A TYPOLOGY OF SUBORDINATE CONSTRUCTIONS IN LAI

BAWI TAWNG

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is concerned with a typology of the subordinate constructions in Lai, a central Kuki-Chin language of Tibeto-Burman family. In chapter one, background information, literature review, the research goals, scope and limits of the research, and the methodology are discussed. Chapter two gives an overview of Lai phonology and grammar. In chapter three, the relative clauses are discussed. Nominalization is covered in chapter four. Chapter five covers the role of postpositions in subordination. Finally, the conclusion and summary are in chapter six.

This research shows that in Lai, there are three types of subordinate constructions: relative clauses, adverbial clauses and complement clauses that come before the main clauses. They each have multiple forms.

Relative clauses are formed with the relativizers tu, mi or nak and it can be an externally headed, internally headed or a headless. The verb stem choice marks whether the head noun is subject or object of the relative clause.

Adverbial clauses that function as subordinate clauses are marked by subordinating conjunctions, which are formed by the combination of the postpositions ah or in and other words having different semantic functions.

Complement clauses are indicated by nominalization or by the postposition ah. Nominalized complements are marked with the nominalizers tu, mi, awk or ding which have different verb stem choices.
This research extends other knowledge of how subordination occurs in Lai by identifying several patterns involving agreement, verb stem choice, and the type of subordinating conjunctions.
บทคัดยอ
บทที่ 1 ประกอบด้วย ข้อมูลพื้นฐาน, วิจารณ์วรรณกรรม, เป้าหมายงานวิจัย, ขอบเขต-ข้อจำกัดของงานวิจัย และการอภิปรายหลักการ บทที่ 2 เสนอภาพรวมสัทวิทยาและไวยากรณ์ในภาษาไล บทที่ 3 อธิบายเรื่องสัมพันธ์อนุประโยค บทที่ 4 วิธีการแปลงคำให้เป็นคำนาม บทที่ 5 เสนอบทบาทของคำเสริมท้ายในอนุพากย์ และบทที่ 6 เป็นบทสรุปงานวิจัยและสรุปสาระสำคัญของงานวิจัย

วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้มุ่งศึกษารูปแบบโครงสร้างอนุประโยคในภาษาไล ซึ่งเป็นภาษากลางของภาษาคูคิฉิ่นในตระกูลภาษาย่อยทิเบต-พม่า ภาษาไลมีโครงสร้างอนุภาค 3 ประเภท คือ คุณานุประโยค, วิเศษณานุประโยค และอนุพากย์เติมเต็ม มักจะอยู่ก่อนหน้าประโยคหลัก ซึ่งแต่ละประเภทของโครงสร้างอนุประโยคนั้นมีรูปแบบที่แตกต่างกันออกไป

คุณานุประโยค ถูกสร้างมาจากตัวเชื่อมคุณานุประโยค เช่น  tu, mi, nak อาจใช้เป็นคำที่ยืนยันที่อยู่ได้ทั้งภายนอกหรือภายในประโยค หรืออาจเป็นได้ในรูปของอนิยมคุณานุประโยค ส่วนคำกริยากริยาสัพท์ที่นำมาใช้จะแสดงหน้าที่เป็นคำนามในส่วนของประธานหรือกรรยาในคุณานุประโยค

วิเศษณานุประโยค คำนำหน้าที่เป็นอนุประโยค มีอนิยมสัตว์ที่เกิดจากการรวมตัวของคำปัจจัยบบท เช่น  ah, in และคำอื่น ๆ โดยจะมีความหมายที่ต่างกันออกไป

อนุพากย์เติมเต็ม ถูกสร้างมาจากคำเปลี่ยนเป็นคำนาม หรือจากคำปัจจัยบบท เช่น  ah การแปลงโดยสมบูรณ์จะใช้ตัวแปลง เช่น  tu, mi, awk, ding ที่มีคำกริยากริยาสัพท์ต่างกัน
วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้ยังเสนอความรู้อื่น ๆ ในหน่วยคำกระตุ้นที่ปรากฏอยู่ในภาษาไทย เช่น เสียงไถ่ต่าง ๆ ที่สอดคล้องกับหลายรูปแบบ คำกริยากรัศฎ์ พฤกษาและประเภทของอนุสันธาน.
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<td>A</td>
<td>Agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>Accusative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADJ</td>
<td>Adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AG</td>
<td>Agreement marker</td>
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<tr>
<td>AP</td>
<td>Adjective phrase</td>
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<tr>
<td>APPLI</td>
<td>Applicative</td>
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<tr>
<td>BE</td>
<td>Verb to be</td>
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<tr>
<td>BEN</td>
<td>Benefactive</td>
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<td>C</td>
<td>Consonant</td>
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<td>CAUS</td>
<td>Causative</td>
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<tr>
<td>CLF</td>
<td>Classifier</td>
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<tr>
<td>COM.D</td>
<td>Comparative degree</td>
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<tr>
<td>Conf</td>
<td>Confirmation</td>
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<td>CONT</td>
<td>Continuous tense</td>
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<tr>
<td>CS</td>
<td>Case marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>Demonstrative</td>
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<tr>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>Directional</td>
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<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Female (gender)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>Future tense</td>
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<tr>
<td>G.MA</td>
<td>Grandmother</td>
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<td>IMPER</td>
<td>Imperative</td>
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<tr>
<td>INTERJ</td>
<td>Interjection</td>
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<td>IRREAL</td>
<td>Irrealis</td>
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<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>Locative</td>
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<td>M</td>
<td>Male (gender)</td>
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<td>NEG</td>
<td>Negative</td>
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<td>NMLZ</td>
<td>Nominalizer</td>
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<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>Nominative</td>
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<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>Noun phrase</td>
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<td>O</td>
<td>Object</td>
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<tr>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>Object (only in schemas)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Postposition (Patient in Figure 7)</td>
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<td>p</td>
<td>Plural in agreement markers</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Past tense</td>
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<td>Plural</td>
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<td>Perfective</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pro</td>
<td>Pronoun</td>
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<td>QUE</td>
<td>Question marker</td>
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<td>Reflexive</td>
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<td>REL</td>
<td>Relativizer</td>
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<td>S</td>
<td>Subject</td>
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<td>Subject in schemas</td>
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<td>Superlative degree</td>
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<tr>
<td>TAM</td>
<td>Tense, aspect and modality</td>
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<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Vowel (only for syllable structure)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vd</td>
<td>Voiced</td>
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<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Voiceless</td>
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<td>Verb phrase</td>
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<tr>
<td>V₁</td>
<td>Verb stem I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V₁ⅴ</td>
<td>Verb stem II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Null</td>
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</table>
# Anomoluos

# Number of sentence in the stories
1  First person
2  Second person
3  Third person
Chapter 1

Introduction

In this research thesis, a typology of the subordinate constructions will be discussed. As Lai is a SOV language, the subordinate clauses normally come before the main clauses. This subordinate clause is marked by some morphemes or particles and often functions as complement, adverbial clause or relative clause. In chapter one, background information, literature review, the research goals, scope and limits of the research, and the methodology are discussed.

1.1 Background information

This background information section includes a discussion of: (1) the Chin people, (2) the name of the people and the language, (3) geographical location, (4) the classification of the language and (5) Lai’s sociolinguistic situation.

1.1.1 The Chin people

Khar Thuan (2008, p. 1) in his thesis mentions that “The term “Chin” is an old Burmese word “kyaing” which means ‘fellow, companion, friend’ (Luce, 1954). The word “Kuki” used in India and “Chin” used in Myanmar are synonymous and both are for many of the hill tribes.” Griersen (1904, pp. 509-510) also says that “The name “Chin” is not used by the tribes themselves, who use titles such as Zo, Yo and Sho.” However, Bawi Hu (1998, pp. 12-14) mentions in his thesis that “The name “Chin” is not a given name to the people living in the hilly region by the Burmese. The “Chin” name had already been there long time ago since the third century B.C; and it originated in China with the Chin dynasty in China. The Chins are a southern Mongoloid race group who came from Tibet through the headwaters of the Irrawaddy, and migrated to the northwestern part of Burma in the eighth century.” He also says that the date of the Chins migration to the hills was the beginning of the 16th century, about 1500-1525 A.D. At that time the Chins such as Mizo, Laimi, Zomi came in groups down from Kabaw-Kale-Myittha Valleys to the present Chin Hills. Today there are 53 tribes in Chin State and they all accept the designation of themselves as Chins by other people although they have their own tribe names.
1.1.2 Name of the Lai people and language

Khoi Lam Thang (2001, p. 7) mentions in his M.A thesis that the name “Laimi” is used by some speakers to refer to themselves in Falam, Hakha and Thantlang townships; “Zomi” is used in Tonzang and Tedim townships; “Mizo” is used in some parts of Tedim and Falam townships (it is similar to “Mizo” in Mizoram state of India), and “Cho” is used in the south. Bawi Hu (1998, p. 79) says that Falam, Hakha, Thantlang and Matu are included in the Lai tribe. It is true that the people from these four townships call themselves as “Laimi” but introduce themselves as “Chin” with Burmese or other ethnic peoples in Myanmar. Although Falam and Matu call themselves as “Laimi”, they do not speak the Lai language; they have their own languages. In other words, “Laimi” is the name of a tribe and “Lai” is the name of the language spoken by some of the “Laimi” people.

The Lai written language was first mentioned by D.J.C. Macnabb in 1891 in his book *Handbook of The Hakha or Baungshe Dialect of The Chin Language*. In this book, there are (31) lessons with a glossary for each lesson and also some grammar, such as ‘Examples of The Use of Verbs’, ‘Examples of Interrogative Forms’, ‘Negative Forms of Speech’, ‘Negative Interrogative Forms of Speech’, and ‘Examples of The Conjugation of Verbs’. He calls the Lai language “Haka” or “Baungshe” (Macnabb, 1891). He says in his preface:

> The dialect employed is the most widely used in the Chin Hills, and is used and understood from the Yaw Valley on the east to the Kaladyne on the west and from the Chinbok country on the south to the Tashons on the north. (p. 1)

In 1897, the British surgeon, Major A.G.E. Newland (IMS) published his book *A Practical Hand-book of The Language of The Lais As Spoken by The Hakhas and Other Allied Tribes of The Chin Hills*. In this book, there are 310 pages including the grammar and dictionary. He uses the name “Lai language” in the introduction of his book:

> The *Lais* are the great tribe and its offshoots that occupy the Chin Hills between the *Tashons or Shunklas* in the north and the *Zoes* in the south. They extend from the *Burma* frontier on the east, right away to the *Lushai* country on the west. The language of these people is the *Lai* language, called by the Burmese *Baungshe*, and by which term we have hither to know it. Dialects of it are spoken by all the surrounding tribes, but nearly all understand the *Lai* tongue, so that a knowledge of it will carry one over a vast tract of the Chin
Hills. The Tashons also understand it, from whose speech it is not very radically different. We have been in the habit of calling these people the Baungshès, but it is a term unknown to them. They call themselves, as stated above, the Lais. Baungshè is a Burmese term, applied by the Burmese to these hill-men in reference to the way in which they wear their hair done up in a knot on the front of their heads. (p. 1)

According to Newland (1897), the language “Lai” was widely used and understood in Chin Hills. Although some scholars put the name “Haka or Hakha” (see in section 1.1.4) in place of “Lai”, “Lai” is the name of the language. In Lai, there are three dialects, namely Hakha, Thantlang and Zokhua.

By the year 1900, Rev. Arthur E. Carson¹ requested Rev. Dr. Harry H. Tilbe, another missionary sent to Myanmar by the American Baptist Mission Union, to come up to Hakha and he helped Carson in the literary work. They improved the writing system introduced by Newland (Bawi Hu, 1998, p. 62). Later, another missionary Rev. Dr. Chester U Strait and his family reached Hakha on April 5, 1926. Rev. Strait translated the first New Testament Bible into Lai (Bawi Hu, 1998, pp. 76, 78). The last missionary to Chin Hills Rev. Dr. Robert G. Johnson and his wife arrived at Hakha in 1946 and left the Chin Hills in 1966 because of the political situation in Myanmar. During his missionary work in Hakha, he translated the Holy Bible with Rev. Dr. David Van Bik. After Rev. Johnson left Hakha, Rev. Dr. David Van Bik continued the process of the Bible translation and published the whole Bible in 1978. In addition, Mrs. Johnson translated some hymns into Lai (Van Bik, 1988).

Later in 1979, the Hakha township peoples formed the Chin literature committee and tried to improve Chin literature. The committee printed textbooks and distributed them to all the primary schools of the three townships; Hakha, Thantlang and Matupi (Bawi Hu, 1998, p. 136). Those textbooks are called Laica cawnnak ‘Lai language learning’ and the author also used it for four years (grade 1-4) in a primary school. Lai language teaching at schools was stopped by the government in 2000, possibly because of the political situation. Nowadays, the Chin Association for Christian Communication (CACC) has one department for literacy development and is trying to develop the Lai language.

¹ Rev. Arthur E. Carson was the first missionary to the Chin Hills sent by the American Baptist Mission Union. Rev. Arthur E. Carson and his wife Laura Carson arrived at Hakha on March 15, 1899 (Bawi Hu, 1998:54).
1.1.3 Geographical location
Chin State is situated in the western part of Myanmar, bordered with Mizoram State in India. The Lai speakers live mostly in two townships; Hakha and Thantlang which are in the central part of Chin State. However, there are also other language speakers in Hakha township such as Senthang, and there are Zophei, Lautu and Mara speakers in Thantlang township. Figure 1 is the map of Myanmar and Chin State.

Figure 1 Map of Myanmar and map of Chin State

In Hakha Township, there are 40 villages where the Lai speakers live. They are Chuncung, Hairawn, Tiphul, Hranhring, Phai, Hniarlawn, Nabual, Khuabe, Lunghnam, Farrawn, Fiarti, Rinpi, Rinte, Keipaw, Halta, Haiphai, Dauchim, Aive, Mangnu, Nipi, Lawklung, Vanmualthar, Buanlung, Bualtak, Zokhua(A), Zokhua(B), Ruavan, Pumlan, Langpho, Tinam, Lamtuk, Malsawm, hrawngvun, Vantlang, Ruadeu, Ruan, Hmaikhah, Vanhna and Cinkhua. The following Figure 2 is taken

2 https://www.google.co.th/search?q=maps+of+Chin+myanmar&source
from the Hakha Baptist Association office that shows rural churches (no date, put on the wall). Every church represents the village name except for Lungphun that is in Chuncung village.

Figure 2 The Lai speaking area in Hakha Township.

In Thantlang Township, there are 51 villages which speak Lai language. They are Khuafo, Lungzarh, Arcirh, Hmunthar, Sihcang, Tlangte, Mualkai, Tihbual, Aibuk, Tlangkhua, Tikhuangtum, Tahtlang, Thinghual, Sopum, Vanzang, Farrawn, Lungding, Tlangpi, Tlanglo, Sihhmuh, Ruakhua, Thangzang, Fungkah, Saikah, Ruabuk, Bungkhua, Lungal, Ralpel, Zangtlang, Dawn, Thlualam, Vambai, Salen, Hmunlipi, Hriangkhan, Tikir (A), Tikir (B), Thau (A), Thau (B), Bungtlang, Sialam, Hmunhalh, Banawhtlang, Lulpilung, Vomkua, Hripi (A), Hripi (B), Tlangrua (A), Tlangrua (B), Kuhchah and Congthia. Figure 3 shows the Lai speaking area of Thantlang Township, however, the villages below the arrow line are Zophei and Lautu speakers. Figure 3 shows the Lai speaking area in Thantlang Township.
Beside of Hakha and Thantlang Townships in Chin State, many Lai speakers live in the state of Mizoram in Northeast India, in Bangladesh and in some parts of mainland Myanmar especially in Kalay-Valley in Sagain Division. Starting from the last two decades, many Lai speakers migrated to foreign countries such as the U.S., Canada, Norway, Australia, Malaysia, and others. The population of Lai speakers who are affiliated with the Chin Association for Christian Communication (CACC)\(^3\) is 145,000 (Bawi Hu, 1996). According to The *Ethnologue* the total Lai-speaking population in 2009 is 131,260 and is 125,000 in 2013 (Lewis et al, 2009, 2013).

\(^3\) CACC has the Literature and Culture Department and it is doing the Lai language development.
1.1.4 Classification of the language
Most scholars who study Chin languages agree the classification of Chin has three parts; Northern, Central and Southern under the Kuki-Chin or Kuki-Naga-Chin branch of Tibeto-Burman languages made by Bradley (1997).

The following Figure 4 shows the position of Central Chin within the Tibeto-Burman subgroup of Kuki-Chin-Naga:

![Diagram of Kuki-Naga-Chin classification]

**Figure 4 The classification of Kuki-Naga-Chin language**
(adapted from Khar Thuan, 2008, p.11 originally by Bradley, D. 1997, p. 28)

In comparison, VanBik (2009, p. 23) shows the location of Lai (Hakha) under the Central Chin subgroup of Kuki-Chin, according to his analysis of Proto-Kuki-Chin. He puts Hakha and Falam under Lai language. The following Figure 5 is the position of Lai language according to Van Bik (2009).

![Diagram of Lai language in Central Chin]

**Figure 5 The position of Lai language in the Central Chin**
(adapted from VanBik, 2009, p. 23)
On the other hand, Khoi Lam Thang (2001, p. 9) classifies the Chin languages according to the name of the tribe as in Table 1 (the first row with bold letters are the names of Townships. The following rows show what languages are spoken there). According to him, there are six languages in Hakha Township, however, “Mie” is the name of the area (tribe) but not the language. There are four languages in Thantlang Township.

### Table 1 Chin languages in Chin State of Myanmar
(adapted from Khoi Lam Thang, 2001, p. 9)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Townships</th>
<th>Tonzang</th>
<th>Tedim</th>
<th>Falam</th>
<th>Hakha</th>
<th>Thantlang</th>
<th>Matupi</th>
<th>Mindat</th>
<th>Kanpatlet</th>
<th>Paletwa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thado</td>
<td>Sizang</td>
<td>Falam</td>
<td>Hakha</td>
<td>Thantlang</td>
<td>Matupi</td>
<td>Mindat</td>
<td>Hnoktu</td>
<td>Khami</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tedim</td>
<td>Ngawn</td>
<td>Zokhua</td>
<td>Zophei</td>
<td>Zotung</td>
<td>Muun</td>
<td>Chinpon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zo</td>
<td>Laizo</td>
<td>Mie</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Daai</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teizang</td>
<td>Zaniat</td>
<td>Senthang</td>
<td>Lautu</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cho</td>
<td>Khasi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hualngo (Mizo)</td>
<td>Thawr</td>
<td>Mara</td>
<td>Kaang</td>
<td></td>
<td>Khamui</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dim</td>
<td>Khualsim</td>
<td></td>
<td>Amlai</td>
<td>Rawntu</td>
<td>Rah</td>
<td>Myo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khuano</td>
<td>Zahau</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tamang</td>
<td></td>
<td>Laitu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vangteh</td>
<td>Tapong</td>
<td></td>
<td>Wumtu</td>
<td></td>
<td>Khumi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guite</td>
<td>Sim</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Khuangsu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Val</td>
<td>Bualkhua</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saizang</td>
<td>Taisun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phaileeng</td>
<td>Lente</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The author proposes that there are three dialects in Lai language, namely Hakha, Thantlang and Zokhua.

Although some scholars put Lai and Hakha as the same (they write like “Lai (Hakha)”), Lai does not represent only Hakha. The following Figure 6 is the proposed classification of Lai language under the Central Chin by the author.
1.1.5 Sociolinguistic situation

According to Ethnologue (2015), Lai is level 3 in EGIDS (Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale), that is, the language is used for local and regional work by both insiders and outsiders. Although Burmese is used at schools for instruction medium, Lai is used in all other domains such as churches, business, home and etc. Most young people can speak Burmese. However, they are proud of speaking the Lai language. In other words, Lai speakers have positive attitudes to the language. There are some Medias in Hakha and Thantlang and also there is a Lai TV channel in Hakha. Every summer (April-May), town churches in Hakha and Thantlang have a Lai language learning program. In the same way, the literature department of Chin Association for Christian Communication (CACC) is doing its best for language development. Starting from the last two years, the Lai language is allowed to teach in grades 1&2 at schools in Hakha and Thangtlang Townships according to the new government education policy. 99.9% of Lai speakers are Christian and the rest are Buddhists or Animists.
1.2 Literature review

In this literature review section, the previous works in Lai language and related Chin languages are discussed. Also covered is the literature that comprises the general linguistic concepts used in this thesis.

1.2.1 Previous works in Lai language

Although Lai grammar was firstly introduced by MacNabb (1891) and Newland (1897), the orthography they used is very different from the present day and they mainly focused on eight parts of speech and simple sentence structures. Later, Hay-Neave (1948) also wrote a Lai grammar sketch and the orthography he used is mostly similar to the present day one.


There are many papers written about Lai language that focus on Verb Stem Alternation as it is a distinctive property of Kuki-Chin languages. Often stem alternation is described as predicted by in transitivity, applicative/benefactive constructions, causatives and other constructions, but there is not much written about subordinate constructions. George Bedell (1998) in his paper “Nominal Auxiliaries in Lai” discusses the word *awk* as its lexical category and the syntactic structures. He proves that *awk* is a nominal auxiliary especially as complements to transitive and reflexive verbs. Although another word *ding* works as a nominal auxiliary, it also appears as an adverbial particle. Bedell (2000) mentions the uses of the postpositions *ah, in, nih* and *he* together with *i* as a variant of *ah*. He says that a Lai postposition must have a full noun phrase complement and cannot be accompanied by a possessive agreement particle. He also shows the uses of the relational nouns *chung, cung, sin, hlan, hnu, tiang, tik, ca, ruang, awk* and *bang*. In this paper, Bedell mainly discusses about the relational noun *chung*; it can combine with the postposition *ah* or it can appear by itself.
F.K. Lehman (1996) discusses relative clauses in Lai. He shows the verb stem alternation in transitive, ditransitive, intransitive and relative clauses (especially complement) and control theory of relative clauses. He concludes his paper that the complement-taking head of the construction is itself a nominal element. David Peterson (2003) mentions the grammar sketch of Lai in his book chapter entitled “Hakha Lai”. In this paper, Peterson writes an introduction of subordinate clauses, however, he does not discuss this area in detail.

### 1.2.2 Related Chin languages


### 1.3 Research goal

The main objective of the thesis research is to analyze the morphological and syntactic structures of subordinate constructions in Lai. Although some previous research regarding Lai has already discussed these structures, this research aims to give more-detailed and more-complete observations. Along with these objectives, the following research questions are raised:

1. What are the syntactic patterns of subordination (including stem selection)?
2. What are the forms and functions of nominalization in Lai?
1.4 Scope and limits of the thesis research

The data analyzed in this thesis were collected in Hakha, the Capital of Chin State and the center of the Lai-speaking area. Five stories; two Lai traditional folk tales, two traditional fairy tales and one monologue explaining the procedure of planting rice in a farm; were recorded from five LRPs (Language Resource Persons) of different age groups, genders and dialects (in Lai, there are three main dialects: Hakha, Thantlang and Zokhua). As this research is mainly focused on morphological and syntactic structures, the texts from different dialects helps in describing various peculiarities (especially regarding morphology) in the Lai language as a whole. However, this research does not cover all morphological and syntactic structures of Lai. It will mainly focuses on describing the morphological and syntactic processes of subordination and the process of nominalization in a clause or sentence in Lai.

One limitation is that the collected data does not provide enough examples to thoroughly describe these processes. Therefore, some example sentences are constructed by the author, a native speaker (the author’s father is Thantlang and mother is Hakha) of Lai, under the guidance of the supervisor. Another limitation is that this research does not cover the role of tone in detail. Therefore, tone marks are not be included in every example sentence, with exception of areas of the thesis where it is necessary to include them—for example in describing verb stem alternation.

Most Lai verbs have stem alternations (stem I & stem II) which have different phoneme in each stem, for example, kap ‘shoot.I’ and kah ‘shoot.II’, it ‘sleep.I’ and ih ‘sleep.II’, tlung ‘arrive.I’ and tlu ‘arrive.II’, pe ‘give.I’ and pek ‘give.II’, and etc. However, there is no systematic use of tone to indicate stem alternation. There are some stem choices that change tone, for example, tàn ‘cut.I’ and Tân ‘cut.II’, khàm ‘block.I’ and khám ‘block.II’, however, it is not systematic and no such verbs were not used in this thesis. Crucially for this study only the categories states of stem I or stem II matters and not how they are marked. All stem I and stem II are marked as only the status of stem I and stem II matters. Also in Lai, tone does not play a role in agreement. Because tone is not relevant to stem alternation or agreement, it is not marked in the examples which follow the Lai orthography.
1.5 Research methodology
The methodology of this research is as follows:

(1) The recorded data are segmented and transcribed by using SayMore (SIL) and exported to Fieldworks Language Explorer (FLEx) (SIL).

(2) The texts are analyzed morphologically — especially the verbal morphology which changes through stem alternation — and syntactically, in terms of nominalization and subordinate constructions.

(3) The author, as a native speaker of the target language under the guidance of the supervisor, constructs his own examples whenever it is needed. The author will also use the texts from other Lai sources and the Lai Holy Bible.

(4) Different types of subordination are identified within the three broad categories and a schematic generalization is provided for each type of subordinate construction. The patterns focus on agreement, verb stem alternation and the form of the subordinating conjunction.
Chapter 2
An Overview Of Lai Phonology And Grammar

2.1 Phonology
This section covers the phonological inventory of Lai and the orthography used in this research paper. The phonemic representation and the Lai orthography are so similar that later grammatical examples can use the orthography in place of IPA. However in the phonology section, phonemic IPA representations are provided.

2.1.1 Phonological inventory
The syllable structure of Lai is CV: or CV(ː)C (Peterson, 2003). Lai does not have consonant clusters although it has some affricates. The following Table 2 taken from Peterson, 2003 shows the phonological inventory of Lai. The orthographic form is given and any phonetic variation from that form is given in the square brackets.
Table 2 Segmental inventory in Lai taken from Peterson (2003).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonants</th>
<th>Vowels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stops</strong></td>
<td>Simplex vowels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>i[ɪ],i[i:],(y)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ph [pʰ]</td>
<td>u[u],uu[u:],(w)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>th [tʰ]</td>
<td>e[e:],ee[e:]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>th [tʰ]</td>
<td>o[o],oo[oː]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>a[a],aa[aː]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricates</td>
<td>Diphthongs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts</td>
<td>uy,oy,ooy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsh</td>
<td>iw,ew,eew,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tʃʰ]</td>
<td>ay[ɛy],aay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tl [tl]</td>
<td>aw[ow], aaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thl [tl]</td>
<td>ia,iaa,ua,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>uaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and</td>
<td>iaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laterals</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>r [r]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>hr [ɾ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z</td>
<td>hl [l]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>η</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hm [ŋ]</td>
<td>hŋ [ŋ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The author has revised Table 3. Most of the consonants and vowels are the same with Peterson’s finding. The only difference is that they are revised according to place and manner of articulation. In Lai, the orthography and phonetics are similar except that devoicing is marked by the /h/ before sonorants.
### Table 3 The revised segmental inventory in Lai by researcher.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonants:</th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labio-dental</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td>Vl.  p</td>
<td>t  [t]</td>
<td>ṭ  [t̪]</td>
<td>k  [k]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vd.  b</td>
<td>d  [d̪]</td>
<td>g  [g]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>Vl.  hm</td>
<td>hn [ŋ]</td>
<td>hŋ [ŋ̥]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vd.  m</td>
<td>n  [n]</td>
<td>η  [ŋ̥]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trill</td>
<td>Vl.  hr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vd.  r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>Vl.  f</td>
<td>s  [s]</td>
<td>h  [h]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vd.  v</td>
<td>z  [z]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
<td>thl [tɬ]</td>
<td>tsh [tʃʰ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>tl  [tɬ]</td>
<td>ts  [ts]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowels:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: the vowels /i/, /e/ and /u/ have long vowel pairs phonetically and phonemically, however, they are not written as doubling the vowels very often because the Lai speakers avoid using double vowels in Lai orthography⁴. In other words, they can understand the words by the context and by the syntactic structure. Only the long vowel /a/ is commonly used as /aa/ [aː] in the orthography because the contrast between short and long vowel is more common with the vowel /a/.

⁴ In rules of writing Lai no.7, 2015, it is written as ‘Hyphen and double vowels should be used as little as possible’. This rules of writing Lai was written in around 1992 although there is no specific date in this book and this sentence is taken from the latest approved version Vol.VII, 2015.
Diphthongs:
ai [ɑi], ei [ɛi], ui [ʊi], oi [ɔi], ia [ɪa], iu [iʊ], io [iɔ], awi [ɔːi], au [au], ao [ɑo], eu [ɛu], eo [ɛo], ua [ua], uo [uo]

Triphthongs:
ai [ɪaɪ], iei [ɪɛɪ], iau [ɪau], iao [ɪao], uei [uɛɪ], uai [uaɪ], uau [uau], uao [uəo]

In Lai, there are three tones; falling, rising and level (Hyman & VanBik, 2002b; Peterson, 2003). It is true that all the level tones (low, mid and high) are allotones. There are only a few lexical minimal pairs without vowel length. The following Table 4 shows some minimal pairs of Tone contrast; Level - Rising and Falling - Rising.

### Table 4 Some minimal pairs of Tone contrast.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Rising</th>
<th>Falling</th>
<th>Rising</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ni/ ‘sun’</td>
<td>/ni/ ‘laugh’</td>
<td>/pi/ ‘Applicative’</td>
<td>/pi/ ‘very’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pe/ ‘bean’</td>
<td>/pe/ ‘give’</td>
<td>/thei/ ‘fruit’</td>
<td>/thei/ ‘know’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/va/ ‘husband’</td>
<td>/va/ ‘bird’</td>
<td>/pa/ ‘father’</td>
<td>/pa/ ‘mushroom’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/lo/ ‘farm’</td>
<td>/lo/ ‘negative’</td>
<td>/so/ ‘boil’</td>
<td>/so/ ‘bulge’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/zu/ ‘liquor’</td>
<td>/zu/ ‘mouse’</td>
<td>/um/ ‘pot’</td>
<td>/um/ ‘marry’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.2 Orthography used in this thesis

As mentioned in section 1.1.2 above, Lai writing was first introduced by British army officers and improved by American missionaries, they used the Roman alphabet. Moreover, Lai has a similar phonemic inventory to English except it does not use all the English letters. For example, j, q, x and y are not used in its orthography (they are included in Lai alphabets and are used in loanwords). In this thesis, the Lai orthography is used in all example sentences except when tone marking is needed. All consonants in Table 3 are used in initial syllables, however, one exception is that the consonant c is used for /ts/ and ch for /tʃ/ in this thesis. The syllable final stops are p, t, k and h (when h is in final consonant, it sounds like glottal stop [ʔ]). The syllable final sonorants are m, m̃ [m̃ʔ], n, ñ [ñʔ], l, ɬ [ɬʔ], r, r̃ [r̃ʔ], ñɡ [ŋ] and ñɡ̂ [ŋ̂ʔ].

---

5 Diphthongs and Triphthongs can be seen in Bedell, 1999, and are originally from CACC (Chin Association for Christian Communication) Adult Literacy Project, 1998.

6 Syllable final stops and sonorants are also taken from Bedell, 1999.
2.2 Grammar sketch

In this section, all the grammar of Lai is not discussed. It only covers (1) word order, (2) verbal predicates, (3) non-verbal predicates, (4) agreement, (5) tense, (6) basic subordinate clauses and (7) verb stem alternation.

