamp</td>
<td>[N N]_N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mau: gjit</td>
<td>sky water</td>
<td>rain</td>
<td>[N N]_N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lit ɕap</td>
<td>air fan</td>
<td>fan</td>
<td>[N N]_N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>táŋ pʰaːŋ</td>
<td>run flee</td>
<td>flee</td>
<td>[V V]_V</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tit saːŋ</td>
<td>talk ask</td>
<td>request</td>
<td>[V V]_V</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jú ŋe</td>
<td>look small</td>
<td>look down</td>
<td>[V ADJ]_V</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bjit gjš</td>
<td>break drop</td>
<td>fall down</td>
<td>[V V]_V</td>
<td>Exocentric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mìːŋ dam</td>
<td>country flat</td>
<td>peace</td>
<td>[N ADJ]_N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mjìt mjɔː</td>
<td>mind numerous</td>
<td>worried</td>
<td>[N ADJ]_V</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mìːŋ dzaiːn</td>
<td>country cut</td>
<td>fight</td>
<td>[N V]_V</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mauː daːŋ</td>
<td>sky fly</td>
<td>flight</td>
<td>[N V]_N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɲìk jɔː</td>
<td>heart itch</td>
<td>angry</td>
<td>[N V]_V</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɕaːm ɕóin</td>
<td>sword combine</td>
<td>unity</td>
<td>[N V]_N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jœːm kait</td>
<td>strength put</td>
<td>force</td>
<td>[N V]_V</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gjiː ɕkŋ</td>
<td>big long</td>
<td>civilized</td>
<td>[ADJ ADJ]_ADJ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.3.3 Reduplication

Reduplicative words can modify the stem word. In some cases, nouns become verbs or other categories because of reduplication. Various categories of reduplications are identified in Lacid. The following examples present some types of reduplication.

Example (6) is a compound noun gjɔ̰̀ + ?u ‘chicken egg’ and in (7), when the word ?u ‘egg’ is reduplicated, the first ?u ‘egg’ does not change, but the second ?u ‘egg’ changes to a verb ?u ‘lay egg’.

(6) Grammar 35.3  

\[
gjɔ̰̀ \ ?u  
\]

chicken egg  

Chicken egg

(7) Grammar 35.4  

\[
gjɔ̰̀ \ ?u \ ?u  
\]

chicken egg lay.egg  

Lay a chicken egg.

Examples (8) and (9) compare the classifier du: and reduplicative classifiers du: du:. They show that the meaning of sentences are different. They will get only one cow in (8), but each one of them will get one cow per person in (9).

(8) Grammar 35.1  

\[
ŋo \ ɲaːŋ-nù \ ɹi \ nu \ da \ du: \ bjiːt \ ɰa  
\]

1SG 3PL ACC cow one CLF.animal give FUT  

I will give them a cow.

(9) Grammar 35.2  

\[
ŋo \ ɲaːŋ-nù \ ɹi \ nu \ da \ du: \ du: \ bjiːt \ ɰa  
\]

1SG 3PL ACC cow one CLF.animal CLF.animal give FUT  

I will give each of them a cow.

A declarative sentence which denotes a single event is changed into a habitual declarative when the word koit ‘make’ is reduplicated as in (10) and (11).

(10) Grammar 35.7  

\[
ŋo \ koit  
\]

1SG make  

I did.

(11) Grammar 35.8  

\[
ŋo \ koit \ koit \ mu  
\]

1SG make make happen  

I did again and again habitually.

A reduplicative word can change a cardinal number into an ordinal one in Lacid as in examples (12) and (13).
Reduplicative words can bear plural senses in some interrogative sentences in Lacid as in the following examples (14), (15), (16) and (17).

(14) Grammar 35.11

\[ kʰa: \text{ juk} \]

which CLF.people

Which person?

(15) Grammar 35.12

\[ kʰa: \text{ juk} \text{ juk} \]

which CLF.people CLF.people

Which people (PL)?

(16) Grammar 35.13

\[ naŋ \text{ tɕʰi} \text{ wɔː} \]

2SG what want

What do you want?

(17) Grammar 35.14

\[ naŋ \text{ tɕʰi} \text{ tɕʰi} \text{ wɔː} \]

2SG what what want

What things do you want?

### 3.3.3.1 Elaborate expressions

Haas claims that “elaborate expression are based on compounds of the types and are expanded by repeating a part of the compound and adding a new part, by inserting a syllable for the sake of rhyme, or by inserting a syllable which has some vague semantic relation to one of the original parts. Most of these expressions are made up of four parts” (Haas, 1964, p. xvii). An elaborate expression or rhyming phrase, is a kind of reduplication that is very common in Lacid. There are four different elaborate expressions: ABAC, ABCB, AABB and ABCD.

Some examples of the pattern ABAC are in (18-21).

(18) \[ jó \text{ dzɔː} \text{ jó} \text{ ɕuk} \]

‘wealthy’

have eat have drink

(19) \[ mau: \text{ dzuːŋ} \text{ mau:} \text{ pjiː} \]

‘everywhere’

land north land south

(20) \[ la- \text{ loem} \text{ la-} \text{kʰouk} \]

‘religion’

affix believe affix depend

(21) \[ ʔa- \text{ koit} \text{ ʔa-} \text{ gi} \]

‘important work’

NEG do NEG good
Examples of the next pattern of elaborate expressions, ABCB, are shown in (22-25).

(22) \( dzō: \) tʰā cūk tʰā ‘have to have food’

(23) \( nit \) jì: jāp jì: ‘living’

(24) \( ka:ŋ \) tʰōuŋ sō? tʰōuŋ ‘the lord of the life’

(25) \( tʰōit \) dzō: jāŋ dzō: ‘believers’

Examples of the AABB pattern of elaborate expressions are in (26-29).

(26) \( gji:ŋ \) gji:ŋ bāŋ bāŋ ‘clearly’

(27) woin woin wu wu ‘actively’

(28) \( gi:ŋ \) gi:ŋ tīŋ tīŋ ‘firmly’

(29) \( gi \) gi ga:ŋ ga:ŋ ‘good or bad’

Examples of the ABCD pattern of elaborate expression are in (30-34).

(30) \( bit \) dzō: mā:ŋ nū:ŋ ‘relatives’

(31) \( mjo \) nō: phūŋ jōep ‘reverence’

(32) \( mau: \) tʰu xā:ŋ pōi:n ‘in the beginning’

(33) \( gup \) dzō mi: loe:m ‘grain’

(34) \( ŋāŋ \) pʰō gjit loem ‘meal’
3.4 Basic grammar

In this section, the basic clause structure of Lacid is presented. Verbal clauses, non-verbal (or copula) clauses and a word order typology are presented.

3.4.1 Verbal clause structures

The Lacid language is SOV (Subject + Object + Verb), but the subject and object can be shifted relative to each other. Case on the noun phrases identify which one is the subject (NOM) or object (ACC) of the verb. However, in intransitive and transitive clauses, the subject and object case markers are optional. The case markers gi ‘NOM’ and ɹi ‘ACC’ occur after noun phrases in examples (35), (36) and (37) and they are optionally marked.

(35) Grammar 1.1
wu (gi) ɕi:t bje:
pig NOM die PF
The pig has died.

(36) Grammar 3.1
wu (gi) woe:m (ɹi) ɗzx:
pig NOM meal ACC eat
The pig ate food.

(37) Grammar 3.2
mouk.ʃóuk (ɹi) naːŋ (gi) ɲap
book ACC 3SG NOM read
A book is read by him.

In a di-transitive clause (38-40), the object marker appears on the semantically oblique phrase. The semantic object (theme) is not case-marked. All the subject, object and oblique phrases can be shifted to every position. Examples (38), (39) and (40) have the same meaning, but the clause structure changes.

(38) Grammar 4.1
juk.gi ɗzx: gi mji.ji: ɗzx: ɹi bai:n da bɔ bʃi:t bje:
man young NOM woman young ACC flower one blossom give PF
The boy has given the girl a flower.
(39) Grammar 4.2

\[ \text{juk.} \text{gi dzo: gi bai:n da bó mji.ji: dzo: } \text{u} \text{ bj:}: \text{t bje:} \]

man young NOM flower one blossom woman young ACC give PF

The boy has given a flower to the girl.

(40) Grammar 4.3

\[ \text{bai:n da bó mji.ji: dzo: } \text{u} \text{ juk.} \text{gi dzo: } \text{gi bj:}: \text{t bje:} \]

flower one blossom woman young ACC man young NOM give PF

The boy has given a flower to the girl.

In summary, the subject, object and oblique all occur before the verb. The subject and object have case markers and they are optional. In a di-transitive clause, the oblique in Lacid appears as a postpositional phrase.

### 3.4.1.1 Obliques

Oblique objects (also called indirect objects) are locatives, accompaniments, instruments, ablatives, recipients, etc. All of these type of arguments occur with a postposition. The schemata of oblique arguments with their postposition are as shown below.

**Locatives**

This is a basic schema that refers to a locative argument. However, it is possible to change the position of all noun phrases in this schema as long as the verb occurs at the end position of the clause.

- **S:** [NP \(_3\) NP \(_0\) LOC VP]
- **LOC:** [NP \(_{\text{LOC}}\) + \text{mo:}]

Examples (41) and (42) show that the word \text{mo:} used for marking the postposition could potentially occur in any place before the verb phrase.

(41) Grammar 2.3

\[ \text{na:} \text{ŋ mouk.sóuk pok } \text{u} \text{ } \text{dzo.} \text{bói } \text{t}: \text{o } \text{mo: } \text{ke} \]

3SG book CLF ACC table on PP.at put on

He put the book on the table.
The man cut the tree in the forest.

**Instruments**

The instrument marker jɔʔ is the postposition of instrument phrases in Lacid. The preferred clause order is the same as the locative argument. The instrument constituent in the clause is schematized as follows.

\[
S: \{NP_s \ NP_o \ INSTR \ VP\} \\
INSTR: \{NP_{INSTR} + jɔʔ\}
\]

Sentences (43) and (44) show the instrument phrase in the clause.

(43) Grammar 18.3

\[
\text{3SG cow ACC gun with shoot RLs} \\
\text{He shot the cow with a gun.}
\]

(44) Grammar 29.21

\[
\text{stick with 2SG ACC who hit} \\
\text{Who hit you with stick?}
\]

**Ablatives**

The ablative argument is marked with the ablative marker mɔ. The ablative noun phrase has to occur before the object of the verb in Lacid. The position of the ablative element is as shown in the following schema.

\[
S: \{NP_s \ ABL \ NP_o \ VP\} \\
ABL: \{NP_{ABL} + mɔ\}
\]

The word mɔ ‘ablative morpheme’ is also the postposition of the source argument. The structure of the ablative phrase in the clause is revealed in the sentences (45) and (46).
(45) Rice 21.

\[ \text{guk boe:m jò doem dzú lo láŋ gi } \{ \text{jo.tʰúŋ di:ŋ} \]
paddy appear with again reach come if LNK paddy-field bund
\[ \text{kʰúŋ mɕ mān ɕi ɕé bjen ɕé ča:ŋ } \]
around ABL weed ACC come clean come clean
When the paddy bunches appear, they raze (with a knife) the weeds [that have grown] on the bunds.

(46) Grammar 7.1

\[ \text{dzo.bóe tʰɔ́ mɕ kʰé.tain gjou:k bje:} \]
table on ABL pencil break PF
The pencil (from) on the table has been broken.

**Beneficiaries**

The beneficiary argument occurs between the subject and object with the beneficiary marker ɕit.ɕé. The following schema describes the beneficiary argument in the clause.

\[
S: [\text{NP}_S \text{ BEN NP}_O \text{ VP}]
\text{ BEN: [NP}_{\text{BEN}} + ɕit.ɕé ]
\]

The postposition ɕit.ɕé in sentence (47) is the marker of the beneficiary phrase which precedes the object phrase. Example (47) shows the position of the beneficiary argument in the clause.

(47) Grammar 10.2

\[ \text{na:ŋ ɲo-nú ɕit.ɕé woe:m tɕouk bji:t bje:} \]
3SG 1PL for meal cook BEN PF
She has cooked rice for us.

**Allative**

The allative argument is marked with the postposition kʰjo:. The word kʰjo: can be used to convey other meanings such as ‘way’, ‘road’, ‘about’ and ‘so on’. The position of the allative argument is shown in the following schema.

\[
S: [\text{NP}_S \text{ ALL VP}]
\text{ ALL: [NP}_{\text{ALL}} + kʰjo:]}
\]

The sentence in (48) illustrates the allative argument in a clause.
The teacher has gone to school.

Copulas are used with non-verbal predicates (Shopen, 2007, p. 225). A copula is a special verb that joins the NP$_{s}$ of a sentence with another constituent. Copulas function as a predicate of the NP$_{s}$. In this section, the forms of non-verbal or copula clauses in Lacid are presented. The following clauses are discussed here: equative, locative, existential and possessive clauses. There are several copulas proposed.

3.4.2.1 Equative clauses

The copula ŋo ḭt connects two noun phrases in Lacid equative clauses. The position of the copula of a clause is fixed and occurs after the noun phrases of equative clauses. The two noun phrases can shift the positions. The subject marker gi is optional. However, when it occurs on the second NP, the clause becomes ungrammatical. The schema of the equative clauses is as follows:

\[ S_{\text{EQUATIVE}}: [\text{NP}(gi) \text{ NP ŋo ḭt}] \]

The following sentences (49) and (50) are examples of equative clauses in Lacid.

(49) Grammar 12.1
\[ 3\text{SG NOM school teacher ŋo ḭt} \]
He is a teacher.

(50) Grammar 12.2
\[ 3\text{SG NOM 3SG be} \]
A teacher is him.

The first noun phrases \( nα:γ \) ‘he’ in (49) and \( dʑuŋ \) \( sα..a: \) ‘teacher’ in (50) function as subjects in the equative clauses. The second noun phrases with copulas are nominal predicates which give new information about the topic of the clauses. The case marker \( gi \) has to follow the first noun phrase.

3.4.2.2 Locative clauses

The copula \( nọi \) is used for the location of an animate NP and \( dʑɔ \) is used for the location of an inanimate NP in locative clauses. Another copula that can be used is
ŋo ḭt, which is also used in equative clauses. It links either an animate or inanimate NP with a locative phrase in the Lacid locative clauses. The positions of locative clauses are shown in the following schemas:

\[
\begin{align*}
S_{\text{LOCATIVE}}: & \ [\text{NP}_{\text{Animate}} (gi) \ \text{NP}_{\text{LOC}} \ \text{ɲit}] \\
S_{\text{LOCATIVE}}: & \ [\text{NP}_{\text{Inanimate}} (gi) \ \text{NP}_{\text{LOC}} \ \text{dʐɔ}] \\
S_{\text{LOCATIVE}}: & \ [\text{NP} (gi) \ \text{NP}_{\text{LOC}} \ \text{ŋo ḭt}] \\
\end{align*}
\]

Examples (51), and (52) demonstrate the copulas ňit and ŋo ḭt for animate entities and the copulas dʐɔ and ŋo ḭt for inanimate entities in Lacid.

(51) Grammar 19.1

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ɲaŋ} (gi) \ & \ \text{dʐuŋ} \ & \text{mō:} \ & \text{ɲit} \ & \ | \ & \text{ŋo ḭt} \ & | \ & \#dʐɔ \\
3\text{SG} \ & \text{NOM} \ & \text{school} \ & \text{PP.at} \ & \text{be.exist} \ & \text{be} \ & \text{be.exist} \\
\end{align*}
\]

He is at school.

(52) Grammar 19.6 (a)

\[
\begin{align*}
mouk.\text{sōuk} \ & \ dʐuŋ \ & \text{mō:} \ & \text{dʐɔ} \ & \ | \ & \text{ŋo ḭt} \ & | \ & \#\text{ɲit} \\
\text{book} \ & \text{school} \ & \text{PP.at} \ & \text{be.exist} \ & \text{be} \ & \text{be.exist} \\
\end{align*}
\]

A paper is at the school.

When the copula ŋo ḭt is used in any locative clause and the position of the NP\text{LOC} shifts to the initial of a clause, it will become ungrammatical and does not make sense. In a locative clause that uses copula ňit or dʐɔ, the NP\text{LOC} can appear in the initial position of a clause. However it will change to a verbal clause or existential clause depending on the topic. The clause ‘He is at school’ in (51) will become ‘He lives in school’ and ‘A paper is in school’ in (52) will become ‘A school has paper’ or ‘There is a paper in school’.

### 3.4.2.3 Existential clauses

There are two copulas, ňit (for animate) and dʐɔ (for inanimate) which are used for an existential clause. The forms of the existential clauses are schematized below.

\[
\begin{align*}
S_{\text{EXISTENTIAL}}: & \ [(\text{PP}) \ \text{NP}_{\text{Animate}} \ \text{ɲit}] \\
S_{\text{EXISTENTIAL}}: & \ [(\text{PP}) \ \text{NP}_{\text{Inanimate}} \ \text{dʐɔ}] \\
\end{align*}
\]

Example (53) expresses an existential clause with an inanimate noun phrase and (54) shows the existential clause with an animate noun phrase.

---

27
There is a school in the village.

There is a pig over there.

A postpositional phrase usually appears as the initial constituent of an existential clause and a NP follows the postposition phrase. But the postposition phrase is optional. In an existential clause the subject marker gi is omitted. If the copulas nit and dzɔ are switched, the result is semantically ill-formed.

### 3.4.2.4 Possessive clauses

In this section, two different forms of the possessive clause with a copula are provided. The first uses the copula ŋo t which is also used in the equative and locative clause. The schema of this possessive clauses is shown below.

\[ S_{POSS} = [NP_{POSSESSOR} \text{dá} \, NP_{POSSESSED} \text{ŋo t}] \]

Example (55) shows the copula ŋo t in the possessive clause.

A possessor noun phrase with possessive marker dá is placed in the initial position of this clause and a possessed noun phrase follows it. The copula ŋo t is placed the end of the possessive clause. The copula jɔ does not appear with this form of a possessive clause. Using the copula jɔ makes this clause semantically ill-formed. However, the copula jɔ can be also used in a different possessive clause. The schema for this kind of construction of a possessive clause is as below.

\[ S_{POSS} = [NP_{POSSESSOR} (gi) \, NP_{POSSESSED} jɔ] \]
Example (56) shows the copula $j\dot{\text{o}}$ in a possessive clause.

(56) Grammar 25.2

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{na}\text{-ta}\text{ŋ} & \quad \text{dzo.}\text{ça}\text{ŋ} \quad \text{söem} \quad \text{juk} \\
3\text{DL} & \quad \text{NOM} \quad \text{child} \quad \text{three} \quad \text{CLF.people} \quad \textbf{be.have} \quad \text{be} \\
\text{They have three children.}
\end{align*}
\]

A possessive clause with the copula $j\dot{\text{o}}$ which occurs at the end of a clause does not require the possessive marker $\text{dá}$. A possessed noun phrase follows the possessor noun phrase that is placed in the first position of a clause. Using the copula $\eta\text{git}$ makes this clause semantically ill-formed.

3.4.2.5 Temporal clauses

The copulas $\eta\text{git}$ and $d\text{zo}$ can be used in temporal clauses. The construction of the temporal clause is as below.

\[
S_{\text{TEMP}}: [\text{NP}_{\text{TEMP}} (\text{gi}) \text{ NP} \{ \eta\text{git} / d\text{zo} \}]
\]

In (57), copula $\eta\text{git}$ or $d\text{zo}$ follows the temporal phrase and noun phrase.

(57) Grammar 33.1

\[
\begin{align*}
n\text{ap.jo.}\text{nit} & \quad (\text{gi}) \quad \text{püi} \quad \{ \eta\text{git} / d\text{zo} \} \\
\text{tomorrow} & \quad \text{NOM} \quad \text{party} \quad \textbf{be} \quad \textbf{be.exist} \\
\text{Tomorrow is or has the party.}
\end{align*}
\]

When the copula $\eta\text{git}$ occurs at the end position of a temporal clause, the clause will have the form of an equative clause. When the copula $d\text{zo}$ occurs in the end position of a temporal clause, the clause will have the form of a possessive clause.

3.4.2.6 Zero copula clauses

Zero copulas (or no copula) can be used in an attributive clause. The subject marker $\text{gi}$ is optional. The schema for the form of zero copula clauses is shown as below.

\[
S_{\text{ATTRIBUTIVE}}: [\text{NP} (\text{gi}) \text{ ADJ}]
\]

Example (58) indicates that zero copula clauses are found in attributive clauses.
3.4.2.7 Copula clauses with negative marker

The negative prefix ʔa can precede a copula of the equative, locative, existential and temporal clauses. However in an attributive clause, the negative prefix ʔa- occurs before the adjective phrase. The common schemas for the structure of copula clauses and attributive clauses with the negative marker ʔa- are shown below.

S: [... ʔa- COP] (non-attributive clauses)
S: [... ʔa- ADJ] (attributive clauses)

Examples (59), (60) and (61) show that the negative prefix can attach to the copulas ɲoɪt, ɲit, dʑɔ and jɔ́. The negative prefix locates before an adjective phrase and attaches to it in an attributive clause as in (62).

(59) Grammar 12.4

\[ tʰɨ: \ juk \ (gi) \ la.hi: \ ʔa- \ ɲoɪt \]
that far CLF.people NOM China NEG be
That man is not Chinese.

(60) Grammar 16.5

\[ tʰɨ: \ mɔx \ wu \ da \ du: \ ʔa- \ ɲit \]
that far PP.at pig one CLF.animal NEG be.exist
There is not a pig over there.

(61) Grammar 16.6

\[ tʰɨ: \ mɔx \ gjit \ da \ kʰu \ ʔa- \ dʑɔ \]
that far PP.at water one cup NEG have
There is not a cup of water here.
That house is not good.

The negative prefix ʔa- can attach to all the copulas and an adjective in an attributive clause.

### 3.4.2.8 Copula clauses with TAM markers

TAM markers can appear before or after a copula in Lacid. Basically the copulas ɲoit, ɲit, dɔ and jɔ allow TAMs to follow them. Examples (63) and (64) show tense, aspect and modal words appearing after the copula in a copula clause.

(63) Grammar 38.1

\[
\text{ɲaɲ (gi) } \text{dznŋ mo: } \text{ɲoit \{ bje: / tɛhá \}} \\
\text{3SG NOM school PP.at be PF must}
\]

She is or must be already in the school.

(64) Grammar 38.2

\[
gjit \text{ da } kʰu (gi) tʰi: \text{ mo: } \text{dɔ } \{ qɪ / ʔɪŋ \} \\
\text{water one cup NOM that far PP.at exist still may}
\]

A cup of water is still or may be here.

### 3.4.2.9 Copulas in interrogative clauses

Copulas can be used in an interrogative clause. In “yes or no” questions, the question marker Ɂ follows the copulas as in (65). In content questions, interrogative pronouns precede the copula as in (66). Questions are discussed in more detail in section (8.2.2).

(65) Grammar 29.28

\[
nan \text{ gi } \text{dznŋ sa.ia: } \text{ɲoit Ɂ} \\
\text{2SG NOM school teacher be Q}
\]

Are you a teacher?

(66) Grammar 29.10

\[
nan \text{ gi } \text{hány ɲoit} \\
\text{2SG NOM who be}
\]

Who are you?
3.4.3 Word order typology

The typology of the Lacid grammatical categories are illustrated as the following Table 12 with two related languages: Jinghpaw, which is a common language in the Kachin community (that has six language groups) and Burmese, which is the national language of Myanmar or Burma.

Table 12 Word order typology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grammatical Category</th>
<th>Lacid</th>
<th>Jinghpaw</th>
<th>Burmese</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Main clause word order:</td>
<td>SOV</td>
<td>SOV</td>
<td>SOV</td>
<td>36, 38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adposition:</td>
<td>N PP</td>
<td>N PP</td>
<td>N PP</td>
<td>44, 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjective and noun:</td>
<td>N ADJ</td>
<td>N ADJ</td>
<td>N ADJ orADJ N</td>
<td>79, 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numeral and noun:</td>
<td>N NUM</td>
<td>N NUM</td>
<td>N NUM</td>
<td>76, 77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classifier and noun:</td>
<td>N CLF</td>
<td>N CLF</td>
<td>N CLF</td>
<td>76, 77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative clause and noun:</td>
<td>REL N</td>
<td>REL N</td>
<td>REL N</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstrative and noun:</td>
<td>DEM N</td>
<td>DEM N</td>
<td>DEM N</td>
<td>125, 126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree word and adjective:</td>
<td>DEG ADJ</td>
<td>DEG ADJ</td>
<td>DEG ADJ</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative and verb:</td>
<td>NEG V</td>
<td>NEG V</td>
<td>NEG V</td>
<td>140, 141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverb and verb:</td>
<td>ADV V</td>
<td>ADV V</td>
<td>ADV V</td>
<td>86, 179</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The word order of the Lacid language is SOV. The head noun is in the first position in the adposition, adjective and noun, numeral and noun, and classifier and noun categories but in the categories of relative clause and noun, and demonstrative and noun, the head noun comes the final position in the noun phrases. The head verb is also in the final position in the verb phrases. The word order properties are very similar to Burmese and Jinghpaw.

3.5 Summary

This section presented an overview of phonology, morphology and basic grammar of Lacid. In the section of phonology, the consonant, vowel, tone inventories, syllable, and word structure were provided. It also presented some productive affixes, compounds and reduplication in the morphology section. The verbal clause structure, non-verbal (or copula) clause and word order typology were briefly presented in the unit on basic grammar.
Chapter 4
Word classes

4.1 Introduction
This chapter describes word classes in Lacid. Both the major classes: nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs; and the minor classes: pronouns, demonstratives, numerals, classifiers, quantifiers, verbal particles, adpositions, conjunctions and interrogatives are discussed in this chapter.

4.2 Major word classes
Major word classes are typically open classes that can accept the new morphemes easily (Kroeger, 2005, p. 38). Nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs are discussed in this section.

4.2.1 Nouns
Dixon (2010, p. 337) states that a “noun is a word class whose primary function is as head of a noun phrase; many of its members refer to concrete objects.” Shopen defines nouns saying that “the distinction between nouns and verbs is one of the few apparently universal parts-of-speech distinctions” (Shopen, 2007, p.5). In Lacid, nouns can be identified by their ability to occur before the plural marker tɕoem as in (67). If the plural marker tɕoem precedes a noun, it will be ungrammatical as in (68). See Section 5.3. The structure of noun phrases is addressed in chapter five.

(67) Grammar 36.9

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nu} & \quad \text{tɕoem} & \text{mjìt} & \text{du:} \\
\text{cow} & \quad \text{PL} & \text{four} & \text{CLF.animal}
\end{align*}
\]

Four cows.
4.2.1.1 Common Nouns

Common nouns in Lacid can be divided into objects (human and non-human), places and times. Non-human nouns consists of animals, plants and things. Common nouns usually occur with a numeral and classifier in Lacid. The following Table 13 shows some examples of common nouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Objects (Human)</th>
<th>Objects (Things)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>juk.ɡi</td>
<td>jοeːm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzoː ɛaːŋ</td>
<td>dzoː bɔi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saː.aa</td>
<td>ʔoʊk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzuŋ.nu</td>
<td>hjiː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Objects (Animals)</td>
<td>Places</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuː</td>
<td>voː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mjəːŋ</td>
<td>paː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɡjɔ</td>
<td>kʰjoː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaŋ</td>
<td>boem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Objects (Plants)</td>
<td>Times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mjɔ</td>
<td>ʔa.kʰl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la.mun</td>
<td>nap.kjoʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woː</td>
<td>saː.ŋ.nik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coeːm</td>
<td>la.bain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The common nouns nuː ‘cow’ and máŋ ‘gong’ in the example (69) are followed by numerals and classifiers.
They send each male worker [home] with a cow and a gong as payment.