As for interlinear choices, there is no marking for any affixes or clitics as bound. Also compound function words especially subordinating conjunctions like caah ‘as/for’, hlanah ‘before’ (see section 2.2.6 and section 5.2.4), are written together in the text, however, they are separate in the interlinear gloss. For example from #47 (p 36):

\[
\text{[amah nu rawl a ei hlan ah] ka tin}
\]

Pro.3s F food 3s.S eat before P 1s.S go.home

‘I went home before she ate food (at the party).’

2.2.1 Word order

As Lai is one of the Tibeto-Burman languages, it is an SOV language as illustrated in (1). However, OSV is also possible depending on the topic or target of the sentence as in (2). If the subject is an agent (noun or pronoun), the case marker’ nih has to be used. With OSV, the result is unacceptable without nih ‘CS.A’ as in (3). However, if the subject is an agreement marker, there is no case marking (4) (in this kind of sentence, the verb (stem I or II) plays an important role to consider whether the agreement marker stands for subject or object and also whether the nominal mipa is agent or patient).

Transitive sentences

(1) Constructed example

\[
\text{chizawh nih zu a seh}
\]

cat CS.A mouse 3s.S bite

‘The cat bit a mouse.’

(2) Constructed example

\[
\text{zu chizawh nih a seh}
\]

mouse cat CS.A 3s.S bite

‘It is the mouse that the cat bit.’

\[\text{7 George Bedell (1996) has doubts that Lai has Case marking system and is Ergative-Absolutive.}\]
(3) Constructed example

* zu chizawh a seh
  mouse cat 3s.S bite
* ‘The mouse bit a cat.’

(4) Constructed example

mipa an velh
man 3p.S hit.II
‘The man they bit.’

**Intransitive sentences**

In intransitive sentences, the word order is SV as in (5) and (6). Expressions of place and time normally come before the subject of the sentence.

(5) Constructed example

hngakchia pa a tap
child M 3s.S cry.I
‘The boy cries.’

(6) Constructed example

uico a it
dog 3s.S sleep.I
‘The dog sleeps.’

2.2.2 **Verbal predicates**

**Transitive sentences**

In Lai (Hakha), the subject is normally marked with nih in a transitive sentence. The object is marked with kha or cu as in (7) and (9). Lai speakers often omit the object markers in their normal speech as in (8) but there is no semantic meaning change in the sentence. However, the object markers cannot be omitted when there is an adverb after the noun as in (10).

(7) Constructed example

amah pa nih uico kha a velh
Pro.3s M CS.A dog CS.O 3s.S hit.II
‘He hits the dog.’
(8) Constructed example

\[
\text{amah pa nih uico a velh}
\]

Pro.3s M CS.A dog 3s.S hit.II

‘He hits the dog.’

(9) Constructed example

\[
\text{amah pa nih uico cu a velh}
\]

Pro.3s M CS.A dog CS.O 3s.S hit.II

‘He hits the dog.’

(10) Constructed example

\[
\text{amah pa (nih) uico (kha / cu) fakpiin a velh}
\]

Pro.3s M CS.A dog CS.O CS.O hardly 3s.S hit.II

‘He hardly hits the dog.’

The order of a sentence of the type \(<\text{experience, stimulus}>\) is similar to that of an \(<\text{agent, patient}>\) sentence in Lai (Hakha). The object case markers \(kha\) and \(cu\) can be used or dropped as in (11). Sometimes especially in spoken language, the subject \(keimah nih\) is dropped and people just say \(uico ka hmuh\) in the order of OBJ+SUB+V as the agreement marker ka ‘1s’ still has its semantic function. In the same way, the subject of (12) can also be dropped if it is already known in the conversation (or the context) and become \(a ka hnamh\) as SUB+OBJ+V but using only the agreement marker.

(11) Constructed example

\[
\text{keimah nih uico ka hmuh}
\]

Pro.1s CS.A dog 1s.S see.II

‘I see the dog.’

(12) Constructed example

\[
\text{amah nu nih a ka hnamh}
\]

Pro.3s F CS.A 3s.S 1s.O kiss.II

‘She kisses me.’ Or ‘I am kissed by her.’
Intransitive sentences

In intransitive sentences, the subject marker cu is often used to mark the Agent as in (13) and (14) or sometimes kha is used (15). But people sometimes omit either marker. In formal writing, the markers are not dropped.

(13) Constructed example

\[ uico \ cu \ a \ it \]

dog \ CS.S \ 3s.S \ sleep.I

‘The dog sleeps.’

(14) Constructed example

\[ hngakchia \ pa \ cu \ a \ tap \]

cold \ M \ CS.S \ 3s.S \ cry.I

‘The boy cries.’

(15) Constructed example

\[ hngakchia \ pa \ kha \ a \ kal \ cang \]

cold \ M \ CS.O \ 3s.S \ go \ PRF

‘The child has already gone.’

In summary, although the word order of Lai (Hakha) is SOV, the order OSV is also very common in everyday speech. It depends on the topic or focus of the sentence. Lai (Hakha) language is an Ergative-Absolutive in Case marking as shown in Figure 7 and Nominative-Accusative in agreement. The Case system is ergative (Lehman, 1999; Peterson, 2003) because the subject marker nih only appears in transitive
sentences on the most agentive argument and the object marker *cu* or *kha*\(^8\) can come both in transitive (on the patient argument) and intransitive sentences. However, Bedell (1996) doubts that Lai is an ergative language because the case markers are optional. The agreement system is NOM-ACC because the subject agreement marker of transitive and intransitive sentences is same but the object agreement marker is different (see section 2.2.4).

### 2.2.3 Non-verbal predicates

In Lai, the copula verb *si* ‘BE’ is used for equative clauses and another copula verb *um* ‘BE’ is used for locative and existential clauses. *um* can also be used as the verb ‘baby sit’. There is no copula verb in attributive predications and the verb *ngei* ‘have’ is used in possessive predications.

#### A. Equative

The schema for equative clauses is below. It means that the second (predicate) NP defines the subject NP.

\[
\left[ \left[ \text{NP} \text{ cu} \right] \text{NP} \left[ \text{AG} \text{ si} \right] \right]_\text{S-Equative}
\]

(16) Constructed example

\[
ka \quad pa \quad cu \quad Biak \ Cung \quad a \quad si
\]

POSS.1s father CS.S Name.proper 3s.S BE

‘My father is Biak Cung.’

In an equative sentence (16), the nominative NP *ka pa* ‘my father’ is followed by case marker *cu* (*nih* cannot be used), the predicate NP *Biak Cung*, the subject agreement *a* ‘3s.S’ and the copula verb *si*.

Although *si* ‘BE’ is a copula verb, it can only be used in equative sentences. And it does not change for plural subjects like English (verb to be *are*). However, the agreement markers will change as in (17) which has a 3p.S agreement marker and (18) which has 1p.S agreement marker.

---

\(^8\) Although *kha* is used as object case marker, it can also mean Demonstrative ‘that’. So, the Lai speakers often prefer using *cu* to *kha* for object case marker.
(17) Constructed example

\[ anmah \ hna \ cu \ \text{sibawi} \ an \ \text{si} \]
Pro.3p PL CS.S doctor 3p.S BE
‘They are doctors.’

(18) Constructed example

\[ kanmah \ hna \ cu \ \text{sianghngakchia} \ \text{kan} \ \text{si} \]
Pro.1p PL CS.S student 1p.S BE
‘We are students.’

B. Attributive

In attributives, the AP functions as a predicate. The subject NP is followed by the agreement marker and the adjective phrase. Some adjectives in Lai function as verbs. The schema of attributives is as follows:

\[
[ [ \text{NP} \ cu] \ [\text{AG} \ \text{AP}] ]_{\text{S-Attributive}}
\]

(19) Constructed example

\[ amah \ nu \ cu \ a \ \text{der} \]
Pro.3s F CS.S 3s.S thin
‘She is thin.’

In an attributive sentence (19), the subject NP \text{amahnu} ‘she’ is followed by the case marker \text{cu} (not \text{nih}), agreement \text{a} ‘3s.S’ and adjective \text{der} ‘thin’. There is no copula in attributive sentences. The agreement will change in accordance with the subject of the sentence as in (20) and (21).

(20) Constructed example

\[ caw \ hna \ cu \ \text{an} \ \text{der} \]
cow PL CS.S 3p.S thin
‘Cows are thin.’

(21) Constructed example

\[ nanmah \ hna \ cu \ \text{nan} \ \text{tha} \]
Pro.2p PL CS.S 2p.S good
‘You (PL) are good.’
C. Locative

The copula verb *um* is used in locatives. The subject NP is followed by the PP and the locative copula verb *um*. The schema is as follows:

\[
\left[ \left[ \text{NP } cu \right] \text{PP}_{\text{LOC}} \left[ \text{AG } um \right] \right]_{S-\text{Locative}}
\]

(22) Constructed example

\[
\text{chizawh } cu \quad \text{cabuai } cung \quad \text{ah a } \quad \text{um}
\]

\[
\text{cat } \quad \text{CS.S} \quad \text{table } \quad \text{RN.on} \quad \text{P} \quad 3s.S \quad \text{BE}
\]

‘The cat is on the table.’

(22a) Constructed example

\[
\text{chizawh } cu \quad \text{cabuai } cung \quad \text{ah a } \quad \text{um lo}
\]

\[
\text{cat } \quad \text{CS.S} \quad \text{table } \quad \text{RN.on} \quad \text{P} \quad 3s.S \quad \text{BE } \text{NEG}
\]

‘The cat is not on the table.’

In the locative sentence (22), the nominative NP *chizawh* ‘cat’ is followed by the case marker *cu* (not *nih*), the PP *cabuai cungah* ‘on the table’ that shows the location, the agreement *a* ‘3s.S’ and the copula verb *um* ‘BE’. If the locative sentence is negated as in (22a), the cat is still somewhere although it is not on the table. The agreement will change with the subject as in (23), however, the NP + PP order is fixed.

(23) Constructed example

\[
\text{ar } \quad \text{hna } cu \quad \text{dum } \quad \text{chung } \quad \text{ah an } \quad \text{um}
\]

\[
\text{chicken } \quad \text{PL} \quad \text{CS.S} \quad \text{garden } \quad \text{RN.inside} \quad \text{P} \quad 3p.S \quad \text{BE}
\]

‘The chickens are in the garden.’

D. Existential

The schema for existential sentences is different from the previous schema of locative although they are similar in some respects. The PP is prior to the nominal NP (note that there is no *cu* in this schema) and followed by the existential copula verb *um*.

\[
\left[ \text{PP}_{\text{LOC}} \quad \text{NP} \left[ \text{AG } um \right] \right]_{S-\text{Existential}}
\]
(24) Constructed example

\[ dum \text{ chung ah caw a } um \]
\[
garden \text{ RN.inside P cow 3s.S BE}\
\]
‘There is a cow in the garden.’

(24a) Constructed example

\[ dum \text{ chung ah caw a } um \text{ lo} \]
\[
garden \text{ RN.inside P cow 3s.S BE NEG}\
\]
‘There is no cow in the garden.’

In the sentence (24), the postpositional phrase \textit{dum chungah} ‘in the garden’ shows that the location comes ahead of the noun phrase \textit{caw ‘cow’} and is followed by the agreement \textit{a ‘3s.S’} and the copula verb \textit{um ‘BE’}. Although it is similar to the locative sentence (22), the existential sentence is different from the locative ones when it is negated as in (24a), that is, the cow does not exist.

The NP is the same whether it is definite or indefinite. And the agreement marker shows whether the subject is plural or singular although there is no plural marker on the NP as in (25).

(25) Constructed example

\[ bizu \text{ chung ah cauk an } um \]
\[
cupboard \text{ RN.inside P book 3p.S BE}\
\]
‘There are books in the cupboard.’

E. Possessive

In possessive sentences, the possessor comes first, followed by the possessee and agreement marker and the verb \textit{ngei}. The schema is as follows:

\[ [ [\text{NP}\text{POSSESSOR cu}] \text{ NP}\text{POSSESEE } [\text{AG ngei} ]]_{S:\text{Possessive}} \]

(26) Constructed example

\[ anmah hna cu phaisa an ngei \]
\[
Pro.3p PL CS.S money 3p.S have.I\
\]
‘They have money.’
In (26), the possessor anmah hna ‘Pro.3p’ is followed by case marker cu (not nih), the NP possessee phaisa ‘money’, the agreement an ‘3p.S’ and the verb ngei ‘have.I’.

But, if the subject marker nih is used in the possessive sentence, the verb becomes stem II, for example, the suffix -h is added to the verb as ngeih ‘have.II’ in (27). However, both clauses have the same meaning.

(27) Constructed example
    anmah hna nih phaisa an ngeih
    Pro.3p PL CS.A money 3p.S have.II
    ‘They have money.’

2.2.4 Agreement
Transitive sentences

Lai has agreement markers (Bedell, 1996; Peterson, 2003) for both subject and object; ka ‘1s.S’, kán ‘1p.S’, na ‘2s.S’, nan ‘2p.S’, a ‘3s.S’, an ‘3p.S’, ka ‘1s.O’, kàn ‘1p.O’, in ‘2s.O’ and hna ‘2p.O/3p.O’. The agreement marker itself preserves as its grammatical function in the sentence whether the subject NP or object NP is or is not overt. An object agreement marker can come together with the object NP in a transitive sentence as in (28). But, in this particular kind of sentence, speakers of Lai normally drop the object NP and its case marker and use only the object agreement marker (29). If there are two adjacent agreement markers in a transitive sentence, the first agreement is for subject and the second one will be for object (28), (29) and (32). However, if there is only one agreement in a transitive or intransitive sentence, it is normally the subject (30), (31), (33) and (34).

(28) Constructed example
    amah nu nih keimah cu a ka hnamh
    Pro.3s F CS.S Pro.1s CS.O 3s.S 1s.O kiss.II
    ‘She kisses me.’
(29) Constructed example

\[ \text{amah} \ nu \ nih \ a \ ka \ hnamh \]

Pro.3s F CS.S 3s.S 1s.O kiss.II

‘She kisses me.’ Or ‘I am kissed by her.’

(30) Constructed example

\[ \text{amah} \ nu \ ka \ hnamh \]

Pro.3s F 1s.S kiss.II

‘I kiss her.’

(31) Constructed example

\[ \text{nangmah} \ nih \ uico \ na \ velh \]

Pro.2s CS.A dog 2s.S hit.II

‘You hit the dog.’

(32) Constructed example

\[ \text{an} \ \text{in} \ \text{velh} \ \text{lai} \]

3p.S 2s.O hit.II FUT

‘They will hit you.’

**Intransitive sentences**

The agreement system of intransitive sentences is similar to that of transitive sentences.

(33) Constructed example

\[ \text{na} \ \text{it} \]

2s.S sleep.I

‘You sleep.’

(34) Constructed example

\[ \text{amah} \ nu \ a \ kal \]

Pro.3s F 3s.S go

‘She goes.’

---

9 To be truly passive the worder should be as in (i), however the combination of \textit{nih} and stem II verbs does create a strong affectedness interpretation.

(i) \[ \text{amah} \ nu \ nih \ hnamh \ ka \ si \]

person F CS.S kiss.II 1s.O BE

‘I am kissed by her.’
In Lai, the agreement system is Nominative-Accusative as shown in Figure 8. The subject agreement a ‘3s.S’ in transitive sentence (28) is the same with that of the subject intransitive sentence in (34) but the object agreement is ø as in (30). In the same way, the subject agreement na ‘2s.S’ in transitive sentence (31) is the same with that of intransitive sentence as in (33) but the object agreement is different in ‘2s.O’ in (32).

The following Table 5 shows subject and object agreement markers for both verb stem I & II (Base form and Derived form).

Note: The bolded marks reflexive agreement. And also the 3s reflexive is ‘aa ø’ and the 3p reflexive is ‘an i V hna’.

When 1s acts upon the 2s and 2p, the subject agreement marker ka changes into kàn and it seems to be the combination of ka … in (2s.O). And in the same way, the 3s subject agreement marker a also changes into an (seems the combination of a … in). The plural marker hna also works as the object agreement marker for 2p and 3p.

**Table 5 Subject and object agreement markers for declarative sentences.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>O</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>1s</th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>2s</th>
<th>2p</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kaa</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>kàn</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>V hna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1s</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>kàn</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>kàn</td>
<td>in-V hna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>na</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>kàn</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V hna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nan</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>nan</td>
<td>kàn</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V hna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>kàn</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V hna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>an</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>kàn</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V hna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.2.5 Tenses
There are four morphemes that mark tense and aspect (Bedell, 2005). The morpheme *rak* is used for past tense (one exception is that *rak* can sometimes also be directional marker (Bedell, 2005; Peterson, 2003). *lai* is used for future tense, *cang* is used for perfective aspect, and *lio* is used for progressive or continuous sentences. The constructions of TAM are as follows:

1. \[ \text{rak} \ V \]
2. \[ V \ldots \text{lai} \]
3. \[ V \ldots \text{cang} \]
4. \[ V \ldots \text{lio} \]

(note: ‘…’ means there can be some intervening material)

A. Aspect marking sentences
Unlike English, a sentence in Lai can have different aspects even though it shows a specific tense. For example, sentence (35) can mean that ‘the man is/was sleeping’ or ‘the man slept’. Moreover, the semantic aspect can be anomolous although the syntactic structure (TAM) of the sentence is correct. In (40), *khua* ‘break’ is not an action that is easily understood as ongoing.

(35) Constructed example
\[
\text{mipa cu a rak it}
\]
\[
\text{man CS.S 3s.S PAST sleep.I}
\]

‘The man is/ was sleeping.’ or ‘The man slept.’

(36) Constructed example
\[
\text{mipa cu a it lai}
\]
\[
\text{man CS.S 3s.S sleep.I FUT}
\]

‘The man will sleep.’

(37) Constructed example
\[
\text{mipa cu a it cang}
\]
\[
\text{man CS.S 3s.S sleep.I PRF}
\]

‘The man has already slept.’ or ‘The man is sleeping.’
(38) Constructed example
   mipa cu a it lio
   man CS.S 3s.S sleep.I CONT
   ‘The man is sleeping.’

(39) Constructed example
   # hngakchia pa nih thlalanghrai a khuai lai
   child M CS.A glass 3s.S break FUT
   #’The boy will break the glass.’

(40) Constructed example
   # hngakchia pa nih thlalanghrai a khuai lio
   child M CS.A glass 3s.S break CONT
   # ‘The boy is breaking the glass.’

(41) Constructed example
   # mipa cu a sang lio
   man CS.S 3s.S tall CONT
   # ‘The man is growing tall.’

(42) Constructed example
   # minu cu a khuh cang
   woman CS.S 3s.S cough PRF
   # ‘The woman has already coughed.’

(1) rak

Sometimes the particle rak is ambiguous as it can be perfective or imperfective (35). But when there is a past time expression or a subordinate clause, it shows perfective sense. If the particle rak is used together with the particle cang, it is clear that it has perfective sense. And if it is used together with the particle lio it shows the imperfective sense. Like (41), the sentence mipa cu a rak sang ‘the man was tall’ will be anomolous if we do not know the context, i.e whether he died (he was tall when he was alive) or he is now bending because of his age.
The particle *cang* also has an ambiguous meaning in a sentence as in (37) because it can be perfective or imperfective. We need to know the context, e.g., if the subject is adult, the sentence will mean that he is sleeping ‘achieved the state of sleeping’ but if the subject is a baby or a child, it will mean that he has already slept (because a child has to sleep at noon but now he is playing). If there is adverb like *dih* ‘completely’ or ‘already’ before the particle *cang* or the number like two, three in the sentence, the sentence shows perfective sense. Sentence (42) does not make sense in Lai but it will show entered the state of repeated action if there is time expression like ‘for two weeks’.

The particle *lio* normally has imperfective continuous sense. But it cannot be used with certain verbs such as *khuaï* ‘break’ (40). Sentence (41) is odd in Lai but if the verb *thang* ‘grow’ is used it is grammatical. If the particle *lio* is used together with the particle *lai*, it shows the expectation of something will happen. It can also be used together with *rak* … *lio*, *lio* … *cang* and they still have an imperfective sense.

The particle *lai* usually has imperfective future sense even when it is used together with other aspect markers. The sentences of *rak* … *lai*, *cang* … *lai*, *lio* … *lai* all have the imperfective future sense. Sentence (39) is used to blame other person who does not obey his/her reminder or warning.

The following Table 6 shows the results of using Aspect and tense markers with different semantic type of verbs. In Table 6, a ‘+’ means ‘yes’ that verb can occur with the TAM in that column with the marked meaning (35), a ‘-’ means ‘no’ and a ‘*’ and bolded ones means ‘anomolous’ (39), (40), (41) and (42).
Table 6 The table showing results of aspect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>[ rak v ]</th>
<th>[ v ... cang ]</th>
<th>[ v ... lio ]</th>
<th>[ v ... lai ]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PF</td>
<td>IPF</td>
<td>PF</td>
<td>IPF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X sleep</td>
<td>CONT</td>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>CONT</td>
<td>FUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X run</td>
<td>CONT</td>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>CONT</td>
<td>FUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X run to Y</td>
<td>CONT</td>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>CONT</td>
<td>FUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X break Y</td>
<td>CONT</td>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>CONT</td>
<td>FUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X hit Y</td>
<td>CONT</td>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>CONT</td>
<td>FUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X build Y</td>
<td>CONT</td>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>CONT</td>
<td>FUT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.6 Subordinate clauses

There are three basic types of subordinate clause: (a) complement clauses, (b) adverbial clauses, and (c) relative clauses (Kroeger, 2005, p. 219). However, only two sections: complement clauses and adverbial clauses will be discussed in this section (Relative clauses will be discussed in chapter 3). The subordinate clause is put into square brackets in each sentence.

**A. Complement clauses**

One type of sentential complement occurs with chim ‘say’ verb. It takes the form schematized below:

**Say:**

\[ [ \text{NP}_{\text{SUBJ}} [ \ldots \text{tiah}]_{\text{S}} [ \text{AG chim}]_{\text{vp}} ]_{\text{S}} \]

(43) Constructed example

\textit{mipa nih [ka rawl a \text{tam ti ah}] a chim}

man CS.A POSS.1s food 3s.S hungry say P 3s.S speak.I

‘The man says that he is hungry.’
In example (43), the subject NP comes first, the sentential complement follows and the VP. It is the general formation of the sentential complement of ‘say’ verbs (some Lai speakers use ti ‘say’ in place of chim ‘say’). But in formal writing, the sentential sentence is put in inverted commas and the subject NP comes after the COMP tiah (see more on complement clauses in 5.2.3).

Tell:

Another type of sentential complement occurs with chimh ‘tell’ verb. The schema is as below:

\[
\text{[ NP}_{\text{SUBJ}} [...\text{sinah}]_{\text{NP,OBJ}} [...\text{tiah}]_{\text{S,complement}} [ AG \text{chimh}]_{\text{VP}} ]_{S}
\]

(44) Constructed example

\text{mipa nih a nu sin ah [ka rawl a}
man CS.A POSS.3s mother RN.to P POSS.1s food 3s.S
\text{tam ti ah]} a chimh
hungry say P 3s.S speak.II

‘He speaks to his mother that he is hungry.’

In (44), the subject NP is followed by the object NP, the complement clause and the VP. As there is an object in the sentence, the verb chim ‘speak.I’ becomes chimh ‘speak.II’ with the suffix –h (see section 2.2.7). As in (43), when it is formally written, the sentential complement comes first and then both the subject and object NPs come after the COMP tiah.

Want:

One type of complement clauses is a nominal clause. In a nominalized clause, the nominalizer awk plus postposition ah is used. The schema is as follows:

\[
\text{[ NP}_{\text{SUBJ}} [...\text{awkah}]_{\text{S,complement}} [...\text{duh piak}]_{\text{VP}} ]_{S}
\]

(45) Constructed example

\text{ka pa nih [ca thiam si awk ah]}
POSS.1s father CS.A lesson skillful BE NMLZ P
\text{a ka duh piak}
3s.S 1s.O want BEN

‘My father wants me to be an educated person.’
In sentence (45), the subject NP is followed by the sentential complement and the VP. In this sentence, the object NP is omitted and the agreement object marker ka represents the object. The subject NP can also come after the sentential complement especially in informal speech.

**B. Subordinate Adverbial Clause**

In Lai, most subordinate adverbial clauses come before the main clauses as is illustrated in examples (46 – 55). But there is an exception for some (e.g zeicatiah as in (54)). In the main clauses, there is not any subject NP for pronouns, only agreement markers preserve as its function as in (46 – 55). Sometimes, the subordinate adverbial clause can be embedded within the main clause especially when the subject of the main clause and the subordinate clause is the same (48), (50). (see also sections 5.2.4 and 5.3.4) In what follows each subordinate clause is identified by semantic type and described.

‘After’ clause:

The schema for the subordinating conjunction hnuah ‘after’ is as follows:

\[
[[[[\ldots]s\ hnuah]_{S\text{-after}}\ldots[AG\ V]_{VP}]_{S\text{-main}}
\]

(46) Constructed example

\[
[\text{amah nih ca a zoh hnu ah }]\ ka\ it
\]

\begin{align*}
\text{Pro.3s CS.A lesson 3s.S study after P 1s.S sleep.I} \\
\text{‘I go to sleep after he/she studies his/her lessons.’}
\end{align*}

In (46), the subordinate adverbial clause \text{amah nih ca a zoh hnu ah} ‘after he/she studies his/her lessons’ appears before the main clause \text{ka it} ‘I sleep’. In this sentence, although there is subject \text{amah nih} in the subordinate adverbial clause, only the agreement marker \text{ka} ‘1s.S’ appears in place of subject of the main clause.

‘Before’ clause:

The schema for the subordinating conjunction hlana ‘before’ is as below:

\[
[[[[\ldots]s\ hlana]_{S\text{-before}}\ldots[AG\ V]_{VP}]_{S\text{-main}}
\]

(47) Constructed example

\[
[\text{amah nu rawl a ei hlan ah }]\ ka\ tin
\]

\begin{align*}
\text{Pro.3s F food 3s.S eat before P 1s.S go.home} \\
\text{‘I went home before she ate food (at the party).’}
\end{align*}
In sentence (47), the subordinate adverbial clause *amah nu rawl a ei hlanah* ‘before she ate food’ comes first and the main clause *ka tin* ‘I went home’ follows. The agreement marker *ka* ‘1s.S’ in the main clause still preserves its function although there is not any overt subject of the main clause.

‘First’ clause:

The form of the subordinating conjunction *hmasa* ‘first’ is schematized as follows:

\[
[[ [ \ldots ]_s hmasa]_{S,\text{first}} \ i \ [ AG \ V]_{vp} ]_{S,\text{main}}
\]

(48) Constructed example

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{anmah} & \text{hna} \\
\text{cu} & \text{[thlacamnak an ngei hmasa]} \\
\text{Pro.3p} & \text{CS.S prayer} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{i} & \text{an} \\
\text{3p.S} & \text{have first} \\
\text{and} & \text{3p.S go} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘They had a prayer first and they went.’

In (48), the subordinate adverbial clause *thlacamnak an ngei* ‘they had a prayer’ is embedded within the main clause *anmah hna cu … an kal* ‘they … went’ and they are connected by the conjunction *i*. But instead of *i*, the subordinating conjunction *hnuah* ‘after’ can also be used. This kind of sentence where the subordinate clause is embedded in the main clause, often appears when the subject of the subordinate clause and the main clause is the same.

‘Then’ clause:

Another subordinating conjunction *cun* ‘then’ can be schematized as below:

\[
[[ [ \ldots ]_s cun]_{S,\text{then}} \ [AG \ V]_{vp} \ldots ]_{S,\text{main}}
\]

(49) Constructed example

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{[ ka nu nih rawl a chumh cun]} & \text{kan ei hna} \\
\text{POSS.1s mother} & \text{CS.A food} \\
\text{3S.S cook.II} & \text{then} \\
\text{1p.S eat} & \text{PL} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘My mother cooks food then we have it (together).’

In (49), the subordinate adverbial clause *ka nu nih rawl a chumh cun* ‘my mother cooks food then’ comes first and then the main clause *kan ei hna* ‘we have it’ follows. It is similar to other subordinate adverbial clause constructions.
‘If – Then /Conditional’ clause:

The schema for the subordinating conjunction ahcun ‘if’ is as follows:

\[
[ [ [ ... ]_{S,if} ahcun ] ]_{S,if} [ AG V]_{vp} ... ]_{S,main}
\]

(50) Constructed example

\[
\text{Pro.2s } \text{CS.S lesson REFLEX.2s try if 2s.S pass.I FUT}
\]

‘If you try hard at lessons, then you will pass (the exam).’

In (50), the subordinate adverbial clause ca naa zuam ahcun ‘if you try hard at lessons’ is embedded into the main clause nangmah cu … na awng lai ‘you … will pass.’. It does not mean that verb stem I always comes in the main clause (see in section 2.2.7). This kind of sentence (50) often appears when the subject of the main clause and the subordinate clause is the same referent. ahcun ‘if’ can also appear as other subordinating conjunctions without embedding within the main clause (see section 5.2.4).

‘When’ clause:

The schema for the subordinating conjunction tikah ‘when’ is as below:

\[
[ [ [ ... ]_{S,when} tikah ] ]_{S,when} [AG V]_{vp} ... ]_{S,main}
\]

(51) Constructed example

\[
\text{house 2s.S go.home when P 1s.S speak.II FUT}
\]

‘I will tell you when you go home (arrive at home).’

In example (51), the subject NP of the embedded clause is dropped and the NP_{LOC} is followed by the VP in the subordinate clause and tikah is used as a subordinating conjunction. Although the subject of the subordinate adverbial clause is not overt, the agreement marker na ‘2s.S’ in the subordinate adverbial clause and the agreement marker kàn ‘1s.S’ in the main clause each still indicates who the referents are.

\[\text{The agreement marker kàn ‘1s.S’ is the combination of } ka ‘1s.S’ \text{ and in ‘2s.O’ (Bedell, 1995; Agreement in Lai). Since, there is an object, the verb is transitive and takes stem II.}\]
‘While’ clause:

The schema for the subordinating conjunction lioah ‘while’ is as follows:

\[
\left[ \left[ \ldots \right]_{S \text{,while}} [A G \ V]_{V P} \ldots \right]_{S \text{,main}}
\]

(52) Constructed example

\[\text{rawl kan ei lio ah] a ra}\]

food 1p.S eat CONT P 3s.S come.I

‘He/she comes while we are having food.’

In example (52), the subject NP does not appear in the subordinate adverbial clause, however, the agreement marker kan ‘1p.S’ preserves its semantic function. Like others, the subordinate adverbial clause rawl kan ei lioah ‘while we are having food’ comes first and the main clause a ra ‘he/she comes’ follows.

‘During’ clause:

The subordinating conjunction lioah ‘during’ can be schematized as follows:

\[
\left[ \left[ \ldots \right]_{S \text{,during}} \ldots \right]_{S \text{,main}}
\]

(53a) Constructed example

\[\text{furpi a si lio ah] fikfa tam-pi an um}\]

rainy 3s.S BE CONT P mosquito many.very 3p.S BE

‘There are lots of mosquitoes during the rainy season.’

In (53a), the subordinate adverbial clause furpi a si lioah ‘during the rainy season’ is followed by the main clause fikfa tampi an um ‘there are lots of mosquitoes’. Moreover, the subordinating conjunction lioah ‘during’ can also be replaced by the postposition ah ‘at’ in Lai and the subordinate clause will become like furpi ah ‘in rainy season’ as a PP as in (53b).

(53b) Constructed example

\[\text{furpi ah] fikfa tam-pi an um}\]

rainy P mosquito many.very 3p.S BE

‘There are lots of mosquitoes in rainy season.’