### 4.2.1.2 Proper Nouns

Proper nouns in Lacid usually identify a particular named person, place or thing. Proper nouns are not modified by any related modifiers. The following Table 14 shows some proper nouns of people, places and things.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 14 Proper nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Person</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzúŋ na:m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la.tɕʰit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzǐŋ.pʰɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Place</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mjit.kji.na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la.hi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man.da.le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Thing</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu.ju.ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sam.suŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to.ɕi.ba</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4.2.1.3 Mass Nouns

The words gjit ‘water’, tsʰu: ‘oil’ and mjit.tsʰɔ: ‘sand’, etc. are kinds of mass nouns which are uncountable nouns, but they can be counted with a container used to measure and contain them. Examples (70) and (71) show mass nouns with classifiers of containers.
Grammar 36.2

\[ \text{ɡjit} \ \text{ʔik} \ kʰu \ ju \ lo \ wè \]

\text{water} \ two \ \text{cup} \ \text{take} \ \text{come} \ \text{IMP}

Give (me) two cups of water.

(71) Grammar 36.3

\[ \text{tsʰó} \ da \ tʰɔ:ŋ \ \text{wɔ:} \]

\text{salt} \ one \ \text{pack} \ \text{want}

(I) want a pack of salt.

4.2.1.4 Abstract Nouns

Abstract nouns are the opposite of concrete nouns. They cannot be counted, seen, heard, touched or sensed. Examples are shown in Table 15.

Table 15 Abstract Nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɡjuk</td>
<td>fear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pjɔː</td>
<td>joy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰa.taːti</td>
<td>wisdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pjait</td>
<td>life</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.1.5 Nominalization

Classifiers can be used as nominalizers in Lacid. For instance, if the nominalizer su: ‘agent SG’, baːŋ ‘agent PL’ or dza: ‘thing’ occur after a verb or adjective, the result becomes a noun. Table 16 shows some nominalizers creating nominalizations in Lacid.

Table 16 Nominalization in Lacid

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb or Adj</th>
<th>NMLZ</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dzo: ‘eat’</td>
<td>su:</td>
<td>dzo: su:</td>
<td>eater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maːŋ ‘old’</td>
<td>su:</td>
<td>maːŋ su:</td>
<td>old person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koit ‘do’</td>
<td>baːŋ</td>
<td>koit baːŋ</td>
<td>doers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsʰu: ‘fat’</td>
<td>baːŋ</td>
<td>tsʰu: baːŋ</td>
<td>fat persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsuːŋ ‘sit’</td>
<td>dza:</td>
<td>tsuːŋ dza:</td>
<td>thing to sit (e.g. chair)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lu: ‘play’</td>
<td>dza:</td>
<td>lu: dza:</td>
<td>thing to play (e.g. ball)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daːŋ jén ‘flying’</td>
<td>du:</td>
<td>daːŋ jén du:</td>
<td>one that is flying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tit ‘talk’</td>
<td>dzi</td>
<td>tit dzi</td>
<td>talking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʃáu ‘teach’</td>
<td>kʰjɔː</td>
<td>tʃáu kʰjɔː</td>
<td>teaching</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.2.2 Adjectives

Schacter and Shopen give the following definition of adjectives: “The traditional notional definition of adjectives identifies them as the class of words denoting qualities or attributes” (Schopen, 2007, p.13). It is often difficult to decide if a language has adjectives or just a sub-class of stative verbs. While a complete decision cannot be made here for Lacid, there are a few properties that distinguish adjectives or stative verbs from action verbs. See Section 5.4.

Position as a modifier in NPs: In order to be an NP modifier, action verbs must be part of a relative clause that precedes the head noun. Adjectives or stative verbs do not need to be part of a relative clause and can follow the head noun. See the contrast with ‘new’ and ‘run’ in (72 and 73).

(72) Grammar 32.12

jogm ʔa-sik
house new
A new house.

(73) Grammar 1.12

* nu tάŋ
cow run
A cow run.

Form of the comparative construction: If a comparative construction is formed with an action verb it must use the word jό ‘can’. If an adjective or stative verb is used then jό ‘can’ cannot be used. See the contrast in (74 and 75).

(74) Grammar 43.5

na:ŋ tʰi: juk tʰɔ dse jό tάŋ
3SG that person than more can run
He can run faster than that person.

(75) Grammar 43.6

na:ŋ tʰi: juk tʰɔ dse ɕi:ŋ
3SG that person than more high
He is taller than that person.

4.2.3 Verbs

In Lacid, verbs typically occur at the end of a clause. They are traditionally defined in the following way: “Verb is the name given to the parts-of-speech class in which occur most of the words that express actions, processes, and the like” (Shopen, 2007,
In Lacid verbs (and adjectives) are words to which the TAM markers (\(k^h\), \(u\alpha\), \(n\)it etc.) can directly follow. If a Lacid verb phrase is of the form ____ TAM, then the word in that position must be a verb (or adjective) as in (76). See Section 6.3. More on the structure of verb phrases is in chapter six.

(76) Grammar 2.16

\(sa_{\ldots a} \; dzuj \; k^hjo: \; ji: \; u\alpha\)

teacher school ALL go FUT

The teacher will go to school.

In Lacid verb phrases, the negative particle \(\tilde{\alpha}\)- can only occur before the verb (and before adjectives). Example (77) shows verb negation in Lacid.

(77) House 5

\(jog:m \; jo \; gi \; l\acute{a}n\acute{g} \; gi \; hau: \; g\u0160k \; no: \; \tilde{\alpha}-\; \tilde{\alpha} \; go \; k^hjo:\)

house farm good if LNK that paddy nose NEG move other ALL \(\tilde{\alpha}-\) ga:ŋ lō

NEG separate go

If the land for the house is good, the paddy seeds do not move nor separate [from each other].

The perfective aspect marker bain ‘finish’ precedes the verb kjam ‘build’ in the clause to indicate that the action or event is already completed as in example (78).

(78) Rubber 13.

\(hau: \; d\acute{z}i \; bain \; kjam \; t\acute{o} \; l\acute{a}n\acute{g} \; gi \; da \; dzain \; si \; \tilde{\eta}k \; li:ŋ\)

that thing already build put if LNK one year ACC two time

\(k\ddot{o}o \; n\acute{u}ŋ \; dza: \; bj\ddot{e}n \; kait \; n\acute{i}t \; t\epsilon^\acute{a}\)

about well only clean put into PROG need

After the fence has been built around it, [you] have to clean it very well about two times a year.

In example (78) above, the aspect marker \(n\acute{i}t\) ‘PROG’ and modal particle \(t\epsilon^\acute{a}\) ‘must’ follow the verb. As in example (78) usually only verbs are modified by TAM markers. Another property of verbs is that serial verbs can occur without any connection between them in Lacid. Example (79) shows five monosyllabic verbs that come together with the imperative marker \(u\tilde{\epsilon}\) to give a very precise instruction in an imperative clause.
(79) Grammar 37.1  
\[ \text{ŋo }\text{ i } \text{ɡjit da } k^h_u \text{ je: } \text{ɕoi:n ju } \text{ b } \text{bj:i:t } \text{u}^\text{è} \] 
1SG ACC water one cup go pour take come give SF  
Give me a cup of water.  
Lit: Go and take a cup of water, then come and give it to me.

### 4.2.4 Adverbs

An adverb is a word that occurs before a verb, adjective or another adverb to modify the event denoted. See Section 6.10.

Example (80) shows the adverb \textit{mjap} ‘fast’ occurring before the verb \textit{ji} ‘go’.

(80) Grammar 20.4  
\[ \text{na:ŋ } \text{d₃uŋ } \text{k^jjo: } \text{mjap } \text{ji:} \] 
3SG school ALL fast go  
He went to school fast.

Example (81) uses the intensifier \textit{só:só} which is a reduplicated form that modifies the adjective \textit{jón} ‘beautiful’. In order to increase the degree or intensity of verbs, the intensifier \textit{só:só} can modify other adverbs as in (82). The adverbial \textit{ɕɔʔ} follows the intensifier \textit{só:só} and \textit{mjap} ‘fast’ to modify the verb \textit{táŋ} ‘run’.

(81) Grammar 15.1  
\[ \text{na:ŋ } \text{só:só } \text{jón} \] 
3SG INTS beautiful  
She is very beautiful.

(82) Grammar 15.7  
\[ \text{na:ŋ } \text{só:só } \text{mjap } \text{ɕɔʔ } \text{táŋ} \] 
3SG INTS fast ADVLR run  
He ran very fast.

### 4.3 Minor Word Classes

Kroeger (2005, p. 38) defines minor categories as follows: “Minor categories are typically closed classes; such classes contain only a small, fixed number of words, and new words are added very slowly”. The minor word classes discussed here are pronouns, demonstratives, numerals, classifiers, quantifiers, directional verbs, postpositions, conjunctions and final particles. Each section primarily consists of lists of examples.
4.3.1 Pronouns

Pronouns are words that are substituted for nouns. Personal pronouns, possessive pronouns, interrogative pronouns, and reflexive and reciprocal pronouns are presented.

4.3.1.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns only exist for people in Lacid. Demonstrative words with or without their classifier markers function as the pronouns of animals and objects. Lacid personal pronouns have no gender distinction. There are singular, dual and plural forms of personal pronouns. The first person dual and plural have two forms that are exclusive and inclusive (Yabu, 1988, p. 100). There are two different words for all first, second and third dual pronouns (taŋ is used for the general sense and dzóem is used for close friends) and three different words for all first, second and third plural pronouns (nú is used for general sense, fó is used for the same age group, and mo is borrowed from Zaiwa and used for the general sense). Table 17 shows the personal pronouns in Lacid.

Table 17 Personal pronouns in Lacid

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>ŋo</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dual (EXC)</td>
<td>ŋá.taŋ (generic)</td>
<td>we dual (without you)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ŋá.dzóem (close friend)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dual (INC)</td>
<td>ŋá.taŋ (generic)</td>
<td>we dual (you and I)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ŋá.dzóem (close friend)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>plural (EXC)</td>
<td>ŋá.fó (same group)</td>
<td>we (without you)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ŋa.nú or ŋa.mo (generic)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>plural (INC)</td>
<td>ŋá.fó (same group)</td>
<td>we (with you)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ŋá.nú or ŋá.mo (generic)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>naŋ</td>
<td>you (singular)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dual</td>
<td>né.taŋ (generic)</td>
<td>you (dual)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>né.dzóem (close friend)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>plural</td>
<td>né.fó (same group)</td>
<td>you (plural)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>na.nú or né.mo (generic)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Pronoun</td>
<td>Gloss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td><em>naːŋ</em></td>
<td>he or she</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dual</td>
<td><em>naː.taːŋ</em> (generic)</td>
<td>they (dual)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>naː.dzóem</em> (close friend)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>plural</td>
<td><em>naː.fó</em> (same group)</td>
<td>they (plural)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>naː.nú or naː.mo</em> (generic)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lacid personal pronouns can appear with the same form in the subject, object and oblique positions. In example (83), the second person singular pronoun *naŋ* is in the subject position, the first person dual pronoun *ŋá.dzóem* is in the object position in (84) and the third person singular pronoun *naːŋ* is in the oblique position in (85).

(83) Grammar 34.2

*naŋ* gi  *tʰaːŋ* bait  mó  *waŋ* ɕít  uŋa

2SG NOM next week work enter first FUT

You will start working next week.

(84) Grammar 3.4

*sa.ʁa: ŋá.dzóem* ɕi  bait

Teacher 1DL ACC hit

Teacher hit us.

(85) Grammar 36.8

*jnaːŋ* ɕi  ɕí  bjíːt  uŋɛ

3SG ACC fruit give IMP

Give him the fruit.

### 4.3.1.2 Possessive pronouns

In Lacid, first, second and third person singular have different forms for possessive pronouns. However duals and plurals have the same form for personal and possessive pronouns. The genitive marker *dá* occurs after possessive pronouns. If the pronouns are used with genitive marker *dá*, the meaning of the clauses is clear. However the genitive marker *dá* is optional in Lacid. Table 18 shows the possessive pronouns in Lacid.
Table 18 Possessive pronouns in Lacid

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Possessive Pronouns (dá)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>ηá</td>
<td>my</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dual(EXC)</td>
<td>ηá.ta: (generic)</td>
<td>our dual (without you)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ηá.dzóem (close friend)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dual(INC)</td>
<td>ηá.ta: (generic)</td>
<td>our dual (you and I)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ηá.dzóem (close friend)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>plural(EXC)</td>
<td>ηá.fó (same group)</td>
<td>our (without you)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ηá.nú or ηá.mo (generic)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>plural(INC)</td>
<td>ηá.fó (same group)</td>
<td>our (with you)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ηá.nú or ηá.mo (generic)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>né</td>
<td>your (singular)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dual</td>
<td>né.ta: (generic)</td>
<td>your (dual)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>né.dzóem (close friend)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>plural</td>
<td>né.fó (same group)</td>
<td>your (plural)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>na.nú or na.mo (generic)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>ña:</td>
<td>his or her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dual</td>
<td>ña.ta: (generic)</td>
<td>their (dual)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ña.dzóem (close friend)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>plural</td>
<td>ña.fó (same group)</td>
<td>their (plural)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ña.nú or ña.mo (generic)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example (86) shows the possessed noun phrase jo.tʰúŋ dz: jे: ló dá ?a-κ'jó 'about growing a paddy-field' possessed by the noun phrase ña-nú tuŋ dz: la tɕʰit ba:ŋ 'we Lacid people' subject of the clause with the genitive marker dá.

(86) Rice 1.

{ŋa-nú tuŋ dz: la tɕʰit ba:ŋ } dá { jo.tʰúŋ dz: jे: ló dá
1PL land tribe PN PL POSS paddy-field VBLZ go go REL
?a-  κ'jó } ɕi da tɕit tit kjó nau
NOM about ACC one little talk announce want
[I] want to talk a little about how we Lacid people grow rice in a paddy field.
The possessive pronoun ńá modifies the noun dzo: ‘child’ in (87). The genitive dá is optionally omitted.

(87) Grammar 8.4

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ńá} & \quad \text{dzo:} \\
\text{1SG.POSS} & \quad \text{child}
\end{align*}
\]

My child.

Two possessors ńá ‘1SG.POSS’ and bá (dá) ‘father’s’ can occur recursively as possessive phrases. ńá ‘1SG.POSS’ modifies father and bá (dá) ‘father’s’ modifies the noun mo.do ‘car’ as in (88).

(88) Grammar 8.6

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ńá} & \quad \text{bá} \quad (\text{dá}) \quad \text{mo.do} \quad ?a- \quad \text{sik} \quad \text{ńoít} \\
\text{1SG.POSS} & \quad \text{father} \quad \text{POSS} \quad \text{car} \quad \text{NMLZ} \quad \text{new} \quad \text{be}
\end{align*}
\]

My father's car is new.

### 4.3.1.3 Interrogative pronouns

Content interrogative pronouns are usually used in content question clauses in Lacid. See Section 8.2.2. Table 19 shows the Lacid content interrogative pronouns. Even though some content interrogative pronouns have one form, most have two.

**Table 19 Interrogative pronouns in Lacid**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interrogative pronouns</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tɕʰi or tɕʰ:e:.noem</td>
<td>what</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɕʰi.koit or tɕʰi.mu</td>
<td>why</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰa:.juk or hāj</td>
<td>who</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰa:</td>
<td>which</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰa.mo: or kʰa.jg:</td>
<td>where</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰa.mjø</td>
<td>how much or how many</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰa.ngm or kʰa:.ńú</td>
<td>when</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɕʰ:i.sú or kʰa.sú</td>
<td>how</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰa.mjgŋ</td>
<td>how long</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Content interrogative pronouns commonly precede verb phrases in Lacid, but other orders are possible. Example (89) shows the place of the content interrogative pronoun hàŋ ‘who’ when it occurs ‘in situ.’

(89) Grammar 29.25

dʒʊŋ k’jo: hàŋ jì uŋa
school ALL who go FUT
Who will go to school?

4.3.2 Demonstratives
There are five contrasting categories of demonstratives in Lacid. They are near, mid, far-horizontal, far-upward, and far-downward as in Table 20.

Table 20 Demonstratives in Lacid

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstratives</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>near</td>
<td>hit or he:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>houk or hau:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>far-upward</td>
<td>fu:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>far-horizontal</td>
<td>tʰiː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>far-downward</td>
<td>mɔ: or mɔː:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The demonstrative precedes a noun phrase when modifying it in Lacid (Yabu, 1988, p. 100). The demonstrative hau: modifies the noun tʰiː which closely follows the demonstrative as in example (90). The entity referred to must be visible to the speaker and hearer in order to use hau: ‘that.’


hau: tʰiː jgm lʰ: gi jɔːm ʔi tsuk ʔa- gɔ
that wood cut and LNK house ACC stand post NMLZ PL
(They) cut that wood and build the house.

4.3.3 Numerals
The cardinal numeral system of Lacid is presented in this section. Lacid cardinal numbers have a specific name for each number from one to ten. All numbers are monosyllabic. The name of number ‘ten’ undergoes a change of vowels (the close unrounded front vowel /i/ becomes the close mid unrounded vowel /e/) when followed
by any of the numbers one to nine. For example, the word da.tsʰi: ‘ten’ become da.tsʰe: da ‘eleven’. Lacid does not have a special ordinal number system. The cardinal numbers from one to ten are in Table 21 and from eleven to nineteen in Table 22.

Table 21 Numbers zero to ten in Lacid

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lacid Numerals</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>da</td>
<td>‘one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋk</td>
<td>‘two’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sóem</td>
<td>‘three’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mjiːt</td>
<td>‘four’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>‘five’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰjuk</td>
<td>‘six’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋeːt</td>
<td>‘seven’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cet</td>
<td>‘eight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gauː</td>
<td>‘nine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da.tsʰiː</td>
<td>‘ten’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 22 Numbers eleven to nineteen in Lacid

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lacid Numerals</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Literal Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>da.tsʰeː da</td>
<td>‘eleven’</td>
<td>one ten one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da.tsʰeː ŋk</td>
<td>‘twelve’</td>
<td>one ten two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da.tsʰeː sóem</td>
<td>‘thirteen’</td>
<td>one ten three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da.tsʰeː mjiːt</td>
<td>‘fourteen’</td>
<td>one ten four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da.tsʰeː m</td>
<td>‘fifteen’</td>
<td>one ten five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da.tsʰeː kʰjuk</td>
<td>‘sixteen’</td>
<td>one ten six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da.tsʰeː ŋeːt</td>
<td>‘seventeen’</td>
<td>one ten seven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da.tsʰeː cet</td>
<td>‘eighteen’</td>
<td>one ten eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da.tsʰeː gauː</td>
<td>‘nineteen’</td>
<td>one ten nine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The form of cardinal numbers from ten to ninety is that tsʰi: ‘ten’ follows the numbers one to nine. Higher numbers also use the same system. Table 23 shows Lacid cardinal numbers from twenty to ninety and Table 24 presents higher numbers.
Table 23 Numbers twenty to ninety in Lacid

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lacid Numerals</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Literal Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʔɨk.tsʰi:</td>
<td>‘twenty’</td>
<td>two ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sóem.tsʰi:</td>
<td>‘thirty’</td>
<td>three ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mji:t.tsʰi:</td>
<td>‘forty’</td>
<td>four ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m.tsʰi:</td>
<td>‘fifty’</td>
<td>five ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰjuk.tsʰi:</td>
<td>‘sixty’</td>
<td>six ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɲet.tsʰi:</td>
<td>‘seventy’</td>
<td>seven ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɕet.tsʰi:</td>
<td>‘eighty’</td>
<td>eight ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gau:tsʰi:</td>
<td>‘ninety’</td>
<td>nine ten</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 24 Higher numbers in Lacid

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lacid Numerals</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>da.ɕɔ:</td>
<td>‘one hundred’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da.kʰjɨ́ŋ</td>
<td>‘one thousand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da.moin</td>
<td>‘ten thousand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da.sen</td>
<td>‘one hundred thousand’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Numerals occur after a noun which is modified by numeral and classifier in a noun phrase. Example (91) shows the position of a numeral in a clause. See section 5.5 for more on numbers.

(91) Grammar 6.31

he: dzʊŋ  mɔ: dzʊŋ-nú  m  moin  kʰjuk  kʰjɨ́ŋ  m
this school PP.at student five ten thousand six thousand five

ɕɔ:  kʰjuk  tsʰe:  mji:t  juk  jɪt
hundred six ten four CLF.people be.exist

This school has 56564 students

4.3.4 Quantifiers

Typically, five quantifiers are found in Lacid. Those quantifiers occur after the noun they modify. See also section 5.6. The plural markers mɔ and ɓayŋ can follow the quantifiers to show plurality, but they are optional. Table 25 shows the Lacid quantifiers.
Table 25 Quantifiers in Lacid

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quantifiers in Lacid</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mjó.ɕò</td>
<td>‘many’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da.ŋáin</td>
<td>‘all’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da.tɕi</td>
<td>‘few’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da.jám</td>
<td>‘some’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da.g5.jí</td>
<td>‘half’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The quantifiers da.ŋáin ‘all’ and mjó.ɕò ‘many’ occur after noun phrases as shown in examples (92) and (93).

(92) House 14.

\[
\text{laŋ.tɕaŋ da.ŋáin \ ai \ m \ juk \ lyː \ lyː \ gi \ joː\mathord{\text{m}} \ ai}
\]

worker all ACC five CLF:people invite and LNK house ACC

\[
\text{lám.mó \ sóm \ kʰjap \ mjít \ kʰjap \ houk.sù \ joː\mathord{\text{m}} \ wu}
\]

moon three CLF four CLF like that house carry

[We] invite all five workers and [collect and] carry things for three or four months.

(93) Grammar 13.4

\[
\text{hit \ moː \ dzə.ɕaŋ \ ji \ mjó.ɕò \ jɪt}
\]

this PP at child PL many be.exist

There are many children in here.

Sometimes, quantifiers function as the noun head in a noun phrase. Example (94) shows the quantifier in the position of a head noun. The ablative phrase introduces ‘cows’ but the quantifier da.jám ‘some’ restricts the set of cows and is independently marked with the case marker gi ‘NOM’

(94) Grammar 28.7

\[
\text{hauː \ nu \ dzɔem \ mo \ da.jám \ gi \ Đnː \ dзи \ ŋoːt}
\]

that cow PL ABL some NOM 3SG.POSS thing be

Some of those cows are his.
### 4.3.5 Classifiers

Classifiers occur at the end of the noun phrases in Lacid. Classifier phrases can consist of numerals and classifiers and they modify the noun phrase that appears before them. See also section 5.5 Table 26 indicates some of the sortal classifiers.

#### Table 26 Classifiers in Lacid

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classifiers in Lacid</th>
<th>Example nouns</th>
<th>Common Semantic elements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bjau</td>
<td>bunch of fruit</td>
<td>bunch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɕap</td>
<td>fruit</td>
<td>every kind of fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gam</td>
<td>tree, grass, flower</td>
<td>long, green plant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fu</td>
<td>leaf</td>
<td>thin and flat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰjúŋ</td>
<td>firewood, wood, bamboo</td>
<td>long and big</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kjaːŋ</td>
<td>branch of tree, bamboo, flower</td>
<td>branch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duː</td>
<td>animal</td>
<td>life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dʑít</td>
<td>seed, eye</td>
<td>round and small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>juk</td>
<td>human</td>
<td>human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰait</td>
<td>rope</td>
<td>long and small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰjap</td>
<td>plate, blanket, shirt, trousers</td>
<td>thin and wide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰwːŋ</td>
<td>bag, baggage</td>
<td>container made of cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laŋ</td>
<td>river</td>
<td>big and moving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loeːm</td>
<td>fruit, ball, cup</td>
<td>round</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰú</td>
<td>gun</td>
<td>gun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɕám</td>
<td>sword</td>
<td>long and thin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzóem</td>
<td>shoe</td>
<td>a pair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dʑaː</td>
<td>inanimate things</td>
<td>things</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples (95) and (96) show the position of the classifier in noun phrases. The classifier dʑaː ‘inanimate things’ and tɕap ‘fruit’ in (95) and loeːm ‘machine’ in (96) come together with numbers at the end of a noun phrase.
(95) House 2.

\[
\text{tsaŋ} \text{.} \text{slt} \text{ gi } \text{jo} \text{.} \text{m } \text{jo } \text{co: } \text{dá } \text{ʔa- } \text{kʰjó } \text{mo: } \text{gi } \text{da}
\]

first LNK house farm find REL NMLZ matter PP.at NOM one
dza: gi guk sóem teʰap ʔi je: nøep

thing NOM paddy three CLF.fruit ACC go bury
The first step of finding the land to build a house is to go and bury three paddy seeds in the ground.

(96) Rubber 34.

\[
\text{hau: } \text{dá } \text{pjik } \text{dá } \text{džak } \text{uwe? } \text{ʔik } \text{lo} \text{.} \text{m } \text{teʰá } \text{kʰjó } \text{nøit}
\]

that REL roll REL machine also two CLF need as be
Two rolling machines are also needed.

### 4.3.6 Directional verbs

Directional verbs are a kind of verb that functions by showing the direction of events. They are followed by the head verb. See chapter 6 for more on VP structure. Using motion verbs without directional verbs may result in confusion about the real goal of instructions. Table 27 shows Lacid directional verbs.

#### Table 27 Lacid directional verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Directional Verbs</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Literal Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɹé</td>
<td>come</td>
<td>come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lɔ</td>
<td>come</td>
<td>come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jeː</td>
<td>go</td>
<td>go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waŋ</td>
<td>into</td>
<td>enter or go into</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰu</td>
<td>out</td>
<td>go outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dò</td>
<td>up</td>
<td>come or go up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gjó</td>
<td>down</td>
<td>come or go down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lai</td>
<td>across</td>
<td>pass or through</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In example (97), three verbs (táŋ ‘run’, dɔ ‘up’ and ló ‘go’) come together in the clause. The word táŋ ‘run’ shows the manner of the NP\textsubscript{SUB} ló ‘go’ is the head or main verb and dɔ ‘up’ is the directional verb.
(97) Grammar 2.5

na:ŋ boem kʰjo: táŋ dɔ̞ ló bje:
3SG PL ALL run up go PF
He has run up to the mountain.

Two directional verbs gjó ‘drop down’ and waŋ ‘enter’ are also used simultaneously in the clause as shown in (98).

(98) Grammar 2.6

na:ŋ gjit kʰou:k bjam gjó waŋ ló da:
3SG water in ALL jump down enter go RLS
He jumped down into the water.

The next directional word lai ‘across’ appears before the main verb in a clause as in (99).

(99) Grammar 2.7

snake one CLF.animal road PP.at crawl across go PERF
A snake has crawled across the road.

All directional verbs also can act as the head verbs for expressing their own specific meaning. The word dɔ̞ ‘up’ in example (100) means ‘start’ and gjó ‘down’ in example (101) means ‘finish’.