38
‘Since’ clause:

The schema for the subordinating conjunction caah ‘since/as’ is as follows:

\[
[[ \ldots ]_s \text{caah }]_{s, \text{since}} [ \ldots \text{AG V}_\text{VP} \ldots ]_{s, \text{main}}
\]

(54) Constructed example

\[
[ \text{ka} \quad \text{nupi} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{dam} \quad \text{lo} \quad \text{ca} \quad \text{ah}] \quad \text{sianginn} \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{ra} \quad \text{lo}
\]

POSS.1s wife 3s.S fine NEG for P school 1s.S come.I NEG

‘I did not come to school since my wife was not well.’

In example (54), the subordinate adverbial clause \text{ka} \text{nupi} \text{a} \text{dam lo caah} ‘since my wife was not well’ comes first and the main clause \text{sianginn ka ra lo} ‘I did not come to school’ follows. In the subordinate adverbial clause, there is the subject NP \text{ka nupi} ‘my wife’, however, there is no subject NP in the main clause; the agreement marker \text{ka} ‘1s.S’ still marks the subject like in other subordinate adverbial clauses.

‘Because’ clause:

Unlike other subordinating conjunctions, zeicatiah ‘because’ has different word order. The subordinate adverbial clause follows the main clause. The schema is as follows:

\[
[ \text{NP}_{\text{SUBJ}} \quad \text{NP}_{\text{LOC}} \quad \text{VP} \quad [ \text{zeicatiah} \quad \text{VP} ]_{s, \text{because}} ]_{s, \text{main}}
\]

(55) Constructed example

\[
\text{minu} \quad \text{cu} \quad \text{sianginn} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{ra} \quad \text{lo} \quad \text{[zeicatiah a dam lo]}
\]

woman CS.S school 3s.S come.I NEG because 3s.S fine NEG

‘The woman does not come to school because she is not well.’

Example (55) is different from other subordinate adverbial clauses because the main clause \text{minu cu sianginn a ra lo} ‘the woman does not come to school’ comes first and the subordinate adverbial clause \text{zeicatiah a dam lo} ‘because she is not well’ follows. The subordinating conjunction \text{zeicatiah} introduces the reason for the result and subordinates to the main clause.
2.2.7 Verb Stem Alternation

2.2.7.1 Introduction

Bedell (2013) says that ‘Verb Stem Alternation’ refers to morphological variation of verb forms under complex morphosyntactic and pragmatic conditions’ (p. 1). He uses “base” form and “derived” form in his paper. Hartmann (2008) used Stem A and Stem B in her dissertation. Kee Shein Mang (2006) used the term Stem I and Stem II in his thesis. In this thesis, the author will use the term stem I for base form and stem II for derived form. The base form means the verbs which are used in simple declarative sentences and the derived form means the verbs which change phonetically depending on the syntactic and pragmatic conditions. In Lai, there is verb alternation phonetically for most verbs, however, there are some very common verbs that do not have alternation (e.g tan ‘cut’, kham ‘block’). The verb stem choice depends on the affectedness of the verb. In (56), the verb kap ‘shoot.I’ does not entail on the object; it simply tells about ‘my grandfather is the one who shot many animals’. However, in (57), the verb kah ‘shoot.II’ has an effect on the object ‘animals’.

(56) Constructed example

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
ka & pu & cu & sa & tampi & a & kap \\
\text{POSS.1s} & \text{grandfather} & \text{CS.S} & \text{animal} & \text{many} & 3s.S & \text{shoot.I}
\end{array}
\]

‘My grandfather shot many animals.’

(57) Constructed example

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
ka & pu & nih & sa & tampi & a & kah \\
\text{POSS.1s} & \text{grandfather} & \text{CS.A} & \text{animal} & \text{many} & 3s.S & \text{shoot.II}
\end{array}
\]

‘My grandfather shot many animals.’

2.2.7.2 Syntactic environments of Stem I and Stem II

The verb stem choice in a sentence changes according to its syntactic or semantic environment. The following Table 7 shows how verb stem choice differs due to the syntactic or semantic environment.
Table 7 Syntactic environments of stem I and stem II

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Each line of the table is described below with example sentences.

(1) **Transitive**

Although both example (58) and (59) are transitive sentences, they have different verb stems due to their “affectedness” an entailed result effect.

(58) Constructed example

\[
\text{mipa nga a tlai}
\]

man fish 3s.S catch.I

‘The man is catching fish.’ Or ‘The man is fishing.’
(59) Constructed example

\[
\text{mipa nih nga a tlaikh}
\]
\[
\text{man CS.A fish 3s.S catch.II}
\]

‘The man catches the fish.’

In (58), the verb \textit{tlai} ‘catch.I’ does not necessarily have an effect on the object ‘fish’; it simply shows that ‘the man is catching fish’ or ‘the man is fishing’. In other word, the verb is ‘non-agentive’ (Bedell, 2013). However, in (59), the verb \textit{tlaih} (Stem II) indicates that the man catches the fish. The stem II verbs correlate highly with “affectedness”.

(2) Intransitive

In intransitive sentences, especially in independent clauses, verb stem I is always used as in (60). This example sentence simply tells us that the woman arrives from the farm. However, stem II is used with intransitive in subordinate clauses.

(60) Constructed example

\[
\text{minu cu lo in a tlung}
\]
\[
\text{woman CS.S farm P 3s.S arrive.I}
\]

‘The woman arrives from the farm.’

(3) Adverbial Clause

In adverbial (subordinate) clauses, the stem II is used (61). The adverbial (subordinate) clauses can be found in section 2.2.6 and also in section 5.2.4 on the postpositions chapter 5. However, the verb stem choice of the main clause can be either stem I or stem II according to the affectedness of the main clause object.

(61) Constructed example

\[
\text{minu cu lo in a tlun hnu ah aa}
\]
\[
\text{woman CS.S farm P 3s.S arrive.II after P REFLEX.3s}
\]
\[
\text{khawlh}
\]

‘The woman bathes after she arrives from the farm.’
(4) Subject Relativizing Clause

In a subject relativizing clause, verb stem I is used as in (62). The relativizer tu introduces that the head noun ralkap ‘soldier’ is modified by the relative clause and functions as a subject in that relative clause. ralkap ‘soldier’ is also the main subject of the sentence. (see more in the Relative clause chapter 4)

(62) Constructed example

\[
\begin{align*}
mipa & \quad vel & \quad tu & \quad ralkap & \quad an & \quad ra \\
man & \quad 3s.S & \quad hit.I & \quad REL & \quad soldier & \quad 3p.S & \quad come.I \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘The soldiers who beat the man come.’

(5) Object Relativizing Clause

In an object relativizing clause, verb stem II is used (63). The relativizer mi also shows that the head noun mipa ‘man’ is the object of the relative clause even if this noun stands as the subject of the main sentence. See Relative Clause in Chapter 3.

(63) Constructed example

\[
\begin{align*}
ralkap & \quad nih & \quad an & \quad velh & \quad mi & \quad mipa & \quad a & \quad ra \\
soldier & \quad CS.A & \quad 3p.S & \quad hit.II & \quad REL & \quad man & \quad 3s.S & \quad come.I \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘The man who is beaten by the soldiers comes.’

(6) Negation (Main clause)

Verb stem I is used in all main clauses with negation as in (64). In this sentence, the verb ding ‘drink’ is transitive, however, it does not effect the object zu ‘liquor’. Pragmatically, this sentence means that my father never drinks liquor. (It can also mean that my father does not drink at that particular time of the speech.) Lai negative markers are lo in indicative and hlah in jussive mood (Peterson, 2003) which come after verb.

(64) Constructed example

\[
\begin{align*}
ka & \quad pa & \quad cu & \quad zu & \quad a & \quad ding & \quad lo \\
POSS.1s & \quad father & \quad CS.S & \quad liquor & \quad 3s.S & \quad drink.I & \quad NEG \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘My father does not drink liquor (alcohol).’
(7) Negation (Subordinate clause)

However, verb stem II is used if the negation is in a subordinate clause (65). The main clause in (65) is imperative. This sentence does not mean that you must be the one who never drinks liquor but only for that particular time of speech.

(65) Constructed example

\[\text{zu na din lo ahcun ra ko}\]
\[\text{liquor 2s.S drink.II NEG if come.I S.F}\]
\[\text{‘If you do not drink, come with us.’}\]

(8) Interrogative (Yes/No)

In Yes/No question, the verb stem I is used as in (66). If verb stem II is used in a Yes/No question, the sentence will become a confirmation question similar to (68) shown in (66a). Yes/No questions always end with the particle maw.

(66) Constructed example

\[\text{na ka au maw ?}\]
\[\text{2s.S 1s.O call.I QUE}\]
\[\text{‘Do you call me?’}\]

(66a) Constructed example

\[\text{na ka auh maw ?}\]
\[\text{2s.S 1s.O call.II QUE}\]
\[\text{‘You called me, right?’}\]

(9) Interrogative (Content/confirmation)

Verb stem II is used in Content questions (67) and confirmation questions (68). One exception is that verb stem I is used for Intransitive verbs in Content questions. In Lai, content interrogative pronouns are in situ (Kroeger, 2005, p. 205) and they are zeidah ‘what’, ahodah ‘who’, khuazeidah ‘where’, zeitikdah ‘when’, zeicaahdah ‘why’, zeitindah ‘how’, ahokhadah ‘whom’, ahotadah ‘whose’, zeibantukdah ‘which’ and zeitlukdah ‘how much/many’. Sometimes, Lai speakers omit dah, especially in casual speech.
(67) Constructed example

\[ \text{ahodah na auh ?} \]
who 2s.S call.II

‘Who are you calling?’

(68) Constructed example

\[ na ka auh ti ? \]
2s.S 1s.O call.II QUE.Conf

‘You called me, right?’

(10) Imperative

Verb stem I is used in imperative sentences (69) and prohibitive sentences (69a).

(69) Constructed example

\[ \text{nga va tla'i} \]
fish DIR catch.I

‘(Go and) catch the fish.’

(69a) Constructed example

\[ \text{nga tla'i hlah} \]
fish catch.I NEG.IMPER

‘Don’t catch the fish.’

(11) Noun-Verb compounding

In noun-verb compounding, verb stem II is used as in (70). There are many noun-verb compounding words in Lai (e.g. \text{ram-vaih} ‘hunting’, \text{sa-kah} ‘shooting(animal)’, \text{inn-sak} ‘building house’, etc.)

(70) Constructed example

\[ \text{nga-tla'i ka duh} \]
fish-catch.II 1s.S want

‘I want/wish to go fishing.’

(12) Applicative

If the verb is followed by an applicative, the verb has to be stem II as in (71). Lai applicatives are \text{piak} ‘benefactive’, \text{cemh} ‘additional benefactive’, \text{pi} ‘comitative’, \text{hnawh} ‘allative’, \text{kanh} ‘prioritative’, \text{tak} ‘relinquitive’ and \text{nak} ‘instrumental’ (Peterson, 2003).
(71) Constructed example

\[ \text{hngakchia nga ka tlaih pi hna ?} \]

children fish 1s.S catch.II APPLI p.O

'I lead the children to catch fish?'

(13) Causative

In causative sentences, verb stem II is used (72). There are three kinds of causatives in Lai (VanBik, 2002):

(1) S-causative, that is, devoicing or aspiration of the stem-initial consonant (e.g \( ril \) ‘roll‘- \( hril \) ‘make (it) roll’, \( mit \) ‘go out (light)‘- \( hmit \) ‘extinguish‘),

(2) \(-h\ [ʔ]\), that is, adding glottal stop in the verb (e.g \( sau \) ‘long‘- \( sauh \) ‘lengthen‘, \( rang \) ‘be fast‘- \( ranh \) ‘rush‘), and

(3) \(-ter\ , \) that is attached to verb (e.g \( ril \) ‘roll‘- \( rilhter \) ‘cause to roll‘, \( rang \) ‘be fast‘- \( ranter \) ‘rush‘). One exception is that the S-causative can also be verb stem I if the verb is originally stem I.

(72) Constructed example

\[ \text{Jesuh kha zumh ter hna} \]

Jesus CS.O believe.II CAUS p.O

'Make them believe Jesus.'

(14) Nominalization

In nominalization, especially with the NMLZ \( nak \), verb stem II is used. (Note: there are some verbs that do not have stem choice.) See Nominalization in Chapter 4.

\( hlennak \) ‘lying’ (hleng ‘lie.I’)
\( zumhnak \) ‘belief’ (zum ‘believe.I’)
\( thihnak \) ‘death’ (thi ‘die.I’)
\( sunghnak \) ‘failure’ (sung ‘fail.I’) and etc.
2.3 Conclusion
The orthography and phonetics are very similar in Lai. Lai has a similar phonemic inventory to English except it does not use all the English alphabets. There is only a few minimal pairs without vowel length. Although Lai is SOV language, the order can be changed depending on the topic or target of the sentence. Lai language is Ergative-Absolutive in case marking and Nominative-Accusative in agreement. In non-verbal predicates, the copula is ‘BE’ is used for equative, the copula um ‘BE’ is used for locative and existential, adjectives are used for attributive, and ngei ‘have’ is used for possessive. The morpheme rak is used for past tense, lai is used for future tense, cang is used for perfective aspect and lio is used for progressive or continuous tense. Except rak, other tense markers come after verbs. Subordinate clauses appear before main clauses except the subordinating conjunction zeicatiah ‘because’. The verb stem choice depends on the affectedness of the verb. It also depends on the syntactic or semantic environment.
3.1 Introduction
Shopen (2007b, p. 206) defines that “a relative clause is a subordinate clause which delimits the reference of an NP by specifying the role of the referent of that NP in the situation described by the relative clause”. There are three kinds of relative clause in Lai; externally-headed relative clauses, internally-headed relative clauses (Peterson, 2003) and headless relative clauses. The relativizers are *tu*, *mi* and *nak* that function differently depending on the targets in the clause.

Lai native speakers use all forms of relative clauses and my intuition is that the externally headed relative clause is the most common in speaking and writing. Internally headed relative clauses are used both in speaking and writing but they are more common in speaking. Headless relative clauses are mainly used when the head noun is simply understood or already introduced in the previous sentences. The number of relative clause in the collected data is too small to generalize frequencies from. (The relative clause is put in square brackets in the example sentences.)

3.2 Externally headed relative clause
As Lai is SOV language, it is expected to have a prenominal relative clause (Kroeger, 2005, p. 232; Nikolaeva, 2006); the relative clause precedes the external head. In other words, in the externally headed relative clause, the head noun comes next to the relativizer. They can be divided into four kinds; (1) the head noun as subject of the relative clause, (2) the head noun as object of the relative clause, (3) the head noun as place or instrument of the main clause and (4) the head noun in a copular main clause.

3.2.1 Externally headed noun: as subject of the relative clause
If the head noun appears after the relativizer *tu* or *mi* with verb stem I, it functions as subject of the relative clause. However, the head noun that functions as subject of
the relative clause is not necessarily subject of the main clause (sometimes the head noun is the object of the main clause). David Peterson (2003) said that there is no clear difference between the tu and mi relativizers except in terms of their potential relativization targets, but he reports that tu has a much lower text frequency. This research finds that the relativizer tu is used only when the head noun is agent of the relative clause and not with intransitive verbs.

(73) Constructed example

\[
[ka \text{ uico a vel tu/mi mipa} \text{ nih a ka seh}]
\]

POSS.1s dog 3s.S hit.I REL man CS.A 3s.S 1s.O bite

‘The man who hit my dog bit me.’

(74) Story of Kawl Hnin #73

\[
[cawk a fiál tu/mi pa ] \text{ kha camh thiam a si ve}
\]

buy 3s.S ask.I REL man that magic skilled 3s.S BE also

\[
ruang ah leklak ti ah kait e ah aa \text{ cang ve i}
\]

cuase P quickly say P kite P REFLEX.3s become also and

\[
a \text{ dawi}
\]

3s.S chase

‘As the man who asked them to buy the mythun was also good in magic, he immediately transformed into a kite and chased it (the bird transformed by Kawl Hnin).’

In (73) and (74), the head noun mipa ‘the man’ and pa ‘the man’ are agents of the relative clauses ka uico a vel tu ‘the one who hit my dog’ and cawk a fiál tu ‘the one who asked to buy (mythun)’ respectively. The relativizer tu with verb stem I always indicates that the head noun is subject of the relative clause. The head nouns of these two sentences are also agents of the main clauses, however, it does not mean that every head noun of the relativizer tu with verb stem I is agent of the main clause.

The relativizer mi can indicate that the head noun is agent or subject of the relative clause, that is, the mi can relativize either transitive verbs or intransitive verbs.
(75) Story of Kawl Hnin #75

a  donghnak  ah  [thiam  a  tak  cuahmah  mi  nu]  khi
3s.S  end  P  loom 3s.S  weave.I  still  REL  woman  that

Kawl  Hnin  nih  a  hei  hmuh
name  name  CS.A  3s.S  DIR  see.II

‘Finally, Kawl Hnin saw the woman who was weaving.’

(76) Story of Kawl Hnin #8

a  donghnak  ah  [van  in  a  tla  mi/*tu  khuhlu]  a  si
3s.S  end  P  heaven  P  3s.S  fall.I  REL  plum  3s.S  BE

kha  a  hngalh
that  3s.S  know.II

‘At last, she knew that it was the plum that fell from heaven.’

In (75), the head noun nu ‘woman’ is agent of the relative clause thiam a tak

\textit{cuahmah mi} ‘the one who is weaving (the loom)’ as the relativizer \textit{mi} comes after the
transitive verb \textit{tak} ‘weave.I’. The head noun \textit{khuhlu} ‘plum’ in (76) is subject (not
agent) of the relative clause \textit{van in a tla mi} ‘that fell from heaven’ as the relativizer

\textit{mi} follows an intransitive verb \textit{tla} ‘fall.I’. Both head nouns \textit{nu} ‘woman’ and \textit{khuhlu}

‘plum’ are patients of the main clauses.

In summary, the schema for the agentive relative clause is \([\text{[N a ‘3.S’ (AG.O) V}_{tr.I} \text{tu/mi}] \text{N]}\) and the schema for subjective relative clause is \([\text{[(PP) a ‘3.S’ V}_{intr.I} \text{mi}] \text{N]}\).
In this schemas, the agreement marker \textit{a ‘3s.S’} is used and other agreement markers
cannot replace it (see also in agreement in nominalization chapter 4).

3.2.2 Externally headed noun: as object of the relative clause
The relativizer \textit{mi} with verb stem II shows that the head noun is object of the
relative clause. Like the previous section (3.2.1), this head noun is not necessarily
object of the main clause. On the other hand, the object of a relative clause can also
be the subject of the main clause. The schema will be \([\text{[(PP/NP}_{SUB} \text{AG.S V}_{I} \text{mi}] \text{N]}\).
(77) Constructed example

\[ ka \ uico \ nih \ a \ seh \ mi \ mipa] \ nih \ a \ ka \ velh \]

POSS.1s dog CS.A 3s.S bite REL man CS.A 3s.S 1s.O hit.II

‘The man who my dog bit ø hit me.’

In example (77), the head noun \textit{mipa} ‘man’ is subject (agent) of the main clause although it is object of the relative clause. The verb \textit{seh} ‘bite’ in the relative clause does not have verb alternation, however, the case marker \textit{nih} ‘CS.A’ indicates that the NP \textit{ka uico ‘my dog’} is agent and so it is easy to know that the head noun \textit{mipa} ‘man’ is patient (object) of the relative clause.

It is predictable that the head noun of the relative clause is an object when the relativizer \textit{mi} is preceded by verb stem II.

(78) Story of Planting #42

\textit{cun} [\textit{tlang-lo i kdn cin mi facang}] \textit{hi a}

then mountain-farm P 1p.S grow.II REL rice DEM 3s.S

\textit{thawt zong a thaw deuh}

delicious.II also 3s.S delicious.I COM.D

‘Then, the rice that we grow in the farm is more delicious (than the ones from the field).’

(79) Story of Planting #62

\textit{vah cia mi lo kha a kumvui ah thlawh than}

clear.II already REL farm that 3s.S year-next P weed.II again

\textit{a si ti lo kal tak lengmang a si}

3s.S BE say NEG go APPLI.(left) always 3s.S BE

‘The farm that is already weeded for one year is not used (weeded) again for the next year, it is always left.’

In (78), the head noun \textit{facang} ‘rice’ is object of the relative clause \textit{tlang-lo i kan cin mi ‘that we grow in the farm’}. The postpositional phrase \textit{tlang-lo i ‘in the farm’} is oblique of the relative clause (see also in postposition chapter). Moreover, a subject agreement marker alone \textit{kdn ‘1p.S’} (78) or together with a NP it agrees with, like \textit{a ‘3s.S’} with \textit{ka uico ‘my dog’} (77), will be in the relative clause. However, the relative clause can be without any subject or subject agreement marker as \textit{vah cia mi ‘that is
already weeded’ in (79) especially when the subject is understood or is already known. Although there is no subject in the relative clause of this sentence (79), the head noun lo ‘farm’ is object as the verb vah ‘clear.IL’ indicates that ‘the farm is cleared/weeded (by the people)’. This head noun is also object of the main clause.

Sometimes, it is hard to predict that the head noun is object of the relative clause by its syntactic structure. In other words, we also need to look at the semantic meaning of the verb and/or the clause.

(80) Story of Nggunu #7

[zei a tuah mi paoh ] kha a lungtling kho lo
QUE 3s.S do REL everything that 3s.S satisfy.I can.I NEG

‘She (Nggunnu’s step-mother) was not satisfied whatever she (Nggunnu) did.’

(81) Story of Planting #5

a hmasa bik ah [thingkung tang i um mi ram] hi
3s.S first SUP.D P tree under P BE REL grass DEM
vah hmasa a si
clear.II first 3s.S BE

‘Firstly, the grass that is under the trees is cleared out.’

The head noun paoh ‘everything’ (80) is similar in meaning to the combination of zei ‘QUE’ and paoh ‘everything’ like zeipaoh ‘everything/whatever’. But Lai speakers may not say internally headed *zeipaoh a tuah mi ‘whatever she did’ for this sentence, they would prefer externally headed a tuah mi zeipaoh ‘whatever she did’. If an internally headed relative clause is used, it will need another head noun like the previous section 3.2.1, for example, zeipaoh a tuah mi minung ‘the person who did everything/whatever (he wants)’. Subject or object cannot be determined by the verb tuah ‘do’ as it does not have verb stem. The agreement marker a ‘3s.S’ in the relative clause agrees with Nggunu (that would be in the previous sentence of the story, not with the head noun). Another a ‘3s.S’ in the main clause agrees with Nggunu’s step-mother (that would also be in the previous sentence of the story).

Knowing the semantic meaning of the clause helps us distinguish between being subject or object of the relative clause. The particle kha ‘CS.O’ shows that the head noun of the relative clause is object of the main clause. In (81), the relative clause modifies the head noun ram ‘grass’ that is under the trees as the verb is copular um
‘BE’ together with the postpositional phrase *thingkung tang i* ‘under the trees’. However, the transitive verb *vah* ‘clear.II’ indicates that the head noun is object of the main clause.

### 3.2.3 Externally headed noun: as place

The relativizer *nak* with verb stem II marks that the head noun is a place (but sometimes marks it as an instrument (see section 3.2.4). Mostly, *nak* with verb stem II functions as a nominalizer (see in the nominalization chapter 4). When used as a relativizer, *nak* usually takes the head noun of an externally headed relative clause but rarely internally headed. The schema is \[(NP_{obj}) AG.S V_{II} nak N\].

From (82) to (84), the head nouns of the relative clauses indicate the place where something takes place.

(82) Story of Lian Do #71

```
i  [sia  an  zuat  nak  hmun ] ah  cun  an  kal  pi
```

and mythun 3p.S raise.II REL place P that 3p.S go APPLI

‘And they led her to the place where they raised the mythuns.’

In (82), the relativizer *nak* takes verb stem II *zuat* ‘raised.II’ in the relative clause *sia an zuat nak* ‘where they raised.II the mythuns’ and thus the head noun *hmun* ‘place’ is the place where they raised mythuns. That head noun is oblique of the main clause.

Sometimes, the verb in the relative clause does not have stem alternation. However, the relativizer *nak* takes a stem II form.

(83) Story of Men Ri Hei #14

```
a  [sinum  pawl  nih  cun  [a  fenh  nak  tiva ]  cu
```
POSS.3s servant PL CS.A that 3s.S float REL river CS.O

```
cho  hrawn  in  an  hei  hrawn  i  inn  pakhat  an  hei
```
upward follow P 3p.S DIR follow and home one 3p.S DIR

```
hmuh
```
see.II

‘His servants followed the river upward where the hair (of Men Ri Hei) floats and they found a house.’
Although the verb *fenh* ‘flow’ in the relative clause in (83) does not have stem alternation, the relative clause *a fenh nak* ‘where it floats’ modifies the head noun *tiva* ‘river’ as the place where the hair (of *Men Ri Hei*) is floating. That head noun functions as object of the main clause.

(84) Story of Lian Do #76

```
cu ca ah va kaa thim cang lai cu ca ah
that for P husband REFLEX.1s select PFT FUT that for P

cun cu [va thim nak puai] cu ka tuah piak ti
that that husband select REL party CS.O 1s.O make BEN say
ah a ti
P 3s.S say
```

‘She said to her father, “So I will choose my husband and so make a feast to choose my husband.”’

The relative clause *va thim nak* ‘where she chooses her husband’ in (84) seems to be a nominalization, however, it is the repetition of the previous clause *va kaa thim cang lai* ‘I will choose my husband’. So, it modifies the head noun *puai* ‘party/feast’ to be the place where she will choose her husband.

3.2.4 Externally headed noun: as instrument

The relativizer *nak* with verb Stem II also marks the head noun as instrument. This head noun can be either subject, object or oblique/complement of the main clause. The schema for this head noun instrument will be \[ [N_{AG.S} V_{II} nak] N \].

(85) Constructed example

```
[lo ka vah nak namtong] nih a ka ah
farm 1s.S clear.II REL chopper CS.A 3s.S 1s.O cut.II
```

‘The chopper that I use to clear the farm with cut me.’
(86) Constructed example

\[
\text{ka pa nih [lo a vah nak namtong] a}
\]

POSS.1s father CS.A farm 3s.S clear.II REL chopper 3s.S

\[\text{thlau lose}\]

‘My father lost the chopper that he uses to clear the farm with.’

(87) Constructed example

\[
\text{hi hi [ar ka thah nak fung] a si}
\]

DEM DEM chicken 1s.S kill.II REL stick 3s.S BE

‘This is the stick that I use to kill the chicken with.’

The relativizer \textit{nak} in (85) and (86) marks that the head noun \textit{namtong} ‘chopper’ is the instrument that is used to clear the farm. However, the head noun in (85) functions as subject of the main clause and the head noun in (86) functions as object of the main clause. Similarly, the head noun \textit{fung} ‘stick’ in (87) is the instrument that is used to kill the chicken. The head noun is oblique or complement of the main clause.

3.2.5 Relative clauses in copula clauses

Sometimes especially in copular sentences, the head noun is neither agent nor patient of the relative clause. In other words, the relative clause is just the modifier of the head noun. Moreover, the head noun is complement of the main clause. The schema for this complement relative clause is marked as \([\text{NP AG.S V/ADJ mi] N}\).

(88) Story of Lian Do #104

\[
\text{hi tuanbia hi [ro a ling ngai mi Lai tuanbia]}
\]

DEM story DEM known 3s.S famous very REL name story

\[\text{pakhat a si}
\]

one 3s.S BE

‘This story is a Lai story that is very famous.’
In (88), the relative clause *ro a ling ngai mi* ‘that is very famous’ modifies the head noun *Lai tuanbia* ‘Lai story’ that stands for the complement of the main clause. The relative clause that modifies the head noun mostly has an adjective phrase for its predicate like *ro a ling* ‘news is famous’ (the word *ro* ‘known’ is literally ‘heritage/legacy’, however, in this sentence it is used as nominalized noun as ‘the known news’). Other examples of this kind are *ngaih a nuam* ‘good to be listened’, *zoh a dawh* ‘beautiful to look’ and etc. This kind of relative clause can be schematized as [N a ‘3s.S’ ADJ mi] (other agreement markers cannot be used in place of a ‘3s.S’ even when the head noun is plural or different person) (see also in sections 4.1.1-4.13 of nominalization chapter 4 and agreement section). In the same way, the relative clause *Tai Nam Kawng le Men Ri Hei ti mi* ‘that is called Tai Nam Kawng and Men Ri Hei’ (89) modifies the head noun *nuva* ‘couple’ that is the complement of the main sentence.

The head noun that is modified by the relative clause can also be an oblique of the main clause.

(90) Story of Planting #31

*tlang-lo  tuah tik ah hin [a har bik mi pakhat ]*

mountain-farm make when P this 3s.S hard SUP.D REL one

cu a thlawh hi a si

CS.O 3s.S weed.II DEM 3s.S BE

‘In mountain farms, the hardest thing is weeding.’
(91) Story of Planting #11

facang kán cin tik ah [Lai tahmui kan ti mi tahmui
rice 1p.S grow.II time P name hoe 1p.S say REL hoe
fate in ] facang kha kán cin
small P rice that 1p.S grow.II

‘When we grow rice, we grow rice with a small hoe that we call a Lai’s hoe.’

The head noun *pakhat* ‘one (of many kinds of work in farming)’ in (90) functions as the subject of the main clause. The hardest one ‘of many’ kinds of work in farming is the subject of an equative main clause. ‘Weeding’ is the NP complement. In (91), the head noun *tahmui* ‘hoe’ is modified by the relative clause *Lai tahmui kan ti mi* ‘that we call Lai’s hoe’. The head noun together with postpositional phrase *tahmui fate in* ‘with small hoe’ is an oblique instrument of the main clause.

### 3.3 Internally headed relative clause

Lai relative clauses also have a form where the head noun is internal to the relative clause. Sometimes, internally headed relative clauses seem to be a postnominal relative clause (Kroeger, 2005, p. 232), however, the head noun is really internally headed. Because this kind of sentence often has a problem of ambiguity: it is hard to interpret the semantic head noun (Shopen, 2007b, p. 201), especially when the verb in the relative clause does not have stem alternation. The following example sentences are internally headed relative clauses in Lai.

(92) Constructed example

*hihi [zahan i mifir inn a bauh mi ] cu a si
this yesterday P thief house 3s.S burgle REL CS.S 3s.S BE

‘This is the thief who burgled the house yesterday.’ (or)

‘This is the house that the thief burgled yesterday.’

In (92), there are two nouns *mifir* ‘thief’ and *inn* ‘house’ preceded by the PP *zahan i* ‘yesterday’ inside the relative clause. Because the postposition *i* ‘at’ is used, we know that PP is inside an embedded clause (see in the postposition chapter 5). As the verb *bauh* ‘burgle’ in the relative clause does not have stem alternation, it is hard to
predict the head noun; it can be either mifir ‘thief’ or inn ‘house’ as in the English translation. In neither interpretation is there a ‘gap’ in the relative clause. The relative clause has all nominals in their canonical place. If there is a gap, it is in the main clause.

(93a) Constructed example

[coka i mipa rawl a chuang mi ] ka hmuh
kitchen P man food 3s.S cook.I REL 1s.S see.II
‘I saw the man who was cooking food in the kitchen.’

(93b) Constructed example

[coka i mipa rawl a chuan mi ] ka hmuh
kitchen P man food 3s.S cook.II REL 1s.S see.II
‘I saw the food that the man cooked in the kitchen.’

Similarly, there are two nouns mipa ‘man’ and rawl ‘food’ in (93a, 93b) preceded by the PP coka i ‘in the kitchen’ inside the relative clause. However, if the embedded verb has stem alternation, the head noun is predictable by looking at its stem and the complementor; [V₁ mi/tu] for subject head noun (93a) and [V₁ mi] for object head noun (93b) similar to the previous sections of externally headed relative clause.

This head noun can be subject, object or complement of the relative clause. Internally headed relative clause are less common than externally headed relative clause in general.

3.3.1 Internally headed noun: as subject of the relative clause

Like the subject head noun that is externally headed discussed in the previous section, the internally headed relative clause is marked by the relativizer tu or mi with verb stem I contrary to Peterson (2003) who said that internally headed relative clauses never occur with tu. And note that some verbs in the following sentences do not have stem alternation. This internally subject head noun is less common and is used especially in the spoken variety.

The following sentences show that the subject head noun of the relative clause can be internal. This internally subject headed relative clause can be schematized as
[...NP_{SUB} ... a ‘3.S’ (AG.O) V_{tu/mi}]. Note that the agreement marker a ‘3.S’ is used for all persons (both plural and singular).

(94) Constructed example

\[ \text{nikum } i \text{ cakei caw a rak seh tu } ] \text{ kán thah} \]

last year P tiger cow 3.S PAST bite REL 1p.S kill.II

‘We killed the tiger that bit the cow last year.’

(95) Constructed example

\[ \text{hihi } [\text{zahan } i \text{ mifir inn a bauh tu }] \text{ cu an si} \]

this yesterday P thief house 3.S break.into REL CS.S 3p.S BE

‘These are the thieves who broke into the house yesterday.’

(96) Constructed example

\[ \text{coka } i \text{ mipa rawl a chuang mi } ] \text{ ka hmuh} \]

kitchen P man food 3.S cook.I REL 1s.S see.II

‘I saw the man in the kitchen who was cooking food.’

In (94), the head noun cakei ‘tiger’ is inside the relative clause and functions as subject of the relative clause caw a rak seh tu ‘that bit the cow yesterday’. This head noun is object of the main clause. Similarly, the head nouns mifir ‘thief’ (95) and mipa ‘man’ (96) are subjects of the relative clauses inn a bauh tu ‘who burgled the house’ and rawl a chuang mi ‘who was cooking food’ respectively. The presence of [NP i] shows that the head noun is still inside the relative clause. The head noun in (95) is complement of the main clause and the head noun in (96) is object in the main clause.

3.3.2 Internally headed noun: as object of the relative clause

The internal head noun is more commonly used for objects than the subjects or complements. Mostly, this internally object head noun is also object of the main clause. The schema is \([(PP/NP) N \text{AG.S } V_{ii} \text{mi}].

In (97) and (98), the relative clause appears as subject of the main clause, that is, subject of the passive-like sentence.
(97) Story of Men Ri Hei #5

[an nu bia a cah tak mi ] cu khual
POSS.3p wife word 3s.S give-message APPLI REL CS.S guest
ka tlawn kar ah a leng na rak chuak hrirmhrim
1s.S travel.II absent P 3s.S outside 2s.S PAST go-out.I surely
lai lo ti a si
FUT NEG say 3s.S BE

“The message that he gave to his wife was, “Don’t go out while I travel.”

(98) Story of Planting #35

[ lo in facang an lak mi ] hi hlan lio ah cun
farm P rice 3p.S take.II REL DEM before CONT P that
keng bak in inn tiang phurh a si
back just P home till carry.II 3s.S BE

‘In earlier time, the rice that they harvested from the farm was brought home with their own back.’

The noun bia ‘word’ in (97) heads the relative clause a cah tak mi ‘that he gave-message’ internally and functions as direct object of the relative clause. This relative clause with the recipient an nu bia a cah tak mi ‘the message that he gave his wife’ functions as subject of the passive-like main clause. In the same way, the noun facang ‘rice’ (98) is object head of the relative clause an lak mi ‘that they harvested’. This relative clause is subject of the passive-like sentence as hi ‘DEM’ also marks as topicalizing function (Bedell, 1996). Both of these sentences have a copula main verb si ‘BE’ which has the effect of emphasizing the result more than the action of an event.

From (99) to (101), the internally headed relative clause functions as object of the main clause. Sometimes, it is object of the subordinate clause.
In this way, she stayed with them for a while and they said, "We will go see our mythuns that we raise."

The internally object head noun sia ‘mythun’ of the relative clause zuat mi ‘that we raise’ in (99) is object of the complement clause kan sia zuat mi kan zoh lai ‘we will go see our mythuns that we raise’. Interestingly, there is no subject agreement marker inside the relative clause although there is subject in the free translation because kan ‘POSS.2p’ in the object NP kan sia ‘our mythuns’ already shows who the subject is.

‘While they watched their boss’s rice that they dried in the sun, they made the pellets to tend the mythuns.’

In (100), the NP an pu facang ‘their boss’s rice’ is the internal head in the relative clause an pho mi ‘that they dry in the sun’ and it is object of the relative clause. Moreover, this relative clause functions as object of the subordinate clause … te an hngah pah in ‘while they watched …’.
‘Once, when the daughter of the village’s chief heard the sound of the singer gong that they played, she approached them slowly (secretly).’

Similarly, the object NP `cu darkhuang hlasa te `that little singer gong’ (101) is headed internally in the relative clause `an tum mi `that they played’. This relative clause is object of the passive sentence, that is, the NP `an khua ramukbawi pa fanu nih `the daughter of their village’s head’ is agent within the subordinate clause. In fact, the internally object head noun is mainly the object of the main clause although it also appears in the subordinate clauses in the above examples.

### 3.3.3 Internally headed relative clause: other uses

Similar to the externally headed noun discussed in the previous section (3.2.5), the internally headed noun can also be inside the relative clause and object or complement of the main clause. This relative clause is schematized as \[N a ‘3s.S’ V_{II}/ADJ mi\].

‘Their little cat told Tai Nam Kawng all the things that happened.’

Although the head noun `thil ‘thing’ (102) is the subject of the relative clause `a cang mi `that happened’, there is no agent in the relative clause and the verb `cang ‘happen.I’ is an intransitive verb; agreement marker `a ‘3s.S’ agrees with `thil ‘thing’.
*thil* in this sentence means the situation, not just ‘thing’ as its gloss. However, this relative clause is the secondary object of the main clause.

Sometimes, the internally headed relative clause noun is a nominalized NP that indicates the location.

(103) Story of Lian Do #90

```
[darkhuang bah nak a tuah mi] ah cun a vun bah
```

When he hung the gongs on the place that he made for hanging them, they all fell down as it was very small.’

The head noun *darkhuang bah nak* ‘the place for hanging gongs’ in (103) is object of the relative clause *a tuah mi* ‘that he made’ and it marks a location at the same time. This place relative clause includes *darkhuang ‘gongs’* in the nominalized NP which an ‘3p.S’ agrees with. The agreement marker a ‘3s.S’ (not bolded) agrees with the person who made the place to hang the gongs and hangs the gongs.

Thus, the internal head of the place nominalization clause functions as the complement of the relative clause although it only appears there by the agreement marker.

(104) Story of Lian Do #87

```
sihmanhsehlaw a nupi nih [ziah ti ko ti mi] cu
```

‘However, his wife said to him again and again, ”Why don’t you do what you are told to do, make the place to hang gongs?”’
(105) Story of Planting #56

[lo vah hna cu a har tuk mi] a si i pa
farm clear.II PL CS.S 3s.S hard very REL 3s.S BE and man
lawnglawng nih tuan khawh a si
only CS.A work possible 3s.S BE

‘It is cutting (clearing)/to cut (clear) the trees that is something that is very hard and only the men can do it.’

In (104), the noun clause ti ko ‘(what you) do it’ is the internal head of the relative clause ti mi ‘that is told’ and it refers to the complement of the main clause. Since ti ‘do’ refers to the darkhuang bah nak cu ser ko ‘make the place to hang gongs’ that is repeated in the main clause. Thus, the single referent has discontinuous roles in the sentence.

Similarly, the nominalized noun clause lo vah hna cu ‘cutting/clearing the trees (of farm)’ (105) is the nominalized internal head in the relative clause a har tuk mi ‘that is very hard’. This relative clause is also the complement of the main clause.

3.4 Headless relative clause

Headless relative clauses are less common than externally headed or internally headed relative clauses. A headless relative clause is one where the semantic nominal head is in neither the relative clause or the NP containing the relative clause. However, like other relative clauses, headless relative clause can function as (1) subject, (2) object and (3) complement of the main clause. This headless relative clause is mainly used when the head noun (mostly person) is understood semantically and pragmatically by looking at the verb of the relative clause or sometimes the verb of the main clause. And also when it has been already introduced in the previous sentence, a headless relative clause can be used.

3.4.1 Headless relative clause: as subject of the main clause

Like other relative clauses, the headless relative clause that functions as subject has the relativizer tu or mi with verb stem I. This empty head noun (Bedell, 1996) of the relative clause is generally a person. This headless relative clause can also be called nominalized clause (see in nominalization chapter). The schema will be [...NP... a ‘3.S’ V₁ tu/mi]. (Note that the agreement marker a ‘3.S’ is used for all persons (singular or plural).
(106) Constructed example

[ral  a  veng  tu ]  nih  mipa  an  velh
‘The guards hit the man.’ (Lit: ‘(The guards) who protect the enemy hit the man.’)

(107) Constructed example

[r al  a  veng  mi ]  nih  mipa  an  velh
‘The guards hit the man.’ (Lit: ‘(The guards) who protect the enemy hit the man.’)

In (106) and (107), it is understood that the head noun would be a person as the
verb veng ‘guarding’ in the relative clause shows that the agent must be a person.
There is no nominal that refers to the guard, however, there is a subject agreement
marker on the verb ‘veng’. But this agreement marker is semantically limited as it
does not ever distinguish singular from plural. Some may argue that the one who
guards can also be a dog (ral-veng-tu in Lai is sometimes used for ‘watch-dog’ in
English), however, the main verb velh ‘hit.II’ indicate that the agent who hit the man
must be a person because people and not dogs ‘hit’.

(108) Story of Planting #60

hmun  cheukhat  ah  cun  [kum  nga  hnu  ah  hin  a  vat  mi ]
place  some  P  that  year  five  after  P  this  3.S  clear.I  REL
zong  an  um
also 3p.S BE
‘In some places, there are also (people) who cut the trees (farm) after five years.’

(109) Story of Planting #53

atu  lio  belte  ah  hin  cun  [tlanglo  a  tuah  mi/tu ]
now  CONT  only  P  this  that  mountain-farm 3.S make REL
hi  an  tlawm  chin  lengmang  cang
DEM 3p.S little  more  always  PFT
‘Nowadays, there are less (people) who do farming.’
The relative clause *kum nga hnuah hin a vat mi* ‘(those) who cut the trees after five years’ in (108) tells us that the agent would be a person as the verb *vat* ‘clear’ can only be done by a human. Similarly, the missing head noun of the relative clause *tlanglo a tuah mi/tu* ‘who do farming’ in (109) is understood as some persons as farming can be done only by humans.

In some cases, it is hard to predict the head noun by looking at verb in the relative clause. At that time, we need to look at the context and the location where the event takes place.

(110) Story of Planting #41

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[tlang-lo i a chuak mi ] hi [leikuang i a chuak} \\
\text{farm P 3.S produce.I REL DEM field P 3.S produce.I} \\
\text{mi ] nak in a chuah a that deuh nak zong a} \\
\text{REL than P 3s.S produce.II 3s.S good.II COM.D NMLZ also 3s.S} \\
\text{um} \\
\text{BE}
\end{align*}
\]

‘(The rice) that is produced in farms is more than (the rice) that is produced in fields.’

It is not predictable what the head noun would be by just looking at the verb *chuak* ‘produce.I’ in (110) as the product can be any kinds of crops. However, we can guess that the head noun would be ‘rice’ as it is mainly grown in *tlang-lo* ‘farm’ and *leikuang* ‘field’ in Chin State. And it would already be mentioned in the previous sentences. Note that the semantic heads in the relative clause are inanimate objects and not people.

### 3.4.2 Headless relative clause: as object of the main clause

The headless relative clause that functions as object is also formed by the relativizer *mi* with verb stem II (note that some verbs do not have Stem Alternation). The empty head noun can be predicted by the verb of the relative clause or main clause. It can also be introduced in the previous sentence. The schema is [… a ‘3.S’ V₂ mi].
(111) Story of Kawl Hnin #16

\begin{verbatim}
cu [a siam mi ] cu a suk ter hna i Dar
that 3.S make REL CS.O 3s.S bump CAUS PL and name
Kulh cu aa nuam tuk
name CS.S REFLEX.3s happy very
\end{verbatim}

‘He (Kawl Hnin) made (cows) bump that he made and Dar Kulh was very happy.’

(112) Story of Lian Do #96

\begin{verbatim}
ka pu nang [kiam chung a tang mi ] kha
POSS.1s grandfather Pro.2s pen within 3.S left REL CS.O
kei [kiam leng a tang mi ] kha a ti
Pro.1s pen outside 3.S left REL that 3s.S say
\end{verbatim}

‘He said, “Grandpa, you take the one (mythun) that is inside the pen and I will take the one (mythun) that is outside the pen.”’

In (111), it is hard to predict what the head noun is by the verb siam ‘make’ and suk ‘bump’ because it can be cows, buffalo, goats and etc. We need to know what was introduced in the previous sentences. In this sentence, the head noun is omitted as the speaker has already mentioned as ‘cows’ in the previous sentences of the story. In the same way, the head noun of the relative clause kiam chung a tang mi ‘the one inside the pen’ or kiam leng a tang mi ‘the one outside the pen’ in (112) is omitted as it is already known as ‘mythuns’ in the previous sentences of the story.

3.4.3 Headless relative clause: as complement of the main clause

Headless relative clauses sometimes function as complements of the main clauses especially in sentences with the copular verbs (si ‘BE’ and um ‘BE’ are copular verbs in Lai).

Like the externally headed relative clause that marks agent, the relativizer tu or mi with verb Stem I is used in the headless relative clause that marks as complement. The schema is […NP… a ‘3.S’ (AG.O) V, tu/mi].
(113) Constructed example

\[
\text{annih cu } [\text{a kàn daw tu }] \text{ an si}
\]


‘They are the ones who love us.’

(114) Constructed example

\[
\text{annih cu } [\text{a kàn daw mi }] \text{ an si}
\]


‘They are the ones who love us.’

In (113) and (114), the headless relative clauses \(\text{a kàn daw tu} \) ‘the ones who love us’ and \(\text{a kàn daw mi} \) ‘the ones who love us’ are complement of the main clause \(\text{annih cu} \) … \(\text{an si} \) ‘they are …’. In these sentences, the pronoun \(\text{annih} \) ‘3p’ already introduces that the subject is human beings so that the head noun \(\text{mi/minung} \) ‘person’ is omitted. Plural agreement occurs on the main clause but not the relative clause.

(115) Story of Kawl Hnin #39

\[
\text{asinain } [\text{camh thiam mi }] \text{ an si ca ah zapi nih an}
\]

however magic skilled REL 3p.S BE for P people CS.A 3p.S

\[
\text{leng ngam hna lo}
\]

visit.I dare p.O NEG

‘However, people dared not visit them as they were (persons) who could do magic.’

(116) Story of Kawl Hnin #43

\[
\text{an nu zong cu } [\text{camh a thiam ngai mi }] \text{ a}
\]

POSS.3p mother also CS.S magic 3s.S skilled very REL 3s.S

\[
\text{si ve}
\]

BE also

‘Their mother was also the (person) who was very good in magic.’

The relative clause \(\text{camh thiam mi} \) ‘who can play magic’ in (115) is complement of the subordinate clause, however, it is object of the main clause. Again in (116), the headless relative clause \(\text{camh a thiam ngai mi} \) ‘who is very good in magic’ is complement of the main clause. In this sentence, the head noun is omitted because it is already mentioned in the subject \(\text{an nu zong cu} \) ‘their mother also’.
3.5 Conclusion

In Lai relative clauses, the externally headed noun form is the most common form and internally headed nouns or zero-headed nouns are less common. Each kind of relative clause has different functions depending on its target. Moreover, the structure of each relative clause is also different, especially in the verb stem alternation. The following Table 8 summarizes the different usages and schemas in relative clause. Note that the agreement marker a ‘3.S’ in the second row, where the head noun functions as subject of the relative clause, is used for all persons singular or plural. Moreover, it is true in all the headless relative clauses. Also notice that the head noun that indicates place or instrument of relative clause never appears in the internally headed and headless relative clauses.

Table 8 The different usages and schemas of relative clause.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Target of head noun</th>
<th>Externally headed relative clause</th>
<th>Internally headed relative clause</th>
<th>Headless relative clause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subject of RC</td>
<td>[[N a ‘3.S’ (AG.O) V_{tu,1} tu/mi] N] (OR)</td>
<td>[... NP_{SUB} ... a ‘3.S’ (AG.O) V_{1}tu/\text{mi}]</td>
<td>[...NP... a ‘3.S’ V_{1}tu/\text{mi}]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object of RC</td>
<td>[[(PP/NP_{SUB}) AG.S V_{2} mi] N]</td>
<td>[(PP/NP) N AG.S V_{2} mi \text{ø}]</td>
<td>[... a ‘3.S’ V_{II} mi]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of RC</td>
<td>[[(NP_{OBJ}) AG.S V_{II} nak] N]</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrument of RC</td>
<td>[[N_{OBJ} AG.S V_{II} nak] N]</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complement of RC</td>
<td>[[NP AG.S V/ADJ mi] N]</td>
<td>[N a ‘3s.S’ V_{II}/ADJ mi]</td>
<td>[...NP... a ‘3.S’ (AG.O) V_{1}tu/\text{mi}]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 4
Nominalization

4.1 Different kinds of nominalization
Nominalization refers to a general process by which non-nominal elements become grammatical nominals (Genetti, 2008, p. 98). There are three sets of Nominalization; (1) tu/mi nominalization, (2) awk/ding nominalization and (3) nak nominalization. In each set of nominalization, there are different semantic functions which are also discussed and given some schematic generalizations.

4.1.1 Agentive nominalization
Semantic role and verb type (transitivity and stem choice) make up the factors affecting nominalization in Lai. Moreover, having a specific event or non-specific event in agentive nominalization will result in different syntactic structure as shown in the following Figure 9. That is, when the agentive nominalization denotes a non-specific event, there is no agreement marker and no TAM while there is an agreement marker and optional TAM for a specific event. In both cases, the verb stem I is used with the nominalizer tu or mi, however, tu is more preferred for non-specific events.

![Figure 9 The state of event as agentive nominalization](image-url)

Figure 9 The state of event as agentive nominalization
In comparison with Agent, the Patient nominalization is as the following Figure 10 (the detailed will be discussed in the next section 4.1.2). The nominalizer tu cannot be used in patient nominalization.

![Figure 10 The state of event as patient nominalization](image)

Examples of agent nominalization are in (117a-117d). The nominalization is put in square brackets.

(117a) Constructed example

\[
[\text{ral-veng-tu}] \quad \text{nih mipa an velh}
\]


‘The guards hit the man.’

(117b) Constructed example

\[
[\text{ral-veng-mi}] \quad \text{nih mipa an velh}
\]


‘The guards hit the man.’

(117c) Constructed example

\[
[\text{ral a veng tu}] \quad \text{nih mipa an velh}
\]

enemy 3s.S guard.I REL CS.A man 3p.S hit.II

‘The guards hit the man.’ (Lit: ‘(The guards) who protect the enemy hit the man.’)
(117d) Constructed example

\[
[r al \ a \ v eng \ \ mi ] \ nih \ \ m i pa \ \ an \ \ v elh \\
\text{enemy} \ 3s.S \ \text{guard.I \ REL \ CS.A \ man} \ 3p.S \ \text{hit.II}
\]

‘The guards hit the man.’ (Lit: ‘(The guards) who protect the enemy hit the man.’)

Two nominalizing particles \(tu\) and \(mi\) are used for agent nominalization in sentences (117a) and (117b). These nominalizations are accomplished through compounding; 
\[[r al-v eng-t u]_N \text{enemy-guard.I-NMLZ’} \text{that means ‘guard’ (117a) and } [r al-v eng-m i]_N \text{‘enemy-guard.I-NMLZ’ that also means ‘guard’ (117b). These nominalizations occur on transitive verbs of stem I and must take an object. These constructions are schematized as } \left[ [ N \ V_I ] \ tu/m i \right]_{NA}. \text{This form of nominalization has no agreement marker.}

The relativizers \(tu\) and \(mi\) can also work as a nominalizer semantically when the head noun is not overt (covert) as in (117c) and (117d). In other word, the relative clause stands as the subject of the main clause or sentence. In (117c) and (117d), the clause \(ral \ a \ v eng \ ‘he/she guards the enemy’\) is nominalized by \(tu\) or \(mi\) and stands as agent of the sentence. The schema will be \(\left[ […]_S \emptyset_{tu/m i} \right]_A\), if \(S\), then N AG \(V_i\). Note that this form has an agreement marker and is the same as the headless relative clauses in section 3.4.1.

David Peterson (2003) said that there is no clear difference between the \(tu\) and \(mi\) relativizers except in terms of their potential relativization targets, but \(tu\) has a much lower text frequency. It is true in relativization, however, the nominalizing particle \(tu\) is more common for agentive nominalization; it has more agentive meaning in the mind of the reader and thus some people may say that example (117b) with nominalizer \(mi\) is ungrammatical. In other words, the \(tu\) shows that the nominalized noun is a profession. Similarly, the nominalizer \(tu\) never attaches to adjective but only the nominalizer \(mi\) attaches to adjective as the subject, for example, *\(a \ f i m \ tu\) ‘the clever one’, \(a \ f i m \ mi\) ‘the clever one’, *\(a \ f el \ tu\) ‘the honest one’, \(a \ f el \ mi\) ‘the honest one’. The attribution of a property in predicate adjective constructing may be considered low agency.
Some examples contrasting *mi* and *tu* are below (118a-119c).

(118a) Constructed example

    [ bawm-tu ]  nih  mihar  an  bawmh  hna  
    ‘The helpers/supporters help the needy.’

(118b) Constructed example

    * [ bawm-mi ]  nih  mihar  an  bawmh  hna  
    ‘The helpers/supporters help the needy.’

(119a) Constructed example

    [ bawm-tu ]  na  si  
    help.I-NMLZ  2s.S  BE  
    ‘You are a helper/supporter.’

(119b) Constructed example

    * [ bawm-mi ]  na  si  
    help.I-NMLZ  2s.S  BE  
    ‘You are a helper/supporter.’

(119c) Constructed example

    [ cawn-piak-tu ]  tha  lo  kha  i  ralring  hna  
    study.II-APPLI-NMLZ  good  NEG  CS.O  REFLEX  care  PL  u  
    IMPER  
    ‘Beware of false teachers.’

However, if there is no object, only the particle *tu* can attach to verb stem I as in (118a). Similarly in copular sentence (119a), only *tu* is allowed. The particle *mi* with verb stem I in (118b) and (119b) is ungrammatical. In sentence (119c), the nominalizer *tu* takes the verb stem II but it is overridden (separated from the main verb) by the applicative marker -*piak*. 

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(119d) Story of Kawl Hnin #61

nikhat  cu  an  khua  pawng  ah  khuang-cawi  ding  a
day-one  that  POSS.3p  village  near  P  drum-lift  FUT  3s.S
un  i  [khuang-cawi  tu  ]  nih  sia  dotla  ka
BE  and  drum-lift  NMLZ  CS.A  mythun  unblemished  1s.S
thah  lai  va  kawl  u  tiah  a  fial  hna
kill.II  FUT  DIR  look  for  IMPER  that  3s.S  ask  PL
‘One  day,  there  was  Khuangcawi  (a  traditional  feast)  near  their  village
and  the  person  who  made  the  feast  asked  (his  servants)  to  find  an
unblemished  mythun  for  the  feast.’

In  the  sentence  (119d),  the  nominalizer  mi  cannot  be  used  in  place  of  tu  because  it
may  change  the  semantic  meaning  in  the  mind  of  the  reader;  the  particle  tu  has  the
sense  of  agentive  ‘the  person  who  makes  feast  “khuangcawi”’  and  mi  has  ambiguity
‘the  one  that  is  lifted’  or  ‘the  person  who  lifts  the  drum,  no  quotes  the  person  who
make  the  feast’.

4.1.2  Patient  nominalization

When  the  nominalized  NP  is  a  patient  or  theme  (in  object  position),  the  nominalizer
mi  is  used  and  it  takes  verb  stem  II  as  in  (120a),  (120b)  and  (120c),  however,  tu
(always  with  stem  I)  cannot  be  used  in  this  situation.  The  schema  for  this  pattern
will  be  [[V_{II}  mi]_{NP}]_{PT}.  In  example  (120a),  the  subject  NP  and  case  marker  are
optional,  however,  the  agreement  marker  ka  still  preserves  its  function  in  the
sentence.  As  (120b)  is  an  imperative  sentence,  it  is  understood  that  the  subject  must
be  second  person  singular  or  plural  even  if  it  is  not  overt.  In  (120c),  the  relative
clause  ‘a  kah  mi’  is  in  the  object  position  and  the  main  verb  nolh  ‘repeat’  will  be
related  in  meaning  to  the  verb  kah  ‘shoot’  in  the  relative  clause  semantically.

(120a)  Constructed  example

(keimah  nih  )  [dawt-mi/*tu]  ka  co
Pro.1s  CS.A  love.II-NMLZ  1s.S  get
‘I  married  my  beloved.’\(^{11}\)

\(^{11}\)  If  agent  of  main  verb  ≠  agent  of  nominalization  then  nominalized  clause  must  have  agreement.
(120b) Constructed example

\[cawn-piak-mi/*tu \] \ tha \ tein \ ngai
study.II-APPL-NMLZ \ good \ very \ obey.I
‘Obey the teaching well.’

(120c) Constructed example

\[Cungcung \ nih \ a \ kah \ mi \] \ ka \ nolh
name \ CS.A \ 3s.S \ shot.II \ REL \ 1s.S \ repeat
‘I shot again the one (the animal) that Cungcung shot.’

In a relative clause when the head noun is inside the relative clause, the patient nominalization uses the particle \(mi\) and verb stem II as in (121a). The schema for this then is \([\text{N} \text{V}_\text{II} \text{mi}]_{\text{NP}}\). Supporting this interpretation, we can see in (121a) that the patient is being possessed.

(121a) Constructed example

\(na \ [\text{rawl} \ \text{chumh} \ \text{mi}] \ cu \ a \ \text{thaw}\)
POSS.2s \ food \ cook.II \ REL \ CS.S \ 3s.S \ delicious
‘Your cooked food is delicious.’ Or ‘The food you cooked is delicious.’

However, if the head noun of the relative clause is overt and externally (outside the clause) as in (121b), it should be differentiated as a relative clause, not as a nominalized NP as it has a different word order. These are schematized as \([\text{V}_\text{II} \text{mi} \text{N}]_{\text{NP}}\). (See section 3.2.2)

(121b) Constructed example

\(\text{chumh} \ \text{mi} \ \text{rawl} \ \text{cu} \ a \ \text{thaw}\)
cook.II \ REL \ food \ CS.S \ 3s.S \ delicious
‘The cooked food is delicious.’

4.1.2.1 Conclusion of Agentive and Patient nominalization

As discussed above, being specific or non-specific makes the syntactic structure different in both agentive and patient nominalization. In agentive nominalization, for example, \(ral-veng-tu\) ‘enemy-guard.I-NMLZ’ (117a) and \(ral-veng-mi\) ‘enemy-guard.I-NMLZ’ cannot have any agreement marker or TAM, so that they do not
denote specific event. Semantically, between tu and mi in this case, the nominalizer tu is more agentive and the nominalizer mi has lower agency. However, when the tu and mi nominalize the clause as ral a veng tu (117c) and ral a veng mi (117d) ‘those who guard (protect from) the enemy’, they have agreement marker a ‘3s.S’ and TAM like rak ‘past tense’ can be added as ral a rak veng tu ‘those who guarded (protected from) the enemy’ and as a result denote a specific event.

4.1.3 Nominalized complement
In sentences (122a) and (122b), the relativizers tu and mi also function as nominalizers because they nominalize the relative clauses as the complements. Both relativizers take the verb stem I no matter if there is an object kàn in the clauses or the object is omitted as in (122c) and (122d). The schema will be as [3.S (AG.O) V_i tu/mi]_com (note that only the 3.S can appear in the subject of the complement clause)\(^\text{12}\).

(122a) Constructed example

\[
\text{annih cu [a kàn daw tu] an si}
\]

Pro.3p CS.S 3s.S 1p.O love.I REL 3p.S BE

‘They are the ones who love us.’

(122b) Constructed example

\[
\text{annih cu [a kàn daw mi ] an si}
\]

Pro.3p CS.S 3s.S 1p.O love.I REL 3p.S BE

‘They are the ones who love us.’

(122c) Constructed example

\[
\text{annih cu [a daw tu ] an si}
\]

Pro.3p CS.S 3s.S love.I REL 3p.S BE

‘They are the ones who love him/her.’

\(^\text{12}\) In (122c) and (122d), the agreement marker an ‘2s.S’ can also appear in place of a ‘3s.S’, however, it is the combination of a-n; a ‘3s.S + in ‘2s/p.O’ (Bedell, 1995. ‘Agreement in Lai’).
(122d) Constructed example

\[ \text{annih cu } [a \text{ daw mi }] \text{ an si} \]
Pro.3p CS.S 3s.S love.I REL 3p.S BE

'They are the ones who love him/her.'

However, in the following example sentences (123), (124), and (125), the nominalized NPs; \[ro-co-tu \text{ 'heir (legacy-get.I-NMLZ)'}\], \[hruai-tu \text{ 'leader (lead-NMLZ)'}\] and \[sam-\text{-ngei -tu 'the hair owner (hair-have.I-NMLZ)'}\] are different in structure from that of relative clauses because they do not take any subject agreement marker. The oblique argument \[ro-co-tu ah \text{ 'as an heir (legacy-get.I-NMLZ-P)'}\] in (123) is the complement of the sentence. In the same way, the oblique arguments \[hruai-tu na si \text{ 'you are a leader'}\] in (124) and \[sam-\text{-ngei -tu 'the hair owner'}\] in (125) are also complements of the sentences.

(123) Constructed example

\[a \text{ pu nih Ro Lian cu} \]
POSS.3s grandfather CS.A name name CS.O
\[[ro-\text{ co -tu }] \text{ ah a thim} \]
legacy get.I NMLZ P 3s.S select

‘His grandfather selected Ro Lian as a heir.’

(124) Constructed example

\[[hruai-tu ] \text{ na si hi na hngal lo maw} \]
lead-NMLZ 2s.S BE DEM 2s.S know.I NEG QUE

‘Don’t you know that you are a leader?’

(125) Story of Men Ri Hei #13

\[an \text{ siangpahrangpa nih hi [sam-\text{ ngei -tu } ] hi nan} \]
POSS.3p king CS.A DEM hair have.I NMLZ DEM 2p.S
\[hmuh hlan \text{ lo va kawl u tiah a sinum pawl} \]
see.II before NEG DIR look for IMPER that POSS.3s servant PL
\[a \text{ thlah hna} \]
3s.S send p.O

‘The king sent his servants to look for the owner of that hair till they found it.’
Moreover, there are other words, *awk* and *ding*, so called nominal auxiliaries (Bedell, 1998) that work as a nominalizer of the complements. In sentences (126) and (127), the phrases *rawl chumh awk* ‘to cook or for cooking’ and *rawl chumh ding* ‘to cook or for cooking’ stand as the complements of the sentences. It can be noticed that the nominalizer *awk/ding* takes verb stem II. However, the word *awk* is more common in nominalization because the word *ding* sometimes has semantic meaning for future as in (128).

(126) Constructed example

[rawl chumh awk] kán negi lo
food cook.II NMLZ 1p.S have NEG

‘We do not have the food to cook.’

(127) Constructed example

[rawl chumh ding] a um lo
food cook.II NMLZ 3s.S BE NEG

‘There is no food to cook.’