(100) Grammar 2.8

dzun dɔ̞ bje:
school up PF
The class has been started.

(101) Grammar 2.9

dzun gjó bje:
school down PF
The class has been finished.

4.3.7 Locators

Locators are the particles that occur after noun phrases and before postpositions. Locators are able to follow nouns. Table 28 shows some of the locators in Lacid.
Table 28 Locators in Lacid

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locator</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?a-ɡun</td>
<td>‘the middle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?a-gjoː</td>
<td>‘between’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nam</td>
<td>‘near’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰaːŋ</td>
<td>‘behind or end’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuŋ,tʰàŋ</td>
<td>‘behind back’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaːŋ</td>
<td>‘base’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jam</td>
<td>‘beside’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locator</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɕi?</td>
<td>‘in front of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰɔ</td>
<td>‘over or on’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰúŋ</td>
<td>‘around’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰau</td>
<td>‘in’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?a-kʰau</td>
<td>‘inside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wəː or tʰi</td>
<td>‘under’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzāŋ</td>
<td>‘place’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example (102) shows that the locator kʰúŋ ‘around’ follows the noun diːŋ ‘bund’ and precedes the postposition mɔ ‘ABL.from’.

(102) Rice 21

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
guk & boeːm & jɔ & doem & dzú & lo & láŋ & gi & jo.tʰúŋ & diːŋ \\
\text{paddy} & \text{appear with} & \text{again reach} & \text{come if} & \text{LNK paddy-field bund} & kʰúŋ & mɔ & mán & sí & sè & bjen & sè & caːŋ & \text{around} & \text{ABL weed ACC come clean come clean} \\
\end{array}
\]

When the paddy bunches appear, they raze (with a knife) the weeds [that have grown] around the bunds.

4.3.8 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are words that occur between words, phrases and clauses to connect them. Some conjunctions in Lacid are mentioned in Table 29.

Table 29 Conjunctions in Lacid

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conjunctions</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jɔ?</td>
<td>‘and / with’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?a-ŋoj.tːŋ</td>
<td>‘or’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>houk.louk</td>
<td>‘but’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In (103), the conjunction houk.louk ‘but’ connects two clauses.
4.3.9 Summary
This chapter discussed major and minor word classes in Lacid. Major word classes consist of nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs, and minor word classes include pronouns, demonstratives, numerals, quantifiers, classifiers, directional verbs, locators and conjunctions.
Chapter 5
Noun phrases

5.1 Introduction
Noun phrases can function as subjects, primary or secondary objects, and objects of appositions (Kroeger, 2005, p. 87). A noun phrase is a constituent that can be followed by a nominative case marker or accusative case marker. This chapter presents various types of noun phrases and their modifiers in Lacid.

5.2 Structure and order of constituents
There are “three sorts of noun phrases: (i) simple noun phrases, which contain only pronouns or nouns plus simple modifiers like articles, adjectives, demonstratives, or numerals; (ii) complex noun phrases, which contain more complex sorts of modifiers, like genitive or possessive modifiers and relative clauses; and (iii) various sorts of noun phrases which lack a head noun” (Shopen, 2007, p. 151). A typical noun phrase in Lacid consists of an obligatory head noun and optional modifiers. The modifiers of noun phrases are relative clauses, demonstratives, possessive nouns or pronouns, modified nouns, postpositional phrases, adjective phrases, plural particles, quantifier phrases, numbers, and classifier phrases.

The common structure of a Lacid noun phrase is presented in Table 30. The head noun follows relative clauses, demonstratives, possessive nouns or pronouns, modified nouns, and postpositional phrases. It precedes adjective phrases, plural particles, quantifier phrases, numbers, and classifier phrases.
Table 30 Noun phrase structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modifier</th>
<th>Deictic</th>
<th>Possession</th>
<th>Modifiers</th>
<th>HEAD</th>
<th>Modifiers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RELCL</td>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>NP PRON</td>
<td>N (Modifier)</td>
<td>N PRO</td>
<td>NMLZ DEM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PP</td>
<td>ADJP</td>
<td>PL QUANT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>CLFP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example (104) shows a noun phrase that consists of a head noun wu ‘pig’, which is modified by a relative phrase táŋ lo nît dà ‘that is running back’, demonstrative houk ‘that’, possessive pronoun ŋá ‘1POSS’, and modified noun joŋm ‘house.’ These all precede the head noun. In example (105), the head noun nu: ‘cow’ is modified by no ‘black’, tɔœm ‘Plural’, mji:t ‘four’ and du: ‘CLF.animal,’ all of which follow the head noun.

(104) Grammar 36.11

\[\text{táŋ lo nît dà houk ŋá} \]
run come PROG REL that 1POSS

\[\text{joŋm wu gi la.he: mɔ w̖i d̩iz̗ ŋo̞it} \]
house pig NOM China ABL buy thing be

That my domestic pig that is running back bought from China.

(105) Grammar 36.12

\[\text{ŋá nu: no tɔœm mji:t du:} \]
1POSS cow black PL four CLF.animal

My four black cows.

5.3 Heads

The head noun of a noun phrase can be a noun, pronoun, nominalized predicate, or demonstrative. The head noun can stand alone and function as an agent, patient or oblique. See Section 4.2.1.
5.3.1 Modified nouns
In noun phrases, a noun can modify the head noun of a noun phrase. The head noun *nu:* ‘cow’ is modified by the noun *ɾɨ́ŋ* ‘cart’ in example (106). These nouns might also be analyzed as a compound.

(106) Grammar 36.4

\[
\{ \text{ɾɨ́ŋ nu:} \} \text{ʔik du: gi kʰja:m mo: nit}
\]

cart cow two CLF.animal NOM yard PP.at be.exist
Two cart-cows are in the yard.

5.3.2 Pronouns as heads
Pronouns function as the head noun of noun phrases and they can be modified. Observe that 3PL *ɲaːŋ-nú* ‘they’ is modified by the classifier phrase *sóem juk* ‘three persons’ in example (107).

(107) Grammar 36.5

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ɲaːŋ-nú} & \quad \text{sóem} \quad \text{juk} \\
3\text{PL} & \quad \text{three} \quad \text{CLF.people} \quad \text{NOM} \quad \text{student} \quad \text{PL} \quad \text{be}
\end{align*}
\]

Three of them are students.

5.3.3 Demonstratives as heads
A demonstrative can be a head noun. In (108) the word *hau:* ‘that’ refers to ‘the paddy pile’ which is mentioned earlier in the story.

(108) Rice 28

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hau:} & \quad \text{wu} \quad \text{dzuŋ} \quad \text{tʰaːŋ} \quad \text{ji} \quad \text{gi} \quad \text{mjap} \quad \text{mjap} \quad \text{ʔa-} \quad \text{jí} \quad \text{naːŋ} \quad \text{lάŋ} \quad \text{gi} \\
\text{that} & \quad \text{carry} \quad \text{pile} \quad \text{up} \quad \text{next} \quad \text{ACC} \quad \text{LNK} \quad \text{fast} \quad \text{fast} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{can} \quad \text{step} \quad \text{if} \quad \text{LNK} \\
\text{yard} & \quad \text{build}
\end{align*}
\]

If the [paddy pile] can not be threshed immediately after the [paddy] is carried and piled up, [you] build a fence around it.

5.3.4 Possessed nouns as heads
Possessed nouns function as the head noun of a noun phrase. In example (109) *ɲa joː:m* ‘his house’ stands as the head noun of the noun phrase.
5.4 Adjectives

Adjective modifiers closely follow the head noun of a noun phrase in Lacid. A simple noun phrase with an adjective can be schematized as below.

NP: [N_{\text{HEAD}} ADJ]

Example (110) shows the adjective ɲɪ ‘hot’ modifying the head noun gjit ‘water’. In (110), the adjective follows the head noun and precedes the classifier phrase.

(110) Grammar 24.4.

\[
gjit \ ɲɪ \ da \ kʰu \ ju \ lo \ uège
\]

water hot one cup take come IMP

Bring me a cup of hot water.

5.4.1 Order of adjectives with classifier phrases

Like (110), example (111) indicates that the adjective ʔa-sik ‘new’ occurs after the head noun jo:m ‘house’ and before the classifier phrase sóem loe:m ‘three CLF’. If the adjective moves to a position following the classifier phrase, it becomes an attributive clause ‘three houses are new’.

(111) Grammar 32.6

\[
jo:m \ ʔa- \ sik \ sóem \ loe:m
\]

house NMLZ new three CLF

Three new houses.

5.4.2 Order of adjectives with plural marker

The plural markers ba:ŋ, mɔ and ji are used for humans, while dzoem is used for animals and things in Lacid. An adjective can follow either a head noun or a plural marker but the meanings will be different. When the adjective no ‘black’ immediately follows the head noun nu ‘cow’ and precedes the plural marker dzoem, the adjective phrase modifies the head noun as in the example (112) below.

(112) Grammar 36.6

\[
na: \ jo:m \ gi \ gje \ jɪɲ \ da:
\]

3SG.POSS house NOM very beautiful RLS

His house is very beautiful.
However, if the order of the adjective and the plural marker are changed, it becomes an attributive clause “Those cows are black” as in example (113).

(112) Grammar 14.7  (113) Grammar 14.6

\[\text{hau} \ \text{nu} \ \text{no} \ \text{dzoem}\]
that cow black PL
Those black cows

\[\text{hau} \ \text{nu} \ \text{dzoem} \ \text{no}\]
that cow PL black
Those cows are black.

5.5 Classifier phrases
A classifier phrase follows the head noun in a simple noun phrase. Numbers are optional in a classifier phrase. The schema for a noun phrase with a classifier phrase is as below.

\[\text{NP: } [\text{N}_{\text{HEAD}} \ (\text{NUM}) \ \text{CLFP}]\]

The classifier \textit{gam} ‘CLF.tree’ in (114) directly follows the head noun \textit{nǐ} ‘rubber’ and modifies the head noun.

(114) Rubber 1

\[\text{nǐ} \ \text{gam} \ ʒó \ dzì \ gi\]
rubber \text{CLF.tree} plant NMLZ NOM
Growing rubber...

A numeral alone cannot modify the head noun as a classifier does. It needs a classifier to modify the head noun. In a classifier phrase, numerals usually precede classifiers and in a noun phrase they follow the head noun as in example (115).

(115) Sugarcane 8

\[\text{hau: } \text{tʰaː} \ \text{lgm.mó} \ \text{sóem} \ \text{kʰjap} \ \text{ko: mo: juk mjaːŋ lo} \ \text{dʒaːŋ}\]
that next \text{moon} \ \text{three} \ \text{CLF} \ about \ \text{PP.at} \ \text{grow} \ \text{high} \ \text{come} \ \text{when}\n
\[\text{houk mo: pʰɛn kait}\]
that \text{PP.at} \ \text{nutrient} \ \text{put}
After three months, the plants grow up and then [we] put nutrients on them.

5.6 Quantifier phrases
Examples (116) and (117) show the quantifier phrase located after the head noun and preceding a classifier phrase, though the classifier phrase is an optional element of the quantifier phrase.

(116) House 14.

\{lä:tçaŋ daːŋáin (ai) m juk \} lỳːŋ łyː gi jʊːːm ai
worker all ACC five CLF.people invite and LNK house ACC ɬám.mó sóem kʰjap mjiːt kʰjap houk.sù jʊːːm wu
moon three CLF four CLF like that house carry
[We] invite all five workers and [collect and] carry things for three or four months.

Another use of a quantifier is to modify a verb. In this case the quantifier precedes the noun lỳːŋ ‘time’.

(117) Rubber 35

tsaːŋːcit pŋik dá loeːm moː gi mjóːːsɔ luːŋ pŋik łyː pʃi
first roll REL CLF.machine PP.at NOM many time roll and flat ɔːʔ pŋik
until roll
In the first rolling machine, [the rubber] is rolled many times, until it is flat.

5.7 Relative clauses

A relative clause can modify the head noun of a noun phrase. The relativizer dá links a relative clause and a head noun. The relativizer dá is obligatory and only verb phrases precede it. See Section 8.3.3. The schema for relative clauses is as below.

\[NP: [S \text{dá } NP_{\text{HEAD}}]\]

Example (118) shows a relative clause which is introduced by the relativizer dá and precedes the head noun of the noun phrase.
Then, [you] will select seeds that you want to grow.

5.8 Demonstratives
Demonstratives are usually located before the head noun of a noun phrase but they can appear between the head noun and a classifier phrase to emphasize the quantity of the head noun. The schematic constructions of a demonstrative in a simple noun phrase are below.

NP: [DEM N\textsubscript{HEAD} (CLFP)]

NP: [N\textsubscript{HEAD} DEM CLFP]

When the demonstrative \textit{hau}: ‘that’ precedes the head noun, the classifier phrase is optional as in example (119). Example (120) shows that the classifier phrase is required to follow the demonstrative \textit{hau}: ‘that’ when the it occurs after the head noun.

(119) Grammar 14.8 (120) Grammar 14.9
\begin{align*}
\textit{hau}: & \quad \textit{nu} \ (\textit{sóem} \ \textit{dw}) \\
\textit{that} \ & \quad \text{cow} \ \text{three} \ \text{CLF.animal} \\
\text{Those} \ & \quad \text{(three)} \ \text{cows.}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\textit{nu} & \quad \textit{hau}: \ \textit{sóem} \ \textit{dw}: \\
\text{cow} & \quad \textit{that} \ \text{three} \ \text{CLF.animal} \\
\text{Those} \ & \quad \text{three} \ \text{cows}
\end{align*}

5.9 Possessive noun phrases
Possessive noun phrases, which are themselves a type of noun phrase, precede the possessee head noun in Lacid. The possessive noun phrase consists of a possessor (noun or pronoun) and an optional possessive marker \textit{dá}, which precedes the possessee as schematized below.

\[ \text{NP}_{\text{POSS}}: [\text{NP}_{\text{POSS}} (\textit{dá}) \text{N}]_{\text{NP}} \]

Example (121) shows a possessive noun phrase which consists of \textit{jōem} ‘house’ as the possessee which is possessed by \textit{la.t\textsuperscript{h}t} ‘Lacid.’ The possessive marker \textit{dá} is optional.
(121) House 9

\[ \text{gjɨːŋ} \ \text{ai} \ \text{jú} \ \text{m} \ \text{dzi} \ \text{ue?} \ \text{la.tɛ̂t} \ (\text{dá}) \ \text{jog:m} \ \text{koi}t \ \text{dá} \]

hill ACC look happen NMLZ also PN POSS house VBLZ REL

\[ \text{kʰjoː} \ \text{gi} \ \text{gjɨːŋ} \ \text{gɔŋ} \ \text{mo:} \ ?a- \ \text{ge} \ \text{koi}t \ \text{gjɨːŋ} \ \text{dzóin} \ \text{mo:} \]

matter NOM hill middle PP.at NEG good make hill slope PP.at koit

Regarding the building of the house by looking at the hill, [Lacid] don’t build Lacid’s houses at the hilltop, but on the slope of the hill.

5.10 Coordinate noun phrases

The conjunction joʔ connects words and phrases in Lacid. The structure of coordinate noun phrases is as below.

\[ \text{NP}_{\text{COORDINATE}}: \ [\text{NP} \ \text{joʔ} \ \text{NP}] \]

The conjunction joʔ, which appears between two noun phrases, connects them and forms a coordinate noun phrase as in example (122).

(122) Grammar 23.3

\[ \text{jaːŋ} \ \text{mau.kʰuŋ} \ \text{mo:} \ \text{kji:} \ \text{joʔ} \ \text{lumption} \ \text{ai} \ \text{mjaŋ} \]

3SG sky PP.at star and moon ACC see

He saw the stars and the moon in the sky.

5.11 Summary

This chapter discussed the basic structure of a noun phrase in Lacid. Pronouns, possessive noun phrases, and coordinate noun phrases were also presented. Relative clauses, demonstratives, postpositional phrases, possessive nouns or pronouns, and modified nouns occur before head nouns as modifiers in a noun phrase. Other modifiers such as adjective phrases and classifier phrases follow the head noun in a noun phrase. It is noted that demonstratives can move to modify elements in a noun phrase.
Chapter 6
Verb phrases

6.1 Introduction
This chapter presents elements that occur in verb phrases. In 6.2, verb heads are discussed. This is followed by an examination of tense, aspect, and modality in 6.3. Directional verbs and negation are discussed in sections 6.4 and 6.5 respectively. Transitive verbs are addressed in 6.6, while ditransitive verbs are covered in 6.7. Section 6.8 presents serial verb constructions. Section 6.9 discusses politeness and section 6.10 presents adverbs. Table 31 shows the position of negation, adverbs, TAMs and directional verbs. These occur before the main verb of a verb phrase.

Table 31 Verb phrase position chart (Preverb)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NEG</th>
<th>ADV</th>
<th>Preverb</th>
<th>TAM</th>
<th>V_DIR</th>
<th>Head</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Aspect</td>
<td>Modality</td>
<td>Verb(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?a-</td>
<td><em>mjap</em> ‘fast’</td>
<td><em>lyŋ</em> ‘habitual’</td>
<td><em>jɔ́</em> ‘can’</td>
<td>DIR.verbs</td>
<td>Single verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cəʔ</td>
<td><em>adverbial</em></td>
<td><em>bain</em> ‘finish’</td>
<td><em>se</em> ‘can’</td>
<td></td>
<td>Serial verbs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 32 shows that main verbs can allow directional verbs and TAMs to occur after them.
Table 32 Verb phrase position chart (Postverb)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Head</th>
<th>Verb(s)</th>
<th>V(DIR)</th>
<th>Postverb</th>
<th>TAM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Single verbs</td>
<td>DIR.verbs</td>
<td>jú ‘EXPE’</td>
<td>bje: ‘PF’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Serial verbs</td>
<td>jit ‘PROG’</td>
<td>ɲit ‘Complete’</td>
<td>ʔa.be ‘may’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pjam ‘Complete’</td>
<td>Ø ‘Present’</td>
<td>kʰo ‘Past’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ʊa ‘FUT’</td>
<td>jit ‘PROG’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.2 Verb heads
Verb phrases with head verbs always appear at the end part of a sentence in Lacid. Lacid has both single verbs and serial verbs as heads in a verb phrase. See also section 4.2.3 which discusses verbs.

6.2.1 Simple intransitive verbs
Simple intransitive verbs allow one argument. Example (123) shows the intransitive verb ɲouk ‘cry’ following the noun phrase juk.ɡi.dzo: ‘boy’ in a simple intransitive sentence.

   (123) Grammar 1.6
   juk.ɡi dzo: ɲouk
   man young cry
   The boy cried.

6.3 Tense, aspect and modality (TAM)
TAMs are used with main verbs to express three kinds of information: tense, aspect and modality. Some TAMs precede the main verb and others follow it. In this section, Lacid TAMs are presented.
6.3.1 Tense

Tense marking consists of grammatical elements such as affixes, auxiliaries, or particles which are only used for time reference (Kroeger, 2005, p. 147). Lacid has three basic time frames: past, present and future. The concept of past and present are denoted by aspect markers or time adverbs. The past tense marker \( k^h_3 \) is optional. Future time is expressed by the tense marker \( uq \). Each tense is reviewed below.

6.3.1.1 Present

The present tense is unmarked as in example (124) which illustrates \( d\bar{x}: \) ‘eat’ without any TAM markers, and denoting an action in the present.

(124) Grammar 3.1

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wu} & \quad \text{dzoem (gi)} \\
\text{pig} & \quad \text{NOM} \\
\text{woe}\text{m} & \quad \text{meal} \\
\text{dz}: & \quad \text{eat}
\end{align*}
\]

Pigs eat food.

6.3.1.2 Past

The past is shown by either of the past tense marker \( k^h_3 \) or \( k^h_\circ \), which can also be used as irrealis markers. \( k^h_3 \) can be used without any TAM marker, but \( k^h_\circ \) requires a TAM to follow it. Example (125) shows a sentence which has past tense marker \( k^h_3 \) after the verb \( d\bar{x}: \) ‘eat’. However, the sentence can also be understood as an expression of the past without the past tense marker \( k^h_3 \).

(125) Grammar 3.6

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wu} & \quad \text{woe}\text{m} \\
\text{pig} & \quad \text{meal} \\
\text{dz}: & \quad \text{eat (} k^h_3 \text{)} \\
& \quad \text{PST}
\end{align*}
\]

The pig ate food.

Sometimes, temporal adverbs can be used with or without the past tense marker \( k^h_3 \) to indicate the past as in (126).
Grammar 3.7

wu woe:m ḡa.je.nap ḡa (kʰ3)
pig meal yesterday eat PST
The pig ate food yesterday.

6.3.1.3 Future
The tense marker, or irrealis, ūa occurs after the verb to express the future tense as in example (127).

(127) Rubber 3

houk.lx: gi jog:m.piŋ wɔ: dā ḡa- çi ḡa-
then LNK someone (owner) want REL NMLZ CLF.seed NMLZ
mjau: ɔi ɔx: ju ūa
seed ACC find take FUT
Then, [you] will select seeds that you want to grow.

6.3.2 Aspect
Aspect in Lacid is shown by aspect markers. There are eight aspect markers in Lacid. Table 33 shows a list of these aspect markers.

Table 33 Aspect markers in Lacid

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Categories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bje:</td>
<td>perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jū</td>
<td>look or experiential past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nit</td>
<td>be.exist or progressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lo:ba</td>
<td>inceptive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lũŋ</td>
<td>habitual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çi</td>
<td>durative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bain</td>
<td>finish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pjam</td>
<td>complete</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 34 shows how to combine aspect markers with four different types of states and events: ʒiŋ ‘beautiful’, mjɑŋ ‘tall’, tsuk ‘build.house’ and tʌŋ ‘run’. All aspect markers appear after the main verb except the particles lũŋ ‘habitual’ and bain.
‘already’. Each cell of the table has a rough gloss that indicates what meaning results from combining the verb at the top of the column with the aspect marker for the row.

### Table 34 Lacid aspect particles with different types of states and events

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>States</th>
<th>Events</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jɔ́ŋ</td>
<td>‘beautiful’</td>
<td>tsuk ‘build.house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jú</td>
<td>had been beautiful, not now</td>
<td>had built, not now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jía</td>
<td>being beautiful</td>
<td>is building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bje:</td>
<td>have been beautiful</td>
<td>have built</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lʊŋ</td>
<td>used to be beautiful</td>
<td>used to build</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cɪ</td>
<td>still beautiful</td>
<td>still build</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bain</td>
<td>already beautiful, beautiful now</td>
<td>already built, finished now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pjam</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>complete built</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 6.3.2.1 Perfective aspect bje:

Lacid perfective aspect is expressed by the perfect marker bje: which occurs directly after the main verb. In example (128), the perfect aspect bje: occurs after the main verb lo ‘come’ and modifies the event with a perfective aspect.

(128) Rice 12

\[
\begin{align*}
\textit{houb.i[: } & \textit{gi } \textit{hau: dà } \textit{?a-} \textit{k'ji:ì- } \textit{?a-jó } \textit{a } \textit{gi } \textit{guk } \textit{dzo: } \\
\text{then } & \text{LNK that POSS time ACC LNK paddy young } \\
\textit{lít } & \textit{dzo: } \textit{me } \textit{?a-} \textit{k'ji:ì- } \textit{?a-jó } \textit{dzú } \textit{lo } \textit{bje: } \\
\text{nursery young also time reach come PF } \\
\text{Then, at this point, the nursery plants have grown (lit. reached) enough } & \text{[to be transplanted].}
\end{align*}
\]
6.3.2.2 Experiential aspect jú

In Lacid, the experiential aspect is expressed by the experiential marker jú which means ‘to see’ as a main verb. The experiential aspect marker jú follows the main verb and also implies perfectivity. Example (129) shows the experiential aspect, and implies that he has had the experience of studying in Chiang Mai at least once before the current time. In contrast, example (130) gives the perfective aspect bje: and implies that his event of studying in Chiang Mai has already started in the current time.

(129) Grammar 19.7

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{naj} & \quad \text{te}^\circ \text{en.mai} & \quad \text{mo:} & \quad \text{dzuŋ} & \quad \text{dɔ} & \quad \text{jú} \\
3\text{SG} & \quad \text{Chiang Mai} & \quad \text{PP.at} & \quad \text{school} & \quad \text{attend} & \quad \text{EXPE} \\
\text{He has studied in Chiang Mai. (no claim about where he is now)}
\end{align*} \]

(130) Grammar 19.8

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{naj} & \quad \text{te}^\circ \text{en.mai} & \quad \text{mo:} & \quad \text{dzuŋ} & \quad \text{dɔ} & \quad \text{bje:} \\
3\text{SG} & \quad \text{Chiang Mai} & \quad \text{PP.at} & \quad \text{school} & \quad \text{attend} & \quad \text{PF} \\
\text{He has studied in Chiang Mai. (He is there now)}
\end{align*} \]

6.3.2.3 Progressive aspect njit

In Lacid, njit, which is derived from the existence verb njit, is the progressive aspect marker. The progressive aspect njit occurs after the main verb, which is dɔɔ: ‘eat’ in the example below, and shows the event is going on at the current time. Consider example (131).

(131) Grammar 7.2

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{kʰja:m} & \quad \text{kʰouk} & \quad \text{mo} & \quad \text{nu} & \quad \text{mgin} & \quad \text{dɔɔ:} & \quad \text{njit} \\
\text{yard} & \quad \text{in} & \quad \text{ABL} & \quad \text{cow} & \quad \text{weed} & \quad \text{eat} & \quad \text{PROG} \\
\text{The cow in the yard is eating grass.}
\end{align*} \]

6.3.2.4 Inceptive aspect lo:.uŋa

The inceptive aspect is indicated by the particle lo:.uŋa, which follows the main verb in a verb phrase. Example (132) shows the inceptive aspect marker lo:.uŋa in a clause.
(132) Grammar 1.9

dzo ça:ŋ ʒoŋp  lo:uqa
child sleep INCEP
The child is about to sleep.

6.3.2.5 Habitual aspect lµŋ
Habitual aspect for the past is expressed by the marker lµŋ. The habitual aspect marker lµŋ occurs before the verb as in (133).

(133) Grammar 2.11

naːŋ mouk.sóuk pok  ai  dzo.bóí tʰɔ mo:  lµŋ  ké
3SG book CLF ACC table on PP.at HAB put on
He usually put the book on the table.

6.3.2.6 Durative aspect çí
In Lacid, durative aspect is shown by the particle çí. It can be used for both events and states. Example (134) indicates the durative aspect çí follows the state jɔ́ŋ ‘beautiful’.

(134) Grammar 1.10

naːŋ jɔ́ŋ  çí
3SG beautiful still
She is still beautiful.

6.3.3 Tense-aspect interactions
Tense in Lacid has three basic periods of time: past, present and future. A time that refers to a point earlier than the time of speech is past tense. Reference to a time later than the time of speech is future tense. Present tense is indicated by a reference to a time close to the that of the speech act (Shopen, 2007, p. 304). Aspect shows the internal time of the event (Nagakura, 2006, p. 59). Therefore, aspect markers can be found in all three periods of time and have a systematic meaning.
6.3.3.1 Past + perfect

The perfect aspect and tense markers can be combined. Example (135) has the aspect marker \(bje\): without a past tense marker, which means that the teacher is in the school now. In contrast, example (136) shows the combination of the past tense marker \(k^b\o\) and the perfect aspect marker \(bje\):. The sentence means that the teacher went to the school but has already left.