(128) Constructed example

[rawl chum-tu] ding an um lo
food cook.I-NMLZ FUT 3p.S BE NEG

‘There is no one to cook.’

4.1.4 Nominalizer –*nak*

Similar to other Kuki-Chin languages like Daai (Hartmann, 2008, p. 62) and K’Cho (Kee Shein Mang, 2006, p. 46), nominalization with - *nak* has many functions by being suffixed to a verb or sometimes as not being attached to another word. It usually occurs with verb stem II (Lehman & Ceu Hlun, 2002). The lexical meaning of the word *nak* is an adjective ‘black’. It has the verb stem I *nak* and the verb stem II is *nah*.

4.1.4.1 Nominalizer –*nak* as Time

A nominalized NP/clause using *nak* can be an expression of time depending on the main verb. Speakers sometimes add the head noun *caan* ‘time’ and it becomes easier
to know the function (in this case, the nominalizer nak seems to function as a relativizer). However, the noun (possibly the head noun in relativization) is normally omitted by Lai speakers as in (129) and (130).

(129) Constructed example

minu cu [rawl a chumh nak ] (caan) a sau cang
woman CS.S food 3s.S cook.II NMLZ time 3s.S long PRF

‘She has been cooking for a long time.’ OR ‘She has taken for a long time in cooking.’

(130) Constructed example

amah pa cu [sa a thah nak ] (caan) a sau
person M CS.S animal 3s.S kill.II NMLZ time 3s.S long
cang PRF

‘He has been killing animals for a long time (as a butcher).’

The nominalized clause rawl a chumh nak ‘the time of being a cook’ or ‘the time of cooking food’ in (129) and sa a thah nak ‘the time of killing animal’ or ‘the time of being as a butcher’ in (130) are understood as the length of time due to the semantic meaning of the main verb sau ‘long’. And in sentence (131), there is no object; the phrase a dongh nak ‘at last’ or ‘the last’ itself is made clear in meaning by the verb dongh ‘end.II’ and also nak itself as the ordinal number (Peterson, 2003). The schema will be as [(N OBL) AG.S V II nak] TIME (caan). If there is object agreement marker, it comes after the subject agreement like [AG.S AG.O V II nak] TIME (caan).

(131) Story of Kawl Hnin #8

[ a dongh-nak ] ah van ina tla mi khuhlu a si
3s.S end.II-NMLZ P heaven P 3s.S fall.I REL plum 3s.S BE
kha a hngalh
CS.O 3s.S know.II

‘At last, she knew that it was the plum that fell from heaven.’
4.1.4.2 Nominalizer –nak as Place

When locative nominalizations are used in transitive verbs, they take an object. These follow the schema \([N_{OBL} V_{II} – nak]_{PLACE}\) and have the sense of referring to an actual place as in (132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 139). The nominalized locative NP is sometimes followed by the postposition marker \(ah\) ‘at’ as in (132, 133, 134, 140, 141) or \(in\) ‘from’ as in (138).

There is another schema for nominalized locative NP \([a \ ‘3.S’ \ ADJ/V_{II} … nak]_{PLACE}\) as in (138, 140, 141, 142, 143).

In the sentences (132, 133 and 134), the postposition \(ah\) ‘at’ shows that \(sa\- thah\ - nak\ ‘animal-killing place’, \(rawl\ chumh\ nak\ ‘the cooking place’ and \(paihbuan\- ser\ - nak\ ‘the wrestling place’ are adverbial phrases of place and the postposition also helps identify the nominalizer \(nak\) as indicating location.

(132) Constructed example

\[
[\text{sa} \ \text{thah} \ \text{nak}] \ ah \ ka \ kal \ \text{lai}
\]

\(\text{animal \ kill.}\ II \ NMLZ \ P \ 1s.S \ \text{go} \ \text{FUT}
\]

‘I will go to the animal-killing place.’

(133) Constructed example

\[
[\text{rawl} \ \text{chumh} \ \text{nak}] \ ah \ ka \ kal \ \text{lai}
\]

\(\text{food \ cook.}\ II \ NMLZ \ P \ 1s.S \ \text{go} \ \text{FUT}
\]

‘I will go to the cooking place.’

(134) Story of Kawl Hnin #55

\[
\text{voikhat} \ \text{cu} \ [\text{paihbuan- ser} \ -nak] \ ah \ kan \ kal \ \text{ve} \ \text{lai} \ \text{tiah}
\]

\(\text{once} \ \text{CS.S} \ \text{wrestling \ make} \ \text{NMLZ} \ P \ 1s.S \ \text{go} \ \text{also} \ \text{FUT} \ \text{that}
\]

\(\text{Dar \ Kulh} \ \text{nih} \ \text{cun} \ \text{a} \ \text{u} \ \text{pa} \ \text{Kawl Hnin} \ \text{cu}
\)

\(\text{name} \ \text{name} \ \text{CS.A} \ \text{that} \ \text{POSS.3s} \ \text{brother} \ \text{man} \ \text{name} \ \text{name} \ \text{CS.O}
\]

\(\text{a} \ \text{sawm} \ \text{i} \ [\text{paihbuan} \ \text{ser} \ \text{nak}] \ \text{ah} \ \text{cun} \ \text{an} \ \text{kal}
\)

\(\text{3s.S} \ \text{invite} \ \text{and} \ \text{wrestling \ make} \ \text{NMLZ} \ P \ \text{that} \ \text{3p.S} \ \text{go}
\]

‘Once, Dar Kulh asked his brother Kawl Hnin to go to the wrestling place and they went there.’
Although the previous three sentences have postposition \textit{ah} ‘at’ that marks it as place, (135), (136) and (137) do not have any postposition for a place. However, the functions of each nominalized phrase or clause can be identified semantically by the main verb; \textit{hlat} ‘far’ for the phrase \textit{ti-than -nak} ‘the place to get water (the well)’, \textit{ser} ‘make’ for \textit{darkhuang- bah -nak} ‘the place to hang the gongs’ and \textit{si} ‘BE’ for the clause \textit{ral tampi an um nak} ‘the place where the enemies live’, of the clauses respectively. In the second clause of (137), there is the head noun \textit{hmun} ‘place’ and the nominalized phrase is a relative clause and takes the schema in [[…]_{\textit{nak}}_{\textit{hmun}}].

(135) Story of Lian Do #38
\begin{verbatim}
a u ni h ah [ti-than -nak] a hlat tuk
\end{verbatim}
POSS.3s brother CS.A INTERJ water-get NMLZ 3s.S far very
\begin{verbatim}
i um rih ko i sum rih ko tiah a ti
\end{verbatim}
and BE still S.F REFLEX abstain still S.F that 3s.S say
‘His brother said, "Ah, the place to get water (the well) is very far, hold on [abstain]."’

(136) Story of Lian Do #91
\begin{verbatim}
Lian Do naupa ni h cun ka pu [darkhuang- name name brother CS.A that POSS.1s grandfather gong bah -nak] hmanh na ser khawh lo caah keimah ni
hang NMLZ even 2s.S make possible NEG because Pro.1s CS.A
\end{verbatim}
\begin{verbatim}
i lak dih ko lang a ti i aa kir
\end{verbatim}
REFLEX take finish S.F PT 3s.S say and REFLEX.3s return pi
APPLI
‘Lian Do’s brother said, "Grandpa, I will take them all because you cannot even make the place to hang the gongs." and he took them all.’
(137) Story of Ngunnu #17

Dongral cu ral tampi an um nak a si ca ah
name-place CS.S enemy many 3p.S BE NMLZ 3s.S BE for P
khan [ ahozmanh nih an kal ngam lo nak ] hmun a si
that nobody CS.A 3p.S go dare NEG NMLZ place 3s.S BE
tik ah khan khika zawn kal ahcun an thi lai ti mi
when P that there spot go if 3p.S die.I FUT say REL
kha a fiang
that 3s.S sure

‘Dongral was a place where the enemies were lived and nobody dared
to go there and if somebody went there, it was sure that he/she would
die.’

Besides the postposition ah ‘at’, the postposition in ‘from’ and tang ‘under’ can also
help us understand the function of the nominalized phrases as a place as in (138).
The presence of postpositions that shows a location is denoted. Other examples are

(138) Story of Ngunnu #48

[a langh nak ] in vun cuan tawn rih law [Ngunnu thut
3s.S visible.II NMLZ P DIR gaze often still and name sit.II
nak ] tang dothiang cung ah lang maw kei lairawn
NMLZ under chair on P appear QUE Pro.1s native-place

‘Stare often from Ngunnu’s chair that you can see the native village.’

In sentences (139) and (140), the nominalized phrases have the head nouns; lo
‘farm’, ka ‘here or place’ and hmun ‘place’ respectively. So it is not difficult to see
that the nominalized phrases denote places. It can also be said that the particle nak
functions as a relativizer as each phrase has its head noun.
(139) Story of Planting #3

When Lai people grow rice, they firstly look for the farm to grow it.

(140) Story of Planting #4

We often grow rice in a warm place as rice can be grown in a warm place.

In sentence (141), a place nominalized NP is formed [3s.S ADJ₉ COM.D nak]PLACE. However, in that particular sense, the meaning of the phrase a buat deuh nak stands for ‘where the grass grows bigger/higher’ as some adjectives work as inchoative verbs.

(141) Story of Planting #17

Then, at last it is weeded where the grass grows higher with knife in around September.

In the sentence (142), the nominalized NP has a head noun hmun ‘place’ and the negative marker lo comes between the verb/adjective hlat ‘far.II’ and nak. The
example sentence (143) has the same schema as (141), however, it nominalizes a bigger NP \([a \ chuah \ [a \ that \ deuh \ nak]]\) , ’where the produce (of rice) is better’.

(142) Story of Planting #21
\[
\text{facang kan lak dih hnu ah khan } [lo \ in \ a \ hlat \ lo \ rice \ 1p.S \ take \ finish \ after \ P \ that \ farm \ P \ 3s.S \ far.II \ NEG \ nak ] \ hmun khat te ah thlam bawk facang bawk kan NMLZ \ \text{place one just P tent tent rice tent 1p.S sak i cu facang bawk te ah cun rawn hmasa a si build.II and that rice tent little P that store first 3s.S BE}
\]
‘After we take the rice, we build a small barn where it is not far from the farm and the rice is stored there.’

(143) Story of Planting #41
\[
\text{facang lo i a chuak mi hi leikuang i a chuak rice farm P 3s.S produce.I REL DEM field P 3s.S appear.I mi nak in [a chuah a that deuh nak] zong a REL than P 3s.S take-out 3s.S good.II COM.D NMLZ also 3s.S um BE}
\]
‘More rice is produced in some farms than in fields.’

4.1.4.3 Nominalizer –nak as reason/result
In (144) and (146), the nominalizer nak shows the reason of the man’s being dirty and the reason of my being sweated respectively, however, (145) does not.

(144) Constructed example
\[
mipa cu [sa a thah nak] ah a thur dih man CS.S animal 3s.S kill.II NMLZ P 3s.S dirty all
\]
‘The man is completely dirty because of killing the animal.’
(145) Constructed example

\[ mipa \ cu \ [sa \q thah \ nak] \ a \q kal \ hnu \ ah \ a \q thur \ dih \]

man CS.S animal kill.II NMLZ 3s.S go after P 3s.S dirty all

‘The man is completely dirty after he goes to an animal killing place.’

(146) Constructed example

\[ [rawl \ ka \ q chumh \ nak] \ ah \ ka \ q thlan \ a \ q chuak \]

food 1s.S cook.II NMLZ P POSS.1s sweat 3s.S go.out I

‘I am sweating because of (my) cooking food.’

Nominalizer \textit{nak} nominalizes the clause \textit{sa a that} ‘he kills.I an animal’ and also the clause \textit{rawl \ ka \ chum} ‘I cook.I the food’ in (146). The schema is \{ S \textit{nak} \}Reason. However, the postposition \textit{ah} ‘for’ plays an important role in determining nominalization as a reason clause. This postposition makes the clause subordinate; the clause \textit{sa a thah \ nak \ ah} ‘for his killing the animal’ is the reason for his being dirty in (144) and the clause \textit{rawl \ ka \ chumh \ nak \ ah} ‘for my cooking food’ is the reason for my being sweat in (146). Moreover, the result of the main clause also helps us understand semantically that the subordinate clause is the reason or cause of the main clause. Other postposition like \textit{hnuah} ‘after’ cannot be used in this schema as in (145), that is, the nominalized NP/clause is no longer as reason; the phrase \textit{sa thah \ nak} ‘killing the animal’ in (145) means the place.

4.1.4.4 Nominalizer \textit{-nak} as purpose/instrument

The nominalizer \textit{nak} has two schemas for purpose/instrument; \{[N V_{II} \textit{nak}]_{\text{Instrument}} \}_{N} and \{ N V_{II} \textit{nak} \}_{\text{Instrument}}. In (147) as the first schema, the nominalizer \textit{-nak} shows the purpose of the noun \textit{bel} ‘pot’ or what the noun is used for. Syntactically, it seems to be a relativizer, however, it indicates the head noun semantically as the tool or instrument of the nominalized phrase.

(147) Constructed example

\[ [ka \ q rawl \ chumh \ nak] \ bel \ (cu) \ a \ q zut \]

POSS.1s food cook.II NMLZ pot CS.S 3s.S leak.I

‘My cooking pot leaks (in the bottom).’
The second schema can appear in equative clauses (148a, 149a) and verbal clauses (148b, 149b). They have the same purpose and semantic meaning. Both the equative clauses and the verbal clauses do not clearly determine that the nominalized NPs as the instrument of the main subject in syntactic structure, i.e., it is similar in structure to the schemas of nominalized NP of place (in section 4.1.4.2).

(148a) Constructed example

\[ hi \; bel \; cu \; [rawl \; chumh \; nak] \; a \; si \]

DEM pot CS.S food cook.II NMLZ 3s.S BE

‘This pot is for cooking food.’

(148b) Constructed example

\[ hi \; bel \; cu \; [rawl \; chumh \; nak] \; ah \; ka \; hman \]

DEM pot CS.S food cook.II NMLZ P 1s.S use.II

‘This pot is used for cooking food.’ Or ‘I use this pot for cooking food.’

(149a) Constructed example

\[ hi \; fung \; cu \; [ar \; thah \; nak] \; a \; si \]

DEM stick CS.S chicken kill.II NMLZ 3s.S BE

‘This stick is to kill the chicken.’

(149b) Constructed example

\[ hi \; fung \; cu \; [ar \; thah \; nak] \; ah \; ka \; hman \]

DEM stick CS.S chicken kill.II NMLZ P 1s.S use.II

‘This stick is used to kill the chicken.’ or ‘I use this stick to kill the chicken.’

4.1.4.5 Nominalizer –nak as Applicative

In (150b) and (151b), the nominalizer nak seems to be used as instrument, however, it uses the postposition\(^\text{13}\) hin ‘with’ because this postposition already shows that the bel ‘pot’ (150b) is an instrument for cooking and fung ‘stick’ (151b) is an instrument for killing the chicken. Lehman & Ceu Hlun (2002) also said that the nominalizer nak

\(^\text{13}\) Bedell (2000) called it a deictic particle saying when the Lai deictic particles have a postpositional phrase as complement, they appear with a suffixed n: hin, khan, khin and cun. However, in these particular examples, there is no postposition in the phrase; it is more likely the combination of hi ‘this’ and in ‘P (with)’ because the postposition in will remain if the deictic hin is removed.
serves as a valence-changing applicative; in (150a) and (151a), the postpositional phrases hi bel hin ‘with this pot’ and hi fung hin ‘with this stick’ are adjuncts, however, in (150b) and (151b) they are arguments. The applicative nominalizer nak always comes at the end of the sentence.\(^\text{14}\)

(150a) Constructed example

\((hi \ bel \ hin) \ rawl \ ka \ chumh\)

DEM pot with food 1s.S cook.II
‘I cook food with this pot.’

(150b) Constructed example

\(hi \ bel \ hin \ [rawl \ ka \ chumh \ nak]\)

DEM pot with food 1s.S cook.II NMLZ
‘I cook food with this pot.’

(151a) Constructed example

\((hi \ fung \ hin) \ ar \ ka \ thah\)

DEM stick with chicken 1s.S kill.II
‘I kill chickens with this stick.’

(151b) Constructed example

\(hi \ fung \ hin \ [ar \ ka \ thah \ nak]\)

DEM stick with chicken 1s.S kill.II NMLZ
‘I kill chickens with this stick.’

4.1.4.6 Nominalizer –nak as Abstract/Action

The nominalizer nak can also make a nominalized compound word denote an abstract noun. The schema will be \([N \ V_{II} \ nak]_{N,Abstract}\) or \([V_{II} \ V_{II} \ nak]_{N,Abstract}\).

Although the compound nominalization sathahnak ‘the place of killing an animal’ is used to show the place, this nominalization has an abstract idea in (152) as the man leads his life by killing an animal (as a butcher). This compound nominalization can stand as an agent or patient as in (153) and (154) either in causative or in applicative sentences (and also in other kinds of sentences). The abstract nominalized NP can also be schematized as \([V_{II}/ADJ_{II} \ nak]_{N,Abstract}\), for example,

\(^{14}\) If nak is used as an applicative in this way then it must have an argument NP.

(152) Constructed example

\[
\text{a} \text{m} \text{h} \text{h} \text{a} \] \text{p} \text{a} \text{ } \text{c} \text{u} \ [\text{s} \text{a} \text{ } \text{t} \text{h} \text{a} \text{h} \text{ } \text{n} \text{a} \text{k} ] \text{ } \text{in} \text{ } \text{a} \text{ } \text{p} \text{a} \text{w}
\]

Pro.3s M CS.S animal kill.II NMLZ P POSS.3s life

aa \text{c} \text{a} \text{w} \text{m}

REFLEX.3s live

‘He lives by killing animals (as a butcher).’

(153) Constructed example

\[
[\text{c} \text{a} \text{ } \text{r} \text{e} \text{l} \text{ } \text{n} \text{a} \text{k} ] \text{ } \text{n} \text{i} \text{h} \ [\text{t} \text{h} \text{i} \text{e} \text{i} \text{h} \text{ } \text{h} \text{n} \text{g} \text{a} \text{l} \text{h} \text{ } \text{n} \text{a} \text{k} ] \text{ } \text{(} \text{k} \text{h} \text{a} \text{)} \text{ } \text{a}
\]

lesson read NMLZ CS.A know.II know.II NMLZ CS.O 3s.S

\text{k} \text{a} \text{r} \text{h} \text{e} \text{r}

increase CAUS

‘Reading increases knowledge.’

(154) Constructed example

\[
\text{n} \text{a} \ [\text{r} \text{i} \text{a} \text{n} \text{ } \text{t} \text{u} \text{a} \text{n} \text{ } \text{n} \text{a} \text{k} ] \text{ } \text{n} \text{i} \text{h} \ [\text{t} \text{h} \text{a} \text{n}-\text{c} \text{h} \text{o} \text{ } \text{n} \text{a} \text{k} ] \text{ } \text{(} \text{k} \text{h} \text{a} \text{)} \text{ } \text{a}
\]

POSS.2s work work.II NMLZ CS.A grow.II-uphill NMLZ CS.O 3s.S

\text{c} \text{u} \text{a} \text{h} \text{a} \text{h} \text{p} \text{i} \text{lai}

3s.S go out.II APPLI.with FUT

‘Your working will cause (make) development.’

In the same way, the abstract nominalized NPs harnak ‘harm’ (155) and raithawinak ‘sacrifice’ (156) both stand as the patient. In sentence (157), the abstract nominalized NPs modify the bigger NP; [a nupi [thatlonak]] and [a fanu [thihnak]].

(155) Story of Lian Do #19

\[
\text{h} \text{i} \text{u} \text{n} \text{a} \text{u} \text{c} \text{u} \text{n} \text{g} \text{a} \text{h} \text{h} \text{in} \ [\text{h} \text{a} \text{r} \text{n} \text{a} \text{k} ] \text{ } \text{p} \text{a} \text{k} \text{a} \text{t} \text{ } \text{h} \text{m} \text{a} \text{n} \text{h} \text{e} \text{p} \text{e} \text{h} \text{n} \text{a}
\]

DEM brothers on P this hard NMLZ one even give.I p.O

\text{h} \text{l} \text{a} \text{h} \text{a} \text{h} \text{u} \text{t} \text{i} \text{a} \text{h} \text{a} \text{t} \text{i} \text{h} \text{n} \text{a}

IMPER IMPER say P 3s.S say PL

‘He said, “Don’t do any harm to these two brothers.”’
(156) Story of Lian Do #45

\[\text{an ar a hung zat tik ah an khua}\]

POSS.3p chicken 3s S DIR grown when P POSS.3p village

\[\text{nih [raithawi nak] an duh i}\]

CS.A sacrifice NMLZ 3p S want and

‘When their chicken grew up, the villagers needed it for sacrifice.’

(157) Story of Ngunnu #64

\[\text{mah ah cun a nupi [that lo nak] le a}\]

that P that POSS.3s wife good.II NEG NMLZ and POSS.3s

\[\text{fanu [thih nak] kong vialte a chimh dih hna}\]

daughter die.II NMLZ about all 3s S speak.II finish p.O

‘At that time he told them all about his wife’s cruelty and his daughter’s death.’

4.2 Conclusion

In Lai, a deverbal noun (Kroeger, 2005, p. 256) and a nominalized NP/clause (Givon, 2001b, p. 24) can stand semantically as either agent, patient, instrument, location, manner, cause or as a nominal predicate. Although both the nominalizer \(tu\) and \(mi\) with transitive verb stem I are used for agents, \(tu\) is more common, has more agentive meaning and is more definite in the mind of the readers. For intransitive verbs, the nominalizer \(tu\) is hardly found (although \(lamkaltu\) ‘messenger’ is used as agent) and the nominalizer \(mi\) is more common. The nominalizer \(mi\) with verb stem II is used as object (patient). Not only the nominalizer \(tu\) and \(mi\), but also the nominalizer \(awk\) (Nominal auxiliary by Bedell) is used as the complement of the sentences. The nominalizer \(nak\) can indicate time, place, instrument, abstract and applicative depending on the semantic meaning of its environment (main verb or postposition). The following Table 9 is the summary of each set of nominalization with their semantic functions and their schemas.
Table 9 Summary of nominalization with semantic functions and schemas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic function</th>
<th>Nominalizer</th>
<th>Schema</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agent</td>
<td><em>tu</em></td>
<td>$[[N , V_\text{I}] , tu]<em>{\text{NA}} \text{ or } [[…] , v_N , tu]</em>\lambda$ , if $S$, then $N$ $AG , V_\text{I}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>mi</em></td>
<td>$[[N , V_\text{I}] , mi]<em>{\text{NA}} \text{ or } [[…] , v_N , mi]</em>\lambda$ , if $S$, then $N$ $AG , V_\text{I}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patient</td>
<td><em>mi</em></td>
<td>$[[N , V_\text{II}] , mi]<em>{\text{NP} , \text{PT}} \text{ or } [[…] , v_N , mi]</em>\rho$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head of Complement</td>
<td><em>tu</em></td>
<td>$[3.S , (AG.\text{O}) , V_\text{I} , tu]_{\text{COM}}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>mi</em></td>
<td>$[3.S , (AG.\text{O}) , V_\text{I} , mi]_{\text{COM}}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>awk</em></td>
<td>$[N , V_\text{II} , awk]_{\text{COM}}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>ding</em></td>
<td>$[N , V_\text{II} , ding]_{\text{COM}}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td><em>nak</em></td>
<td>$[((N_{\text{OBJ}}) , AG.\text{S} , V_\text{II} , nak]<em>{\text{TIME}} , (caan)) \text{ or } [AG.\text{S} , AG.\text{O} , V</em>\text{II} , nak]_{\text{TIME}} , (caan)$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place</td>
<td><em>nak</em></td>
<td>$[N_{\text{OBJ}}, V_\text{II} \sim nak]<em>{\text{PLACE}} \text{ or } [a , ‘3.S’ , ADJ/V</em>\text{II} , …nak]_{\text{PLACE}}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>or $[[…] , v_N , nak]_{\text{num}}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reason/Result</td>
<td><em>nak</em></td>
<td>$[S , nak]_{\text{Reason}}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose/Instrument</td>
<td><em>nak</em></td>
<td>$[ [N , V_\text{II} , nak]<em>{\text{Instrument}} ]</em>{N} \text{ or } [N , V_\text{II} , nak]_{\text{Instrument}}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Applicative</td>
<td><em>nak</em></td>
<td>$[[…] , v_N , nak]_{\text{APPL}}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstract/Action</td>
<td><em>nak</em></td>
<td>$[N , V_\text{II} , nak]<em>{N,\text{Abstract}} \text{ or } [V</em>\text{II} , V_\text{II} , nak]<em>{N,\text{Abstract}} \text{ or } [V</em>\text{II} / \text{ADJ}<em>\text{II} , nak]</em>{N,\text{Abstract}}$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Every Tibeto-Burman language uses clausal nominalization in a unique set of syntactic environments; complement clauses, relative clauses and nominal complement clauses (Genetti, 2008, p. 117). Bickel (1999) also notes that relative clause is identical with nominalization in many Sino-Tibetan languages. It is also true in Lai language especially that the headless relative clause form can also function as a nominal complement clause.
This thesis separated out the functions of relative clauses (see Table 8) and nominalization (see Table 9). It found several forms and patterns. It also found some unique patterns to each function. We can see some overlap between relative clause and nominalization, that is, […NP... a ‘3.S’ V, tu/mi] and [3.S (AG.O) V, tu/mi]_{com}, but by paying close attention to agreement, stem alternation, and relativizers we also see ways to make meaningful distinctions.
Chapter 5
Postpositional Constructions

5.1 Introduction
A postposition is a lexical category “used in the grammatical classification of words, referring to the closed set of items which follow noun phrases (or single nouns or pronouns) to form a single constituent of structure” (Crystal, 6th edition). Lai has postpositions that correspond to prepositions in other languages like English, because they come after the nouns or noun phrases (Bedell, 2000). Different kinds of postpositions in their different functions will be discussed in the following sections. Among the postpositions, ah and in are sometimes combined with a relational noun ‘RN’ (Bedell, 2000; Peterson, 2003) as in (158) and (159) respectively. The list of the relational nouns can be seen in Table 10.

(158) Constructed example
cauk cu ka sin ah a um
book CS.S POSS.1s RN.with P 3s.S BE
‘The book is with me.’

(159) Constructed example
minu cu kán sin in a kal cang
woman CS.S POSS.1p RN.with P 3s.S go PFT
‘The woman has gone from us.’

5.2 Postposition ah
The postposition ah can function as marking time, as marking place, as head of complements, and as subordinating conjunction depending on the word, the phrase or the clause it precedes.
5.2.1 Postposition *ah* as marking time

When *ah* is used as a postposition, it does not have a specific meaning. It can function differently based on the semantic meaning of the noun or the noun phrase it precedes. If the postposition *ah* follows a noun that expresses time, it will be the time expression that is similar in meaning to ‘at/in’ in English as in (160-164).

(160) Constructed example

```
cuhlan sa na kah mi nak in tukum ah a tam
```

last animal 2s.S shoot.II REL than P this.year P 3s.S many
deuh
COM.D

‘You shot more animals this year than last.’

(161) Constructed example

```
a hlan ah cun vawlei hi a per ti in an rak
```

3s.S before P that earth DEM 3s.S flat BE P 3p.S PAST
ruah
think.II

‘In the past, people thought that the earth was flat.’

(162) Story of Planting #5

```
a hmasa bik ah thingkung tang i um mi ram hi
```

3s.S first SUP.D P tree under P BE REL forest DEM
vah hmasa a si

clear first 3s.S BE

‘Firstly, the grass under the trees is cleared out.’

---

15 *mipa cu na hlan ah a ra*

man CS.S 2s.S before P 3s.S come.I

‘The man came before you.’

This example shows agreement with an understood subject; agreement marker *na ‘2s.S’* is similar to *nangmah ‘Pro.2s’* in this sentence.
(163) Story of Planting #16

\[
\text{cu hnu ah cun August thla ah voikhat thlawh piak a}
\]
that after P then name month P once weed.II BEN 3s.S si

BE

‘After that, it is weeded one time in August.’

(164) Story of Planting #62

\[
\text{vah cia mi lo kha a kum-vui ah thlawh than}
\]
clear.II already REL farm that 3s.S year-next P weed.II again
\[
\text{a si ti lo kal tak lengmang a si}
\]
3s.S BE say NEG go APPLI.(left) always 3s.S BE

‘The farm that is already weeded for one year is not used again for next year, it is always left.’

In (160), \textit{ah} follows the noun \textit{tukum} ‘this year’, and in (163) it follows the noun \textit{August thla} ‘month of August’ that tells us that the function of \textit{ah} will be expressing time ‘at’. The postposition \textit{ah} also comes after the phrase \textit{cu hnu} ‘after that’ (163), \textit{a hlan} ‘the past’ (161), \textit{a hmasa bik} ‘the first’ (162) and \textit{a kumvui} ‘the next year’ (164). This indicates that \textit{ah} marks a phrase or a clause that shows a time period. The agreement marker \textit{a ‘3s.S’} in the postpositional phrases of (161) and (162) seems to agree with the noun ‘time’ semantically although it is not overt in the sentences. Similarly, the \textit{a ‘3s.S’} in (164) agrees with the noun \textit{kum} ‘year’.

Although the nouns that express time come before the postposition \textit{ah} in the previous sentences, adjectives can come in the time phrase that precedes the postposition \textit{ah}.

(165) Story of Lian Do #3

\[
\text{an pa nih tuan te ah a thih tak hna}
\]
POSS.3p father CS.A early just P 3s.S die.II APPLI.(left) p.O

‘Their father left them (died) early.’

The word \textit{hmasa} ‘first’ from the phrase \textit{a hmasa bik} in (162) is an adjective. Another adjective \textit{tuan te} ‘(too early)’ is used in (165). In the same way, other adjectives that
show time such as tla‘late’, tlawmpal ‘little’, raulo ‘not long’, torhlo ‘unexpected’ and etc. can come before the postposition ah.

The postposition ah comes after not only the phrase but also the nominalized clause that indicates time.

(166) Story of Lian Do #59

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
\text{cu} & \text{tik} & \text{ah} & \text{cun} & \text{a} & \text{sining} & \text{kha} & \text{an} & \text{vun} \; \text{hnalh} \\
\text{that} & \text{time} & \text{P} & \text{that} & \text{POSS.3s} & \text{situation} & \text{that} & \text{3p.S} & \text{DIR} & \text{know.II} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘At that time they became to know who she was.’

(167) na phanh tik ah ka rak in don te lai

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
\text{2s.S} & \text{arrive.II} & \text{time} & \text{P} & \text{1s.S} & \text{DIR} & \text{2s.O} & \text{meet.II} & \text{FUT} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘I will meet you when you arrive.’

Although the postposition ah in (166) follows the phrase cu tik ‘that time’ and the phrase cu tik ah ‘at that time’ still stands as a phrase, the postposition ah in (167) comes after the nominalized clause na phanh tik ‘the time you arrive.II’ or ‘when you arrive.II’.

In summary, ah subordinates temporal phrases that can be nouns, adjectives or nominalized clauses.

5.2.2 Postposition ah as marking place

In some case, the noun that precedes the postposition ah indicates a location. In example sentences (168) and (169), the postposition ah comes after the nouns that show place.

(168) Constructed example

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccccccc}
\text{ralkap} & \text{nih} & \text{ral} & \text{kha} & \text{an} & \text{hmuh} & \text{nak} & \text{hmun} & \text{paoh} & \text{ah} & \text{an} \\
\text{soldier} & \text{CS.A} & \text{enemy} & \text{CS.O} & \text{3p.S} & \text{see.II} & \text{NMLZ} & \text{place} & \text{every} & \text{P} & \text{3p.S} \\
\text{kah} & \text{hma} \\
\text{shoot.II} & \text{p.O} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘The soldiers shoot their enemies wherever they see them.’
(169) Constructed example

\[
\text{ram zakip ah tangka harnak a um}
\]

country every P money difficulty 3s.S BE

‘There is money shortage in every country.’