(135) Grammar 2.1

\[
\text{sa..ja: } \text{dzuŋ } k^jjo: \ ji: \ bje:
\]

teacher school ALL go PF

The teacher has gone to school. (The teacher is in the school now)

(136) Grammar 2.12

\[
\text{sa..ja: } \text{dzuŋ } k^jjo: \ ji: \ k^b\o \ bje:
\]

teacher school ALL go PST PF

The teacher had gone to school. (The teacher has already left the school).

6.3.3.2 Past + experiential

In Lacid, the past tense marker \(k^b\o\) and the experiential aspect \(jú\) can appear together after the main verb. Example (137) shows that the positions of the past tense marker \(k^b\o\) and the experiential aspect \(jú\) can be reversed without affecting the meaning of the sentence.

(137) Grammar 2.13

\[
\text{naŋ } \text{dzuŋ } \text{dò } \{jú \ k^b\o \ / k^b\o \ jú \}
\]

3SG school up EXPE PST PST EXPE

He has gone to school.

The deictic point of (143) is some time in the past. The sentence means that he has had the experience of going to school at least once in the past.

6.3.3.3 Future + perfect

The perfect aspect \(bje\): can occur with the future tense marker \(uqa\) as in example (138). The perfect aspect \(bje\): and the future tense marker \(uqa\) can vary in their sequential order. This sentence indicates that the event will be completed at some point in the future.
(138) Grammar 2.14
\[
\text{ja:ŋ nap jo:ŋt dzuŋ dɔ: } \{ \text{ɯa bje: / bje: ɯa } \}
\]
3SG tomorrow school up FUT PF PF FUT
He will have gone to school tomorrow.

Example (138) expresses that the subject of the event is sure to be going to school tomorrow. The sentence also means that he will have completed going to school tomorrow.

6.3.3.4 Future + experiential
The experiential aspect jú can also be combined with the future tense marker ɯa. The experiential aspect jú occurs after the main verb and before the future tense marker ɯa. These two particles are not allowed to change positions.

(139) Grammar 2.15
\[
\text{ja:ŋ dzuŋ dɔ: jú ɯa}
\]
3SG school attend EXPE FUT
He will have gone to school.

Example (139) means that the subject of the event will have experienced going to school at some time in the future.

6.3.3.5 Progressive + past
In example (140), the past tense marker kʰɔ̀ can occur together with the progressive aspect jıt after the main verb of the verb phrase.

(140) Grammar 3.8
\[
\text{ja:ŋ woe:m dзо: jıt kʰɔ̀}
\]
3SG meal eat PROG PST
He was eating food.

Example (168) shows the ongoing process at the past reference point.

6.3.3.6 Progressive + future
The progressive aspect can also be combined with the future tense in Lacid. Example (141) indicates that the event will be ongoing at some point in the future.
(141) Grammar 3.9

\[ na:ŋ \ wo:e:m \ dzx: \ ji\text{it} \quad w\text{a} \]

3SG meal eat PROG FUT
He will be eating food.

6.3.3.7 Progressive + perfect

The progressive aspect can appear with other aspect markers in a verb phrase. Example (142) illustrates the progressive aspect marker \textit{ji\text{it}} and the perfect marker \textit{bje:} occurring together after the main verb of the verb phrase.

(142) Grammar 3.10

\[ na:ŋ \ wo:e:m \ dzx: \ ji\text{it} \quad bje: \]

3SG meal eat PROG PF
He has been eating food.

6.3.3.8 Progressive + past + perfect

In example (143), the progressive aspect marker \textit{ji\text{it}}, past tense marker \textit{k\text{h}ɔ} and perfect aspect marker \textit{bje:} can appear together after the head verb.

(143) Grammar 3.11

\[ na:ŋ \ wo:e:m \ dzx: \ ji\text{it} \quad k\text{h}ɔ \quad bje: \]

3SG meal eat PROG PST PF
He had been eating food.

Example (149) shows an ongoing action which continued from one past reference point to another past reference point.
6.3.3.9 Progressive + future + perfect

The progressive aspect \(jit\) occurs with the future tense marker \(u\a\) and the perfect aspect \(bje\): as in example (144).

(144) Grammar 3.12

\[
\begin{array}{l}
  \text{\(na: bo\) moe} m \text{\(d\) \(nit\) \(a\) \(bje\):} \\
  \text{3SG meal eat PROG FUT PF}
\end{array}
\]

He will have been eating food.

Example (144) describes an ongoing action which will continue to a future reference point.

6.3.4 Modality

Portner (2009:1) states “modality is the linguistic phenomenon whereby grammar allows one to say things about, or on the basis of, situations which need not be real”. Modality expresses the view of a speaker on the situation. In this section, modality with regard to ability, necessity and possibility is presented.

6.3.4.1 Ability se or j\(\j\)

The verb se ‘can’ is used only for ability. The basic meaning of se ‘can’ is ‘know’ or ‘understand’. Another verb, j\(\j\) ‘able to,’ is related to the verb j\(\j\) meaning ‘get’ or ‘have’. Example (145) shows how either of ability markers se ‘can’ or j\(\j\) ‘able to’ can appear before the main verb \(\eta\)ap ‘read’.

(145) Grammar 22.8

\[
\begin{array}{l}
  \text{\(na: mouk.\)o\(\j\) \(se\) \(\eta\)ap \(da\):} \\
  \text{3SG book able to can read RLS}
\end{array}
\]

He can read a book.

6.3.4.2 Permission j\(\j\) or \(na:eta\)

The verb j\(\j\) ‘able to’ can also be used as the expression of permission. In this case, the meaning of j\(\j\) ‘able to’ is that someone is allowed to do something as in (146).
Example (147) shows permission by using naŋ ‘allow,’ which originally means ‘send’. This verb is used on the occasion that an agent allows a patient (secondary object) to do something.

(147) Grammar 5.2

naŋ na: dzó: ɕi dzung kʰjo: ji: naŋ da:
3SG 3SG.POSS child ACC school ALL go CAUS RLS
He let his child go to school.

6.3.4.3 Obligation tɕʰá

Obligation can be shown by the marker tɕʰá in Lacid. The word tɕʰá is also used for a condition of necessity. Example (148) indicates an unspecified condition which forces the subject (agent) to go to school.

(148) Grammar 22.5

naŋ dzung ji: tɕʰá
3SG school go must
He must go to school.

6.3.4.4 Possibility ṭa.be

Possibility is expressed by the particle ṭa.be which shows that the event done by the agent may possibly be true. The particle ṭa.be occurs after the main verb of a verb phrase. Example (149) shows a sentence of possibility, which is constructed with the particle ṭa.be following the main verb.

(149) Grammar 1.11

naŋ táŋ ṭa.be
3SG run may
He may run.
6.4 Directionals

Directionals in Lacid occur together with the main verb of a verb phrase. ñé or lb ‘come’, jé: ‘go’, waŋ ‘enter’, ò’tu ‘out’, dò ‘up’, gjó ‘down’ and lai ‘across’ are the Lacid directional verbs that usually precede or follow the main verb. Directionals verbs are also used as main verbs in Lacid. The positions of directionals in a verb phrase are schematized as below.

\[
\begin{align*}
VP_{dir}: & [V_{dir} V_{main}] \\
VP_{dir}: & [V_{main} V_{dir}] \\
VP_{dir}: & [V_{manner} V_{dir} V_{main}]
\end{align*}
\]

Table 35 shows the directionals that occur before main verbs in a verb phrase.

**Table 35 Lacid directionals**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Directional</th>
<th>Main Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ñé ‘come’</td>
<td>lb ‘come’</td>
<td>come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lb ‘come’</td>
<td>bait ‘hit’</td>
<td>hit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jé: ‘go’</td>
<td>bjict ‘give’</td>
<td>give</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waŋ ‘enter’</td>
<td>ñé ‘come’</td>
<td>come in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ò’tu ‘out’</td>
<td>lb ‘go’</td>
<td>go out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dò ‘up’</td>
<td>lb ‘go’</td>
<td>go up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gjó ‘down’</td>
<td>lb ‘come’</td>
<td>come down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lai ‘across’</td>
<td>lb ‘go’</td>
<td>go across</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example (150) indicates the use of the verb jé: ‘go’ as a directional with the main verb ño ep ‘bury’. In the example, jé: ‘go’ whose original meaning is ‘to go’ is used in a directional sense ‘move away’.

(150) House 3

\[
\text{hoku.sú  guk  nö:  jó  tsoem  gó  tó  lb:  jé:  ñoep}
\]

like that paddy nose with fix PL put and go bury

The three paddy seeds are buried with their heads touching each other.

Table 36 shows directional verbs that appear after the main verb in a verb phrase.
Table 36 Lacid directionals [V_{MAIN} V_{DIR}]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main Verb</th>
<th>Directional</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>táŋ ‘run’</td>
<td>ié ‘come’</td>
<td>run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koit ‘do’</td>
<td>bó ‘come’</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ső ‘walk’</td>
<td>je: ‘go’</td>
<td>walk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bjam ‘jump’</td>
<td>wañ ‘enter’</td>
<td>jump in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɲau ‘cry’</td>
<td>tʰu ‘out’</td>
<td>cry out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ce: ‘pull’</td>
<td>dò ‘up’</td>
<td>pull up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bjam ‘jump’</td>
<td>gjó ‘down’</td>
<td>jump down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>táŋ ‘run’</td>
<td>lai ‘across’</td>
<td>run across</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example (151) shows bó which usually means ‘to come’, used in a directional sense with another verb meaning ‘bring this event near’.

(151) House 1

la.tcʰit ɣo:m koit lo dá kʰjo:

PN house make come REL about
[This is] about building a Lacid house.

Directional verbs and expressions of manner can come together before the main verb in a verb phrase in Lacid. Table 37 shows directionals that co-occur with a manner verb and a main verb in a phrase.

Table 37 Lacid directionals [V_{MANNER} V_{MAIN} V_{DIR}]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manner</th>
<th>Directional</th>
<th>Main Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mjap ‘quick’</td>
<td>ié ‘come’</td>
<td>ju ‘take’</td>
<td>taking quickly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mjap ‘quick’</td>
<td>bó ‘come’</td>
<td>koit ‘make’</td>
<td>making quickly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bjam ‘jump’</td>
<td>je: ‘go’</td>
<td>jú ‘look’</td>
<td>looking fast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>táŋ ‘run’</td>
<td>wañ ‘enter’</td>
<td>bó ‘come’</td>
<td>coming in by running</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰa:ŋ ‘flee’</td>
<td>tʰu ‘out’</td>
<td>ló ‘go’</td>
<td>go out by fleeing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ső ‘walk’</td>
<td>dò ‘up’</td>
<td>ló ‘go’</td>
<td>go up by walking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daːŋ ‘fly’</td>
<td>gjó ‘down’</td>
<td>ié ‘come’</td>
<td>come down by flying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>táŋ ‘run’</td>
<td>lai ‘across’</td>
<td>ló ‘go’</td>
<td>go across by running</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In (152), táŋ ‘run’ shows the manner of the main verb ló ‘go’ and wañ ‘enter’ is the directional verb in the sentence. táŋ ‘run’ and wañ ‘enter’ can also be used as main verbs in other clauses.
6.5 Negation

The negative prefix ʔa- can attach not only to verbs but also to adjectives, adverbs and TAMs which appear before the main verb in a verb phrase. The negative prefix ʔa- cannot directly attach to TAMs which come after the main verb in a verb phrase. The following schema shows the position of the negative prefix ʔa- in a verb phrase.

\[ S_{NEG}: [ʔa- (ADV) (TAM) (V_{DIR}) V] \]

Example (153) shows how the negative prefix ʔa- attaches directly to the main verb.

(153) House 5

\[ jõ:m \quad j\mathring{o} \quad gi \quad láŋ \quad gi \quad hau: \quad guk \quad n:\mathring{g} \quad ʔa- \quad cú \quad gō \quad kʰjo: \]

house farm good if LNK that paddy nose NEG move other ALL

\[ ʔa- \quad gən: \quad lō \]

NEG separate go

If the land for the house is good, that paddy seeds do not move nor separate [from each other].

Example (154) demonstrates the negative prefix ʔa- attaching to jős ‘can,’ which is a TAM marker. Both the negative prefix and the TAM marker modify the head verb. The negative sense is captured by the English ‘before’.

(154) Rice 17

\[ houk.lɔ: \quad gi \quad hau: \quad dā \quad ʔa- \quad jős \quad tsûŋ \quad ɕıt \quad dā \quad ʔa-jős \quad u.ɡi \quad díŋ \]

then LNK that POSS NEG can plant first REL time if bund

\[ tʰi.jːŋ: \quad tʒ \]

thing made

Before the paddy seedlings are planted, [you] also made bunds (a type of trench).

The negative prefix, adverb, TAM marker, and main verb are found in (155). The negative prefix ʔa- attaches to the adverb in this verb phrase.
6.6 Transitive verbs

Basically, a transitive verb is a verb that requires two arguments including an agent and patient. Example (156) indicates that the verb ɗзван ‘eat’ is a transitive verb, allowing both an agent and patient. It occurs in the final position of a transitive clause.

(156) Grammar 3.1.

wu (gi) woe:m (i) ɗзван
pig NOM food ACC eat
A pig eats food.

However, transitive verbs can omit the agent of a clause. In (157), only the patient ɕi.tʰa:ŋ tʰi ‘cedar wood’ is found in the transitive sentence.

(157) House 25.

boem mouk mo: ŋoiti i gi ɕi.tʰa:ŋ tʰi i mjo: mjo: ɗɑm
mountain village PP.at be if cedar wood ACC many many cut
ʔa- gʒ da:
NMLZ PL RLS
More Cedar wood is taken if the village is on a mountainous area.

6.7 Ditransitive verbs

A ditransitive verb is a verb which requires three arguments, including an agent, a theme and a recipient. In Lacid, the verb ɓji:t ‘give’ is a ditransitive verb which can be used alone as in (158) and combined with other verbs as in (159).

(158) Grammar 4.1

juk gi ɗzo: gi mji ji: ɗzo: i i bai:n da bɔ ɓji:t bje:
man young NOM woman young ACC flower one blossom give PF
The boy has given the girl a flower.
6.8 Serial verb constructions

“A serial verb construction contains two or more verb roots that are neither compounded nor members of separate clauses” (Payne, 2006, p. 288). Serial verb constructions are common in Lacid. The connection markers n̩ gi ‘then’, lɔ: ‘then’ and dzó:.e ‘while’ usually appear after the first to link verbs in a serial verb construction. Sometimes the connection marker lɔ: and gi come together as the connector of serial verbs. The schemas for the structure of serial verb constructions are below. The ‘V*’ operator means a serial verb construction.

\[
V_{\text{SERIAL}}: [V\, n\, gi\, V^*] \\
V_{\text{SERIAL}}: [V\, l\, \varepsilon::\, V^*] \\
V_{\text{SERIAL}}: [V\, l\, \varepsilon::\, g\, V^*] \\
V_{\text{SERIAL}}: [V\, d\z\, e\, V^*]
\]

Serial verb constructions have no limitation on how many verbs are permitted within a single clause. Example (160) has three verbs with the connection marker lɔ: ‘then’.

(160) Rice 15.

tsa:ŋ. cít houk. súʔ ik lì:ŋ lì:ŋ pʰuʔ lɔ: pa: tsúŋ

first like that two time time plough then level plant

Firstly, the field is ploughed two times, leveled then [the seedlings are] planted.

There are various types of serial verb constructions in Lacid, including simultaneous motion, sequential motion, motion with goal, action-effect, action with intended effect, and action with patient motion. All types of serial verb constructions follow the subject noun phrase and object noun phrase if one is present. The following sections present different types of serial verb constructions.
6.8.1.1 Simultaneous motion

When two or more events are happening at the same time or close to the same time, a type of simultaneous motion serial verb construction is used. Examples (161) shows a serial verb construction representing simultaneous motion. The actions of ‘eating’ and ‘reading’ occur at the same time. The connection marker dzóɬ ‘while’ is obligatory.

(161) Grammar 39.1
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{3SG} & \text{fruit} & \text{ACC} & \text{eat} & \text{PROG} & \text{while} & \text{book} & \text{read} & \text{PROG} \\
\end{array}
\]

He is eating a fruit while reading a book.

6.8.1.2 Sequential motion

When two or more events happen one after another, a type of sequential motion serial verb construction is used. In an example of sequential motion serial verb constructions, the motion verb jे: ‘go’ is followed by another motion verb lo ‘return’. The two events in the verb phrase are done by the same subject. In example (162) jे: ‘go’ comes first and then lo ‘return’ occurs without any connection marker between them.

(162) Grammar 39.9
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{3SG} & \text{NOM} & \text{farm} & \text{go} & \text{return} & \text{PF} \\
\end{array}
\]

He has gone to farm and returned from it.

6.8.1.3 Motion with goal

Motion with goal is the another type of serial verb construction. Motion with goal is illustrated with the motion verb jे: ‘go’ and the verb jú ‘look’ that happens at the end of the motion in (163). Both ‘going’ and ‘looking’ share the same subject.
(163) Rice 3
he: jo.tʰúŋ koit ló dá ʔa-kʰjɛj.ʔa-fɔ ai tsaj.ɛ́l lìt
this paddy-field make go REL time ACC first nursery
kʰjɛ̄m ai jɛ: jú
yard ACC go look

When we go work in the paddy-fields, [we] first go and look [to choose land suitable for] the nursery.

6.8.1.4 Motion with reached goal
Motion with reached goal serial verb constructions have an action verb in a clause that denotes it has already accomplished its goal. In this type of serial verb construction, a connection marker has to be omitted. The motion verb táf ‘run’ shows the action of the subject la.kʰóít ‘dog’ and dzú ló ‘arrive’ indicates the reached goal as in (164).

(164) Grammar 39.5
la.kʰóít vo kʰjo: táf dzú ló bje:
dog village ALL run reach go PF
The dog has ran and arrived at the village.

6.8.1.5 Action-effect
The action of a subject to create an effect on the patient is an action-effect type of serial verb construction. In (165), the action of the subject ɲa:ŋ ‘he’ made the patient nu: ‘cow’ to run away. Therefore, the three verbs bait ‘hit’, táf ‘run’ and kait ‘escape’ in this example do not share the same subject.

(165) Grammar 39.6
ɲa:ŋ gi nu: ai bait táf kait
3SG NOM cow ACC hit run escape
He hit the cow to run away.

6.8.1.6 Action with intended effect
In action with intended effect serial verb constructions, at least one agent and one patient are needed. The action of an agent has an effect on the patient of the event.
Example (166) indicates the action verb $dza:n$ ‘cut’ and the result of the action $p^{h}jet$ ‘broken’ occur after noun phrases without connection markers between them. If one of the connection markers (eg. $lɔ$:) were allowed to connect the two verbs, the meaning of the sentence would be ‘My father cut and broke the rope’. The two verbs share the same subject but are different events. The expanded meaning of example (166) is ‘My father cut the rope to be broken’.

(166) Grammar 39.7

$ŋá$ bá tí $dza:n$ *(p^{h}jet)* $bje:$
1SG.POSS father rope ACC cut broken PF
My father has cut the rope.

6.8.1.7 Action with patient motion

Another type of serial verb construction is action with patient motion. In (167), two events $touched$ ‘cook’ and $fоi:n$ ‘sent’ are connected with the optional connection marker $lɔ$: and the optional linking marker $gi$. These two verbs do not share the same subject. The main subject is $ŋá$ mjḭ ‘my mother,’ who cooked the meat, and the object is $ɕó$ ‘meat,’ which is cooked and sent.

(167) Grammar 39.8

$ŋá$ mjḭ $gi$ $ŋá$ $ɕit.ɛ$ $ɕó$ $touched$ *(lɔ:)* *(gi)*
1SG.POSS mother NOM 1SG.POSS for meat ACC cook and LNK
$fоi:n$ kait da:
send release RLS
My mother cooked meat and sent it to me.

6.9 Politeness

Politeness is expressed by adding the particles $lɛ$, $dze.dzu$ and $lɖ$ to a clause in Lacid. Politeness is found in imperative clauses. The particle $lɛ$ is used in a speaker exclusive imperative clause and it appears in sentence-final position. Example (168) shows the speaker asking someone to go to bed early in a polite way.
Another politeness particle is \( l^a \) which is used in a speaker inclusive imperative clause. The particle \( l^a \) also occurs at the end of a sentence. In (169), the speaker asks someone to go to school together with the speaker in a polite way.

(169) Grammar 40.3
\[
dz\&\ ji\:\ ca\&\ l^a
\]
school go IMP.INC POL
Let’s go to school.

The next politeness particle is \( dze.dzu \) which can appear both sentence-initially and sentence-finally. This politeness particle usually occurs with the instrument marker \( jo^? \). Example (170) shows the politeness particle \( dze.dzu \) with the instrument marker \( jo^? \) appearing in the initial position of a sentence.

(170) Grammar 40.2
\[
dze.dzu\ jo^?\ jo:\m\ k'jo:\ l^o\ g^e
\]
please with house ALL go IMP.PL
Please, go back home.

6.10 Adverbs
Adverbs in Lacid can be identified by their ability to precede and modify verbs, adjectives, and other adverbs. The adverbial marker \( c\&? \) used with stative verbs can function as an adverb, occurring before verbs, adjectives or other adverbs. Adverbs are also found in the form of a reduplicated stative verb. See Section 4.2.4. Example (171) shows that the adverb \( gje \) ‘very’ occurs before the adjective \( n\& \) ‘hot’ and modifies it.

(171) Grammar 14.10
\[
he:\ gjit\ gje\ n\&\ da:\n\]
DEM water very hot RLS
This water is very hot.
Example (172) shows the adverbial marker ɕɔʔ following the stative verb gjiː ‘full’ and modifying the verb dzɔː ‘eat’.

(172) Grammar 15.10

heː dzɔː.ɕɔːŋ gi  woːm gjiː  ɕɔʔ  dzɔː:
this child  NOM meal  full  ADVLR  eat
The child eats meal very full.

Example (173) shows the stative verb dzɔ́ ‘slow’ being reduplicated and appearing before the main verb of the clause.

(173) Grammar 15.11

kʰjoː  dzɔ́  dzɔ́  só  wè
road slow  slow  walk  IMP
Walk slowly.

6.11 Summary

This chapter presented various verb phrase constituents including verb heads, negation, ability and permission, directionals, auxiliaries, politeness and adverbs. Verb heads of single verbs and serial verbs were discussed. The negative which comes before the main verb was presented. Ability and permission, which also precede the head verb in a clause, were examined. Directionals, which can occur both before and after the main verb, were also presented. Auxiliaries expressing tense, aspect and modality were found. These all appear after main verbs except the habitual aspect. Finally, politeness which comes either sentence-initially or sentence-finally, and adverbs, which occur before the main verbs in a verb phrase, were discussed.
Chapter 7
Voice and valence changing

7.1 Introduction
This chapter presents passive-like constructions including: affected passives, čáu and kʰa:m passives, and zero agent passives. It also covers reflexives, reciprocals, causatives and applicatives.

7.2 Passive-like constructions
In Lacid, there are some passive-like constructions that have the semantic properties of passives. Semantically passive-like sentences can be constructed by emphasizing the result of an event and by the absence of the agent of the event. This section presents affected passives with bji:t, čáu and kʰa:m passives, and zero agent passive.

7.2.1 Affected passive bji:t
In an affected passive sentence, the patient is the subject of the clause and the patient receives the effect (good or bad) of the action. The verb bji:t ‘give’ creates an affected passive which follows the main action verb of a clause. The accusative case marker ai is required when the clause consists of two noun phrases (agent and patient). ai ‘ACC’ marks the patient of the event. However ai ‘ACC’ can be omitted when the agent of the event disappears. The affected passive construction with bji:t is schematized below.

\[
S_{\text{PASSIVE}}: \text{[NP_PATIENT (ai) (NP_AGENT) V_MAIN bji:t]}
\]

Example (174) shows na:ŋ ‘3SG’ receiving the result of praising by the teacher.

(174) Grammar 41.3

\[
\begin{align*}
a & = 3SG \\
\text{ai} & = \text{ACC} \\
\text{tehŋ} & = \text{praise} \\
bji:t & = \text{give}
\end{align*}
\]

He was praised by the teacher.
Example (175) shows that the patient $p^h_e:n$ da $tɕit$ $tɕit$ ‘a little nutrient’ (without $i$ ‘ACC’) occurring in the subject position and being affected by $sāin$ ‘scatter’.

(175) Sugarcane 4

$houk$ $mo$: $p^h_e:n$ $da$ $tɕit$ $tɕit$ $sāin$ $bjit$
that PP.at nutrient one little little scatter give
Some nutrients are scattered there.

In (175) the absence of a specific agent allows the accusative case marker $i$ to not appear.

### 7.2.2 Passives $ɕáu$ and $kʰa:m$

The verbs $ɕáu$ ‘meet’ and $kʰa:m$ ‘receive’ are used in the another passive construction which does not need to express either agent or $i$ ‘ACC’. In an accidental event, the verb $ɕáu$ ‘meet’ is used and in an anticipatory event, the verb $kʰa:m$ ‘receive’ is used. The schema of this passive construction is as below.

$\text{PASSIVE: } [\text{NP}_{\text{PATIENT}} \text{ V}_{\text{MAIN}} \{ɕáu \text{ or } kʰa:m\}]$

In (176), the patient $hau$: $la.kʰóit$ ‘that dog’ is in the subject position and it is killed.

(176) Grammar 41.1

$hau$: $la.kʰóit$ $sait$ $ɕáu$
that dog kill meet
The dog was killed.
Lit: The dog met killing.

In (177), the active clause $naːŋ$ $bait$ ‘he hit’ is changed to the passive by adding the passive $kʰa:m$ ‘receive’ after the verb $bait$ ‘hit’.

(177) Grammar 41.2

$naːŋ$ $bait$ $kʰa:m$
3SG hit receive
He was hit.
Lit: He received hitting.
7.2.3 Zero agent passives

A zero agent passive construction does not express the agent of the event. A patient with \(i\) ‘ACC’ appears and a verb phrase follows it. The Zero agent passive construction is schematized below.

\[ S_{\text{PASSIVE}}: [\text{NP}_{\text{PATIENT}} \ i \ V_{\text{MAIN}}] \]

In (178) \(ɕo: \ ju\) ‘find take’ means ‘chosen’. No agent is expressed and the subject nominal argument \(dʑɔ̰̀.jo \ mje.\) ɿ \(gōŋ\) ‘plot’ is marked with \(i\) ‘the accusative case’.

(178) Rubber 2

\(ʔa.kʰīt \ jōg:m.sī:\eta \ w₂: \ dá \ \{ \ dʑɔ̰̀.jo \ mje.\) ɿ \(gōŋ \ i \ ɕo: \ ju \)

Now someone (owner) want REL place earth ACC find take \(uŋa\) }

FUT

Now, a place that someone wants will be sought and chosen.

In (179), the noun phrase \(ɕi.tʰa:ŋ \ tʰi\) ‘cedar wood’ with accusative case marker \(i\) is a patient and follows the main verb.

(179) House 2

\(bəem \ m\) .mutex \ mō: \ ɕo̩t \ ɕi.\ i:gi \ \{ \ ɕi.tʰa:ŋ \ tʰi \ ɕi. \ mjo: \ mjo:

mountain village PP.at be if cedar wood ACC many many

\(jám \ ʔa- \ g̮ våt \ da:\ )

cut NMLZ PL RLS

More cedar wood is taken if the village is on a mountainous area.

7.2.4 Conclusion

This section presented passive-like constructions. In \(bji:t\) affected passive construction, the patient occurs in the initial position of a clause with the accusative case marker \(i\). It is optionally followed by the agent. The main verb and affected passive particle \(bji:t\) are placed at the end of an affected passive clause. In \(ɕáu\) and \(kʰa:m\) passive clauses, both the agent and accusative marker \(i\) disappear. The main verb and passive particle \(ɕáu\) ‘meet’ or \(kʰa:m\) ‘receive’ follow the patient. Then, in a zero agent passive clause, the agent is omitted. A patient with accusative marker \(i\) comes first and a verb phrase follows it.
7.3 Reflexives

The third person singular pronoun *ɲaːŋ* is used as a reflexive particle to follow any pronoun to express reflexivity in Lacid. Table 38 shows the reflexive structures. The reflexive *ɲaːŋ* is used not only for humans ‘himself or herself’ but also for the non-human ‘itself’.

**Table 38 Reflexives in Lacid**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lacid Reflexives</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>naːŋ</em> + <em>naːŋ</em></td>
<td>‘2SG’ + ‘RFLX’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ŋo</em> + <em>naːŋ</em></td>
<td>‘1SG’ + ‘RFLX’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>naːŋ</em> + <em>naːŋ</em></td>
<td>‘3SG’ + ‘RFLX’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>naːŋ-nú</em> + <em>naːŋ</em></td>
<td>‘2PL’ + ‘RFLX’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ŋo-nú</em> + <em>naːŋ</em></td>
<td>‘1PL’ + ‘RFLX’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>naːŋ-nú</em> + <em>naːŋ</em></td>
<td>‘3PL’ + ‘RFLX’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kreoger claims that “reflexive pronouns are anaphoric elements with grammatical properties” (Kreoger, 2005, p. 137). In (180) and (181), the reflexive pronouns directly precede a verb phrase and the agents of the reflexive pronouns occur in the initial position of the clause. Reflexives are also used to emphasize that the stated agent did the action without assistance. In (180) and (181) the reflexive is used in this emphatic sense. Thus no change in valence occurs.

(180) Grammar 41.11

*ŋo* he: *mouk.sóuk* **i** *ɲaːŋ* jí *ŋap*

1SG this book ACC RFLX.EMP can read
I can read this letter by myself.

(181) Grammar 41.12

*ɲaːŋ* *.jpaː* **i** *ɲaːŋ* *ŋaːŋ* teʰt ḏɔː:

3SG 3SG.POSS body ACC RFLX.EMP wash RFLX
He washes his body by himself.

7.4 Reciprocals

The reciprocal expression *ɲaːŋ.teʰdąŋ* ‘3SG.friend’ or *ɲaːŋ.teʰdąŋ* *naːŋ* ‘3SG.friend.3SG’ expresses ‘each other’, as illustrated by examples (182) and (183). *ɲaːŋ.teʰdąŋ* *naːŋ* can be used both between people of the same group or of different groups, however
\textit{juaŋ.te\'ug} can only be used between people of the same group. They always occur after the noun phrase arguments.

(182) Grammar 41.13
\[ \text{ŋo-nú } juaŋ.te\'ug \text{ daŋ } tint \text{ gó } nit \]
1PL RECP word talk PL PROG
We are talking to each other.

(183) Grammar 41.14
\[ \text{la.kʰıt } jɔʔ \text{ la.nəŋk } juaŋ.te\'ug,jəŋ } \text{ bít } \text{ gó } nit \]
dog and cat RECP hit PL PROG
A dog and cat are hitting each other

7.5 Causatives
This section presents causatives, which consist of lexical causative verbs or a periphrastic causative verbs with the causative particle \textit{ngəŋ}. Some verbs function as lexical causative verbs. However some verbs do not, so the special causative verb particle \textit{ngəŋ} has to follow a main verb in order to make a periphrastic causative verb. Some lexical causative verbs are shown in Table 39 and some periphrastic causative verbs are shown in Table 40.

Table 39 Lexical causative verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lexical causative verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>coep</td>
<td>make someone sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kąŋ</td>
<td>make them split</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kjuk</td>
<td>make someone afraid (scare)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lʊŋ</td>
<td>make someone put inside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ng</td>
<td>make it black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poep</td>
<td>make decay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tam</td>
<td>make it level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tąŋ</td>
<td>make it fly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tap</td>
<td>make it burn or stick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɔɔ</td>
<td>make someone go up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toem</td>
<td>make it stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsɔɔ</td>
<td>make someone eat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 40 Periphrastic causative verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Periphrastic Causative verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tɕouk + naːŋ</td>
<td>make someone cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tit + naːŋ</td>
<td>make someone talk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saît + naːŋ</td>
<td>make someone kill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɕʰít + naːŋ</td>
<td>make someone wash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dʑiː + naːŋ</td>
<td>make someone work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>láŋ + naːŋ</td>
<td>make someone wait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bjam + naːŋ</td>
<td>make someone jump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋap + naːŋ</td>
<td>make someone read</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In (184), third person singular naːŋ is the agent of the verb dɔ ‘go up (or attend)’ in an active clause. However, in (185) the agent becomes a patient with a new optional agent in a causative sentence that uses the lexical causative verb tɔ ‘be gone up.CAUS.’

(184) Grammar 41.9

naːŋ gi dʑuŋ dɔ
3SG NOM school go.up
He go to school. (He is studying at school)

(185) Grammar 41.10 (b)

naːŋ ɬi (go) dʑuŋ tɔ
3SG ACC 1SG school be gone up. CAUS
I made him go to school.

Example (186) is a simple active clause. However a simple active clause becomes a causative clause by adding the accusative case marker ɬi after the agent and a periphrastic causative verb at the end of the clause in (187).

(186) Grammar 41.10 (c)

ŋo mouksóuk ŋap
1SG book read
I read a book.
Someone made me to read a book.

7.6 Applicatives
An applicative particle connected to the verb increases the syntactic valence of an event by introducing a new primary object (Kroeger, 2005, p. 273). Locative, beneficiary, instrument, ablative, or allative arguments can appear as an oblique. Example (188) shows that bji:t ‘APPL’ is the applicative particle and follows the main verb of a clause. See Section 2.4.1.2.

(188) Grammar 41.6
ηo-nú cít.ié nu ɹi sást bji:t bje:
1PL BEN cow ACC kill APPL PF
A cow has been killed for us.

7.7 Summary
This chapter discussed valence changing. First it discussed the valence change of arguments in passive sentence constructions. In passive-like constructions, usually a patient takes the place of an agent of an event and is affected by the effect of an event. Normally the accusative case marker ɹi occurs after a noun phrase and it marks that noun phrase as a patient. In bji:t affected passive constructions, a noun phrase with ɹi ‘ACC’ is placed in the initial position of a clause with an active focus on it. When ɛdu ‘meet’ and kʰam ‘receive’ are used to construct passives, neither an agent nor ɹi ‘ACC’ are allowed in that construction. Other valence changing comes from reflexive and reciprocal forms. In Lacid, third person singular pronoun naŋ functions as a reflexive particle and can follow any pronoun to show reflexive expressions. Both the agent and the patient refer to the same entity in reflexive constructions. The reciprocal has two different kinds of expressions: naŋ.te³t³j ‘3SG.friend’ or naŋ.te³t³j.naŋ ‘3SG.friend.3SG’. Finally valence was shown to change in causatives and applicatives, when a new argument is added to a clause.
8.1 Introduction
This chapter presents simple and complex sentences in Lacid. The simple sentence section consists of declaratives, interrogatives, and imperatives. Relative clauses, coordinate clauses, and subordinate clauses are presented in the complex sentence section.

8.2 Simple sentence
This section discusses various simple sentence types: declarative sentences in (8.2.1), interrogative sentences in (8.2.2), and imperative sentences in (8.2.3).

8.2.1 Declarative
Shopen defines declarative sentences in the following way: “Declarative sentences are conventionally and typically used to perform representive (descriptive) speech acts such as assertions, reports, acts of complaining and bragging, but also acts of predicting and promising” (Shopen, 2007, p. 284). In Lacid declarative sentences, the active or passive form can be used depending on the focus of a speaker on an agent or patient. Adjuncts usually occur in the initial position in a declarative sentence. In (189), the adjuncts $duŋ$ mo ‘at school’ and nap.jo.nit ‘tomorrow’ are in the initial position of the sentence, and subject NP sa...i: ‘teacher’, oblique $duŋ$-nú ji ‘students’, object woe:m ‘food’ and verb phrase bij:tsó $u$a ‘will give’ follow sequentially. Since the previous chapters primarily described declarative sentences, only an example is give here.

(189) Grammar 42.1

\[
\begin{align*}
    dzuŋ & \text{ mo: } nap.jo.nit \text{ sa...i: } \text{(gi)} \text{ dzuŋ-nú ji } \text{ } \text{i} \text{ woe:m } \text{bij:t} \\
\text{school PP.at} & \text{ tomorrow teacher NOM student PL ACC food give} \\
\text{tsó } & \text{ } \text{$u$a} \\
\text{feed FUT} \\
\text{Teacher will give the students food at school tomorrow.}
\end{align*}
\]
8.2.2 Interrogative

This section discusses different kinds of question types in Lacid. Question types include content questions, ‘Yes-No’ questions, ‘Tag’ questions, and ‘Or-Not’ questions.

8.2.2.1 Content question

Content questions are asked when a speaker wants to know from hearer(s) about something such as the content of a subject, object, verb, predicate, adverb, indirect object, time, place, manner, reason, etc (Givón, 1990, p. 300). In Lacid content questions, the question words can occur somewhere before a verb phrase but not after it and the question word remains in situ. Multiple question words can also appear in one content question sentence. The content question words were presented in section 4.3.1.3. Examples (190-196) show ṭɛʰi ‘what’ in (190), kʰa.mo: ‘where’ in (191), ṭɛʰi.mu ‘why’ in (192), háŋ ‘who’ in (193), kʰa.mjò ‘how much/how many’ in (194), kʰa.nam: ‘when’ in (195), and kʰa.mjŋ ‘how long’ in (196) in content question sentences.

(190) Grammar 29.6

naŋ hit mo: ṭɛʰi koit jnit
2SG here PP.at what make PROG
What are you doing here?

(191) Grammar 29.8

naŋ ʔa.kʰit kʰa.mo: mó dzì: jnit
3SG now where work do PROG
Where is he working now?

(192) Grammar 29.9

naŋ gi naŋ i ṭɛʰi.mu bait
2SG NOM 3SG ACC why hit
Why did you hit him?

(193) Grammar 29.10

naŋ gi háŋ njoit
2SG NOM who be
Who are you?
If the speaker wants to get two or more pieces of information at the same time, he can use multiple content question words in one sentence as in (197).

(197) Grammar 29.29

hit mo: háŋ tèhí koit nit
here PP.at who what make PROG
Who are you and what are you doing here?

8.2.2.2 Tag question

There are two kinds of tag questions: an affirmative sentence with negative tag and a negative sentence with positive tag. In Lacid tag question ?a-ŋo ḭt ɹé is used in an affirmative sentence as in (198) and the tag ŋoit ɬé is used in a negative sentence as in (199). In both constructions, the speaker has no expectation about the truth of the main clause.

(198) Grammar 29.4

naŋ ɲá bá si se ŋa-ŋoi t ɬé
2SG 1SG.POSS father ACC know NEG be Q
You know my father, don't you?
You don't know my father, do you?

8.2.2.3 ‘Yes-No’ question
Kroeger states that “‘Yes-No’ questions are sometimes referred to as ‘closed questions,’ because the set of possible answers is closed, containing just two members (yes and no)” (Kroeger, 2005, p. 203). The question markers ɬé, la or louk are added at the end of the affirmative sentence to construct a ‘Yes-No’ question sentence. In examples (200-202), different ‘Yes-No’ question particles ɬé, la or louk occur in each sentence, however, all these three question markers are interchangeable.

Do you know my father?

Do you eat meal now?

Does he bath and change his cloth?

8.2.2.4 ‘Or-Not’ question
An ‘Or-Not’ question is constructed by combining two parts. The first part is constructed the same as ‘Yes-No’ questions and in the second part, the question marker ɬé, la or louk is repeated with the negative prefix ʔa-. Example (203) shows that the speaker asks someone for a choice by using a ‘Or-Not’ question sentence.
8.2.3 Imperatives

When an addressee is asked by someone to do something, an imperative clause is used. In Lacid, the different imperative markers for plural, singular, speaker inclusive, and negative imperative clauses are found. These imperative markers occur in the final position of a verb phrase.

8.2.3.1 The plural imperative clause marker ɡè

The marker ɡè is used in an imperative clause which commands two or more persons. The plural imperative clause marker ɡè is placed at the end position of a clause as in (204).

(204) Grammar 40.2

dze.dzu jɔ̰̀ jo̰m k'jo: ló ɡè
please with house ALL go IMP.PL
Please, go back home.

8.2.3.2 The singular imperative clause marker ɰè

When a singular addressee is being told to do something, the singular imperative clause marker ɰè can be used as in (205).

(205) Grammar 25.5

naŋ ai ci bji:t ɰè
3SG ACC fruit give IMP.SG
Give him the fruit.

8.2.3.3 The speaker inclusive imperative clause marker ɕaŋ

When an addressee is commanded to do something together with a speaker, the marker ɕaŋ is used and it identifies that sentence as a speaker inclusive imperative clause. In (206), the marker ɕaŋ ‘IMP INC’ follows the verb of a clause.
(206) Grammar 40.4

\[ \text{hau: la.muŋ ci i dzɔ: ɕɑŋ} \]

that mango fruit ACC eat IMP.INC

Let's eat that mango.

### 8.2.3.4 Negative imperatives

Negative imperative markers \( ɢó \) ‘plural addressee’, \( ʟɛ \) ‘singular addressee’, and \( ɕɑŋ \) ‘addressee with the speaker’ are placed at the end position of a clause and a negative prefix \( ʔa- \) is attached to the verb of the clause as in (207).

(207) Grammar 40.5

\[ \text{hau: la.muŋ ci i ʔa- dzɔ: \{ ɢó / ʟɛ / ɕɑŋ \}} \]

that mango fruit ACC NEG eat IMP.PL IMP.SG IMP.INC

Don’t eat that mango.

### 8.3 Complex sentences

Words, phrases, or clauses can be combined to make a larger unit. In this section, coordinate sentences that consists of at least two main clauses in (8.3.1), subordinate sentences that consist of one main clause and one or more subordinating clauses (8.3.2), relative clauses (8.3.3), and comparison clauses (8.3.4) are discussed.

#### 8.3.1 Coordination

Coordinate sentences refer to the combination of two or more non-embedded clauses. Two or more main (or independent) clauses can be combined with different kinds of coordinate conjunctions. Four conjunctions in Lacid are presented in here.

**Addition**

In (208) conjunction \( ʟɔ́ \): ‘and’ conjoins two independent clauses. The subjects and the verbs of these two sentence are different.

(208) Grammar 23.3

\[ \text{la.kʰóit gi tʰaŋ pʰaxŋ lo ʟɔ́: la.ɲouk gi dzúŋ jú ɲit} \]

dog NOM run flee go and cat NOM watch look PROG

The dog fled and the cat was watching.
If the subject of the second clause is the same as the subject of the first clause, it can be omitted. The subject ɲaːŋ ‘3SG’ is omitted in the second clause in example (209).

(209) Grammar 39. 3

ɲaːŋ gi jɔːm kʰou:k kʰjo: kʰóem pʰaŋ ɠ: way ló da:
3SG NOM house in ALL door open and enter go RLS
He opened the door and entered into the house.

If more than two clauses occur in one coordinate sentence, the coordinate conjunction lɔ: ‘and’ occurs before the last clause. The coordinate conjunction lɔ: ‘and’ is omitted between the other clauses as in (210)

(210) House 15

{wo: ju sik ju máŋ ju lɔ: koit } dá ?a- kʰjo:
bamboo take wood take thatch take and make REL NMLZ about
 ai bo mjaŋ bo se
ACC exist see exist know
[I] know that [we] collect bamboo, wood, thatch and build [the house].

Contrast

The two independent clauses can connect with the coordinate conjunction houk.louk ‘but’ to express that the expectation generated by the first clause will be contrasted with the second clause as in example (211).

(211) Grammar 23.4

ɲaːŋ gi ?a- jɔŋ ɲoi t da: houk.louk pa: bi:
3SG NOM NEG beautiful COP RLS but 3SG.POSS elder sister
gi gje jɔŋ da:
NOM very beautiful RLS
She is not beautiful but her elder sister is very beautiful.

If the subject of the second clause is the same as the first clause, the subject of the second clause can be omitted as in (212).
(212) Grammar 23.8

\[
\text{ŋaŋ gi } ?\text{-呈现出 } ?\text{-呈现出 da houk.louk ge dá nit.loe:m}
\]

3SG NOM NEG beautiful COP SF but good REL heart

She is not beautiful but has a good heart.

Reason

In (213), the coordinate conjunction houk.jo.m ‘so’ links two main clauses (causative clause and effect clause), and shows that the second clause is effected by the first clause.

(213) Grammar 23.5

\[
dzwñ.nú ji mouk.sóuk se ?\text{-呈现出 } ?\text{-呈现出 houk.jo.m sa.ŋa:ŋaŋ-nú student PL book know NMLZ PL so teacher 3PL}
\]

\[
.ñi téʰŋŋ bji:t da: \text{ ACC praise give RLS}
\]

The students were intelligent so the teacher praised them.

Alternation

The coordinate conjunction ?a-ŋo̰t.láŋ ‘or’ connects two clauses. In (214), two alternation clauses are connected with ?a-ŋo̰t.láŋ ‘or.’ The subject of the second clause is a pronoun that refers to the subject of the first clause. If the subjects of the clauses are the same, the second subject can be also omitted.

(214) Grammar 23.6

\[
dzwñ.nú ji mouk.sóuk ñŋp ñi t uŋa ?a-ŋo̰t.láŋ na.ŋa:ŋaŋ-nú mouk.sóuk student PL book read PROG FUT or 3PL book
\]

\[
lít ñi t uŋa
\]

write PROG FUT

The students will be reading or they will be writing.

8.3.2 Subordination

Subordinate sentences include one independent clause and one or more subordinate clauses. The independent clause can stand alone, but the subordinate clauses that includes a subordinate conjunction as a part of the subordinate clause cannot.
Subordinate clauses occur before independent clauses in Lacid. In this section, time, reason, contrast, and conditional adverbial clauses are presented.

### 8.3.2.1 Time Adverbial Clauses

Subordinate conjunctions which show time occur in the final position of the subordinate clause. Subordinate conjunctions cannot occur in the initial position of a subordinate clause.

**Adverbial tʰa:ŋ.ɾi ‘next’**

In (215), the subordinate conjunction tʰa:ŋ.ɾi ‘next’ which indicates a sequence of time occurs in the final position of the subordinate clause and the independent clause follows the subordinate clause.

(215) Grammar 42. 9

woe:m  dzɔ:  tʰa:ŋ.ɾi  ηo-nú  kʰjo:  sɔ
meal  eat  next  1PL  road  walk
After we had meal, we were walking.

**Adverbial jɔʔ.da.ɡé ‘as soon as’**

In (216), the subordinate conjunction jɔʔ.da.ɡé ‘as soon as’ shows that the two events happen very close in time. It occurs only in the final position of the subordinate clause and the main clause occurs after it.

(216) Grammar 42. 10

dzʊŋ  gjɔ  jɔʔ.da.ɡé  ηo  jʊm  kʰjo:  lo
school  drop  as  soon  as  1SG  house  ALL  come
As soon as the class was over, I came to home.

**Adverbial ʔu.ɾi ‘when’**

Two or more subordinate clauses with subordinate conjunctions can occur before the independent clause. In (217), the subordinate conjunction ʔu.ɾi ‘when’ occurs in the final position of two subordinate clauses.
(217) Rice 24

\[ \text{jo.tʰúŋ mo: guk jám ?u_.i guk wu ?u_.i ng ng pa} \]

paddy-field PP.at paddy cut when paddy carry when wet wet wet

\[ pa \text{ ?a- bíi uqa kʰjí gjit sait} \]

wet NEG happen FUT as water kill

In the field, the water is cut off, so the paddy doesn’t get wet when [you] cut and carry the paddy plants.

**Adverbial \( ?a- \) \( \text{ɕɿ.i} \) ‘before’**

In (218), the subordinate conjunction \( ?a- \) \( \text{ɕɿ.i} \) ‘before’ shows that the first event happened shortly before the second event. It occurs after the subordinate clause and the negative prefix has to attach to the verb of the subordinate clause. The main clause follows it.

(218) Grammar 23.9

\[ \text{ɲaːŋ woe:m ?a- dzø: ɕɿ.i b ŋʰýt da:} \]

3SG rice NEG eat still hand wash RLS
She wash her hand before she has meal.

**8.3.2.2 Reason adverbial clauses**

The subordinate conjunction \( \text{jo.mø} \) ‘because’ is used in adverbial clauses to indicate “reason”. In examples (219) and (220), the subordinate conjunction \( \text{jo.mø} \) ‘because’ occurs in the final position of the subordinate clauses and shows the reason for the independent clauses which follow the subordinate clauses.

(219) Grammar 11.2

\[ \text{ɡjit cuk \( \text{jo.mø} \) ŋo ján.dzain .} \]

water drink because 1SG healthy
I am healthy because of drinking water.

(220) Grammar 42. 7

\[ \text{ɲaŋ mouk.sóuk ŋap \( \text{jo.mø} \) sáinpói ?xŋ} \]

3SG book read because examination win
He passed the examination because he studied the subjects.
8.3.2.3 Concession adverbial clauses

In (221), the subordinate conjunction *ŋòt louk* ‘although’ occurs in the final position of the subordinate clause and indicates a concession of the independent clause. If this kind of subordinate clause precedes the main clause, the main clause usually describes an unexpected event.

(221) Grammar 42.6

$nąŋ$ <i>dzɔ.ča:ŋ</i> *ŋòt louk*  $ną:  ji̍t  ji  pąj$

3SG child  although  3SG.POSS mother  ACC help

He helped his mother although he was a young child

8.3.2.4 Conditional adverbial clauses

The conditional subordinate conjunction *ląŋ.gi* or *ląŋ* ‘if’ occurs in the end position of the subordinate clause and identifies the condition for the independent clause. In (222), the subordinate conjunction *ląŋ.gi* ‘if’ and in (223), the subordinate conjunction *ląŋ* ‘if’ mark the subordinate clauses.

(222) House 5

$joe:m$  $jo$  $gi$  *ląŋ.gi*  $hau:  guk$  $nò:$  ʔa-  çú  gó  kʰjo:$

house  farm  good  if  that  paddy  nose  NEG  move  other  ALL

ʔa-  $gà:ŋ$  ló

NEG  separate  go

If the land for the house is good, that paddy seeds do not move nor separate [from each other].

(223) Grammar 42.5

$nąŋ$  $gjo:$  *ląŋ*  $ńo$  $ji:$  $uṇa$

3SG  allow  if  1SG  go  FUT

I would go if he allowed to go.

8.3.3 Relative clauses

A relative clause is placed after the noun in almost all VO languages but a relative clause occurs either before or after the noun in OV languages (Shopen, 2007, p. 96-97). In Lacid, a relative clause occurs before the head noun in a noun phrase and functions as a modifier of it. The relativizer *dá* links a relative clause and a head
noun. Examples (224) and (223) show the relationship between relative clauses and head nouns which can be either subjects or objects.

(224) Rubber 32

\[ \text{houp.k}: \ \text{gi} \ \text{na}: \text{j} \ \text{pjé} \ \text{l}: \ \text{gi} \ \text{he}: \ \text{dá} \ \{ \text{pjik} \ \text{pjé} \ \text{dá} \} \ \text{dzak} \]
then LNK step flat and LNK this POSS roll flat REL machine
\[ \text{m}: \ \text{kait} \ \text{l}: \ \text{gi} \ \text{pjik} \]
ABL put.into and LNK roll
After flattening [the rubber manually], it’s put into a machine that rolls and [further] flattens it.

(225) Grammar 31.1

\[ \text{ŋá} \ \text{gjit} \ \text{sí} \ \text{tʃi}: \ \text{ší} \ \text{bji:t} \ \text{dá} \ \text{juk.gi} \ \text{pʰo} \ \text{gi} \]
1SG.POSS water ACC bring come give REL man CLF.man NOM
gje \text{ mjə:ŋ} \ da:
very high RLS
The man who brings my water is very tall.

8.3.4 Comparison clauses

Comparative sentences are usually comprised of adjectives and stative verbs. The comparative construction consists of equative, comparative and superlative forms as in the following subsections.

8.3.4.1 Equative

When expressing two or more entities with the same degree of quality, the equative form can be used. In (226), the marker \text{da.ji.ji} ‘equal’ marks that the two things have the same level of quality. It occurs before the adjective of the clause.

(226) Grammar 43.1

\[ \text{tʰi} \ \text{jog:m} \ \text{jɔʔ} \ \text{ŋá} \ \text{jog:m} \ \text{da.ji.ji} \ \text{gji:} \]
that house and 1SG.POSS house equal big
That house is as big as my house.
8.3.4.2 Comparative

In (227), the two subjects are compared to each other by using the marker $t^\text{ʰ} \text{dze}$ 'more than,' which occurs after two noun phrases and before the verb phrase.

(227) Grammar 43.3

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{la.kʰít} & \text{gi} & \text{wu} & \text{tʰ dze jí táŋ} \\
\text{dog} & \text{NOM} & \text{pig} & \text{than more can run}
\end{array}
\]

Dogs can run more than pigs.

8.3.4.3 Superlative

In a superlative expression, the superlative marker $t^\text{ʰ}\text{ŋ}j$ 'most' occurs after an adjective or stative verb in a clause. The superlative marker $t^\text{ʰ}\text{ŋ}j$ 'most' is used to express the highest degree of comparison in Lacid as in (228).

(228) Grammar 43.4

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{he:} & \text{baŋ} & \text{pʰuŋ} & \text{mo:} & \text{naŋ jíŋ} & \text{tʰŋj noŋt da:} \\
\text{this PL} & \text{group PP.at} & \text{3SG beautiful SUP COP RLS}
\end{array}
\]

She is the most beautiful in this group.

8.4 Summary

This chapter discussed two major areas: simple sentences and complex sentences. The simple sentence section included declarative, interrogative and imperative clauses. A declarative clause states a fact or an argument. Content questions, tag questions, ‘Yes-No’ questions and ‘Or-Not’ questions were discussed in the interrogative section. After that, plural imperatives, singular imperatives, speaker inclusive imperatives and negative imperatives were presented. The complex sentence section consisted of coordination, subordination, relative clauses and comparison clauses. In the coordination part, addition, contrast, reason and alternation were discussed. The subordination section presented temporal, reason, concession and conditional adverbal clauses. Finally, equative, comparative and superlative degree of comparison clauses were discussed.
Chapter 9

Conclusion

9.1 Introduction
This chapter summarizes the previous chapters and presents brief suggestions for further study.

9.2 Summaries of previous chapters
Chapter one showed an overview of the thesis and the background history of Lacid people and their language. It also described the methodology used for this thesis.

Chapter two reviewed the previous works of linguistic research on the Lacid language and other related languages including Zaiwa, Lhaovo and Ngo Chang. It expressed the basic grammatical methods and technical terms used for the research.