In (168), \textit{ah} comes after the head noun \textit{hmun} ‘place’ of the relative clause \textit{an hmun nak hmun paoh} ‘every place where they (soldiers) see their enemies’ (in this sentence, the nominalizer \textit{nak} works as a relativizer; see also in Nominalization chapter). We can also see that a determiner or adjective or adverb can come between the noun and the postposition. In sentences (168) and (169), the quantifiers \textit{paoh} ‘every’ and \textit{zakip} ‘every’ come between the noun and the postposition. Other adverb quantifiers such as \textit{dihlak} ‘all’, \textit{cheu} ‘half’, and adjectives/quantifiers such as \textit{pumpaluk} ‘whole’, \textit{tlawmpal} ‘little’ etc. can appear on that place.

In the sentence (170) and (171), the postposition \textit{ah} is translated as ‘to’ or ‘toward’ in English.

(170) Constructed example

\[
\text{Hakha ah ka tlung}
\]

name P 1s.S arrive.I

‘I go (home) to Hakha.’

(171) Constructed example

\[
\text{ka sin ah na rat ahcun kutput i ken}
\]

POSS.1s RN.to P 2s.S come.II if present REFLEX bring.II

\textit{hlah}

NEG.IMPER

‘If you come to me, don’t bring any present.’

In (170-171), the semantic meaning of \textit{ah} cannot be decided by just looking at the noun; \textit{Hakha} ‘name of town’, \textit{sin} ‘toward (relational noun)’ (Bedell, 2000; Peterson, 2003) it precedes but the meaning also depends on the main verb. The main verbs \textit{tlung} ‘arrive.I’ (170) and \textit{rat} ‘come.II’ in (171) are motion verbs so that the meaning of \textit{ah} becomes ‘to’ instead of ‘at’. The second postposition \textit{ah} in \textit{ahcun ‘if’} in (171) works as subordinating conjunction (see in section 5.2.4).
Relational noun sometimes comes between a noun and the postposition ah.

(172) Constructed example

cabuai cung ah va chia

table RN.on P DIR put.I

‘Put (it) on the table.’

In (172), the postposition ah combines with another relational noun cung ‘on top of (preposition in English)’. Other relational nouns that specify a place such as chung ‘inside’, leng ‘outside’, tang ‘under’, hmai ‘in front of’, hnu ‘back’, pawng ‘near’, chang ‘next to’, sir ‘next to’ etc. can combine with ah.

However, other adverbs, for example, te ‘just’ in (173) and adjective (degree); bik ‘superlative degree’ in (174) can also come between the RN and the postpositions.

(173) Constructed example

cauk cu bizu tang te ah va chia

book CS.O cupboard RN.under just P DIR put.I

‘Put the book just under the cupboard.’

(174) Constructed example

cauk cu bizu cung bik ah va chia

book CS.O cupboard RN.on SUP.D P DIR put.I

‘Put the book on the topmost shelf of the cupboard.’

If the deictic particles; hi ‘this’, kha ‘that (near)’, khi ‘that (far), cu ‘that (invisible) have a postpositional phrase as complement, they take a suffix -n and appear as hin, khan, khin, cun as in (175-178) (Bedell, 2000).

(175) Constructed example

ka ihnak ah cun lut hlah

POSS.1s sleep.II-NMLZ P that enter.I NEG.IMPER

‘Don’t come into my bedroom.’

In (175), the postposition ah in ah cun ‘P-that’ is different from ah in ahcun ‘if’ (conjunction; section 5.3) because the postpositional phrase stands as complement and ah cun means ‘into’ in English due to the motion verb lut ‘enter.I’. 
(176) Constructed example

\[ \text{nan} \ \text{khua} \ \text{ah} \ \text{hin} \ \text{um} \ \text{ve} \ \text{ning} \ \text{law} \ a \ \text{tha} \ \text{hnga} \]

POSS.2p village P this BE also let if 3s.S good IRREAL

‘It is good if I also live in your village.’

(177) Constructed example

\[ \text{nan} \ \text{inn} \ \text{ah} \ \text{khan} \ \text{rak} \ \text{um} \ \text{ko} \]

POSS.2p house P that DIR BE S.F

‘Just stay at your home.’

(178) Constructed example

\[ \text{Khuaitu} \ \text{tlang} \ \text{ah} \ \text{khin} \ \text{khuai} \ \text{an} \ \text{tlai} \]

name mountain P that bee 3p.S fruit

‘There are plenty of bees (of beehives) in Khuaitu Mountain.’

The phrases \text{nan khua ah hin} ‘in your village’ (176) and \text{nan inn ah khan} ‘at your home’ (177) are complements of the main verb \text{um} ‘be’ and so the postposition \text{ah} will be ‘at or in’ in English. In the same way, the phrase \text{Khuaitu tlang ah khin} ‘in Khuaitu Mountain’ in (178) is the complement of the main verb \text{tlai} ‘fruit (be plenty of)’.

The postposition \text{ah} in the postpositional phrase can have different meanings according to the constituent that precedes that postposition. The \text{ah} in the phrase \text{Hakha le Falam karlak ah} ‘between Hakha and Falam’ (179) stands for ‘between’ in English as the conjunction \text{le} ‘and’ and the RN \text{karlak} ‘between’ help it to be like that. In the same way, the postposition \text{ah} in the phrase \text{inn tiang ah} ‘until the house’ (180) supports the meaning of the RN \text{tiang} ‘till’.

(179) Constructed example

\[ \text{Hakha le Falam karlak ah Chuncung a um} \]

name and name between P name 3s.S BE

‘Chungcung is between Hakha and Falam.’
The following Table 10 shows the relational nouns that indicate place, time or reason with postposition ah/in. One of the intensifiers (adverbs or adjectives) te ‘just’, lawng ‘only’, deuh/chin ‘COM.D’, bik ‘SUP.D’ and etc. can come between the relational noun and the postposition.

Table 10 Relational nouns with Postposition ah/in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relational nouns</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Place</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sin ‘to’</td>
<td>pawng ‘near’</td>
<td>hlan ‘before’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca ‘for’</td>
<td>chang ‘next to’</td>
<td>hnu ‘after’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cung ‘on’</td>
<td>sir ‘next to/beside’</td>
<td>kar(lak) ‘while’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chung ‘inside’</td>
<td>lai ‘center’</td>
<td>lai ‘before’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leng ‘outside’</td>
<td>kar(lak) ‘between’</td>
<td>hrawng ‘around’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tang ‘under’</td>
<td>lei ‘toward’</td>
<td>deng ‘almost’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hmai ‘front’</td>
<td>tiang ‘till’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hnu ‘back’</td>
<td>hrawng ‘around’</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.2.3 Postposition ah as head of complements

The postposition ah sometimes works as head of a complement phrase. The ah is translated as ‘to’ or ‘for’ or ‘that’ or ø in English in the complement phrases. Complements can be nominal (181-183) or sentential (184-189).
**Ah and nominal complements**

When the postposition *ah* is head of the nominal complement, it comes directly after the noun; other intensifier (adjectives) will not normally come between them.

(181) Story of Nggunu #3

```plaintext
a min ah Nggunu an sak
```

POSS.3s name P name 3p.S name.II

‘They named her Nggunu as her name.’

The postpositional phrase *a min ah* ‘as/for her name’ in (181) is complement although it seems to be adjunct in its English free translation. The clause *Nggunu an sak* ‘they name her Nggunu’ is not a complete Lai sentence.

(182) Story of Men Ri Hei #31

```plaintext
voikhat cu siangpahrangpa khualtlawn ah aa thawh
```

once that king travel P REFLEX.3s set-out

‘Once, the king went on a journey.’

(183) Constructed example

```plaintext
ka pi ca ah kadan ka cawk piak
```

POSS.1s G.Ma for P shoe 1s.S buy.II BEN

‘I bought shoes for my grandmother.’

In the same way, sentence (182) cannot have complete meaning without the PP *khualtlawn ah* ‘for journey’ because the clause *siangpahrangpa aa thawh* ‘the king set out’ must specify a goal (i.e, the king can set out for a visit, for a meeting, for a walk and etc.). The PP *ka pi ca ah* ‘for my grandmother’ (183) is complement; the clause *kedan ka cawk* ‘I bought shoes’ already has complete sense (I bought shoes for myself), however, the PP works as complement because it makes the sentence complete as I bought the shoes either for myself or for my grandmother. The benefactive *piak* also functions as a kind of applicative that helps the PP to be a complement.
Ah and sentential complements

Moreover, the postposition *ah* can be the head of a postpositional clause that works as the sentential complement of the sentence.

(184) Constructed example

*camipuai na awn nak ding ah thla kàn cam piak*

exam  2s.S pass.II NMLZ NMLZ P spirit 1s.S pray BEN

‘I pray that you will pass your exam.’

In (184), *ah* is the head of the nominalized clause *camipuai na awn nak ding* ‘to pass/passing your exam’ (in this clause, the nominalizer *nak ding* ‘to/for’ nominalizes the clause *camipuai na awng* ‘you pass.I the exam’).

Another postposition that combines with *ah* is *tiah* ‘that’ as in (185-187). The postposition *tiah* ‘that’ is the combination of *ti* ‘BE or say’ and *ah* ‘P’ and it can be the head of either the statement (185), imperative (186) or interrogative clauses (187).

(185) Constructed example

*a hlan ah cun vawlei hi a per ti ah an rak*

3s.S past P that earth DEM 3s.S flat say P 3p.S PAST *ruah*

think.II

‘In the past, people thought that the earth is flat.’

(186) Constructed example

*nan nu le nan pa upat hna u ti ah*

POSS.2p mother and POSS.2p father respect PL. IMPER say P *Baibal nih a kan cawnpiak*

Bible  CS.A  3s.S  1p.O train

‘The Bible teaches us to respect our parents.’
(187) Story of Ngunnu #8

ni khat cu a pa nih Ngunnu cu zeidah na duh
day one that POSS.3s man CS.A name CS.O what 2s.S want
bik ti ah a hal
SUP.D say P 3s.S ask

‘One day, Ngunnu’s father asked her,"What do you like best?”’

In (185), tiah is the head of the statement clause vawlei hi a per ‘the earth is flat’ and this clause is the complement of the sentence a hlan ah cun … an rak ruah ‘in the past,… they (people) thought’. The postposition tiah in (186) is the head of the imperative clause nan nu le nan pa upat hna u ‘respect your parents’ and it stands as the complement of the sentence Baibal nih a kan cawnpiak ‘the Bible teaches us’. The interrogative clause zeidah na duh bik ‘what do you like best?’ (187) that is headed by the postposition tiah also works as the complement of the sentence ni khat cu a pa nih Ngunnu cu … a hal ‘one day, her father asked Ngunnu, … ’.

The postposition ah alone can also be head of a sentential complement as in (188-189).

(188) Story of Men Ri Hei #9

voikhat cu Men Ri Hei kha a umhar le
once CS.S name name name that POSS.3s boredom and
a lilen a celh lo tuk ah kaa kholh
POSS.3s loneliness 3s.S bear NEG very P REFLEX.1s bathe
lai nitlang hram ah a ti i an inn pawng
FUT sun-light behind P 3s.S say and POSS.3p home near
tiva ah a va kholh
geriver P 3s.S DIR bathe

‘Once, Men Ri Hei could not bear her boredom and loneliness and so she went to the river near their house to have a bath in the sun light.’
‘After he made a flute, he went to Kawl (Burma) to look for his wife.’

In the sentence (188), the postpositional clause a umhar le a lilen a celh lo tuk ah ‘as/for she could not bear her boredom and loneliness’ is the reason/cause of going to have a bath in the river near their house. In the same way, the postpositional clause a nupi kawl ah ‘to look for his wife’ (189) is the goal clause of the main clause Kawl lei ah … aa thawh ‘he set out to Kawl (Burma) …’. The deictic cun ‘that’ comes after the postpositional clause because it already appears as the head of the subordinate clause thanglawi a ser dih cun ‘after he made a flute’.

5.2.4 Postposition ah as subordinating conjunction

Lastly, the postposition ah works as a subordinating conjunction combined together with other words such as ca ‘for’, cun ‘that’ (comes after postposition ah), hmanh ‘even’, ruang ‘cause’, tik ‘when’, lai ‘FUT’, lio ‘CONT’, hnu ‘after’, karlak ‘while’, hrawng ‘around’, hlan ‘before’, kar ‘absent’ and so on. In these cases, it indicates that the preceding clause is subordinate to the following clause. These are not complements of the verb but they do mark clauses or nominalizations of clauses which are subordinate.

The following Table 11 shows the different functions of the postposition ah as subordinating conjunction.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subordinating conjunction</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>caah</td>
<td>reason</td>
<td>190</td>
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<tr>
<td>ahcun</td>
<td>conditional</td>
<td>191, 192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hmanhah</td>
<td>counter-expectation</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruangah</td>
<td>causative</td>
<td>194a, 194b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subordinating conjunction</td>
<td>Function</td>
<td>Example</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tikah</td>
<td>sequential</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ah</td>
<td>sequential</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hnuah</td>
<td>after</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hlanah</td>
<td>before</td>
<td>203</td>
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<tr>
<td>lioah</td>
<td>while/progressive</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kar(lak)ah</td>
<td>while/durational</td>
<td>200, 201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hrawngah</td>
<td>around</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laiah</td>
<td>just as</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laiteah</td>
<td>just before</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The postposition *ah* functions differently in the subordinating conjunctions *caah* ‘for’ and *ahcun* ‘if’ in the following example sentences.

(190) Constructed example

```
ka  puan  a  tleh  ca  ah  ka  thit
POSS.1s blanket 3s.S tear.II for P 1s.S sew.II

‘As my blanket is torn, I sew it.’
```

(191) Constructed example

```
kan  inn  ah  na  rat  ahcun  kutput  i  ken
POSS. 2p house P 2s.S come.II if present REFLEX bring.II
hlah
NEG.IMPER

‘If you come to our home, don't bring any present.’
```

(192) Constructed example

```
zu  na  rit  lo  ahcun  ra  ve  ko
liquor 2s.S drunk.II NEG if come.I also S.F

‘Unless you are drunk, you can come with us.’
```
The postposition *ah* with *ca* ‘for’ not only works as head of the complement as in (183) but also as subordinating conjunction (meaning ‘for/as’) as in (190). However, the syntactic structure is different for these usages. When *caah* ‘for/as’ is used as a subordinating conjunction, it always comes after the subordinate clause such as *ka puan a tleh* ‘my blanket is torn. II’ (190) and when it is used as head of the complement it follows a noun phrase. In the same way, the deictic *cun* ‘that’ (when not used as subordinating conjunction) can only come after the postpositional phrase like *ah cun* ‘P that’ (they are two separate words in Lai orthography) (see in Lai Baibal Thiang, Lai Holy Bible). When *cun* is used together with the postposition *ah as ahcun* ‘if’, it becomes a subordinating conjunction and is written as one word in Lai orthography. And this *ahcun* ‘if’ always comes after the subordinate clauses as *kan inn ah na rat ahcun* ‘if you come. II to our home’ in (191) and also with negative as *zu na rit lo ahcun* ‘unless you are drunk. II’ in (192).

As said in the beginning of this chapter, the meaning of the postposition *ah* can change according to the constituent that precedes it. The postposition *ah* matches ‘though’ in English due to the preceding word *hmanh* ‘even’ (193).

(193) Constructed example  
\[ a \text{ tar hmanh ah a thawng ngai rih } \]
\[ 3s.S \text{ old even \ P } 3s.S \text{ strong.I very still} \]

‘Even though he is old, he is still strong.’

In (193), *a tar hmanh ah* ‘even though he/she is old’ is the subordinate clause of the main clause *a thawng ngai rih* ‘he/she is still strong’.

(194a) Constructed example  
\[ thlichia a hran ruang ah inn an rawk hna \]
\[ \text{storm 3s.S blow.II cause P house 3p.S damaged.I PL} \]

‘The houses are damaged as the storm blows.’

(194b) Constructed example  
\[ thlichia a hran ruang ah inn a hrawh hna \]
\[ \text{storm 3s.S blow.II cause P house 3s.S damage.CAUS.II p.O} \]

‘As the storm blew, it destroyed the houses.’
The conjunction *ruangah* ‘as’; the combination of *ruang* ‘cause’ and *ah* ‘P’ in (194a) and (194b) is the head of the subordinate clause *thlichia a hran ruangah* ‘as the storm blew’. Although the subordinate clause of these two sentences are the same, the main clauses are different in meaning, i.e. *inn an rawk hna* ‘the houses are damaged’. I’ in (194a) is the result of being storm, however, *inn a hrawh hna* ‘it (the storm) destroys (Causative) the houses’ means that the storm causes (destroys) the houses.

Although the postposition *ah* in *cu tik ah* ‘at that time’ (166) works as the adverbial phrase of time, *ah* together with *tik* ‘when/time’ like *tikah* ‘when’ can be a subordinating conjunction between clauses.

(195) Constructed example

```
na phanh tik ah ka rak in don te lai
2s.S arrive.II when P 1s.S DIR 2s.O meet.II FUT
```

‘I will meet you when you arrive.’

The clause *na phanh tikah* ‘when you arrive.II’ in (195) is the subordinate clause of the main clause *ka rak in don te lai* ‘I will meet you’.

(196) Constructed example

```
ka ih lai ah a ra
1s.S sleep.II FUT P 3s.S come.I
```

‘He/she came before I slept.’

(197) Story of Ngunnu #40

```
a liam laite ah khin a khang cu a hun ceu
3s.S pass FUT,just P that POSS.3s signal CS.S 3s.S DIR bright
```

‘She (Ngunnu) gave them the signal just before she disappeared.’

(198) Constructed example

```
ka ei lio ah a ra
1s.S eat CONT P 3s.S come.I
```

‘He/She comes while I am eating.’
The combination of TAM with the postposition \textit{ah} can be a conjunction such as \textit{lai ah} ‘before (FUT P)’ (196), \textit{laite ah} ‘just before (FUT-just P)’ (197) and \textit{lio ah} ‘while (CONT P)’ (198). Each of these conjunctions marks a subordinate clause. They can also be the words that express time in the adverbial phrase (see in section 5.1).

\begin{verbatim}(199) Story of Planting #6\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}ram kan vah dih hnu ah thingkung kha hau a si forest 1s.S clear finish after P tree CS.O cut 3s.S BE \end{verbatim}

‘After we clear the grass, the trees will be cut.’

In the same way, the \textit{hnu ah} ‘after P’ in (199) is a subordinating conjunction as it is the head of the subordinate clause \textit{ram kan vah dih hnu ah} ‘after we clear the grass’ although it was used as head of the adverbial phrase of time in the previous section.

\begin{verbatim}(200) Story of Ngunnu #16\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}a pa um lo karlak ah khan Ngunnu cu a POSS.3s father BE NEG while P that name CS.O POSS.3s nuei nih Dongral ah khan rian a fial step-mother CS.A name-place P that work 3s.S ask \end{verbatim}

‘Ngunnu was asked to go and do something to Dongral by her step-mother while her father was away.’

\begin{verbatim}(201) Story of Kawl Hnin #22\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}a nu lo a kal kar ah cun voidang bantuk in POSS.3s mother farm 3s.S go absent P that usual as P a ser than 3s.S make again \end{verbatim}

‘Since his mother went to the farm, he made (toys with clay) again as usual.’

The relational noun \textit{karlak} ‘between’ with the postposition \textit{ah} like \textit{karlak ah} or \textit{kar ah} ‘between P’ was used as head of the postpositional phrase of place in (179 of section 5.2.2). These two words are same in meaning whether \textit{-lak} is present or not, and they can also be conjunction (but has different meaning ‘while’) that marks the subordinate clause as \textit{a pa um lo karlak ah} ‘while her father was away (not with them)’ in (200) and as \textit{a nu lo a kal kar ah} ‘while his mother went to farm’ in (201).
The deictic *khan* ‘that’ and *cun* ‘that’ can be optional (most people will omit them especially in spoken).

The postpositional phrase *hrawng ah* ‘after (around P)’ in (202) works as a subordinating conjunction, as it marks the subordinate clause *Ngunnu an vui ka hrawng ah* ‘soon after Ngunnu was buried’. Like other postpositional phrases (relational noun plus postposition), it can also express time or place. In the same way, the postpositional phrase *hlan ah* ‘before P’ was used in the adverbial phrase of time.

(202) Story of Ngunnu #52

*Ngunnu an vui ka hrawng ah a pa cu a*

*name 3p.S bury recently around P POSS.3s father CS.S 3s.S hung tlung*

*DIR arrive.I*

‘Ngunnu's father arrived soon after she was buried.’

(203) Story of Men Ri Hei #37

*lam hlat pi an phak hlan ah siangpahrangpa sinum*

*way far very 3p.S arrive.II before P king servant*

*pawl nih an theih i an va dawi hna*

*PL CS.A 3p.S know.II and 3p.S DIR chase p.O*

‘Before they arrived very far, the king's servants chased them.

(204) Story of Ngunnu #57

*a mawnu nih cun Ngunnu pa a hun hmuh ah*

*POSS.3s friend CS.A that name father 3s.S DIR see.II P cun a lung a fak tuk i a hung tap a*

*then POSS.3s heart 3s.S hurt very and 3s.S DIR cry.I POSS.3s sining vialte cu a chimh dih*

*situation all that 3s.S speak.II finish*

‘When her (Ngunnu’s) friend saw Ngunnu's father, she felt so sad and told him everything what happened.'
However, in (203), it is a subordinating conjunction as it follows the subordinate clause *lam hlat pi an phak hlan ah* 'before they arrive very far'. Unlike other postpositional phrases that were discussed before, the postposition *ah* in (204) works alone as a subordinating conjunction as *Nggunu pa a hun hmuh ah* ‘when she saw Nggunu's father’. The deictic *cun* ‘then’ (the first deictic *cun* is glossed as ‘that’) also helps *ah* to be as a conjunction, i.e. it has the similar meaning as when the noun *tik* ‘when/time’ comes before the postposition *ah*.

### 5.3 Postposition in

The postposition *in* can function as marking place, as marking time, as instrument, as subordinating conjunction and as others like intensifier or adverb of quantity depending on the word, phrase or clause it precedes.

#### 5.3.1 Postposition in as marking place

Like the postposition *ah* in the previous section 5.2, the postposition *in* has different functions according to the preceding word or the main verb of the clause. The following sentence (170) is taken from the previous section to compare with the postposition *in*.

\[
\begin{align*}
(170) \text{Constructed example} & \quad (205) \text{Constructed example} \\
Hakha & ~ \text{name} \quad \text{P} ~ 1s.S \quad \text{arrive.I} \quad \text{Hakha} & ~ \text{name} \quad \text{P} ~ 1s.S \quad \text{arrive.I} \\
\text{ah} & ~ \text{ka} \quad \text{tlung} & \quad \text{in} \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{tlung} \\
'I \text{go (home) to Hakha.}' & \quad 'I \text{arrive from Hakha.}'
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(206) \text{Constructed example} \\
cabuai & ~ \text{table} \quad \text{RN.on} \quad \text{P} \quad 3s.S \quad \text{fall.I} \\
'(\text{He/She/It}) \text{fell off/from the table.}'
\end{align*}
\]

The postposition *ah* in the previous sentence (170) *Hakha ah ka tlung* ‘I go (home) to Hakha’ means ‘to’ in English. When the postposition *in* follows directly (adjacent) to the noun (place) as *Hakha in* ‘from Hakha’ in (205), it always means ‘from’ in English. It is true for all the adverbial phrases of place whether the main verb is motion verb or not. However, if there is relational noun (Bedell, 2000) between the noun and the postposition *in* as *cabuai cung in* ‘off the table’ (literally; from on the
table) in (206), the postposition in may have an additional meaning to ‘from’. In the
postpositional phrase cung in; the relational noun cung with the postposition in has
the semantic meaning of ‘off’. In (207), the postposition in in the postpositional
phrase a lenlei in ‘from outside (3s.S outside P)’ also means ‘from’.

(207) Story of Men Ri Hei #15

Men Ri Hei nih cun a lenlei in tawh aa
name name name CS.A that 3s.S out-side P lock REFLEX.3s
hrenhkhumh i ahoehmah an lut kho lo
lock-in and nobody 3p.S enter.I can.I NEG

‘Men Ri Hei locked the door from outside and nobody could enter.’

In this phrase, the agreement a ‘3s.S’ will agree with the subject that is connected
with the place mentioned (however, there is no specific subject that the place is
mentioned about ‘from outside’ but the previous sentences of the story have
mentioned that Men Ri Hei stays alone at home). In other words, the phrase is like
inn a lenlei in ‘from outside the house’ and other phrases such as a chunglei in ‘from
inside’, a hmailei in ‘from front’, a hnulei in ‘from back’, a cunglei in ‘from above’, a
tanglei in ‘from under’ and etc. can be the postpositional phrases that indicate the
side of a place.

(208) Story of Men Ri Hei #14

a sinum pawl nih cun a fenh nak tiva cu
POSS.3s servant PL CS.A that 3s.S flow NMLZ river CS.O
cho hrawn in an hei hrawn i inn pakhat an hei
upward follow P 3p.S DIR follow and home one 3p.S DIR
hmuh
see.II

‘The servants followed through the river that flows the thread of hair
upward and they found a house.’

In the sentence (208), the adverbial phrase cho hrawn in ‘through upward’ shows
movement as the servants follow the river that flows the thread of hair and so the
postposition in stands for ‘through’ in English. Although the word hrawn ‘follow’ in
the phrase seems to be a verb, it is the repetition of the main verb and it does not
work as a verb but as an adverb.
5.3.2 Postposition in as marking time

The postposition in ‘from’ sometimes works as time expression when it follows the noun that tells about the time.

In (209) and (210), the postposition in stands for the beginning time ‘from’; March thla ni kul in ‘from March 20’ and June thla thawkka hrawng in ‘around from the beginning of June’. The postposition i in the phrase April thla ni kul karlak hrawng i ‘at around on April 20’ means ‘at’ similar in meaning to the postposition ah in the previous section 5.2.1 (the usage of the postposition i will be discussed in the following section 5.3.3).

(209) Story of Planting #14

\[ cu \ cu \ March \ thla \ ni \ kul \ in \ April \ thla \ ni \ kul \]
that CS.S name month day twenty P name month day twenty karlak hrawng i tuah mi a si
between around P make REL 3s.S BE

‘That (growing seeds) is done around from March 20 to April 20.’

(210) Story of Planting #32

\[ May \ thla \ dih \ lai \ June \ thla \ thawkka \ hrawng \ in \ kan \]
name month finish FUT name month begin around P 1s.S thlawh tik ah hin hmaism a tam tuk i kan pum
weed.II when P this gnat 3s.S many very and 1s.S body paluk in hmaism nih an kan buk dih
whole P gnat CS.A 3p.S 1p.O crowd finish

‘When we weed in the end of May, around from the beginning of June, there are a lot of gnats and they bite our body everywhere.’

(211) Story of Planting #59

\[ kum \ khat \ hnu \ kum \ khat \ in \ an \ i \ thial \ lengmang \]
year one after year one P 3p.S REFLEX move always

‘They always move one lobung (farm) to another every year.’

The word thawkka ‘begin’ (as it is glossed in the sentence) in the phrase June thla thawkka hrawng in ‘around from the beginning of June’ (210) seems to be a verb,
however, it functions as a noun like ‘beginning’. Although the free translation of the phrase *kum khat hnu kum khat in* ‘from one year after another’ (211) is ‘every year’, the postposition *in* still is translated as ‘from’. On the other hand, the phrase can be switched as *kum khat in kum khat hnu* ‘from one year after another’.

### 5.3.3 Postposition *in* as Instrument

The postposition *in* sometimes indicates that the noun that precedes it is an instrument like ‘with’ in English. It is hard to predict what kinds of noun it will be; it can be a tool, common noun or abstract noun.

The postposition *in* (212) follows directly to the noun *mei* ‘fire’ and means that it (the farm) is burned ‘with fire’.

**(212) Story of Planting #7**

```
thingkung kan hau dih hnu ah thla hnih a rauh hnu ah
tree 1s.S cut finish after P month two 3s.S last after P
khin mei in duah a si
that fire P burn 3s.S BE

‘After two months after we cut the trees, it (the farm) is burnt with fire.’
```

**(213) Story of Planting #11**

```
facang kan cin tik ah Lai tahmui kan ti mi tahmui
rice 1s.S grow.II when P name hoe 1s.S say REL hoe
fate in facang kha kan cin
small P rice CS.O 1s.S grow.II

‘When we grow rice, we grow rice with a small hoe called Lai’s hoe.’
```

**(214) Story of Men Ri Hei #38**

```
Men Ri Hei a thi in khan an hei dawi hna
name name name POSS.3s blood P that 3p.S DIR chase p.O
i an hei phak colh hna
and 3p.S DIR arrive.II at once p.O

‘They followed the trail of Men Ri Hei’s blood and they caught them soon.’
```
In (213), the postpositional phrase still means 'with small hoe'. Although the free translation of the postposition in in the postpositional phrase Men Ri Hei a thi in ‘the trail of Men Ri Hei’s blood’ (214) is like possession ‘of’ in English, in Lai it still has the meaning of ‘with’ as they (the servants of the king) follow them (Men Ri Hei and her husband, Tai Nam Kawng) with Men Ri Hei’s blood.

(215) Story of Men Ri Hei #48

hngakchia pa nih cun naite ah khan pei sunzawt
child man CS.A that recently P that PT sentiment-sick.II
nak in a thih cu a ti i Men Ri Hei cu
NMLZ P 3s.S die.II that 3s.S say and name name name CS.S
a lau tuk lawmmam
3s.S nervous very seriously
‘The boy said, ’He recently died because of his sentiment,’’ and Men Ri Hei was so surprised.’

The postposition in in (215) comes after the nominalized NP sunzawtnak ‘sentiment (sentiment-sick.II-NMLZ)’. But it functions as the same with the previous examples; it stands for ‘with’ as sunzawtnak in ‘with/by sentiment’ (‘with’ may not fit in English but Lai has the meaning of that sense) although the free translation is ‘because of his sentiment’.

(216) Story of Lian Do #10

cuticun an unau te in an nu cu an
that-way POSS.3p brothers little P POSS.3p mother CS.O 3p.S
dawi khawh ti lo ca ah an kir i khua nih a
chase possible say NEG for P 3p.S return and time CS.A 3s.S
muih tak hna
dark.II APPLI.(left) PL
‘In this way, the two brothers could not follow their mother and they returned back and it became dark.’

The postposition in in the postpositional phrase an unau te in ‘together with the two brothers’ (216) also means ‘(together) with’. The word te in ‘together with (little P)’ in this sentence means that they (Lian Do and his younger brother) follow their mother by Lian Do carrying his brother on his back (according to the story). Or even
if we do not know the story, it also has the meaning that the two brothers help each other when they follow their mother although it does not have complete meaning of instrument.

5.3.4 Postposition *in* as subordinating conjunction
The postposition *in* also works as a subordinating conjunction; it comes mostly after a clause. In (217), the postposition *in* marks the clause *facang lawng si lo* ‘not only the rice is’ as the subordinate clause.