Chapter three provided an overview of phonology, morphology and basic grammar of Lacid. The section on phonology included the consonant, vowel and tone inventories. Regarding morphology, it provided a look at affixation, compounding and reduplication. The basic grammar section presented verbal clauses, non-verbal (or copula) clauses and a word order typology.

Chapter four described word classes including major word classes such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and minor word classes such as pronouns, demonstratives, numerals, classifiers, quantifiers, verbal particles, adpositions, conjunctions and interrogatives.

Chapter five presented various types of noun phrases including pronouns, possessive noun phrases, coordinate noun phrases, and their modifiers. Relative clauses, demonstratives, postpositional phrases, possessive nouns or pronouns and modified nouns occur before the head nouns in a noun phrase and modify it. The other modifiers such as adjective phrases and classifier phrases follow the head noun in a noun phrase.
Chapter six provided verbs phrases constituents including verb heads (single verbs and serial verb constructions), negation, ability and permission, directionals, auxiliaries, politeness, and adverbs. Auxiliaries, which are tense, aspect and modality, appear after main verbs except the habitual aspect.

Chapter seven discussed passive-like constructions: affected passives, ɕdu and kʰaːm passives, and zero agent passives. It also covers reflexives, reciprocals, causatives and applicatives. In passive-like constructions, usually a patient takes the place of an agent of an event and is affected by the effect of an event.

Chapter eight described simple sentences including declaratives, interrogatives, and imperatives. It also analyzed complex sentences including relative clauses, coordinate clauses, subordinate clauses, and comparisons.

Value of this research

1. It is a good starting point for deeper analysis.
2. It provides data and analysis for typological studies of Tibeto-Burman languages.
3. It gives Lacid people a record of their language and provides a basis for ongoing orthographic reform.

9.3 Further investigation
This thesis presents only a grammatical sketch. If more opportunity and time were available for further research, it would be great to undertake a deep grammatical study of all areas of grammar. A grammar set and four procedure texts were used for analysis in this paper, however, others texts such as songs, fairy tales, poems, texts from the Bible etc. are not discussed in the thesis. Lacid is verb final language. Imperative markers, ‘Yes-No’ question markers, and some TAM particles occur after the main verb as final particles. Some final particles such as affirmative clause marker nuŋ, exclusive exhortative clause marker ba, volitional clause marker là, domineering clause marker līt etc. are not discussed in this thesis.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Appendix A

ELICITED GRAMMAR SENTENCES

1. Intransitive

1.1 *wu* gi ɕiːt bje:
   pig NOM die PF
   The pig has died.

1.2 *wu* mjìŋ jìt
   pig making sound PROG
   The pig is making sound.

1.3 dzo.ɕaŋ jœp dzo
   child sleep have
   The child is sleeping.

1.4 tì bjet bje:
   rope broke PF
   The rope has broken.

1.5 *naːŋ* tāŋ jìt
   3SG run PROG
   He is running.

1.6 *juk.*gi dzo: ɲouk
   man young cry
   The boy cried.

1.7 *mji.ji:* dzo: jɔŋ
   woman young beautiful
   The girl is beautiful.
1.8 na:ŋ jós
t3SG beautiful
She is beautiful.

1.9 dzo.ca:ŋ joep lo:.uqa
child sleep INCEP
The child is about to sleep.

1.10 na:ŋ jós ɕí
t3SG beautiful still
She is still beautiful.

1.11 na:ŋ tán ʔa.be
3SG run may
He may run.

1.12 nu táníu
cow run
A cow run.

2. Motion

2.1 sa..ia: dzuŋ kʰjo: ji: bje:
teacher school ALL go PF
The teacher has gone to school.

2.2 la.kʰóit joɛ:m kʰjo: tán tó bje:
dog house ALL run put PF
The dog has run to the house.

2.3 na:ŋ mouk.sóuk pok ɕi dzo.bóí tʰo mo: ké
3SG book CLF ACC table on PP.at put on
He put the book on the table.

2.4 la.kʰóit gi dzo.bl: dzán mo tán pʰa:ŋ ló
dog NOM tiger place ABL run flee go
The dog ran from the tiger.
2.5 na:ŋ boem kʰjo: tány dɔ́ ló bje:
   3SG PL ALL run up go PF
   He has run up to the mountain.

2.6 na:ŋ gjit kʰou:k kʰjo: hjam gjó way ló da:
   3SG water in ALL jump drop enter go RLS
   He jumped drop into the water.

2.7 laŋ.mju da du: kʰjo: mo: ju: lai ló kʰa.øre
   snake one CLF.animal road PP.at crawl across go PERF
   A snake has crawled across the road.

2.8 dzuŋ dɔ́ bje:
   school up PF
   The class has been started.

2.9 dzuŋ gjó bje:
   school drop PF
   The class has been finished.

2.10 la.kʰóit jo:n kʰjo: tány way ló bje:
   dog house ALL run enter go PF
   The dog has run into the house.

2.11 na:ŋ mouk.sóuk pok i dzo.bói tʰɔ́ mo: luŋ kɛ́
   3SG book CLF ACC table on PP.at HAB put on
   He used to put the book on the table.

2.12 sa.ʃa: dzuŋ kʰjo: ji: kʰò bje:
   teacher school ALL go PST PF
   The teacher had gone to school (The teacher is not in the school now).

2.13 na:ŋ dzuŋ dɔ́ jú kʰɔ́
   3SG school up EXPE PST
   He has gone to school.
2.14 na:ŋ nap.jo.nút dʑuŋ dɔ uŋa bje:
3SG tomorrow school up FUT PF
He will has gone to school tomorrow.

2.15 na:ŋ dʑuŋ dɔ jú uŋa
3SG school attend EXPE FUT
He will has gone to school.

2.16 sa.ia: dʑuŋ kʰjo: ji: uŋa
teacher school ALL go FUT
The teacher will go to school.

3. Transitive

3.1 wu (gi) woe:m (i) dʑx:
pig NOM food ACC eat
A pig eat food.

3.2 mouk.sóuk (i) na:ŋ (gi) n̥ap
book ACC 3SG NOM read
A book is read by him.

3.3 juk.gi pʰo sá.jo mo: sik.gam i tʰuk liŋ
man CLF forest PP.at tree ACC cut slip
The man cut the tree in the forest.

3.4 sa.ia: n̥á.dzóem i ɬaɪt
teacher 1DL ACC hit
Teacher hit us.

3.5 ɬo la.hi: mȖŋ se t̥ɪt
1SG China language know talk
I can speak Chinese.

3.6 wu woe:m dzo: kʰɔ̰̀
pig meal eat PST
The pig ate food.
3.7 wu wo:m ?a.jé.nap dzɔ: kʰɔ
pig meal yesterday eat PST
The pig ate food yesterday.

3.8 na:ŋ wo:e:m dzɔ: jit kʰɔ
3SG meal eat PROG PST
He was eating food.

3.9 na:ŋ wo:e:m dzɔ: jit uŋa
3SG meal eat PROG FUT
He will be eating food.

3.10 na:ŋ wo:e:m dzɔ: jit bje:
3SG meal eat PROG PF
He has been eating food.

3.11 na:ŋ wo:e:m dzɔ: jit kʰɔ bje:
3SG meal eat PROG PST PF
He had been eating food

3.12 na:ŋ wo:e:m dzɔ: jit uŋa bje:
3SG meal eat PROG FUT PF
He will has been eating food.

4. Ditransitive

4.1 juk.gi dzɔ: gi mji.ji: dzɔ: ɔi bai:n da bɔ bji:t bje:
man young NOM woman young ACC flower one blossom give PF
The boy has given the girl a flower.

4.2 juk.gi dzɔ: gi bai:n da bɔ mji.ji: dzɔ: ɔi bji:t bje:
man young NOM flower one blossom woman young ACC give PF
The boy has given the girl a flower.

4.3 bai:n da bɔ mji.ji: dzɔ: ɔi juk.gi dzɔ: gi bji:t bje:
flower one blossom woman young ACC man young NOM give PF
The boy has given the girl a flower.
4.4 naŋ gi ŋo ɹi gjit da kʰu çoi:n bji:t bje:
   3SG NOM 1SG ACC water one cup pour give PF
He has given me a cup of water.

4.5 naŋ gi gjit da kʰu ŋo ɹi çoi:n bji:t bje:
   3SG NOM water one cup 1SG ACC pour give PF
He has given a cup of water to me.

5. Causative

5.1 naŋ gjɔ̰̀ ɹi woe:m dzo: naŋ da:
   3SG chicken ACC meal eat CAUSA RLS
He let the chicken to eat meal.

5.2 naŋ ŋa: dzo: ɹi dzəŋ kʰjo: jì: naŋ da:
   3SG 3SG.POSS child ACC school ALL go CAUSA RLS
He let his child go to school.

6. Numeral

6.1 da
   one
   1

6.2 ʔiːk
   two
   2

6.3 sōem
   three
   3

6.4 mji:t
   four
   4

6.5 m̩
   five
   5
6.6 k₇juk
   six
   6

6.7 ṇt
   seven
   7

6.8 ṡt
   eight
   8

6.9 gau:
   nine
   9

6.10 da-tsʰi
   ten
   10

6.11 ?a.kem
   zero
   0

6.12 da-tsʰe: da
   ten   one
   11

6.13 da-tsʰe: ?ik
   ten   two
   12

6.14 da-tsʰe: sóem
   ten   three
   13

6.15 da-tsʰe: mji:t
   ten   four
   14
6.16 da-tsʰe: m
  ten  five
  15

6.17 da-tsʰe: kʰjuk
  ten  six
  16

6.18 da-tsʰe: n̂et
  ten  seven
  17

6.19 da-tsʰe: çet
  ten  eight
  18

6.20 da-tsʰe: gau:
  ten  nine
  19

6.21 ṭɨk tsʰi:
  two ten
  20

6.22 ṭɨk tsʰe: da
  two ten  one
  21

6.23 söem tsʰe: da
  three ten  one
  31

6.24 da- ço:
  one hundred
  100
6.25 da-ɕɔ: mji:t tsʰe: ʔik
one hundred four ten two
142

6.26 ʔik kʰjúŋ sóem ɕɔ: ɲɛt tsʰe: gau:
two thousand three hundred seven ten nine
2,379

6.27 m moin kʰjuk kʰjúŋ m ɕɔ: kʰjuk tsʰe: mji:t
five ten thousand six thousand five hundred six ten four
56,564

6.28 da-sen çet moin ʔik kʰjúŋ kʰjuk ɕɔ:
one hundred thousand eight ten thousand two thousand six hundred
da-tsʰe: da
ten one
182,611

6.29 da-tsʰi sen sóem moin ɲɛt kʰjúŋ çet
ten hundred thousand three ten thousand seven thousand eight
cɔ: kʰjuk
hundred six
1,037,806

6.30 m ɕɔ: çet tsʰe: ʔik sen da moin gau:
five hundred eight ten two hundred thousand one ten thousand nine
kʰjúŋ mji:t ɕɔ: sóem tsʰe: sóem
thousand four hundred three ten three
58,219,433

6.31 he: dzuŋ mo: dzuŋ-nú m moin kʰjuk kʰjúŋ m ɕɔ:
this school PP.at student five ten thousand six thousand five hundred
kʰjuk tsʰe: mji:t juk ɲit
six ten four CLF.people be.exist
This school has 56564 students.
7. Adpositions

7.1 dzo.bóe tʰɔ̰̀ mɔ kʰé.tain gjou:k bje:
  table  on  ABL  pencil  break  PF
The pencil on the table is broken.

7.2 kʰja:m kʰouk mɔ nu mæin dzo: jnit
  yard  in  ABL  cow  weed  eat  PROG
The cow in the yard is eating grass.

8. Alienable and inalienable possession

8.1 ná  bɔ njóyk
  1SG.POSS  hand  finger
My finger.

8.2 ná:  bɔ njóyk
  3SG.POSS  hand  finger
His finger.

8.3 hau: juk.gi dzo:  dá  bɔ  njóyk
  that  man  child  POSS  hand  finger
That boy's finger.

8.4 ná  dzo:
  1SG.POSS  child
My child.

8.5 ná:  maŋ  dá  kʰé.tain
  3SG.POSS  older  brother  POSS  pencil
His older brother's pencil.

8.6 ná  bá  dá  mo.do  ṭa-  sik  njoit
  1SG.POSS  father  POSS  car  NMLZ  new  be
My father's car is new.
9. Appositive NP

9.1 ɲa: bjen.te³dáŋ la.boem gi ma.te³lt sa.ra: ñoít
   3SG.Poss friend PN NOM madicine teacher be
   His friend, La Boem is a doctor.

9.2 ñá dzo: nam.nam gi dzun.nú ñoít
   1SG.Poss child PN NOM student be
   My child, Nam Nam is a student.

10. Benefactive

10.1 ñá cit.te na:ŋ cí uít bji:t bje:
   1SG.Poss for 3SG fruit buy give PF
   He has bought fruit for me.

10.2 na:ŋ no-nú cit.te woe:m tëouk bji:t bje:
   3SG 1PL for meal cook give PF
   She has cooked rice for us.

11. Causal

11.1 dzɔ.caːŋ gaŋ.mo na:ŋ sa-ra: jɔ? je: cług gő bje:
   child because of 3SG teacher with go meet PL PF
   He met teacher because of the child.

11.2 gjit euk jo.mo no ján.dzain .
   water drink because 1SG healthy
   I am healthy because of drinking water

12. Classification or group membership

12.1 na:ŋ (gi) dzun sa-ra: ñoít
   3SG NOM school teacher be
   He is a teacher.

12.2 dzun sa-ra: (gi) na:ŋ ñoít
   school teacher NOM 3SG be
   A teacher is him.
12.3 naːŋ (gi) dʑunŋ saːa: ɲoŋt da:
3SG NOM school teacher be RLS
He is a teacher.

12.4 tʰɨː juk (gi) la.hiː ʔa- ɲoŋt
that far CLF.People NOM China NEG be
That man is not Chinese.

12.5 tʰɨː juk la.hi: ɲoŋt
that far CLF.People China be
That man is Chinese

13. Complex adjective

13.1 tʰɨː nu gi heː nu tʰɔ dʑe ɡjiː daː
that cow NOM this cow than more big RLS
That cow is bigger than this cow.

13.2 naːŋ ɡjiː tʰáŋ dá ɡœːm moː ɲit
3SG big SUPER REL house PP.at be.exist
He lives the biggest house.

13.3 ɡje ɲɛ dʑu hit moː dʑɔ
very hot REL cup this PP.at have
The very hot glass is here.

13.4 hit moː dʑo.ɕaːŋ ji mjó.ɕò ɲit
this PP.AT child PL many be.exist
There are many children in here.

13.5 naːŋ ɡœːm gi tʰɨː ɡœːm ʃoʔ du ɡó daː
3SG.POSS house NOM that far house with same PL RLS
His house is as same as that house.
14. Demonstratives

14.1 he: nu
   this cow
   This cow.

14.2 he: nu dzoem
   this cow PL
   These cows.

14.3 hau nu
   that cow
   That cow.

14.4 hau nu dzoem
   that cow PL
   Those cows.

14.5 tʰi mo nu dzoem
   that ABL cow PL
   Cows from that (far).

14.6 hau nu dzoem no
   that cow PL black
   Those cows are black.

14.7 hau nu no dzoem
   that cow black PL
   Those black cows.

14.8 hau nu sóem du:
   that cow three CLF.animal
   Those three cows.

14.9 nu hau sóem du:
   cow that three CLF.animal
   Those three cows.
14.10 he: gjit gje ŋé da:
DEM water very hot RLS
This water is very hot.

15. Description or attributive

15.1 naːŋ só.só jòŋ
3SG INTS beautiful
She is very beautiful.

15.2 he: tuːŋ.kʰó mjìŋ da:
this cucumber ripe RLS
This cucumber is ripe.

15.3 gjit tɕáːm
water cold
Cold water.

15.4 gjit gi tɕáːm da:
water NOM cold RLS
The water is cold.

15.5 tʰiː jɔː:m gji:
that far house big
That house is big.

15.6 tʰiː jɔː:m (gi) gji: da:
that far house NOM big RLS
That house is big.

15.7 naːŋ só.só mjap çɔʔ tán
3SG INTS fast ADVLR run
He run very fast.

15.8 naːŋ mjap mjap tán
3SG fast fast run
He run quickly.
15.9 gjit gi tɕám
water NOM cold
Water is cold.

15.10 he: dzo.ɕaŋ gi woe:m gjii: ɕɔʔ dʑɔ:
this child NOM meal full ADVLR eat
The child eats meal very full.

15.11 kʰjo: dʑɔ dʑɔ sò ɕè
road slow slow walk IMP
Walk slowly.

16. Existential
16.1 tʰi: mo: jœ:m da lo:m dʑɔ
that far PP.at house one CLF have
There is a house over there.

16.2 tʰi: mo: wu da du: jnit
that far PP.at pig one CLF.animal be.exist
There is a pig over there.

16.3 tʰi: mo: gjit da kʰu dʑɔ
that far PP.at water one cup have
There is a cup of water here.

16.4 tʰi: mo: duaŋ da kʰuaŋ dʑɔ
that far PP.at hole one CLF have
There is a hole over there.

16.5 tʰi: mo: wu da du: ?a- jnit
that far PP.at pig one CLF.animal NEG be.exist
There is not a pig over there.

16.6 tʰi: mo: gjit da kʰu ?a- dʑɔ
that far PP.at water one cup NEG have
There is not a cup of water here.
17. Identification

17.1 ŋá  bá  gi  dʑuŋ  sa₁a: ŋjoit
   1SG.POSS father  NOM school  teacher  be
   My father is a teacher.

17.2 naŋ gi  ma.tɕʰit  sa₁a: ŋjoit
   3SG  NOM medicine  teacher  be
   He is a doctor.

17.3 hau:  dʑi  gi  kʰu  ŋjoit
   that  thing  NOM cup  be
   That is a cup.

17.4 naŋ gi  la.tɕʰit  ŋjoit
   3SG  NOM PN  be
   He is Lacid.

18. Instrumental

18.1 naŋ ŋo ᵪi  louk.boem  jo?  dà  da:
   3SG  1SG ACC stone  with  throw  RLS
   He threw me with a stone.

18.2 naŋ mouk.sóuk ᵪi  kʰé.tain  jo?  lít  da:
   3SG book  ACC pencil  with  write  RLS
   He wrote a letter with a pencil.

18.3 naŋ nu: ᵪi  mjiʔoe:m  jo?  bik  da:
   3SG cow  ACC gun  with  shoot  RLS
   He shot the cow with a gun.

19. Locational

19.1 naŋ (gi)  dʑuŋ  mo:  ɲit
   3SG  NOM school  PP.at  be.exist
   He is at school.

19.2 naŋ dʑuŋ  mo:  ŋjoit
   3SG school  PP.at  be
   He is in school.
19.3 *wu jo:m jam mo: ɲoit*
pig house beside PP.at be
The pig is beside the house.

19.4 *naːŋ tcʰeg.mai mo: dzuŋ dɔ*
3SG Chiang Mai PP.at school attend
He study in Chiang Mai.

19.5 *wo mo: dzuŋ da loːm dzɔ*
village PP.at school one CLF be.exist
There is a school in the village.

19.6 *mouk.sóuk dzuŋ mo: dzɔ*
book school PP.at be.exist
A paper is at the school.

19.7 *naːŋ tcʰeg.mai mo: dzuŋ dɔ jú*
3SG Chiang Mai PP.at school attend EXPE
He has studied in Chiang Mai.

19.8 *naːŋ tcʰeg.mai mo: dzuŋ dɔ bje:*
3SG Chiang Mai PP.at school attend PF
He has studied in Chiang Mai.

20. **Manner**

20.1 *naːŋ dzuŋ kʰjo: mjap mjap tány jiː bje:*
3SG school ALL fast fast run go PF
He has run to school very fast.

20.2 *naːŋ woeːm ʔi dzó dzó dzɔː mjap*
3SG meal ACC slowly slowly eat PROG
He is eating meal very slowly.

20.3 *naːŋ mó ʔi ʔa- mjap jó koit ɲoit da:*
3SG work ACC NEG fast can make be RLS
He cannot work quickly.
20.4 naŋ dṣuŋ kʰjo: mjap ji:
3SG school ALL fast go
He went to school fast.

21. Measurement

21.1 he: joeq: m sóem tsʰi: pe: ɕi:ŋ da:
this house three ten inch long RLS
This house is thirty inches long.

21.2 he: kʰé.tain mjict kjap mɔ uː̂ jʊ
this pencil four CLF.money ABL buy take
This pencil was bought for four kyats.

22. Modals

22.1 naŋ ɕi dzo: nau bje: da:
3SG fruit eat want PF RLS
He wanted to eat the fruit.

22.2 naŋ na: māŋ ɕi ɕi dzo: naŋ nau da:
3SG 3SG.POSS older brother ACC fruit eat CAUSA want RLS
He wanted his old brother to eat the fruit.

22.3 naŋ ma.teʰt ɕáŋ dzo: da:
3SG madicine try eat RLS
He tried to eat the madicine.

22.4 naŋ dṣuŋ ji: tɕʰá ʔi:ŋ
2SG school go need should
You should go to school.

22.5 naŋ dṣuŋ ji: tɕʰá
3SG school go must
He must go to school.

22.6 naŋ woe:m dzo: se  da:
3SG meal eat know RLS
He might eat rice.
22.7 na:ŋ dzuŋ ji: wə 
3SG school go FUT
He will go to school.

22.8 na:ŋ mouk.sóuk jó ɲap da: 
3SG book able to read RLS
He is able to read a book.

23. Conjunction

23.1 la.kʰóit jɔ? laŋouk
dog and cat
Dog and cat

23.2 naŋ jɔ? na:ŋ
2SG and 3SG
You and him

23.3 la.kʰóit gi tány pʰa:ŋ ló ɲə: laŋouk gi dzúŋ jú ɲit
dog NOM run flee go and cat NOM watch look PROG
The dog fled and the cat was watching

23.4 na:ŋ gi ʔa- jóŋ ɲoit da: houk.louk na: bi: gi
3SG NOM NEG beautiful COP RLS but 3SG.POSS elder sister NOM
gje jóŋ da:
very beautiful RLS
She is not beautiful but her elder sister is very beautiful.

23.5 dzuŋ.nú ji mouk.sóuk se ʔa- gʃ houk.jo.mɔ sa.ə: na:ŋ-nú ɹi
student PL book know NMLZ PL so teacher 3PL ACC
tʃʰóŋ bjít da:
praise give RLS
The students were intelligent so the teacher praised them
23.6  ᵐm.ⁿa  ji  mouk.sóuk  ṇgp  ᵇit  ᵆa  ᵇa-ŋɔit.láŋ  na:nú  mouk.sóuk
student  PL  book  read  PROG  FUT  or  3PL  book
تجا  تJA  تJA
write  PROG  FUT
The students will be reading or they will be writing.

23.7  na:n  mau.kʰuŋ  mo:  kji:  jɔ  lgm.mó  i  mjaj
3SG  sky  PP.at  star  and  moon  ACC  see
He saw the stars and the moon in the sky.

23.8  na:n  gi  ᵇa- jɔŋ  ŋɔit  da:  houk.louk  ge  dá  ngt.loe:m  bo
3SG  NOM  NEG  beautiful  COP  RLS  but  good  REL  heart  have
She is not beautiful but has a good heart.

23.9  na:n  woe:m  ᵇa- dzo:  cí..i  lɔ  teʰit  da:
3SG  rice  NEG  eat  still  hand  wash  RLS
She wash her hand before she has meal.

24. Numerals

24.1  cí  sóem  teʰap
fruit  three  CLF.fruit
Three fruits.

24.2  hau:  cí  ᵇi  teʰap
that  fruit  two  CLF.fruit
Those two fruits.

24.3  hau:  ᵐm.nú  mjıt  juk
that  student  four  CLF.People
Those four students.

24.4  gjıt  gi  da  kʰu  ju  lo  uŋè
water  hot  one  cup  take  come  IMP
Bring me a cup of hot water.
24.5 ŋá dzo.ça:ŋ ji sóem juk
1SG.POSS child PL three CLF.People
My three children.

24.6 ŋa da- ço: du:
bird one hundred CLF.animal
One hundred birds.

25. Possession

25.1 hau: Dzi ŋá mouk.sóuk pok ŋoit
that thing 1SG.POSS book CLF.book be
That is my book.

25.2 na:-ta:ŋ (gi) dzo.ça:ŋ sóem juk jò
3DL NOM child three CLF.People have
They have three children.

25.3 na:ŋ cí jò
3SG fruit have
He has the fruit.

25.4 na:ŋ dzág mo: ŋá ŋi dzo:
3SG place PP.at 1SG.POSS money have
He has my money.

25.5 na:ŋ ai cí bji:t ujè
3SG ACC fruit give IMP
Give him the fruit.

26. Possessives

26.1 na: nu
3SG.POSS cow
His cow.
26.2 na: bá dá nu
3SG.POSS father POSS cow
My father's cow.

26.3 hau juk.ɡi pʰɔ dá nu ɡjí dzìŋ
that man CLF.man POSS cow thin big
That man's thin old cow.

26.4 * hau juk.ɡi pʰɔ dá ɡjí nu dzìŋ
that man CLF.man POSS thin cow big

26.5 tɕʰeŋ.mai mɔ hau juk.ɡi pʰɔ dá nu ɡjí dzìŋ
Chiang Mai ABL that man CLF.man POSS cow thin big
That man from Chiang Mai's thin cow.

26.6 tɕʰeŋ.mai mɔ hau juk.ɡi pʰɔ dá nu ɡjí dzìŋ sòem
du:
CLF.animal
That man from Chiang Mai's three thin cow.

26.7 * hau juk.ɡi pʰɔ tɕʰeŋ.mai mɔ dá nu ɡjí dzìŋ sòem
du:
CLF.animal

26.8 * tɕʰeŋ.mai mɔ hau juk.ɡi pʰɔ dá nu sòem ɡjí dzìŋ sòem
du:
CLF.animal

26.9 ɲá  bɔ
1SG.POSS hand
My hand.
26.10  na:  lɔ̰̀
3SG.POSS  hand
His hand.

26.11  hau  juk.gi  dɔx:  dá  lɔ̰̀
that  man  young  POSS  hand
That boy's hand.

26.12  ɲá  māŋ
1SG.POSS  older  brother
My older brother.

26.13  na:  māŋ
3SG.POSS  older  brother
His older brother.

that  woman  young  POSS  3SG.POSS  older  brother
That girl's older brother.

26.15  juk.gi  dɔx:  dá  lɔ̰̀  ɲojit
man  young  POSS  hand  be
That is the boy's hand.

27. Quantificational

27.1  dɔw.juŋ.nu  gje  mji:
student  very  many
The student are many.

27.2  gi  da  tɕi  kjúŋ
money  one  few  only
The money is only a few

27.3  nu:  sɛt  dux:  ɲojit
cow  eight  CLF.animal  be
The cow are eight.
28. Quantifiers

28.1 nu mjó.ɕò
cow many
Many cows.

28.2 nu da.jʰám
cow some
Some cows.

28.3 nu da-ŋáin
cow all
All cows.

28.4 nu da du:
cow one CLF.animal
A cow.

28.5 nu kʰáŋ.mó
cow every
Every cow.

28.6 hau: nu dзоem mɔ mjo: pʰi:
that cow PL ABL many portion
Many of those cows.

28.7 hau: nu dзоem mɔ da.jʰám gi ᵃ: dʑi ḥoŋt
that cow PL ABL some NOM 3SG.POSS thing be
Some of those cows are his.

28.8 * da nu du:
one cow CLF.animal

28.9 hau nu gji mjó.ɕò
that cow thin many
Those many thin cows.
28.10* hau gií nu mjó.əò
that thin cow many

29. Question

29.1 naŋ se əé
2SG know Q
Do you know?

29.2 naŋ ɲá bá ɬi se əé
2SG 1SG.POSS father ACC know Q
Do you know my father?

29.3 naŋ ɲá bá ɬi ?a- se əé
2SG 1SG.POSS father ACC NEG know Q
Don't you know my father?

29.4 naŋ ɲá bá ɬi se ?a- ɲoít əé
2SG 1SG.POSS father ACC know NEG be Q
You know my father, don't you?

29.5 naŋ ɲá bá ɬi ?a- se ɲoít əé
2SG 1SG.POSS father ACC NEG know be Q
You don't know my father, do you?

29.6 naŋ hit mo: tɕʰi koit ɻit
2SG here PP.at what make PROG
What are you doing here?

29.7 naŋ tʰi mo: tɕʰ:e:noem ɬe: koit
2SG that PP.at what go make
What are you doing there?

29.8 naŋ ɲa.kʰút kʰa.mo: or kʰa.ɡó: mó ɗzi: ɻit
3SG now where where work do PROG
Where is he working now?
29.9 naŋ gi naŋ ɕi teʰi.koit or teʰi.mu bait
   2SG NOM 3SG ACC why why hit
   Why did you hit him?

29.10 naŋ gi háŋ ɲoît
   2SG NOM who be
   Who are you?

29.11 tʰɨ: ɗzi kʰa:yut joɛːm ɲoît
   that far thing who house be
   Whose house is there?

29.12 naːŋ dzo.caːŋ kʰa.mjó juk jó
   3SG child how much or how many CLF.People have
   How many children does he have?

29.13 naŋ ɗsun kʰjo: kʰa.na:m or kʰa.jó or kʰa.wú ji: ɰa
   2SG school ALL when when when go FUT
   When will you go to school?

29.14 naŋ houk.mo: kʰa.mjáŋ ɲit kʰɔ́
   2SG there how long be.exist PST
   How long have you been there?

29.15 hau ɗzi tɛʰe.noem
   that thing what
   What is that?

29.16 tɛʰe.noem koit ɲit
   what make PROG
   What are you doing?

29.17 ɬé joɛːm kʰa.mo
   2SG.POSS house where
   Where is your house?
29.18 *naŋ kʰa.mo nît*
2SG where live
Where are you live?

29.19 *dzŋ kʰjo: kʰa.na:m ji uŋ*
school ALL when go FUT
When will you go to school?

29.20 *naŋ hâŋ ɲoît*
2SG who be
Who are you?

29.21 *wa.sí ji? naŋ ɕi hâŋ bâit*
stick with 2SG ACC who hit
Who hit you with stick?

29.22 *mouk.sóuk pok cît.ɕe naŋ ɕi kʰa.mjò bji:t*
book CLF for 2SG money how much or how many give
How much money did you give for the book?

29.23 *naŋ mouk.sóuk kʰa.mjûŋ ɲap uŋ*
2SG book how long read FUT
How long will you study?

29.24 *naŋ ɕi mouk.sóuk bji:t su hâŋ*
2SG ACC book give person who
Who give you a letter?

29.25 *dzŋ kʰjo: hâŋ ji uŋ*
school ALL who go FUT
Who will go to school?

29.26 *naŋ tcʰe.yo.mɔ ɲau*
2SG why cry
Why do you cry?
29.27 naŋ dʐuŋ kʰjo: kʰa.sú ji uŋa
   2SG school ALL how go FUT
   How will you go to school?

29.28 naŋ gi dʐuŋ sa.: dʑuŋ louk ?a- louk
   2SG NOM school teacher be Q NEG be Q
   Are you a school teacher or not?

29.29 hit mo: hᵃŋ tʃʰi koit nit
   here PP.at who what make PROG
   Who are you and what are you doing here?

29.30 ?a.kʰút naŋ wo:m dzo: bje: la
   now 2SG meal eat PF Q
   Do you eat meal now?

29.31 naŋ gəŋ tʃʰít lː: bji.mi tʰit bje: louk
   3SG body wash and cloth change PF Q
   Does he bath and change his cloth?

30. Referential

30.1 naŋ he: mouk.sóuk pok mo: wu kʰjo: ī lít tʃ da:
   3SG this book CLF PP.at pig about ACC write put RLS
   He wrote about pig in this book.

30.2 naŋ naŋ tʃʰi koit tʃʰá kʰjo: ī tit uŋa
   3SG 2SG what make must about ACC talk FUT
   He will talk about what you must do.

30.3 sa.: dʐuŋ kʰjo: ī tit uŋa
   teacher school ALL ACC talk FUT
   The teacher will talk about school.
31. Relativization

31.1 ŋá git tɕi: á bji:t dá juk gi pʰo gi gje mjaŋ

1SG.POSS water ACC bring come give REL man CLF NOM very high
da:
RLS
The man who brings my water is very tall.

31.2 ŋá jø:m tɕi søem bji:t dá mji:jí mji gi dzo caŋ

1SG.POSS house ACC sweep give REL woman female NOM child
søem juk jǝ
three CLF.People have
The woman who cleans my house has three children.

31.3 ŋá git tɕi: á bji:t dá juk gi pʰo søem

1SG.POSS water ACC bring come give POSS man CLF three
juk gi ḋaŋ.naŋ ḋaŋ tɔi:n gó nɨt
CLF.People NOM RECP 3SG fight PL PROG
The three men who bring my water are fighting each other.

31.4 hau juk gi nú n gi bait dá la.kaŋ gi tán pʰaŋ lɔ da:
that man young INST hit REL dog NOM run flee go RLS
The dog that was hit by that boy ran away.

31.5 ?a.kaŋ?t woem dʒɑŋ nɨt baŋ mɔ da-j ám tɕi ?a.jé nap ɣo mjaŋ bje:
now meal eat PROG PL ABL some ACC yesterday 1SG see PF
Yesterday, I saw some of them who are eating now.

31.6 woem dʒɑŋ nɨt dá hau juk gi pʰo søem juk to jap tɕá
meal eat PROG REL that man CLF three CLF.People up stand must
Those three men who are eating must stand up.

31.7 jap dzo dá dzuŋ nú søem juk jǝ lɔ bje:
stand have REL student three CLF.People can go PF
Three students who are standing up can go.
32. Simple adjective

32.1 *nu gjí

cow thin
A thin cow.

32.2 hau *nu gjí

that cow thin
That thin cow.

32.3 *hau bji: pʰju: ?a- sik

that shirt white NMLZ new
That new white shirt.

32.4 hau ?a- sik pʰju: bji:

that NMLZ new white shirt

32.5 juk. gi dzo: sóem juk

man young three CLF.People
Three young boys.

32.6 jõːm ?a- sik sóem loeːm

house NMLZ new three CLF
Three new houses.

32.7 *niŋ dá jõːm sóem ?a- sik loeːm

good POSS house three NMLZ new CLF

32.8 *nê dá moit dzo: sóem tɕʰám

hot POSS spoon small three CLF
My three small spoons.

32.9 *nê dá moit dzo: tɕʰám

hot POSS spoon eat CLF
32.10  hau:  joem  ?a-  ui:ŋ  
that  house  NEG  good  
That house is not good.

32.11  hau:  joem  gi  ?a-  ui:ŋ  noit  da:  
that  house  NOM  NEG  good  be  RLS  
That house is not good.

32.12  joem  ?a-sik  
house  new  
A new house.

33. Temporal

33.1  nap.jo,ŋit  puri  noit  
tomorrow  party  be  
The party is tomorrow.

33.2  ?a.kʰa.nap  nap.tsʰi  dzo:  bje:  
this  morning  breakfast  eat  PF  
The breakfast was eaten in this morning.

33.3  dzain  sik  ?a.jé.nap  noit  bje:  
year  new  yesterday  be  PF  
New year day was yesterday.

33.4  dzoep.pʰuŋ  ?a.kʰít  noit  uqa  
meeting  now  be  FUT  
The meeting will be now.

34. Time

34.1  naŋ  nap.jo,ŋit  dzu  lo  uqa  
3SG  tomorrow  reach  come  FUT  
He will arrive tomorrow.

34.2  naŋ  tʰaxŋ  bai̊t  mó  waiŋ  cít  uqa  
2SG  next  week  work  enter  first  FUT  
You will start working next week.
35. Reduplication

35.1 ŋo naŋ-ńú i nu da du: bji:t ʉa
1SG 3PL ACC cow one CLF.animal give FUT
I will give them a cow.

35.2 ŋo naŋ-ńú i nu da du: du: bji:t ʉa
1SG 3PL ACC cow one CLF.animal CLF.animal give FUT
I will give them a cow per one.

35.3 gjô ʔu
chicken egg
Chicken egg

35.4 gjô ʔu ʔu
chicken egg lay.egg
Chicken lay the egg.

35.5 k'jit tsúŋ
foot put on
Shoes

35.6 k'jit tsúŋ tsúŋ
foot put on put on
Wear shoes

35.7 ŋo koit
1SG make
I went and did.

35.8 ŋo koit koit mu
1SG make make happen
I went and did again and again habitually

35.9 sóem dzain
three year
There years
35.10 sóem dzain dzain
   three year year
   The third year

35.11 kʰa:  juk
   which  CLF.People
   Which person

35.12 kʰa:  juk   juk
   which  CLF.People  CLF.People
   Which person (PL)

35.13 naŋ  tɕʰi   wɔː:
   2SG  what  want
   What do you want?

35.14 naŋ  tɕʰi  tɕʰi  wɔː:
   2SG  what  what  want
   How many things do you want?

36. Noun phrases

36.1 ɡji:  juk   gi  ɗʑuŋ  jiː  bjeː
   big  CLF.People  NOM  school  go  PF
   The older one went to school.

36.2 gjit ʔɪk  kʰu  ju  lo  wɛ
   water  two  cup  take  come  IMP
   Give (me) two cups of water.

36.3 tsʰo  da  tʰɔŋ  wɔː:
   salt  one  CLF  want
   (I) want a pack of salt

36.4 ncpy  nuː  ʔɪk  duː  gi  kʰjaːm  moː  nɪt
   cart  cow  two  CLF.animal  NOM  yard  PP.at  be.exist
   Two cart-cows are in the yard.
36.5 * na:ŋ-nú sóem juk gi dzug.nú ji ŋoit

3PL three CLF.People NOM student PL be
The three of Them are students.

36.6 na: joːm gi gje jíŋ da:

3SG.POSS house NOM very beautiful RLS
His house is very beautiful.

36.7 hit gi na: dzi ŋoit
this NOM 3SG.POSS thing be
This is his thing.

36.8 na:j i ɕí bjìt uyè
3SG ACC fruit give IMP
Give him the fruit.

36.9 nu tɕoem mjìt du:
cow PL four CLF.animal
Four cows.

36.10 * tɕoem nu mjìt du:
PL cow four CLF.animal
* Four cows.

36.11táŋ ɕí jìt dá houk ŋá joem wu gi la.he: mo uí dzi
run come PROG REL that 1POSS house pig NOM China ABL buy thing ŋoit
be
That my domestic pig that is running back bought from China.

36.12 ŋá nu: no tɕoem mjìt du:
1POSS cow black PL four CLF.animal
My four black cows.
37. Verb phrases

37.1 ŋo ɬi ɡjit da kʰu jeː ɬoiːn ju ɬo bjɪːt ɰɛ
1SG ACC water one cup go pour take come give SF
Give me a cup of water.
Lit: Go and take water then come and give it to me.

37.2 naːŋ boem ɬ̥joː tàŋ dɔ ló bjeː:
3SG mountain ALL run up go PF
He ran up to the mountain.

37.3 naːŋ ɡjit kʰouːk ɬ̥joː bjam gjɔ́ waj ló daː
3SG water in ALL jump drop enter go RLS
He jumped drop into the water.

37.4 laːŋ.mju da duː ɬ̥joː moː juː lai ló kʰa.ɬe
snake one CLF.animal road PP.at crawl across go PERF
A snake has crawled across the road.

37.5 dʐuŋ dɔ bjeː:
school up PF
Class is started.

37.6 dʐuŋ gjɔ́ bjeː dá
school drop PF REL
Class is finished.

38. TAM

38.1 naːŋ (gi) dʐuŋ moː ɲoŋt bjeː:
3SG NOM school PP.at be PF
He is already in the school.

38.2 gjit da kʰu (gi) tʰiː moː dʐɔ ɕi
water one cup NOM that far PP.at exist still
A cup of water is still over there.
There will be a pig at the house.

She must be very beautiful.

She is still very beautiful.

She is already very beautiful.

He may have money.

She used to sleep.

She has already slept.

She is still sleeping.

She is about to sleep.
38.12 *naːŋ luŋ tāŋ*
3SG used to run
She used to run.

38.13 *naːŋ bain tāŋ bje:*
3SG already run PF
She has already run.

38.14 *naːŋ tāŋ nit ɕi*
3SG run PROG still
She is still running.

38.15 *naːŋ tāŋ lo uq*
3SG run about to FUT
She is about to run.

38.16 *naːŋ joː:m kʰjo: luŋ tāŋ ló*
3SG house ALL used to run go
She used to run to house.

38.17 *naːŋ joː:m kʰjo: bain tāŋ ló bje:*
3SG house ALL already run go PF
She has already run.

38.18 *naːŋ joː:m kʰjo: tāŋ ló nit ɕi*
3SG house ALL run go PROG still
She is still running.

38.19 *naːŋ joː:m kʰjo: tāŋ ló lo uq*
3SG house ALL run go about to FUT
She is about to run to house.

38.20 *naːŋ waːst ñi luŋ kʰjóuk*
3SG stick ACC used to break
She used to break a stick.
38.21 ɲaːŋ waːst i bain kʰjóuk bje:
3SG stick ACC already break PF
She has already broken a stick.

38.22 ɲaːŋ waːst i kʰjóuk ʃit ɕi
3SG stick ACC break PROG still
She is still breaking a stick.

38.23 ɲaːŋ waːst i kʰjóuk lo ɰa
3SG stick ACC break about to FUT
She is about to break a stick.

38.24 ɲaːŋ dzin i ɿŋŋ ɿəit
3SG drum ACC used to hit
She used to hit a drum.

38.25 ɲaːŋ dzin i bain ɿəit bje:
3SG drum ACC already hit PF
She has already hit a drum.

38.26 ɲaːŋ dzin i ɿəit ʃit ɕi
3SG drum ACC hit PROG still
She is still hitting drum.

38.27 ɲaːŋ dzin i ɿəit lo ɰa
3SG drum ACC hit about to FUT
She is about to hit.

38.28 ɲaːŋ joːm ɿŋŋ ɿoît
3SG house used to make
She used to build a house.

38.29 ɲaːŋ joːm bain ɿoît bje:
3SG house already make PF
She has already built a house.
38.30 \textit{na}:\textit{n} jo:\textit{m} koit \textit{nit} \textit{ći}\footnote{3SG house make PROG still\newline She is still building a house.}\newline
38.31 \textit{na}:\textit{n} jo:\textit{m} koit \textit{lo} \textit{u}:\textit{a}\footnote{3SG house make about to FUT\newline She is about to build a house.}\newline
38.32 \textit{na}:\textit{n} lu:\textit{ı} \textit{mj}a:\textit{ı}\footnote{3SG used to high\newline She used to be tall.}\newline
38.33 \textit{na}:\textit{n} bain \textit{mj}a:\textit{ı} bje:\footnote{3SG already high PF\newline She has been tall.}\newline
38.34 \textit{na}:\textit{n} mj\textit{a}:\textit{ı} \textit{nit} \textit{ći}\footnote{3SG high PROG still\newline She is still being tall.}\newline
38.35 \textit{na}:\textit{n} mj\textit{a}:\textit{ı} \textit{lo} \textit{u}:\textit{a}\footnote{3SG high about to FUT\newline She is about to be tall.}\newline
38.36 \textit{na}:\textit{n} lu:\textit{ı} tsôuk\footnote{3SG used to cough\newline She used to cough.}\newline
38.37 \textit{na}:\textit{n} bain tsôuk bje:\footnote{3SG already cough PF\newline She has already coughed.}\newline
38.38 \textit{na}:\textit{n} tsôuk \textit{nit} \textit{ći}\footnote{3SG cough PROG still\newline She is still coughing.}\newline
38.39 naŋ tsóuk lo υa
3SG cough about to FUT
She is about to cough.

39. Serial Verb

39.1 naŋ ɕi ɹi dzóː.e mousk.soʊk ɲap ɲit
3SG fruit ACC eat PROG while book read PROG
He is eating a fruit while reading a book.

39.2 naŋ gi no su: ɹi ma.teʰit ɲuŋ kʰjo: υu ɿ: je:
3SG NOM ill person ACC medicine office ALL carry and go
He carried a patient and went to the hospital.

39.3 naŋ gi joɡ:m kʰou:k kʰjo: kʰoem ɲaŋ ɿ: waŋ ɿ da:
3SG NOM house in ALL door open and enter go RLS
He opened the door and entered into the house.

39.4 naŋ gi jo kʰjo: je: ɲ.ɡi dzúŋ ɲit da:
3SG NOM farm ALL go then watch PROG RLS
He went to farm then watched it.

39.5 la:kʰóit vo kʰjo: tɑŋ dzuː ló bje:
dog village ALL run reach go PF
The dog has ran and arrived at the village

39.6 naŋ gi nu: ɹi bait tɑŋ kait
3SG NOM cow ACC hit run escape
He hit the cow to run away.

39.7 ɲá bá tì ɹi dzai:n *(pʰjet) bje:
1SG.POSS father rope ACC cut broken PF
My father has cut the rope.
39.8 ɲá mjį? gi ɲá čit.é ćó ai tçouk (lį́) (gi) foin
1SG.POSS mother NOM 1SG.POSS for meat ACC cook and LNK send
kait da:
release RLS
My mother cooked meat and sent it to me

39.9 na:ŋ gi jo je: lo bje:
3SG NOM farm go return PF
He has gone to farm and returned from it.

40. Politeness

40.1 no mo joep uège lège
early ABL sleep IMP POL
Go to bed early, please.

40.2 dzɛ.ɗu jò joem k'jo: ló gè
please with house ALL go IMP.PL
Please, go back home.

40.3 dzuŋ ji: caŋ lā
school go IMP.INC POL
Let’s go to school.

40.4 hau: la.muŋ čí  ai dzø: caŋ
that mango fruit ACC eat IMP.INC
Let’s eat that mango.

40.5 hau: la.muŋ čí  ai ʔa- dzø ɡó
that mango fruit ACC NEG eat PL
Don’t eat that mango.

41. Passive

41.1 hau: la.kʰóit sait cáu
that dog kill meet
The dog was killed.
41.2 naŋ baît kʰaːm
   3SG hit receive
   He was hit.

41.3 naŋ aː saːsaː tɕʰəŋ bjiːt
   3SG ACC teacher praise give
   He was praised by the teacher.

41.4 naŋ aː saːsaː geʔ baît
   3SG ACC teacher INSTR hit
   He was hit by Teacher.

41.5 naŋ aː noːjóem geʔ saıt
   3SG ACC malaria INSTR kill
   He was killed by malaria.

41.6 ڼə-nû ɕit.ɭé nu ɭi saıt bjiːt bje:
   1PL APPL.BEN cow ACC kill give PF
   A cow has been killed for us.

41.7 naŋ ɭi naːŋ jú ṭsûk ʈʂ
   2SG ACC 3SG look APPL.DIR put
   He looked at you.

41.8 nuː ɭi waːst joʔ baît
   cow ACC stick APPL.INSTR hit
   A cow was hit with stick.

41.9 naːŋ gi dʑuŋ jːiː
   3SG NOM school go
   He went to school.

41.10 (a) naːŋ aː ȵo dʑuŋ dɔ ȵaːŋ
   3SG ACC 1SG school go.up CAUSA
   I made him go to school.
41.10 (b) *naːŋ iplinaŋ fong to*
   3SG ACC 1SG school **go.up CAUSA**
   I made him go to school.
41.10 (c) *no mouksóuk ŋap*
   1SG book **read**
   I read a book.
41.10 (d) *no iplinaŋ mouksóuk ŋap naːŋ*
   1SG ACC book **read CAUSA**
   Someone made me to read a book.
41.11 *no he: mouk.sóuk iplinaŋ jaːŋ jō ŋap*
   1SG this book ACC **RFLX.EMP can read**
   I can read this letter by myself
41.12 *naːŋ naːŋ goː iplinaŋ naːŋ teʰit dzə*
   3SG 3SG.POSS body ACC **RFLX.EMP wash RFLX**
   He wash his body by himself.
41.13 *no-nú naːŋ.teʰáŋ daːŋ tit goʃ jɪt*
   1PL **RECP word talk PL PROG**
   We are talking each other.
41.14 *la.kʰóit. jɔʔ la低端 naːŋ.teʰáŋ.naːŋ baɪt goʃ jɪt*
   **dog and cat RECP hit PL PROG**
   A dog and cat are hitting each other
41.15 *naːŋ bá naːŋ iplinaŋ či dzō: naːŋ daː*
   1SG.POSS father 3SG ACC fruit **eat CAUSA RLS**
   My father made him to eat fruit.
41.16 *naːŋ no iplinaŋ mouksóuk ŋap naːŋ daː*
   3SG 1SG ACC book **read CAUSA RLS**
   He made me to read the book.
42. Simple Sentence

42.1 \textit{bai:n da bó gjit da kʰu jò ji dzə.ji gje mjap tán bə}
flower one CLF water one cup with laugh while very fast run come
 jit dá có no mji.ji: dzə: gi na: bi: noit
PROG REL flesh black woman young NOM 3SG.POSS elder sister COP
The black girl who laughing while running very quickly with a flower and a
cup of water is his elder sister

42.2 \textit{ŋá bá dá kʰja:m kʰou:k mo bai:n i dzo: dá hau nu}
1SG.POSS father POSS yard in ABL flower ACC eat REL that cow
gjī dzin i ʔa.jé.nap sait pjam boem bje:
thin big ACC yesterday kill PFM PL PF
The thin cow that ate flowers in my father's farm was killed yesterday.

42.3 \textit{jo: m dzú čəʔ ŋá dzo: baŋ kʰjo: só bə}
house reach until 1SG.POSS child PL road come
My children were walking untill they arrived at home.

42.4 \textit{ŋo no jo:m jo: m no jit}
1SG ill because house PP.at be.exist
I stayed at home because I was sick.

42.5 \textit{ŋaŋ gjo: láŋ ŋo jį: uə}
3SG allow if 1SG go FUT
I would go if he allowed to go.

42.6 \textit{ŋaŋ dzə.ca:n nojt.louk ŋa: jįt i jį pąŋ}
3SG child although 3SG.POSS mother ACC help
He helped his mother although he was a young child

42.7 \textit{ŋaŋ mouk.sóuk ŋap jo:m sáŋpői ʔɔ:n}
3SG book read because examination win
He passed the examination because he studied the subjects.
42.8 \( \text{n̂aŋ} \text{ ĉó} \text{ t̂ŝâu} \text{ t̂s} \text{ d̂á} \text{ d̂zi} \text{ Hôtel} \text{ 1SG} \text{ know} \)
I knew that he cooked meat

42.9 \( \text{woe:m} \text{ dẑω} \text{ t̂ŝân̂} \text{ Hôtel} \text{ 1PL} \text{ road} \)
After we had meal, we were walking.

42.10 \( \text{dsuŋ} \text{ gĥj} \text{ ĵĥd̂â.ĝe} \text{ 1SG} \text{ come} \)
As soon as the class was over, I came to home.

42.11 \( \text{dsuŋ} \text{ mo} \text{ nap.jo.n̂it} \text{ sa.ha:} \text{ (gh)} \text{ dsuŋ-n̂u} \text{ 1SG.POSS} \text{ come} \text{ b̂ĵit} \text{ tŝo} \)
Teacher will give the students food at school tomorrow.

43 Comparison

43.1 \( \text{t̂ĥ} \text{ ĵo.e:m} \text{ ĵo} \text{ ĝĵi} \text{ 1SG.POSS} \text{ house as same as big} \)
That house and my house are as same as big.

43.2 \( \text{n̂aŋ} \text{ dzo.aĥn̂} \text{ ji} \text{ 1SG.POSS} \text{ cake as same as share} \text{ b̂ĵit} \)
He give the same among of cake to each children.

43.3 \( \text{l̂a.k̂ĥ̂̂t̂} \text{ ĝi} \text{ 1SG.POSS} \text{ dog than more can run} \text{ t̂ĥ} \text{ d̂e} \text{ ĵo} \text{ t̂ĥ} \text{ 1SG.POSS} \text{ pig} \text{ can run more than pig} \)
Dog can run more than pig.

43.4 \( \text{ĥe:} \text{ b̂a.n̂} \text{ p̂ŝa.n̂} \text{ mo} \text{ n̂a.n̂ ĵĥn̂} \text{ t̂ĥa.n̂ ĥo.i} \text{ 1SG.POSS} \text{ house as same as big} \text{ da:} \text{ 1SG.POSS} \text{ group PP.at 3SG beautiful SUP COP RLS} \)
She is the most beautiful in this group.
43.5 ɲa:ŋ tʰi: juk tʰɔ dze jó tan
3SG that person than more can run
He can run faster than that person.

43.6 ɲa:ŋ tʰi: juk tʰɔ dze ɕi:ŋ
3SG that person than more high
He is taller than that person.
Appendix B
HOW TO BUILD A HOUSE?

House 1

la.tʰəit joə:m koit lo dá ʔa- kʰjo:
PN house make come REL about
[This is] about building a Lacid house.

House 2

tsa:ŋ.ɕit gi joə:m jo ɕo: dá ʔa- kʰjo: mo: gi da dza:
first NOM house farm find REL NMLZ matter PP.at NOM one thing
gi guk sóem teʰap ɬi je: noep
NOM paddy three CLF.fruit ACC go bury
The first step of finding the land to build a house is to go and bury three paddy seeds in the ground.

House 3

houk.sú guk no: jʊ tsoem gó tó ly: je: noep
like that paddy nose with fix PL put and go bury
The three paddy seeds are buried with their heads touching each other.

House 4

hau: dzán mo: tʰán dzap noep tó
that place PP.at firewood piece cover put
That place is covered with a piece of wood.

House 5

joə:m jo gi láŋ gi hau: guk no: ʔa- ɕú gó kʰjo: ʔa- gaːŋ
house farm good if LNK that paddy nose NEG move other ALL NEG separate
ló
go
If the land for the house is good, that paddy seeds do not move nor separate
[from each other].
Then, we look to see if the land is not good and if the paddies have scattered.

I know (lit. see) that this is the way that houses are build in the Lacid community.

Regarding the building of the house by looking at the hill, [Lacid] don’t build houses at the hilltop, but on the slope of the hill.

I’ve seen how the roof’s ridge is set. The ridge of the house are measured and not set [pointing] toward the valley, rather the ridge of roof is set [pointing] toward the hillside.
House 11

\[\text{houk.lx: } \text{joem koit } \text{dá kjoo: } \text{gi } \text{la:ntcan lyn}\]

then house make REL about NOM worker invite
Then, (we) invite workers to build the house.