(217) Story of Planting #25

```plaintext
facang lo ah hin facang lawng si lo in thlaici dang
rice farm P this rice only BE NEG P seed another
te te zong cin chih a si
little little also grow.II together 3s.S BE

‘In the farm, not only the rice but also other kinds of seeds are grown.’
```

(218) Story of Ngunnu #38

```plaintext
a mawnu nih Ngunnu cu na kal pah in na
POSS.3s friend CS.A name CS.O 2s.S go as P POSS.2s
khang hun ceu te law ti ah a ti
signal DIR bright FUT and say P 3s.S say

‘Her friend said to Ngunnu,’Give us signal when you are going to die.”'
```

The *pah in* of the clause *na kal pah in* ‘along/during she goes/dies (go as P)’ (218) means ‘along’ or ‘during’ and marks it as a subordinating conjunction as *Ngunnu’s* friend told her to give them signal ‘along/during she goes’ (along she is going to die).

The postposition *in* together with *nak* ‘than’ like *nakin* ‘rather than’ works as a subordinating conjunction for *lei tuah nak in* ‘rather than ploughing the field’ in (219). In this case, the word *nak* does not work as nominalizer but as part of a subordinating conjunction.
(219) Story of Planting #43

*mah ca ah cu mi cheukhat cu lei tuah nak in*
that for P then person some CS.S field make than P

tlanglo tuah hna hi an duh deuh
mountain-farm make PL DEM 3p.S want COM.D

‘So, some people prefer farming more than ploughing the field.’

Moreover, the *in* with *nain* means ‘although’ in English. In (220), the subordinating conjunction *nain* marks the subordinate clause *a kal ngam lo nain* ‘although she (Ngunnu) dared not to go there (Dongral)’.

(220) Story of Ngunnu #31

*a kal ngam lo nain khan zeiti tuah awk kha a hngal*
3s.S go dare NEG P that how make NMLZ that 3s.S know
ti lo
say NEG

‘Although she (Ngunnu) dared not to go there (Dongral), she did not know what to do.’

(221) Story of Ngunnu #6

*a pa nih cu a fanu te cu a*
POSS.3s father CS.A that POSS.3s daughter little CS.O 3s.S
dawt tuk na-te-in khan a nuei nih Ngunnu
love very although. P that POSS.3s step-mother CS.A name
cu a daw lo
CS.O 3s.S love.I NEG

‘Although Ngunnu’s father loved Ngunnu so much, her step-mother did not love her.’
(222) Story of Ngunnu #11

\[
\begin{align*}
a & \text{ si} \quad \text{nain} \quad \text{nika le} \quad \text{thlapa} \quad \text{belte} \quad \text{khi} \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{lak} \quad \text{piak} \\
3\text{s.S BE} & \quad \text{P} \quad \text{sun} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{moon} \quad \text{only} \quad \text{that} \quad 1\text{s.O take.II BEN} \\
\text{kho} & \quad \text{law} \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{duh} \quad \text{hnga} \quad \text{ti} \quad \text{ah} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{ti} \\
\text{can.I and} & \quad 1\text{s.S want IRREAL say P} \quad 3\text{s.S say} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘She (Ngunnu) said, “However, I only like the sun and the moon if you can take them for me.”’

Sometimes, the word te ‘just’ comes between na and in as the clause a pa nih cun a fanu te cu a dawt tuk na-te-in ‘although her father loved her (Ngunnu) so much’ in (221), it still means ‘although’ as it is glossed in the free translation. The nain ‘although’ in the clause a si nain ‘although it is’ (222) is written as one word in Lai orthography and it means ‘however’ as it is glossed in the free translation.

5.3.5 Other uses of postposition in

The postposition in sometimes works as adverb; especially together with te ‘just’ as tein ‘very’ (when te comes after a noun, it means ‘little’ or possession ‘of’ and when it comes after an adjective, it means ‘just’). Whenever the tein is used as adverb, it is written in one word (te and in are combined) in Lai orthography and it always comes after adjective as intensifier. Note that the word te in ‘little P’ (216) follows noun unau ‘brothers’ and it functions differently, not as an adverb.

In (223)– (225), the postposition in together with te, tein functions as intensifier (very/-ly). The tein is preceded by an adjective thiang ‘clear’ in (223), thli ‘secret’ in (224), dang ‘separate’ in (225). It becomes as thiang tein ‘clearly/very clear’, thli tein ‘secretly/very secret’, dang tein ‘separately’ respectively.

(223) Story of Planting #9

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{lo} & \quad \text{kha} \quad \text{thiang} \quad \text{te} \quad \text{in} \quad \text{tuah} \quad a \quad \text{si} \\
\text{farm CS.O clear} & \quad \text{just P make 3s.S BE} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘The farm is made clearly.’
(224) Story of Men Ri Hei #32

a kal lai ah a thli te in an innka hram ah
3s.S go FUT P 3s.S secret just P POSS.3p door behind P
vainam kha a lingtalet in a chiah ta
sword that 3s.S opposite P 3s.S put.II APPLI

‘Before he went, he secretly put his sword upward in the door.’

(225) Story of Lian Do #63

an dang te in anmah te in buk an i sual i
3p.S separate just P Pro.3p just P tent 3p.S REFLEX make and
cu ah cun an riak
that P that 3p.S sleep.I

‘So they built a hut separately for themselves and slept in it.’

This adverb tein can be adjacent to the main verb of the sentence as tuah ‘make’ in
thiang tein tuah ‘make clearly’ (223) or it can non-contiguously modify the main
verb; as the adverb thli tein modifies the main verb chiah ‘put.II’ (224). The second
postposition in in the phrase a lingtalet in ‘3s.S opposite P’ (224) is similar to the
adverbial phrase of place (section 5.2.1) although it means ‘the upward position’. In
(225), the adverbs tein combines with anmah ‘Pro.3p’ to mean ‘by themselves’.

(226) Story of Planting #13

khur khat ah hin facang hi mu hra hrawng in thlak a
hole one P this rice DEM seed ten around P drop.II 3s.S
si
BE

‘Approximately ten seeds of rice are grown in a hole.’
In (226) and (227), the postposition in alone (without te) works as adverb of quantifier. However, the postposition in in hrawng in ‘around’ (226) seems to function as adjective that modifies mu hra ‘ten seeds’. In (227), the postposition in in the phrase a run in ‘3s.S group P’ is more likely to be ‘of’ in English as Lian Do told his father-in-law that siapi le siapi farual a run in kan manh lai ‘I will give you a herd of mythuns with their children (as dowry)’.

5.4 Other postpositions
In this section, different usages of the postpositions i and he are discussed.

5.4.1 Postposition i
The postposition i is a variant of ah (Bedell, 2000) and is used especially when there are two adjacent postpositional phrases of place; the i comes in the first part and the ah comes in the second part as in (228a). Although it seems possible to use either the postposition i or ah in the first part, the Lai speakers cannot use ah in both postpositional phrase of place like (228a). The following examples are taken from Proverbs in the Bible. The PP is put inside the square brackets.

(228a) Constructed example
cauk cu [inn chung i] cabuai cung ah ] va chia
book CS.S house RN.inside P table RN.on P DIR put.I
‘Put the book on top of the table inside the house.’
(228b) Constructed example

cauk cu [inn chung ah] va chia

book CS.S house RN.inside P DIR put.I

‘Put the book inside/in the house.’

In comparison with (228a), (228b) has only one postpositional phrase inn chung ah ‘inside/in the house’ and the postposition i becomes ah (the postposition i cannot be used here). It means that the postposition i only appears in the embedded postpositional phrase.

From (229a) to (231), the postposition i is head of the postpositional phrase that appears inside a relative clause.

(229a) Proverb 2:19a

[[a sin i] a va kal mi paoh] cu aho manh an

3s.S RN.to P 3s.S DIR go REL every CS.S anyone 3p.S

kir ti lo

return at all NEG

‘Everyone who goes to him does not return at all.’

(229b) Constructed example

[a sin ah] aho manh an kir ti lo

3s.S RN.to P anyone 3p.S return at all NEG

‘No one returns to him at all.’

In (229a), the postposition i is head of the postpositional phrase a sin i ‘to him’ that is embedded inside the relative clause a sin i a va kal mi ‘who goes to him’. If the postpositional phrase is not inside the relative clause or it is in the main clause, the i cannot be used; the postposition ah will be used as a sin ah ‘to him’ in (229b).

(230) Proverb 4:25b

[[na hmai i] a um mi thil] cu fek te in

POSS.2s RN.front P 3s.S BE REL thing CS.S firm just P

i zoh chi ko

REFLEX aim S.F

‘Aim (to get) firmly the thing that is in your front.’
(231) Proverb 6:31b

\[
[ [ \text{a } \text{inn} \text{ chung } \text{i} ] \text{a } \text{ngeih} \text{ mi } \text{thil} ] \text{vialte} \text{ cu}
\]

POSS.3s house RN.inside P 3s.S have.II REL thing all CS.S

\[ 3s.S \text{ give.II all FUT} \]

‘He will give all the things that he has in his house.’

Similarly, the postposition \(i\) is head of the postpositional phrases \(na \ hmai \ i\) ‘in front of you’ inside the relative clause \(a \ um \ mi \ thil\) ‘the thing that is’ (230) and \(a \ inn \ chung\) \(i\) ‘in his house’ inside the relative clause \(a \ ngeih \ mi \ thil\) ‘the things that he has’ (231) respectively. Inside the relative clause, the postposition \(ah\) may be used in place of \(i\) and the meaning will not be changed, however, the postposition \(i\) is preferred.

(232) Proverb 7:6

\[
[[\text{ka} \ \text{inn} \ \text{i} ] \text{thlalangawng} \text{ khan} ] \text{ka} \ \text{hei} \ \text{zoh}
\]

POSS.1s house P window that 1s.S DIR look

‘I look (it) from/through the window of my house.’

(233) Proverb 18:5a

\[
[[\text{mi-} \ \text{tha} \ -\text{lo} \ \text{sin} \ \text{i} ] \text{duhdanh} \ \text{ngeih} ] \text{cu} \ \text{a} \ \text{tha}
\]

person good NEG RN.to P bias have.II CS.S 3s.S good lo

NEG

‘It is not good to be partial to the wicked.’ Or ‘It is not good to have bias in the bad persons.’

In (232), the postposition \(i\) also appears in the first part of two postpositional phrases of place \(ka \ inn\) \(i\) ‘of my house’ and \(thlalangawng\) \(khan\) ‘from the window’; \(khan\) is the deictic, not the postposition, however, it has the semantic meaning of postposition ‘from there’ in English. In this sentence, the postposition \(ah\) cannot be used in place of \(i\) as the postposition \(i\) seems more to stand for possession ‘of’ like ‘of my house’s window’ rather than ‘at or in’. In (233), the postposition \(i\) is head of the postpositional phrase \(mithalo\) \(sin\) \(i\) ‘to the wicked’ that functions as the nominal clause complement.
(234) Proverb 20:7

mipa cu a nun ning kha a din i a
man CS.S POSS.3s live.II way that 3s.S righteous and 3s.S
that ahcun [a hnu i] a tefa hna cu
good if POSS.3s RN.after P POSS.3 descendant PL CS.S
thluachuak mi an si
blessed NMLZ 3p.S BE
‘If a man is righteous and good in his way of living, his later
descendants will be blessed.’

The postposition i in (234) also marks as head of the postpositional phrase of time as
a hnu i ‘his later’. This postpositional phrase seems to be embedded within the
relative clause a hnu i (a ra mi) ‘(who come) after him’ that modifies the NP a tefa
hna ‘his descendants’. Moreover, the postposition i appears in the embedded
postpositional phrase within the subordinate clause.

(235a) Proverb 24:10

[ [har nak caan i] na der a si ahcun] na der
difficult NMLZ time P 2s.S weak 3s.S BE if 2s.S weak
taktak a si
really 3s.S BE
‘If you are weak at difficult time, you are really weak.’

(235b) Constructed example

[ har nak caan ah] na der taktak a si
difficult NMLZ time P 2s.S weak really 3s.S BE
‘It is that you are really weak at difficult time.’

(236) Constructed example

[ [ biakinn i] nan kal tik ah] nan thilrit a zaang
curch P 2p.S go when P POSS.2p burden 3s.S light
lai
FUR
‘When you go to church, your burden will become light.’
In (235a), the postposition *i* is head of the PP of compound noun *har-nak* ‘difficulty’ and *caan* ‘time’, that is embedded within the subordinate conditional clause like *har-nak caan i na der a si ahcun* ‘if you are weak at difficult time’. If the PP is in the main clause, the *i* cannot be used; the postposition *ah* will be used instead as in (235b). Similarly, the postposition *i* appears in the PP *biakinn i* ‘to church’ embedded within other subordinate clause *na kal tikah* ‘when you go’ as in (236). If this PP is not embedded in the subordinate clause, the postposition *ah* must be used in place of *i*.

(237) Proverb 24:11

`[[thah awk i] an kal pi lio mi hna] cu
kill.II NMLZ P 3p.S go APPL.with CONT REL p.O CS.S
va khamh hna
DIR save PL`

‘Save the ones who are brought to kill.’

The postposition *i* also appears as head of the nominalized NP within the relative clause; *i* is head of the nominalized NP *that awk* ‘to kill’ within the relative clause *an kal pi lio mi* ‘those they brought’ (237). As discussed in the previous section 5.2.3, the postposition *ah* is used as head of the nominalized NP in the main clause.

In summary, the postposition *i* appears only in limited places although it is a variant of the postposition *ah*. It appears in (1) the embedded postpositional phrase within another postpositional phrase, (2) the postpositional phrase inside the relative clause, (3) the postpositional phrase inside the nominal clause complement, (4) inside nominalization that modifies another NP and (5) the postpositional phrase inside the subordinate clauses.

### 5.4.2 Postposition *he*

The postposition *he* literally means ‘accompanied with’ and it comes after the nouns, pronouns and NPs. Like other postpositions, however, it sometimes has different meanings semantically rather than being ‘accompanied with’ depending on the context of the situation. On the other hand, it cannot be predictable what it means by just looking at the syntactic structure of the sentence.
(238) Story of Kawl Hnin #5

\[

cu \ khuhlu \ te \ cu \ a \ char \ i \ ti \ he \ aa
\]

that plum little CS.O 3s:S pick and water P REFLEX.3s
dinh
drink-CAUS

‘She picked up that plum and ate it with water.’

(239) Story of Lian Do #61

\[
\text{Lian } Do \ te \ unau \ cu \ voikhat \ cu \ an
\]

name name POSS.3p brothers CS:S once that POSS.3p
khua \ mi \ he \ ram \ an \ riak
village person P forest 3p:S sleep.I

‘Once, Lian Do and his brother went to hunt (including night sleep) with villagers.’

In (238) and (239), the postposition he comes next to noun; \textit{ti} ‘water’ and NP; \textit{an khua mi} ‘their villagers’ respectively. Although the main verb in (238) is \textit{dinh} ‘drink-CAUS’, this sentence means that she (the woman) picked up the plum and ate it with water; the postposition he shows the accompaniment of water to eat the plum. In the same way, the postposition he in (239) also shows the accompaniment of Lian Do and his brother with the villagers in the night trip hunting.

(240) Story of Kawl Hnin #35

\[

cu \ ca \ ah \ a \ si \ khawh \ chung \ in \ Dar \ Kulh \ he \ thleidang
\]

that for P 3s:S BE possible within P name name P separate.I
lo \ te \ in \ a \ dawt \ tuk \ veve \ hna
NEG just P 3s:S love very each PL

‘So she loved him (Kawl Hnin) as much as Dar Kulh.’

(241) Constructed example

\[
\text{nanmah \ ca \ he \ kanmah \ ca \ he \ kàn \ t\u0131an \ lai}
\]

Pro.2p for P Pro.1p for P 1p:S work FUT

‘We will work both for you (PL) and us.’
The postposition \textit{he} in \textit{Dar Kulh he} ‘with Dar Kulh’ (240) and \textit{nanmah ca he kanmah ca he} ‘both for you (PL) and us’ (241) stands for ‘together with’. In (240), Dar Kulh’s mother loved Kawl Hnin so much as she loved Dar Kulh; she loved him together with her son, Dar Kulh without any separation. Similarly, the postposition \textit{he} in (241) means ‘together with’ as ‘we will work together both for you (PL) and us’ without any separation.

If the postpositional phrase headed by the postposition \textit{he} works as a modifier (adverb) of the main verb in the sentence, it semantically has a negative meaning (dislikeliness or disagreement).

(242) Constructed example

\begin{verbatim}
mipa cu a angki tek he aa chok
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
man CS.S POSS.3s shirt torn P REFLEX.3s stroll
\end{verbatim}

‘The man is strolling with his torn shirt.’

(243) Constructed example

\begin{verbatim}
minu cu a paw he rian a tuan
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
woman CS.S POSS.3s belly P work 3s.S work
\end{verbatim}

‘The woman works with her belly (pregnant).’

In (242), the PP \textit{a angki tek he} ‘with his torn shirt’ modifies the way the man was strolling in the public and the listener will understand that it has negative/disproved meaning, that is, the speaker does not agree or dislike the situation. Similarly, when the speaker says that \textit{a paw he rian a tuan} ‘she works with her belly (pregnant)’ (243), he dislikes the situation.

5.5 Conclusion

Most postpositions in Lai can be predictable its meaning by the nouns, the noun phrases or the clauses it precedes although some postpositions do not have definite meaning by its own. Sometimes, the meaning of the postposition may vary depending on the main verb, for example, if the main verb is motion verb, and the meaning of the postposition will change ‘into’ from ‘in’, ‘onto’ from ‘on’, ‘out of’ from ‘from’ and etc. The postpositions mark not only as the expression of time or place but also the complements of the sentences and as the subordinate clauses of the sentences. Moreover, the postposition, especially the postposition \textit{in}, sometimes
works as instrument and adverb (intensifier). In the hierarchy scale of frequency of usage of postpositions, it will be the postposition \textit{ah} \textit{> in} \textit{> i} \textit{> he}.

The postposition \textit{he} was shown to take only NPs. The postposition \textit{in} can be the head of NP, RN and S indicating time, place, instrument, and as a subordinating conjunction. \textit{in} also has compound forms \textit{tein} and \textit{nain} denoting intensification and subordination. Similar to \textit{in}, the postposition \textit{ah} can be the head of NP, RN and S marking time, place as in Table 10 or as a subordinating conjunction as in Table 11. \textit{ah} also has compound forms \textit{tiah} and \textit{ahcun} indicating complementizer and subordinating conjunction. Although the postposition \textit{i} is similar to the postposition \textit{ah}, it only appears in an embedded phrase or clause. \textit{i} appears in a PP inside PP, PP inside a RC, PP inside a nominal clause complement, inside a nominalization that modifies other NP, and PP inside a subordinate clause.
Chapter 6
Summary and Conclusion

6.1 Introduction
In Chapter 1, background information, literature review, the research goals, scope and limits of the research, and the methodology were discussed. Chapter 2 provided an overview of Lai phonology and grammar. In Chapter 3, types of relative clauses were described. Nominalization was covered in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 covered the role of postpositions in subordination. Finally, the conclusion and summary are here in Chapter 6.

As Lai is a Tibeto-Burman language, all subordinate clauses come before main clauses. In Lai, there are three types of subordinate constructions: relative clauses, adverbial clauses and complement clauses that come before the main clauses. They each have multiple forms which were discussed in detail in this study.

6.2 Relative clauses
This study showed that relative clauses are formed with the relativizers *tu*, *mi* or *nak* and can be an externally headed, internally headed or headless. The externally headed relative clause is the most common of the three and a headless relative clause is mainly used as a form of nominalization.

Verb stem choice marks whether the head noun is subject or object of the relative clause as the relativizers come directly after the verb. When the markers *tu* and *mi* occur with verbs taking stem I, the head noun will be subject of a relative clause, and if the relativizer *mi* appears with verb stem II then the head noun will be the object of a relative clause (*tu* never takes verb stem II).

The relativizer *nak* is used mostly for a relative clause that indicates place and it takes verb stem II. The different usages and schemas of relative clause can be seen in Table 8 in Chapter 3.
6.3 Adverbial clauses
This study also covered adverbial clauses that function as subordinate clauses and are marked by subordinating conjunctions, which are primarily formed by the combination of the postposition *ah* and other words having different semantic functions (see Table 11 in section 5.2.4). The postposition *in* also functions as a subordinating conjunction combined with other words as in *lawng si lo in* ‘not only’, *pah in* ‘along/during’, *nak in* ‘than’, *nain* ‘although’, and etc. All these adverbial clauses come before main clauses. All adverbial clauses have verb stem II and a normal agreement pattern was observed.

6.4 Postpositional subordinate
The final area of subordination covered in this thesis was postpositional subordinate. Complement clauses are indicated by nominalization or by the postposition *ah*. Nominalized complements are marked with the nominalizers *tu*, *mi*, *awk* or *ding* which have different verb stem choices. The nominalizers *tu* and *mi* occur with verb stem I and they take special pattern of agreement marker (see section 4.1.3). The nominalizers *awk* and *ding* appear with clauses that take verb stem II.

The postposition *ah* can be head of a nominal complement or a sentential complement. Nominalizations and complement often take a limited set of agreement markers.

This research extends other knowledge of how subordination occurs in Lai by identifying several patterns involving agreement, verb stem choice, and the type of subordinating conjunctions.

6.5 Contributions of this research
This research will benefit the documentation and description of the Lai language which has already been started by other researchers by providing more detail about the morphological and syntactic patterns of subordination.

The Lai people also benefit from this study. The CACC (Chin Association for Christian Communication) which works in the development of Lai literature, for example, has difficulties in deciding the morphological and syntactic structures of Lai in some aspects. Especially regarding structures which relate to the two research questions mentioned in Section (1.3). As the author hopes to translate this thesis
into Lai upon completion, he hopes that it will help organizations such as the CACC in resolving these issues. This research will also be helpful for those who study other related Kuki-Chin languages and Tibeto-Burman languages.

6.6 Further Research

Although this research mainly focuses on the typology of subordinate constructions in Lai, it may not cover all types of subordinations and so the author himself takes responsibility for all the gaps in the research. Due to the limits of time and data, this research cannot discuss some particles like te that have different semantic meanings depending on its syntactic structure and also in discourse. For further research, the author would like to suggest others to study the different kinds of particles and other topics related to discourse analysis by examining Lai narratives.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


APPENDIX A

STORY OF KAWL HNIN

2 Kawl Hnin le Dar Kulh
name name and name name

‘Kawl Hnih and Dar Kulh.’

3 khua pakhat ah nu pakhat a rak um
village one P woman one 3s.S PAST BE

‘There was a woman on a village.’

4 nikhat cu thiam a tak i a tah lio cuahmah ah
day-one CS.O loom 3s.S weave.I and 3s.S weave.II TAM still P
a cung in khuhlu a hung tla
POSS.3s on P plum 3s.S DIR fall.I

‘One day, she wove and while she was weaving, a plum fell from above.’

5 cu khuhlu te cu a char i ti he aa dinh
that plum little CS.O 3s.S pick and water with REFLEX.3s drink-CAUS

‘She picked up that plum and ate with water.’

6 cu tlawmpal ah cun nau a pawi
that soon P that baby 3s.S pregnant

‘She became pregnant at that moment.’

7 ahofa dah a si hnga ti ah a khuaruah a har tuk
whose-child QUE 3s.S BE IRREAL say P POSS.3s mind 3s.S hard very

‘She really wondered, "Whose child is this?’
At last, she knew that it was the plum that fell from heaven.

While she was thinking, an angel said, "Don't be afraid, it is my child. I made you pregnant with the plum. If you had a child, I will send you a baby-sitter."

After some time, she had a child and named him Dar Kulh.

He (angel) sent a baby-sitter and his name is Kawl Hnin.

Kawl Hnih was very good in magic.
However, Dar Kulh's mother did not know that he could do magic.

While Dar Kulh's mother went to farm, Kawl Hnin and Dar Kulh stayed at home.

Kawl Hnin often made cows, horses with clay.

He (Kawl Hnin) made them (cows) bump and Dar Kulh was very happy.

They often had fun that way for the whole day.

When his mother came in the evening, she asked, "Did Dar Kulh cry today?"
and name name CS.A day-sunset 3s.S cry.I Pro P 2s.S arrive.II before-just
ah khan a ngam ti in a lingtalet in a chim tawn P that 3s.S stop-crying say P 3s.S opposite P 3s.S speak.I often
‘and Kawl Hnin often answered in opposite way, " He cried the whole day but he stopped just before you come."’

POSS.3s mother 3s.S arrive.II FUT every P POSS.3s clay 3s.S make REL
pawl cu a hrawh dih tawn i a nau cu a tap PL CS.O 3s.S destroy.II finish often and POSS.3s brother CS.O 3s.S cry.I
tawn
often
‘He often destroyed all his clays every time before his mother came and his brother often cried.’

tomorrow PAST weave.II CAUS say IMPER say P 3s.S promise IMPER
lengmang always
‘She always asked, " Don’t make him cry tomorrow."’

POSS.3s mother farm 3s.S go absent P that usual as P 3s.S make
again
‘While his mother went to farm, he made agian as usual.’
Although they were very happy for the whole day, Kawl Hnin destroyed all his clays just before his mother came and so his brother often cried.

When his mother came from the farm, she asked, "Kawl Hnin, did your brother cry today?" and he answered again, "He cried the whole day."

They slept at that night.

Dar Kulh secretly said, "Mother, while you went to the farm, my brother took clay and made cows, horses and made them bump and we often spent the whole day with laughing."
‘He said to his mother,"peep us secretly tomorrow."'

‘The next day, she peeped them secretly.’

‘Dar Kulh's mother was very surprised.’

‘She said that Kawl Hnin could play magic and afterward she also loved him very much.’

‘In this way, days and months passed.’

‘Dar Kulh also had grown up.’

The natural text is as follows:

27 thaizing cu a thli te in rak kan bih te ti ah a
tomorrow CS.S 3s.S secret little P PAST 1p.O peep FUT say P POSS.3s
nu kha a chimh
mother CS.O 3s.S speak.II

28 a thaizing cu a thli te in a bih hna
3s.S tomorrow CS.S 3s.S secret little P 3s.S peep PL

29 Dar Kulh nu cu a lau tuk
name name mother CS.S 3s.S nervous very

30 Kawl Hnin hi camh pei a thiam ko hi ti ah a ti i
name name DEM magic PT 3s.S skilled S.F DEM say P 3s.S say REL
cuhnucun a dawt tuk ve ti a si
that-after 3s.S love very also say 3s.S BE

31 cuticun ni le thla cu a hung liam duakhmah
that-way day and month CS.S 3s.S DIR pass quickly

32 Dar Kulh zong cu a tlangval cang
name name also CS.S 3s.S become-lad PFT

33 Dar Kulh nu nih cun Kawl Hnin cu a lungthli in a
name name mother CS.A that name name CS.O POSS.3s mind P 3s.S
tih ziar cang
fear secretly PFT
‘Dar Kulh's mother feared Kawl Hnin in her mind.’

34 zeicatiah camh a thiam kha a theih cang i a duh lo

because magic 3s.S skilled that 3s.S know.II PFT and 3s.S want NEG
ning i kan um ahcun a kan camh sual lai ti a phang
way REL 1s.S BE if 3s.S 1p.O magic may FUT say 3s.S worry.I

‘Because she knew that he could play magic and she was afraid that they were casted
spell if they acted as he did not like.’

35 cu ca ah a si khawh chung in Dar Kulh he thleidang lo

that for P 3s.S BE possible within P name name with separate.I NEG
te in a dawt tuk veve hna
little P 3s.S love very each PL

‘So she loved him as much as Dar Kulh.’

36 voikhat cu Dar Kulh nih Cenghreng nungak kan leng lai ti ah

once CS.S name name CS.A name of tribe lady 1s.S visit.I FUT say P
a sawm
3s.S invite

‘Once, Dar Kulh asked him to visit Cenghreng lady.’

37 Kawl Hnin nih cun an in thah sual lai ti ah a ti

name name CS.A that 3p.S 2s.O kill.II may FUT say P 3s.S say

‘Kawl Hnin replied, " They would kill you."’

38 Cenghreng nungak pawl cu an i dawh tuk ti an

name of tribe lady PL CS.S 3p.S REFLEX beautiful very say 3p.S
chim lengmang ti ah Dar Kulh nih cun len ve a duh
speak.I always say P name name CS.A that visit.II also 3s.S want

‘It is often said that Cenghreng ladies are very beautiful and Dar Kulh wanted to visit
them.’
39 asinain camh thiam mi an si ca ah zapi nih an leng ngam
however magic skilled REL 3p.S BE for P people CS.A 3p.S visit.I dare
hra lo
PL NEG

‘However, people dared not visit them as they could play magic.’

40 Dar Kulh nih a hauh peng ca ah nikhat cu a va
name name CS.A 3s.S ask continuously for P day-one CS.S 3s.S DIR
len pi
visit.II APPLI

‘One day, he visited them with Dar Kulh as Dar Kulh asked him very often.’

41 Cenghreng nungak pawl cu an rak um lo
name of tribe lady PL CS.S 3p.S PAST BE NEG

‘Cenghreng ladies were not at that time.’

42 an nu lawng inn a rak hngak
POSS.3p mother only home 3s.S PAST stay.I

‘Only their mother was at home.’

43 an nu zong cu camh a thiam ngai mi a si ve
POSS.3p mother also CS.S magic 3s.S skilled very REL 3s.S BE also

‘Their mother was also very good in magic.’

44 Kawl Hnin nih ka pi na fa le teh ti ah
name name CS.A POSS.1S grandmother POSS.2s children and QUE say P
a hun hal i dum an thlo lio ka va auh hna lai ti ah
3s.S DIR ask and garden 3p.S weed TAM 1s.S DIR call.II PL FUT say P
a leh hna
3s.S answer PL

‘Kawl Hnin asked, “Grandmother, where are your daughters?” and she replied, "They
are cleaning the garden, I will call them."’
'Kawl Hnin worried that if she called them they would dress up very well and his brother would love them and so he made the boiling curry froth over.'

'She could not call them as she stirred the boiling curry.'

'They waited until they came back from the garden in the evening.'

'In the evening, they came back sounding 'kacherh kacherh' and they saw them all of their beings.'

'That night, their mother was very angry and made a drink party.'
50 an supeng ah khan rul a khumh i a phih ter.
POSS.3p wine-straw P that snake 3s.S enclose and 3s.S block CAUS

‘She put a snake in the drinking pipe and made it blocked.’

51 zu cu dawp an vun timh ah khin Dar Kulh nih ka
liquor CS.O suck 3p.S DIR intend P that name name CS.A POSS.1s
supeng a pit ee ti ah a ti
wine-straw 3s.S block FP say P 3s.S say

‘When they started to drink, Dar Kulh said, "My pipe is blocked."’

52 Kawl Hnin nih cun a theih colh
name name CS.A that 3s.S know.II at once

‘Kawl Hnin knew (the matter) at once.’

53 supeng chung ah rul a um ti kha a theih i zokzok
wine-straw within P snake 3s.S BE say that 3s.S know.II and quickly
in bantlang an bah mi puanchia kha kaite ah a can ter i
with hanger 3p.S hang REL cloth-bad CS.O kite P 3s.S become CAUS and
a supeng chung rul cu a lak piak i a zuan pi
POSS.3s wine-straw within snake CS.O 3s.S take BEN and 3s.S fly APPLI

‘He knew that there was a snake in the pipe and immediately he made a kite from the
cloth hung on a clothes line and it took the snake from the pipe.’

54 an nufarual in an ning a zak tuk i hmurka
POSS.3p mother-child-group P POSS.3p way 3s.S shy very and word
tha in an chawnbiak zokzok hna
good P 3p.S speak quickly PL

‘The mother and daughters were very ashamed and they immediately welcomed them
well.’
Once, Dar Kulh asked his brother Kawl Hnin to go to the wrestling place and they went there.

They wrestled and Dar Kulh defeated one after another.

The last man was very big and he said, "Brother, it is your turn." and they wrestled.

Kawl Hnin asked, "Would you like to throw away or just to put here?"

"Kawl Hnin asked, "Would you like to throw away or just to put here?""