House 12

\[\text{joem gi: i } \text{gi } \text{la:ntcan soem juk lyn}\]

house big ACC LNK worker three CLF.people invite
(We) invite three workers if the house is big.

House 13

\[\text{houk.lx: } \text{gi } \text{mang teau: } \text{dá i } \text{la:ntcan mij? ?ik juk}\]

then LNK thatch cut REL 2SG.POSS worker female two CLF.people lyn

invite
Then (we) invite two female workers for cutting the thatch.

House 14

\[\text{la:ntcan dagnin i } \text{m juk lyn ly: } \text{gi } \text{joem i } \text{ljm:mo}\]

worker all ACC five CLF.people invite and LNK house ACC moon

\[\text{soem k:jap mij:t k:jap houk:sú joem wu}\]

three CLF four CLF like that house carry

[We] invite all five workers and [collect and] carry things for three or four months.

House 15

\[\text{wo: } \text{ju sik ju mang ju ly: koit } \text{dá ?a- k:joo: i}\]

bamboo take wood take thatch take and make REL NMLZ about ACC

\[\text{bo mjaj bo se}\]

exist see exist know

[I] know that [we] collect bamboo, wood, thatch and build [the house].
House 16

koit dá kʰjo: mo: gi da.já mó mún� dzau: dá jọ:m gi
make REL about PP.at LNK some country governor POSS house NOM
dzjŋ buŋ i ʔik po: bo dá dzjŋ da kʰait da po: dzáin bo
post big ACC two hug exist REL post one CLF one hug over exist
dzj da kʰait da po: bo dzj da kʰait houk.sú jọ:m pain
thing one CLF one hug exist thing one CLF like that house outside
pʰá.loọp mo: hau: dá dzjŋ tsuk
entrance PP.at that POSS post stand post
Some governors set three big posts at the entrance of the house. The first post is
two armpspans wide, the second is one and a half armpspans wide, and the third is
one armpspan wide.

House 17

houk.lɔ: gi jap gi kʰjuk jap set jap mji:t jap jap dzjŋ
then LNK room NOM six room eight room four room room big
-ri houk.sú koit ʔa- gɔ
ACC like that make NMLZ PL
They made six rooms and eight rooms – four of those being large rooms – like
that.

House 18

houk mo: bɨŋ do jap ga: jọ:m.siŋ ji jọp dá jap
that PP.at stranger up room that someone (owner) PL sleep POSS room
ga: houk.sú ʔa- kjɔʔ ʔa- kjɔʔ ʔa- kjɔʔ koit lɔ: gi koit
that like that NMLZ bar NMLZ bar NMLZ bar make and LNK make
lai: lo dá dzj mjaŋ
pass come REL thing see
(I) saw that they built walls for the seating (lit. stranger) room and bed rooms
for the family.
Long long ago, in Lacid culture, we never invited workers with money to build a house.

As for the land’s governor, he announces to the villages: “come” [to build the house].

And [the villagers] bring the posts up from the valley for some months.

And I witnessed hundreds of people bringing the posts together and setting them.

I’ve seen that when [they] built the house, for one or two days [they] cover the roof with thatch.
House 24

houk.l:  kámg sik ju dzì uye? houk.sú lama tʰì jǎm tʰì
then wood cut wood take thing also like that if wood cut wood
jò:mu nòit uya ɹi gi lán.tsaŋ pʰo sóem juk ɹi hau: dá
house be FUT ACC LNK worker father three CLF people that POSS
dzì lám.mó da kʰjap ¿ìk kʰjap houk.sú tʰì ɹi jìm
thing moon one CLF two CLF like that wood ACC cut
Regarding wooden houses, if the house is to be built with wood, the three
workers prepare (lit. cut) the wood for one or two months.

House 25

boem mou:k mo: nòit ɹi gi ɹi tʰì jìm ɹi mjo: mjo:
mountain village PP at be if cedar wood ACC many many
jìm ɹa- gò da:
cut NMLZ PL RLS
More Cedar wood is taken if the village is on a mountainous area.

House 26

hau: tʰì jám bì: gi jot:m ɹi tsuk ¿a- gò
that wood cut and NMLZ house ACC build NMLZ PL
(They) cut that wood and build the house.

House 27

tsʰì ɹi jot:m nòit ɹi gi tsʰì ɹi buk bì:
bamboo flooring house be ACC LNK bamboo flooring ACC chop and
ɹi gi jot mɔ nóin

LNK water ABL immerse
When building a bambù house, (they) chop and immerse the bamboo in water.

House 28

giit mɔ ¿a- nóin nòit louk nai:n dza:ŋ mɔ: nai:n tɔ
water ABL NEG immerse be but hang plain PP at hang put
If the bamboo is not immersed, it is hung on a beam.
House 29

lɔ: gi houk.sú lám.mó kʰjap kʰjó naːn tó lɔ: gi koit dá dzi and LNK like that moon CLF like hang put and LNK make REL thing ˈi bo mjauŋ se ACC exist see know

I know that (the bamboo) was hung on the beam for some months and then the house is built.

House 30

houk.lɔ: laːŋ.tɔːŋ mjj? gi mñ̪ aː i jo.woin ju lɔ: gi then worker female NOM thatch ACC responsibility take and LNK joː:m dzú εo? dzə dzá saːjo mo dá mñ̪ joː:m mo: gi house reach until have POSS forest ABL POSS thatch house PP.at enough εo? hau: joː:m εo? gi jám until that house until LNK cut

Then the female workers are responsible for cutting and carrying the thatch from the forest to the house until there is enough thatch.

House 31

kjuk láŋ gi woin de tó lɔ: gi joː:m aː houk.sú koit dry if LNK carry send put and LNK house ACC like that make When the thatch is dry, [they] carry it and build the house.

House 32

joː:m bain koit tʰaːŋ mjen aː gi joː:m laːːn̪ gaː da house already make next night ACC LNK house dedication that one kʰjí kʰjí dzɔ̞ː jo da loeːm loeːm mñ̪ dzauː joː:m tɛ̞ːtɛ̞ dzí place place one CLF CLF country governor house as thing ɲoit aː gi laːːn̪ da loeːm joː:m wañ dá jे dzí g̣̞ be ACC LNK sunday one CLF house enter REL 2SG.POSS dance PL The day after [they] finish building the house, they dedicate the house. In some places, a governor’s house is dedicated with the dancing of a traditional dance for one whole week.
I've seen a new house dedication party before.

Then after the workers have finished building the house, they check it again and make repairs [if necessary].

About a month after the house is built, [the owner of the house] sends the workers [away].

They also send the female workers [home] with a gong, a sticky rice basket and an egg basket.
I've told, as much as I know, a little about how Lacid build their houses.

Thank you very much.
Appendix C

HOW TO GROW RICE?

Rice 1

ηα-νυ τυ泮.δζο: la.tεʰit ba:η δα jo.tʰυŋ dʑi: jε: lο δα ?α-
1PL land tribe PN PL POSS paddy-field do go go REL NMLZ
kʰjo ɾi da tɕit tıt kjó nau
matter ACC one little talk announce want
[I] want to talk a little about how we Lacid people grow rice in a paddy field.

Rice 2

ηα-νυ τυ泮.δζο: la.tεʰit dʑoem jo.tʰυŋ koit lο δα ?α- kʰjo
1PL land tribe PN PL paddy-field make go REL NMLZ matter
gi ηα-νυ dzain waj lo lāŋ gi kʰjuk kʰjap kʰjap dzain waj
NOM 1PL year enter come when LNK six CLF CLF year enter
lo lāŋ gi da dzain gōin dʑo: uja cɨt.ɕe jo.tʰυŋ jo.gw:
come when LNK one year whole eat FUT for paddy-field paddy-field
kʰjo: jo.tʰυŋ koit lο dʑi ɲ̃i t da:
ALL paddy-field make go thing be RLS
Regarding how we Lacid people grow rice in a paddy field, at the beginning of
the rainy season, around June, we prepare to go work in the fields.

Rice 3

he: jo.tʰυŋ koit lο δα ?a-kʰji:ŋ.ʔa-jɔ ɾi tsə:ŋ.cit lɨt kʰja:m
this paddy-field make go REL time ACC first nursery yard
ɾi jε: jʉ
ACC go look
When we go work in the paddy-fields, [we] first go and look [to choose land
suitable for] the nursery.
Then, a place that has good nutrients and that is in an area with high elevation to regulate the [intake of] water (lit. to cut off the water) is chosen and ploughed to make the nursery.

When the nursery field is ploughed, it is made to be very soft.

After the paddy seeds are soaked for two or three days, they are sowed.

If that thing is finished, a fence is [then] built.
Rice 9

\[
l_2: \text{gi hau: bain kjam koit bain koit tó láŋ gi jo.tʰúŋ}
\]
and LNK that already build make already make put if LNK paddy-field
\[
p_a: \text{da pa: góin hit ja:ŋ.tí mjit dzo: kʰj kʰjó da lːŋ tsaw.čít}
\]
plain one plain whole this like soil young break like one time first
\[
lːŋ pʰu? dži koit da:
\]
time plough thing be RLS
After the fence is built, the whole paddy field is ploughed for the first time.

Rice 10

\[
houk.láŋ ce? gjit teʰi.ja:ŋ kait l_2: \text{gi da lːŋ doem pa:}
\]
then EMPH water thing put.into and LNK one time again plough
Then the field is watered and ploughed again.

Rice 11

\[
dam ce? doem koit l_2: \text{gi da lːŋ doem pʰu?}
\]
level until again make and LNK one time again plough
[This is] done until the field is leveled and the field is ploughed once again.

Rice 12

\[
houk.la: \text{gi hau: dá ?a-kʰjιη.ʔa-jɔ jí gi guk dzo: lít}
\]
then LNK that POSS time ACC LNK paddy young nursery
\[
dzo: \text{we? ?a-kʰjιη.ʔa-jɔ džú lo bje:}
\]
young also time reach come PF
Then, at this point, the nursery plants have grown (lit. reached) enough [to be transplanted].

Rice 13

\[
ʔik tsʰe: m ?ik tsʰe: kʰjuk houk.sú ?ik tsʰe: çet sőem tsʰe: hau:
\]
two ten five two ten six like that two ten eight three ten that
\[
gjo: mɔ džú lo dá ?a-kʰjιη.ʔa-jɔ jí gi lít dzo: ?a-
during ABL reach come REL time ACC LNK nursery young NMLZ
\[
sak houk.sú bűe lo láŋ gi jó tsúŋ bje:
\]
age like that happen come if LNK can plant PF
When the nursery plants have grown for 25, 26, 28 or 30 days, the seedlings can be planted.
Rice 14

-tsúŋ  pa:
plant  plough
Planted [and] ploughed.

Rice 15

-tsúŋ, sı́t  houk. sú ?ik  lįːŋ  liːŋ  pʰuʔ  liː  paː  tsúŋ
first  like that  two  time  time  plough  and  level  plant
Firstly, the field is ploughed two times, leveled and [the seedlings are] planted.

Rice 16

-tsúŋ  dd  ?a-kʰjįːŋ  ai  gi  wɨ. kw. tʃit. dzə:  jɔʔ  houk. sú  tsúŋ  dzi
plant  REL  time  ACC  LNK  labor  labor  with  like  that  plant  thing
ɲoːt  da:
be  RLS
When the paddy seedlings are planted, they are planted with [other invited] workers.

Rice 17

houk. lɔ:  gi  hauː  də  ?a- jɔ  tsúŋ  sı́  dd  ?a-jɔ  ai. gi  dɨːŋ  teʰ  jąːŋ  tɔ
then  LNK  that  POSS  NEG  can  plant  still  REL  time  if  bund  thing  made
Before the paddy seedlings are planted, [you] also made bunds (a type of trench).

Rice 18

houk. sú  koit  lɔː  mjap  tʰaŋ  kʰjįːŋ  lît  dzə:  ?a-kʰjįːŋ  dzú:  lány  mjap
like  that  make  and  fast  end  as  nursery  young  time  reach  if  fast
end  as  plant  finish  PFM  FUT  be  P
When the nursery plants grow enough to be planted, [you] need to plant quickly.
After the nursery plants have been completely planted, work in the paddy field is suspended and [the workers] go back home to rest for a little over a month.

Then [they] come back again. 

When the paddy bunches appear, they raze (with a knife) the weeds [that have grown] on the bunds.

If [you] do it like that, the paddy plants will be grow more healthily.

When the paddies become ripe, the [flow of] water is cut off.
In the field, the water is cut off, so the paddy doesn’t get wet when [you] cut and carry the paddy plants.

[The water] is cut off like that and then, when [the paddy plants] are ripe they are harvested.

After [you] cut all of the paddy plants, [you] invite friends from neighboring fields and [together] carry and pile up the paddy in the middle of the field.

And [we] do it like that.
Rice 29

\(k'ja:m \ kjam \ t\dot{\imath}\)

yard build put

[You] build the fence.

Rice 30

\(mjap \ mjap \ j\dot{\imath} \ na:e \ l\ddot{a}n \ gi \ houk.s\dot{u} \ na:e \ da \ l\ddot{e}:y \ dam \ houk.s\dot{u} \ nu:\)

fast fast can step if LNK like that 3SG one time level like that cow

\(j\dot{\imath}? \ \text{cit.p}^\prime j\dot{\imath}\dot{\acute{\imath}} \ gi \ nu: \ j\dot{\imath}? \ na:e \ ?a.k\dot{\imath}\dot{\acute{\imath}} \ gi \ dzak \ j\dot{\imath}? \ \text{bait}\)

with before good cow with step now LNK machine with hit

If [you] can thresh immediately, [you] do it at once. We used to use cows to thresh long ago and now [we] thresh with a machine.

Rice 31

\(houk.s\dot{u} \ koit \ lo \ dzi \ \eta\ddot{o}it \ da: \)

like that make come thing be RLS

We threshed paddy seeds like that.

Rice 32

\(houk.l\dot{\imath}: \ \text{hau:} \ d\ddot{a} \ dzi \ bain \ na:e \ ly: \ bain \ \text{bait} \ ly: \ \text{guk} \ zoo\)

then that POSS thing already step and already hit and paddy crop

\(u\dot{i} \ gi \ j\ddot{o}:m \ mo: \ dz\ddot{u} \ \text{cow} \ \text{guk} \ \text{ti}: \ mo: \ dz\ddot{u} \ \text{cow} \ \text{lo} \)

ACC LNK house PP.at reach until paddy granary PP.at reach until come kait

put.into

After (we) finish threshing the paddy, it is carried and put into the granary.

Rice 33

\(ly: \ gi \ da \ dzain \ \text{g\acute{\imath}in} \ dz\ddot{o}: \ \text{u\acute{\imath}}a \ cit.\imath.e \ \text{guk} \ \text{ti}: \ mo: \ \text{teet} \ teet\)

and LNK one year whole eat FUT for paddy granary PP.at well well

\(kouk \ kouk \ lo \ kait \ t\dot{\imath} \ dzi \ \eta\ddot{o}it \ da: \)

well well come put.into put thing be RLS

All the paddy seeds are then placed and well-stored in the granary to be eaten during the entire year.

169
This is how we, a tribe from the mountainside, work the paddy field for the whole year.
Appendix D

HOW TO GROW RUBBER?

Rubber 1

nɪ́ gam ɕó dʑi gi
rubber CLF.tree plant NMLZ NOM
Growing rubber...

Rubber 2

ʔa.kʰt jo:j:m.siːŋ wə: dá dʑɔ.jo mje.goŋ iɕo: ju ɰa
now someone (owner) want REL place earth ACC find take FUT
Now, a place that someone wants will be sought and chosen.

Rubber 3

hauk.ɮ: gi jo:j:m.siːŋ wə: dá ʔa- ɕi ʔa- mjau:
then LNK someone (owner) want REL NMLZ CLF.seed NMLZ seed
iɕo: ju ɰa
ACC find take FUT
Then, [you] will select seeds that you want to grow.

Rubber 4

hau ʔik dʑa: ɕi jʃ tó lāŋ hau ʔa- ɕi ɕi ɰe? bja: tʃ
that two thing ACC can put if that NMLZ CLF.seed ACC also sow put
When [you've] got these two things, you sow the seeds.

Rubber 5

jo:j:m.siːŋ wə: dá ʔa- ɕi ɕi nûŋ dʑa: doem jʃ
someone (owner) want REL NMLZ CLF.seed ACC well only again can
tʰoːt tsûŋ ɕo? hau ʔa- ɕi ɕi bja: tʃ ɰa
move plant in.order that NMLZ CLF.seed ACC sow put FUT
One sows the seeds that they like in order that they can later transplant them.
Rubber 6

hauk.Unnamed: 0: gi hau: dá dzè:jo jò láŋ gi bjen lò: gi ŋë kait then LNK that REL place have if LNK clean and LNK burn put.into Then, when [you] get the place, [you] clean (weed) it and burn it.

Rubber 7

ŋë kait lò: gi hau: dzì: i ni:ŋ dzà: kà:jìt ?à lò ?à burn put.into and LNK that thing ACC well only foot head hand head ?à- thúŋ sò jèn jè: jèn i hauk.sú m wò? bjen ŋë NEG hit walk around go around ACC like that happen until clean burn tò put

After burning it, the place is cleaned again, so nobody smashes their toes on anything when walking around.

Rubber 8

hauk.Unnamed: 0: gi hau: dzàŋ mo jòe:m:si:ŋ wò: dá ja:m jò? ?à- then LNK that place at someone (owner) want REL about and NMLZ dzèn dzèn ke tò line line measure put

Then, [you] measure the distance that you want and mark it with lines.

Rubber 9

hauk.Unnamed: 0: gi hau: dá da gam jò? da gam ?à- gjo: then LNK that REL one CLF.tree and one CLF.tree NMLZ between mo: khàyhi we: dá dzì: i jòe:m:si:ŋ wò: dá ja:m i PP.at how far REL thing ACC someone (owner) want REL about ACC ke measure

Then, [you] measure [your] preferred distance between the plants.

Rubber 10

wa:sì bait tsouk tò lò: hau: dá dzì: i dzè:jo mo: dua:nè du: stick hit set put and that REL thing ACC place PP.at hole dig

You make a mark with small post and dig a hole there.
Rubber 11

hole dig and LNK that REL cow excrement nutrient NMLZ thing exist
\[\text{kait lɔ: gi ɕō tō wa} \]
put.into and LNK plant put FUT

[You] make a hole, add fertilizer and put the plant in it.

Rubber 12

\[\text{ ɕō tū lɔ: gi hau: dá nɨ dzo: ɕi nu: gouk,ŋouk} \]
plant put and LNK that REL rubber young ACC cow animal
\[\text{ʔa- ja:ŋ ?a- jō dzo: ɕo? k’jaːm nû j dza: jō? kyam tō wa} \]
NMLZ thing NEG can eat until yard well only with build put FUT

After the rubber trees are planted, [you] build a fence so that animals can't eat the small rubber plants.

Rubber 13

\[\text{ hau: dźi bain kjam tō lāŋ gi da dzain ɕi ?k lɔː kōo} \]
that thing already build put if LNK one year ACC two time about
\[\text{nû j dza: bjen kait jît tɕʰá} \]
well only clean put.into PROG need

After the fence has been built around it, [you] have to clean it very well about two times a year.

Rubber 14

\[\text{ hau: dźi houk.sú jō bjen kait jît lāŋ gi hau: dá nɨ} \]
that thing like that can clean put.into PROG if LNK that REL rubber
\[\text{dzo: jī gi net dzain ɕet dzain lāŋ gi hau: dźi ɕi jō jām} \]
young PL NOM seven year eight year if LNK that thing ACC can cut
\[\text{jaːm gji: lo jît bje:} \]
about big come PROG PF

If [you] can clean them, in seven or eight years, they are grown enough that (you) can harvest the rubber sap.
Rubber 15

*hau: dā nī jām uŋa jɔ dzū lo láŋ gi he: dā nī*
that REL rubber cut FUT time reach come if LNK this POSS rubber

*gam mo: nī jām jɔ tsʰi: tsʰá dā dzɔ.ŋu uŋe? ?a- dza:*
CLF.tree PP.at rubber cut time use need REL thing also NMLZ thing
dza: bɔ da:
thing exist RLS
In the haves time, there are many things which are used to produce rubber sap.

Rubber 16

*pjik uŋa cıt.ə dzak uŋe? tsʰá*
roll FUT for machine also need
[You] also need a machine to roll [and flatten] the rubber.

Rubber 17

*houk.ə: gi jām uŋa dā ca:m uŋe? tsʰá*
then LNK cut FUT REL knife also need
Then, [you] need a knife to slice it.

Rubber 18

*houk.ə: gi he: dā kʰa:m ju uŋa dā kouk uŋe? tsʰá*
then LNK this POSS hold take FUT REL container also need
Then, you need a container to store it.

Rubber 19

*houk.ə: gi he: dā ?a- gam mo jām láŋ ba.la:ŋ dzo: pe*
then LNK this REL NMLZ CLF.tree ABL cut if gutter young channel
khyoo' uŋa dā láŋ dzo: uŋe? tsʰá
drop FUT REL gutter young also need
Then, [you] need a small tapping spout to drip the sap from the tree into the container.
Then, when you attach the small tapping spout to the tree, [you] need a thing to hold the container and the sprout so they don’t fall.

When [you’ve] collected these things, you can get the sap.

You can get the sap for over two months in the Winter.

Then, you can get the sap for about only two months at the beginning of the rainy season.

One per day, you get up early in the morning and slice off the rubber tree skin.
After slicing the rubber tree, [you] collect the sap around nine or ten o'clock.

Rubber 26

And [you] take it to the room where the machine is, where there will be a lot of containers, and measure and pour the sap into them.

When (you) pour in a cup (measurement) of rubber sap, you also pour a cup (measurement) of water with a cup (object).
Acid is mixed with water (the exact amount of acid that can solidify the sap), is poured into the containers of sap, and the sap becomes solid later.

Rubber 30

that NMLZ solid ACC someone (owner) can carry take
You can carry that solid rubber.

Rubber 31

soft soft that thing can carry take about be if someone (owner) step
CLF.flat FUT REL place one CLF make put place at that REL place
PP.at put on put
The soft solid rubber is carried and taken to a place that is prepared for flattening rubber and set there.

Rubber 32

then LNK step flat and LNK this POSS roll flat REL machine ABL
put.into and LNK roll
After flattening [the rubber manually], it’s put into a machine that rolls and [further] flattens it.

Rubber 33

thin thin until roll flat take thing be
It is rolled until it’s thin.
Two rolling machines are also needed. In the first rolling machine, [the rubber] is rolled many times, until it is flat.

In the second rolling machine, lines are made on the surface of the rubber and it is put away.

The flat [pieces of] rubber are piled in one place for the night, and the next morning, those rubbers are taken and sent to a place where they are hung on a line to dry.
After hanging them on the line for two or three days, they are sent to a steam room and steamed.

And then those flat [pieces of rubber] are weighed with a scale and sold.
Appendix E

HOW TO GROW SUGARCANE?

Sugarcane 1
ŋo tit uja dá da:ŋ čít gi pʰɭŋ.tɭouk čo dzo: dá kʰjo: ai
1SG talk FUT REL word first NOM sugarcane plant eat REL about ACC
da te:t tit uja
one little talk FUT
First, I will talk about planting sugarcane.

Sugarcane 2
da loe:m gi sóem kʰjap mo pʰɭŋ.tɭouk čo
one CLF NOM three CLF ABL sugarcane plant
The first thing, is that sugarcane is planted in the third month.

Sugarcane 3
ʔa- kʰúːŋ kʰúːŋ lː, pʰɭŋ.tɭouk ai teʰʔ lː: ʔa- du du
NMLZ hole hole and sugarcane ACC uncover and NMLZ part part
dzai:n pʰjet lː: ʔa- kʰúːŋ mo: sóem ɖɛn sóem ɖɛn koit lː:
cut break and NMLZ hole PP.at three line three line make and
có kait
plant put.into
(We) dig holes, uncover the sugarcanes, chop the sugarcanes and plant them
three canes to each hole.

Sugarcane 4
houk mo: pʰe:n da te:t te:t sóːn bjít
that PP.at nutrient one little little scatter give
Some nutrients are scattered there.

Sugarcane 5
houk.lː: ɳoep kait
then cover put.into
And [that area] is covered.
Sugarcane 6

ŋoep lɔ: ńik pʰi gi lɔ ṭik ɕi ko: ŋoep
cover and deep direction NOM hand two inch about cover
We cover it about two inches deep [with soil].

Sugarcane 7

houk mo: ?a- tʰɔ mo: tɕʰit da teit bik ŋoep
that PP.at NMLZ on PP.at medicine one little shoot cover
[We] spray some chemicals on them.

Sugarcane 8

hau: tʰa:ŋ lám.mó sóem kʰjap ko: mo: juk mjaŋ lo dzəŋ houk
that next moon three CLF about PP.at grow high come when that
mo: pʰe:n kait
PP.at nutrient put
After three months, the plants grow up and then [we] put nutrients on them.

Sugarcane 9

mjo mjo bjit
glass clean give
The grasses [are] cleaned.

Sugarcane 10

then eight CLF about PP.at NMLZ foot PP.at NMLZ cover one little
kjiŋ bjit
remove give
Then, in about eight months [we] remove some [leaves] covering the [base of
the] sugarcane’s stem.

Sugarcane 11

hau: láŋ da tsʰe: ṭik kʰjap .i tʰuk nám dzú lo láŋ hau: ?a-
that if one ten two CLF ACC cut time reach come if that NMLZ
gam .i tʰuk liŋ CLF.tree ACC cut fall
When the harvest time approaches, in the 12th month, [we] cut the sugarcane.
Sugarcane 12

\[ l_2: \text{ʔa- fu kikik pjam l}_2: \text{diŋ} \]
and NMLZ leaf remove PFM and tie
And [we] remove the sugarcane leaves and bind them.

Sugarcane 13

\[ l_2: \text{la hi: ji ai ci: bjit} \]
and China PL ACC pull give
And send them to the Chinese people.

Sugarcane 14

\[ la hi: na-nú niŋ dzai:n ʔa ga: pʰjau: bjit láŋ houk pʰjau: \]
China 3PL themselves cut FUT that promise give if that promise
\[ bjit dzai:ŋ pʰjau: tʰouk je: kʰŋ l}_2: \text{ʔa- fu kikik pjam l}_2: \text{diŋ bjit} \]
give when sugarcane go cut and NMLZ leaf remove PFM and tie give
\[ kait \]
payed into

When the Chinese people permit us to cut the sugarcane, [we] cut the sugarcane, remove the leaves, tie them up and send them [to the Chinese people].

Sugarcane 15

\[ tʰaŋ mo: da tsʰe: nút ko: mo: gi ni ai je: ju bje: \]
next PP.at one ten day about PP.at NOM silver ACC go take PF

Ten days after that, we go and get our money.
RESUME

Name: Hkaw Luk

Date of Birth: 16 April, 1972

Place of Birth: Waing Maw, Myanmar

Institutions Attended: 1999, B.Th., Kachin Theological College and Seminary, Nawng Nang, Kachin state, Myanmar

2003, B.A. History, Myitkyina University, Kachin state, Myanmar

2017, M.A. Linguistics, Payap University, Chiang Mai, Thailand