"Kawl Hnin asked, "Would you like to throw away or just to put here?""
‘He answered, "Just to put here", Kawl Hnin asked again and he answered,"To throw away." and he threw him into the forest.’

60 an unau te cun an tei dih hna i nuam te in POSS.3p brothers little that 3p.S defeat finish PL and happy little P an tlung than 3p.S arrive.I again

‘They (the brothers) defeated them all and went home happily.’

61 nikhat cu an khua pawng ah khuangcawi ding a um i day-one that POSS.3p village near P feast FUT 3s.S BE and khuangcawi tu nih sia dotla ka thah lai va kawl feast NMLZ CS.A mythun unblemished 1s.S kill.II FUT DIR look for u ti ah a fial hna IMPER say P 3s.S ask PL

‘One day, there was a feast near their village and the person who made the feast asked to find the unblemished mythun for the feast.’

62 dotla ti mi cu a nak ahcun a pum te in a unblemished say REL CS.S 3s.S black if POSS.3s body whole P 3s.S nak dih lai i a zeip manh a rang a cawh lai lo, black finish FUT and POSS.3s anywhere 3s.S white 3s.S mix FUT NEG a rang a si ahcun a khoikamanh ah a nak a cawh lai 3s.S white 3s.S BE if POSS.3s anywhere P 3s.S black 3s.S mix FUT lo, cucu nan va kawl lai ti ah a sinum pawl kha a fial NEG that 2p.S DIR look for FUT say P 3s.S servant PL CS.O 3s.S ask hna ti si PL say BE

‘He asked his servants to find the unblemished mythun and said, "Unblemished means there will not be any white spot if it is a black mythun and there will not be any black spot if it is a white one."'
Kawl Hnin knew this and said, "My brother Dar Kulh, I will become the unblemished mythun and when they ask you the price, you will say it costs the amount of leaves and sand, and if they buy me I will come back."

The servants who were looking for the mythun arrived at Dar Kulh's house.

They asked, "Do you have a mythun to sell?" And

Dar Kulh said to them, "What kind of mythun do you like?"

that DIR look test IMPER 3s.S say PL
‘They answered, "We like the unblemished mythun." And Dar Kulh said, "Take a look at under our house.”’

68 sia kawl pawl nih cun an inn tang lei cu an
mythun look for PL CS.A that POSS.3p home under toward CS.O 3p.S
hei fuh i kikawng ngan takta dotla cu an hei
DIR approach and male-mythun big very unblemished CS.O 3p.S DIR
hmuh
see.II
‘They went to their under house and found the big unblemished mythun.’

69 zeizatdah na hauh lai ti ah an hal i hnahchawl zat le
how much 2s.S ask FUT say P 3p.S ask and leaf number and
thetse zat ti in a leh hna
sand number say P 3s.S answer PL
‘They asked, "What price is it?" And he answered, "It costs the amount of money as leaves and sand.”’

70 sia cawk a fial tu pa cu camh a rak thiam ve i
mythun buy 3s.S ask NMLZ man CS.S magic 3s.S PAST skilled also and
a hauh zat in an pek ve hna
3s.S ask number P 3p.S give.II also PL
‘The person who asked them to buy the mythun could also play magic and they gave him the price he claimed.’

71 sia cu an i hruai , lampi ah a hruai tu
mythun CS.O 3p.S REFLEX manage road.main P 3s.S manage NMLZ
pawl nih cun hi sia hi a sa a thawt lai ning
PL CS.A that DEM mythun DEM POSS.3SG meat 3s.S delicious FUT way
ti ah an i ceih lengmang
say P 3p.S REFLEX discuss always
‘They brought the mythun and on the way they often said, "This mythun will be very delicious.”’
The next day, when they were ready to kill him, he transformed into a bird and flew away.

As the man who asked them to buy the mythun was also good in magic, he transformed into a kite and chased it.

In this way, the kite chased the bird the whole day.

Finally, Kawl Hnin saw the woman who was weaving.
‘Kawl Hnin knew that the woman needed the red linen as it finished and he transformed into a ball of red linen and fell onto her lap.’

77.1 aze !

alas

‘Alas!’

77.2 ka herh tuk lio ah a hei ti i a pang ah aa

1s.S need very TAM P 3s.S DIR say and POSS.3s groin P REFLEX.3s

pawi colh

put at once

‘She said and hid it into her groin.’

78 kaite i aa cang mi pa nih khan laril sen ah

kite at REFLEX.3s become REL man CS.A that ball of thread red P

aa cang ti a theih i minung ah a van i cang

REFLEX.3s become say 3s.S know.II and human P 3s.S DIR REFLEX become than

again

‘The man who transformed into a kite knew that he (Kawl Hnin) transformed into a red linen and he again transformed into a human.’

79 nungaknu sin ah khan a va kal i atunai i la sen te kha

lady RN.to P that 3s.S DIR go and recently at linen red little CS.O

keimah ta a si , rak ka pe ti ah a hal

Pro.1s POSS 3s.S BE PAST 1s.S give.I say P 3s.S ask

‘He went to the lady and asked, ”The red linen is mine, give it to me.”’

80 nungaknu nih cun ka hmuh tung lo ti ah a hlen

lady CS.A that 1s.S see.II contrast NEG say P 3s.S deceive

‘The lady deceived, ”I don't see it.”'
Although he said, "It fell onto your lap a few minute ago", she did not want to give back because she really needed it.

He asked again and again and at last she did not know what to do and put it into the box and kept the lid tightly.

That man did not give up and.

He knew that she put it (red linen) in the box and he transformed into a mouse.
‘It (the mouse) bit the box and almost when it made a hole, the red linen transformed into a cat and waited for it.’

‘When the mouse made a hole and entered, the cat caught it at once and bit it.’

‘Kawl Hnin transformed again into human and said to the lady, “Thank you so much as you save my life” and he went back to his brother Dar Kulh.’

‘The end.’
APPENDIX B

STORY OF LIAN DO

2 a hlan ah hin khua pakhat ah Lian Do te chungkhar an um
3s.S long P this village one P name name POSS.3p family 3p.S BE
an ti
3p.S say

‘Long long ago, there was Lian Do family in a village.’

3 an pa nih tuan te ah a thih tak hna i
POSS.3p father CS.A early little P 3s.S die.II APPLI.(left) PL and

‘Their father left them (died) early, and’

4 voikhat cu mipa pakhat a tlung hna i cu mipa le an
once CS.S man one 3s.S arrive.I PL and that man and POSS.3p
nu cu an i duh i an nu nih a dawi an
mother CS.S 3p.S REFLEX want and POSS.3p mother CS.A 3s.S chase 3p.S
ti
say

‘Once, a man visited them and their mother fell in love with him and eloped with
him.’

5 a fa le nih khan an nu nih pa a dawi
POSS.3s children PL CS.A that POSS.3p mother CS.A man 3s.S chase
tak hna tik ah an dawi ve i Lian Do nih cun ka
APPLI.(left) PL when P 3p.S chase also and name name CS.A that POSS.1s
nu kan hngak a ti
mother 1p.O stay.I 3s.S say

‘Her children followed her when she eloped with a man and Lian Do called her,
"Mother wait for us."'
His mother said, "Put your brother on the cairn (stone) and (you alone) follow me."

His brother said, "My brother, don't leave me" and he (Lian Do) carried him and they followed her.

They arrived at a river and said,"Mother, wait for us. We followed you."

She said again,"Throw your brother into the river then follow me."
‘His brother said,"My brother, don't throw me", in this way, they could not follow her and returned back and it became dark.’

11 zan a hung phan i facangzi tang te ah an unau te night 3s.S DIR arrive.I and straw under little P 3p.S brothers little cun an it that 3p.S sleep.I

‘It became dark and they (two brothers) slept under the straw.’

12 khuachia ramhrang an ra i mi facangzi hi duah u sih devil forest-wild 3p.S come.I and person straw DEM burn IMPER let ti ah an i ceih luhmalh say P 3p.S REFLEX discuss one another

‘Devils came and said one another,"Let's burn this straw."

13 cu lio ah cun Lian Do nih a theih i ah duah hlah that TAM at that name name CS.A 3s.S know.II and INTERJ burn IMPER u duah hlah u a tang ah kanmah kan it ti ah a IMPER burn IMPER IMPER 3s.S under P Pro.1p 1p.S sleep.I say P 3s.S ti hna say PL

‘At that time, Lian Do heard it and said,"Ah, don't burn it, we sleep under it."

14 zeicaahdah cu facangzi tang ah cun nan ih an ti hna i why that straw under P that 2p.S sleep.II 3p.S say PL and

‘They asked,"Why do you sleep under the straw?" and'

15 kan nu nih a kan tlik tak i pa a kan POSS. 2p mother CS.A 3s.S 1p.O run.II APPLI.(left) and man 3s.S 1p.O dawi tak i cu ca ah chase APPLI.(left) and that for P

‘Our mother left us and eloped with a man, that why.’
They said, "We followed her but we could not reach her and it became dark before we arrived home."

As it became dark before we arrived home, we slept here.

The head of devils pitied them so much when he heard that (the reason).

He said, "Don't give any harm on this two brothers."

The two brothers went home when it became dawn and
As they could not live by themselves and said to an old man, "Grandpa, we will tend you mythun?"

‘He said,"Yes, you can tend my mythun and you will stay with me."'

‘After some time they lived with him and tended his mythun,’

‘They said,"Grandpa, build a tent in front of your house and make us live by our own."’
He said, "It is good, you can tend my mythun from separate house" and they live in a separate house.

They said that they would make their own farm and made a clearing in the field.

While they dried their grandpa's rice in the sun, they made the pellets to tend the mythun.

They put some rice inside the pellets.
When the time came to grow seed in the farm, they grew the pellets in the whole farm but the seed sprouts are very good.

When the time came to scare birds in the farm, the two brothers scare birds.

While they were scaring birds, they saw the eagle was carrying a snake above them.

They shouted, "Eagle, kite!" and it released the snake.
‘Lian Do's brothers took that snake and put it near their hut and said,"This snake is pitiful."

35 vanzuk te cu aa hrim i cun a kal tik ah lasi
snake little CS.S REFLEX.3s recover and then 3s.S go when P sprite nu pakhat a va chimh i
mother one 3s.S DIR speak.II and

‘When the snake recovered and went, it said to a sprite.’

36 ka pi ngaktah hna unau te an um i a thi
POSS.1s grandmother orphan PL brothers little 3p.S BE and 3s.S die.I
ding ka si na in an ka khamh ruang ah ka dam rak phiilh te
FUT 1s.S BE PRO P 3p.S 1s.O save cuase P 1s.S fine PAST forget FUT
hna hlah ti ah vanzuk te nih cun a ti an ti
PL IMPER say P snake little CS.A that 3s.S say 3p.S say

‘My grandma, there are two brothers and they saved me when I was almost dead, don't forget them.’

37 Lian Do te unau cu lo an thlawh lio ah a
POSS.3p name name Poss.3p brothers CS.S farm 3p.S weed.II TAM P POSS.3p
nau pa te nih ka u ka ti a hal tuk a
brother man little CS.A POSS.1s brother POSS.1s water 3s.S thirsty very 3s.S ti
say

‘When Lian Do and his brother were weeding the farm, his brother said,"My brother, I am so thirsty."'

38 a u nih ah tihan nak a hlat tuk i um rih
POSS.3s brother CS.A INTERJ water-get NMLZ 3s.S far very and BE still
ko i sum rih ko ti ah a ti
S.F REFLEX abstain still S.F say P 3s.S say

‘His brother said,"Ah, it is very far to get the water, abstain it."'
“Big brother, I am so thirsty, I am going to die,” he said and.

Lian Do said, “If I am going to be great, come water in front of me,” and the water really came out.

‘Lian Do said, “If I am going to be great, come water in front of me,” and the water really came out.’

‘They caught cinrang, a beautiful bird, and they brought it alive.’
A child from their village saw and liked it so much that he asked his mother and she asked them, "I will change your bird with a hen", in this way she changed their bird with a hen.

They raised that chicken and then they had big cocks.

When their chicken grew up, the villagers needed it for sacrifice.

They (the villagers) said, "It is good to ask Lian Do's big male chicken" and
"We will exchange your big male chicken with a piggy," they asked and "Yes," they answered and they changed it with piggy.'

48 vok cu an zuat i sumh sarth tiang a hung thang
pig CS.O 3p.S raise and hold seven till 3s.S DIR grow.I

'They raised the pig and it grew up till seven holds(measurement).'

49 raithawi nak an duh than i Lian Do te unau nih
sacrifice NMLZ 3p.S want again and name name POSS.3p brothers CS.A
vok sum sarth an ngei ti an theih tik ah sia in kan
pig hold seven 3p.S have.I say 3p.S know.II when P mythun with 1s.S
in thlen hna lai ti ah an ti than hna i raithawi nak ah
2p.O change.II PL FUT say P 3p.S say again PL and sacrifice NMLZ P
cun an vok cu an hman i sia an pek hna

'They needed again for sacrifice and heard that Lian Do had seven holds pig and they asked him to change it with a mythun and they used the pig for sacrifice and gave him the mythun.'

50 cu sia te cu an i thlah
that mythun little CS.O 3p.S REFLEX raise

'They raised that mythun.'

51 voikhat cu minu pakhat an khuataw in an khualu
once CS.S woman one POSS.3p village-bottom P POSS.3p village-top
tiang lasi a si na in minung bantuk in nuhmeinu te bantuk in
till sprite 3s.S BE Pro P human as P widow little as P
tarnu te bantuk in aa langh i tluninn a hal
old-woman little as P REFLEX.3s appear.II and lodging-house 3s.S ask hna
PL

'Once, a woman came and asked for lodging house from edge to edge of the village as a human, as a widow, as an old woman even though she was a sprite.'
52 khuataw in khualu tiang tluninn an pe duh lo
village-bottom from village-top till lodging-house 3p.S give.I want NEG
i Lian Do te unau inn ah cun a lut
and name name POSS.3p brothers home P that 3s.S enter.I
‘They(villagers) from edge to edge of the village did not give her lodging house and
she entered into Lian Do's house.’

53 ka fa le kan tlung hna lai ti ah a ti hna
POSS.1s children PL 1s.S arrive.I PL FUT say P 3s.S say PL
‘She asked,"My children, I will lodge in your house."’

54 a nau pa te nih Lian Do cu a hun chimh tik
POSS.3s brother man little CS.A name name CS.O 3s.S DIR speak.II when
ah
P
‘When the younger brother told this to Lian Do,’

55 Ah kannih cu sifak kan si
INTERJ Pro.1p CS.S poor 1s.S BE
‘(Lian Do said) "Ah, we are poor."’

56 fungvei cuar le anthor hang a ei din khawh hnga
maize-grain boiled and roselle soup 3s.S eat drink.II possible IRREAL
ahcun kan tlung ko seh ti ah a ti i cuticun a tlung hna
if 1p.O arrive.I S.F let say P 3s.S say and that-way 3s.S arrive.I PL
“If she can eat maize grain and drink roselle soup, she can stay in our house”, in this
way, she stayed with them.’

57 an sin ah cun sau pi a caam
3p.S RN.to P that long APPLI 3s.S stay
‘She stayed with them for a long time.’
Once, while they were eating food, an old woman said, "Transform the food into rice and meat," and it really became.

At that time they became to know who she was.

The old woman said, "Ok, I will leave you, I will make you rich after I went," and she left them.

Once, Lian Do and his brother went to hunt with villagers.
The villagers did not allow them to sleep with them in a hut as they are poor.

So they built a hut for themselves and slept in it.

They killed a big python and the villagers took all the meat but they said, "You two brother will make the stomatch" and Lian Do and his brother washed the stomatch for their share.

While they were washing the python's stomatch, they saw a gong that can sing inside the stomatch.
They brought it home secretly and they dug and put it under the fireplace because they worried that it would be taken from them.

They often played the gong secretly and the villagers said, "That beautiful sound of gong," and they came and asked, "What did you play?" and

We just played the metal cover (lit) of the pot.

Once, the daughter of the chief of the village heard the sound of the gong and she approached it slowly.
She saw that gong which can sing.

In this way, she lived with them for a while and they said, "We will go to see our mythuns," and they went to the place where their mythuns were living.

Lian Do and the lady sat on the branch of a tree and looked at their mythuns.

Lian Do and the lady sat on the branch of a tree and looked at their mythuns.

old-woman little sprite woman little CS.A that POSS.3p mythun raise nak ah cun fungtum a rak thlah hna i fungtum nih NMLZ P that wild-mythun 3s.S PAST raise PL and wild-mythun CS.A an sia cu an raih hna i siatum tha tha POSS.3p mythun CS.O 3p.S mate PL and mythun-male good good siapi tha tha tam tuk a runrun in an ungeih hna mi

mythun-female good good many very 3s.S group P 3p.S have.II PL REL cu an nupa cun an zoh hna CS.O 3p.S couple that 3p.S look PL
‘An old woman, a sprite, led the wild mythuns to Lian Do's mythuns and they mated them and had good male mythuns and female mythuns and the couple looked at them.’

74 inn ah an hung thung i zanlei mui chupchap ah khin
home P 3p.S DIR arrive.I and evening dark nearly P that
‘They went home in the evening when it is almost dark.’

75 a thaising an hung tho i ramukbawi fanu nih cun
3s.S tomorrow 3p.S DIR wake and chief daughter CS.A that
ka pa va ngeih ka za cang i
POSS.1s father husband have.II 1s.S enough PFT and
‘And the next morning, the daughter of the chief village said,’ Father, I grew up and so I will choose my husband.’

76 cu ca ah va kaa thim cang lai cu ca ah cun cu
that for P husband REFLEX.1s select PFT FUT that for P that that
va thim nak puai cu ka tuah piak ti ah a ti
husband select NMLZ party CS.O 1s.O make BEN say P 3s.S say
‘So I will choose my husband and so make a feast to choose my husband.’

77 a pa nih si seh ti ah a ti i zu a dah sa
POSS.3s father CS.A BE let say P 3s.S say and liquor 3s.S give animal
a thah i a khua i a um mi vialte ka fanu
3s.S kill.II and POSS.3s village and 3s.S BE REL all POSS.1s daughter
thit a duh mi hun i serh u law hung u law
marry.II 3s.S want REL DIR REFLEX dress IMPER and DIR IMPER and
ka fanu nih an thim hna lai ti ah a ti hna
POSS.1s daughter CS.A 3p.S select PL FUT say P 3s.S say PL
‘Her father said,"It is good," and he made a feast and said,"Come everyone in the village who want to marry my daughter."'

78 thilpuan dawh dawh in an i thuam an hung
clothes beautiful beautiful with 3p.S REFLEX dress.I 3p.S come
‘They wore beautiful dresses and came (to the feast).’

79 ramukbawi fanu nih cun orhlei kut in zuhrai aa tlah
   chief daughter CS.A that right hand P wine-cup REFLEX.3s catch.II
a kehlei kut in sasiar aa tlah i tlangval i
POSS.3s left hand P meat REFLEX.3s catch.II and become-lad and
va ding i kaa thim hnga mi cu mahhi ka tuh hna
husband FUT and REFLEX.1s select IRREAL REL CS.O this 1s.S grow PL
lai ka dinh hna lai ti ah a ti
FUT 1s.S drink-CAUS PL FUT say P 3s.S say
‘The daughter of the chief held a cup of wine on her right hand, a meat on her left hand and said, ’I will give this wine and meat the one I choose for my husband.’”

80 chunhnumer tiang aho manh a tuh hlei hna lo a dinh hlei
   afternoon till nobody 3s.S grow any PL NEG 3s.S drink-CAUS any
hna lo
PL NEG
‘She did not give her wine and meat to anyone untill afternoon.’

81 Lian Do te unau cu kannih cu mi sin chuak ngam
   name name POSS.3p brothers CS.S Pro.1p CS.S person to appear.I dare
ding zong kan si lo kan biar chia le kan thil chia
FUT also 1s.S BE NEG POSS. 2p loin-cloth bad and POSS. 2p dress bad
he an ti i an unau te in thing an hlam
with 3p.S say and 3p.S brothers little with wood 3p.S cut
‘Lian Do and his brother said,"We are not deserved to go to the feast with our bad loin clothes and dresses," and they went to cut the firewood.’
The younger brother said again and again, "Big brother, let's just go and peep the feast," at last they peeped from behind the pile of firewood.

As the daughter of the chief was looking for Lian Do, she found him near the pile of firewood and she approached him and gave him wine and meat.

The villagers wondered and said, "Why does she marry this poor and good-for-nothing man," and her father also spitted and this way the daughter followed Lian Do and his brother and married them.
Once, Lian Do sent his brother to his father-in-law to tell him that he would give him gongs for dowry.

His father-in-law did not believe that Lian Do would have gongs.

However, his wife said to him again and again, "Why don't you just make the place to hang gongs as they said?"

As he did not want to refuse his wife's word, he made a place just small as a finger to hang gongs.
‘The younger brother brought the gongs hardly with a basket on his back.’

90 khah man ka hon put cang hih ti ah a ti i darkhuang
   INTERJ dowry 1s.S DIR bring PFT PT say P 3s.S say and gong
   bah nak a tuah mi ah cun a run bah tik ah a hme te
   hang NMLZ 3s.S make REL P that 3s.S DIR hang when P 3s.S small little
   lawng a si ca ah an tla dih i kung ti ah an dihlak in
   only 3s.S BE for P 3p.S fall.I finish and sound say P 3p.S all with
   an tla
   3p.S fall.I

‘He said, ’I bring the dowry,’ but when he hung them on the place they all fell down as it was very small.’

91 Lian Do naupa nih cun ka pu darkhuang bah nak
   name name brother CS.A that POSS.1s grandfather gong hang NMLZ
   hmanh na ser khawh lo ca ah keimah nih i lak dih ko
   even 2s.S make possible NEG for P Pro.1s CS.A REFLEX take finish S.F
   lang a ti i aa kir pi
   PT 3s.S say and REFLEX.3s return APPLI

‘Lian Do’s brother said, ’Grandpa, I will take them all because you cannot even make the place to hang the gongs.’ and he took them all.’

92 cu bantuk in siapi le siapi farual a run in
   that as P mythun-female and mythun-female children 3s.S group P
   kan manh lai ti ah Lian Do nih cun a pu cu a
   1s.S give FUT say P name name CS.A that POSS.3s grandfather CS.O 3s.S
   ti than
   say again

‘In the same way, Lian Do said to his father-in-law, ’I will give you a herd of mythun with their children as a dowry.’”
He did not want to make a good pen as he did not believe that Lian Do could give them.

The younger brother led the herd of mythuns to his father-in-law.

Just as they entered into the pen he shot the big male wild mythun with pellet bow and it ran and butted other mythuns and they all ran out of the pen except on mythun left in the pen.

"Grandpa, you take the one inside the pen and I will take them those which are outside the pen," in this way the younger brother took them all back."
Lian Do and his brother became richer and Lian Do and his wife celebrated a big traditional feast for nine times.

Once, Lian Do's mother knew that her sons were rich and visited them and the younger brother saw her far away and said, "Ee, my mother who does not love her children," and he took the bow and pellet and shot her.

Lian Do asked, "Brother, why do you do like this?"

Possessive 3p. brothers and name name POSS. 3p. brothers CS. S 3p. S DIR rich and name name le a nupi zong cu khuang voikua tiang an cawi an ti and POSS. 3s. wife also CS. S feast time-nine till 3p. S carry 3p. S say

‘Lian Do and his brother became richer and Lian Do and his wife celebrated a big traditional feast for nine times.’

Once, Lian Do’s mother knew that her sons were rich and visited them and the younger brother saw her far away and said, "Ee, my mother who does not love her children," and he took the bow and pellet and shot her.

‘Lian Do asked, “Brother, why do you do like this?”’
She is the woman who said to throw her child into the river," said the younger brother but Lian Do said,"Ah, don't do this," in this way their mother stayed with them.

Once, the two brothers said,"We often played the gong that can sing," and they played the gongs.

When they beat the gong, it sounded,"Lian Do and his brother! Lian Do and his brother! let you be destroyed by your enemies."
They surprised so much what the sound of that gong would be and the enemies really destroyed Lian Do and his brother as the gong said.

This story is a very popular one in Lai stories.
APPENDIX C

STORY OF MEN RI HEI

1 hlan lio ah Tai Nam Kawng le Men Ri Hei ti mi nuva
   long TAM P name name name and name name say REL couple
   an rak um
   3p.S PAST BE
   ‘Long long ago, there was a couple named Tai Nam Kawng and Men Ri Hei.’

2 Men Ri Hei cu aa dawh tuk ning hi a chim
   name name name CS.S REFLEX.3s beautiful very way DEM 3s.S speak.I
   in an chim kho lo
   with 3p.S speak.I can.I NEG
   ‘Men Ri Hei was so beautiful to be mentioned.’

3 a sam hi a sau tuk i a sam fang khat te hi
   POSS.3s hair DEM 3s.S long very and POSS.3s hair CLF one little DEM
   an zelh an zelh i dingkawk mu tia a si
   3p.S roll 3p.S roll and peach seed size 3s.S BE
   ‘Her hair was very good and when a thread of her hair was rolled, it was as big as a seed of peach.’

4 voikhat cu an pa Tai Nam Kawng kha khualtlawn
   once CS.S POSS.3p husband name name name CS.O travel
   aa tim
   REFLEX.3s prepare
   ‘Once, her husband, Tai Nam Kawng prepared to go for a journey.’
'He said to his wife, "Don't go out while I travel."'

'I will prepare everything for your food and drink and I will also get enough water for your bath.'

"If you do not lock the door outside, they (somebody) may steal you," he said and set out for his journey.'
Once, Men Ri Hei could not bear her boredom and loneliness and she went to the river near their house to have a bath in the sun light.

Unfortunately, a thread of her hair fell into the river and it flowed along the river and a big fish swallowed it.

Once, a fisherman of Burma caught that big fish and found a thread of hair inside its stomach. When he rolled it, it was as big as a seed of peach.

He was so surprised that he brought it to the king.
The king sent his servants to look for the owner of that hair till they found.

The servants followed the river upward and they found a house.

Men Ri Hei locked the door outside and nobody could entered.

They told her to open the door but she did not want to open.

The king's servants broke their iron door with the axe and they entered and took Men Ri Hei with them.
Before they went, she (Men Ri Hei) put a message to their little cat.

"When your master comes back, tell him to kill you and make a flute with your bone and look for me," and Men Ri Hei went with them.

Then he did not see his wife and he wondered.
Their little cat told Tai Nam Kawng all about what happened.

The little cat said to him, "My mistress told me that you will kill me, make a flute with my bone and look for her."

Tai Nam Kawng killed their little cat and made a flute with its bone.

After he made a flute, he went to Kawl (Burma) to look for his wife.

King home near from little flute keep and name name name flute sound know.
He played the flute near the palace and when Men Ri Hei heard the sound of the flute, she knew that it was her husband and searched a way to meet with her husband.

She went to the king and said, "Lord, listen to that beautiful sound of flute, if it is played near me I will forget all my boring and grief."

The king asked his servants to call the player of the flute and let him play near them all the time.

Men Ri Hei forgot all her boring and grief when she saw Tai Nam Kawng.
'Nobody knew that they were husband and wife and Tai Nam Kawng was looking for her.'

'Once, the king went for a journey.'

'Before he went, he put his sword upward in the door.'

'Tai Nam Kawng and Men Ri Hei prepared to run away while the king was on his journey.'
35 innka hram i siangpahrangpa nih a chiah ta mi nam kha
door behind at king CS.A 3s.S put.II APPLI REL sword CS.O
Men Ri Hei nih aa lamh sual i a ke a tan
name name name CS.A REFLEX.3s step may and POSS.3s foot 3s.S cut-out
dengmang
almost
‘Men Ri Hei stepped on the sword that the king put and her foot was almost cut out.’

36 Tai Nam Kawng nih cun a puak zokzok i a kal pi
name name name CS.A that 3s.S carry.II quickly and 3s.S go APPLI
colh
at once
‘Tai Nam Kawng carried her on his back quickly and they went out.’

37 lam hlat pi an phak hlan ah siangpahrangpa sinum pawl nih
way far APPLI 3p.S arrive.II before P king servant PL CS.A
an theih i an va dawi hna
3p.S know.II and 3p.S DIR chase PL
‘Before they arrived far, the king's servants chased them.’

38 Men Ri Hei a thi in khan an hei dawi hna i an
name name name POSS.3s blood P that 3p.S DIR chase PL and 3p.S
hei phak colh hna
DIR arrive.II at once PL
‘They followed the trail of Men Ri Hei's blood and they caught them soon.’

39 Men Ri Hei cu an i kir pi i Tai Nam
name name name CS.O 3p.S REFLEX return APPLI and name name
Kawng cu tho kho lo in an velh ta i an kal tak
name CS.O wake can.I NEG P 3p.S hit.II APPLI and 3p.S go APPLI.(left)
‘They brought Men Ri Hei back and they beat Tai Nam Kawng till he could not get up
and left him.’
Tai Nam Kawng went back home sadly.

He did not want to eat or drink because of his sadness and loneliness, and he died due to his sentiment on his wife.

Men Ri Hei could not forget Tai Nam Kawng and.

Men Ri Hei followed (him) secretly after her foot recovered.

She found the children who were hunting for birds near the village and.
45 Men Ri Hei nih cun hngakchia pa te cu a hei auh

name name name CS.A that child man little CS.O 3s.S DIR call.II
i hi ka hi Tai Nam Kawng te khua a si maw a

and DEM here DEM name name name POSS.3p village 3s.S BE QUE 3s.S

hei ti

DIR say
‘called a boy and asked,"Is this Tai Nam Kawng's village?"’

46 hngakchia pa te nih cun si ko a hei ti ve

child man little CS.A that BE S.F 3s.S DIR say also
‘The boy said,"Yes, it is."’

47 Men Ri Hei nih cun khoika dah an inn a si na ka

name name name CS.A that where QUE POSS.3p home 3s.S BE 2s.S 1s.O

thlah kho hnga maw a ti i

send can.I IRREAL QUE 3s.S say and
‘Men Ri Hei asked,"can you lead me to Tai Nam Kawng's house?" and’

48 hngakchia pa nih cun naite ah khan pei zunzawt nak in a

child man CS.A that recently P that PT sentiment-sick NMLZ P 3s.S

thih cu a ti i Men Ri Hei cu a lau tuk lawmmam
die.II that 3s.S say and name name name CS.S 3s.S nervous very seriously
‘The boy said,"He recently died because of his sentiment," and Men Ri Hei was so

surprised.’

49 khoika ah dah an phum rak ka kal pi a ti i hngakchia

where P QUE 3p.S bury PAST 1s.O go APPLI 3s.S say and child

pa te nih cun a hei kal pi

man little CS.A that 3s.S DIR go APPLI

‘Where did they bury him, show me?” and the boy led her to the grave.’
When they arrived at his grave, she cried continuously and they opened the grave and she slept near him.

Then she killed herself with the tool that is used to tie her hair and she died.
APPENDIX D
STORY OF NGUNNU

2 hlan lio ah hin nu le va an rak um i fanu pakhat
long TAM P at wife and husband 3p.S PAST BE and daughter one
tei an rak ngei ti si
little 3p.S PAST have.I say BE

‘Long long ago, there was a couple and had one daughter.’

3 a min ah Ngunnu an sak
POSS.3s name P name 3p.S name.II

‘They named her Ngunnu.’

4 Ngunnu cu a hmet lio te ah a nu nih a
name CS.S POSS.3s childhood TAM little P POSS.3s mother CS.A 3s.S
dihih tak ti si
die.II APPLI.(left) say BE

‘Ngunnu’s mother died when she was still a child.’

5 a pa nih le nupi dang a thit
POSS.3s father CS.A and wife another 3s.S marry.II

‘Her father married another woman.’

6 a pa nih cun a fanu te cu a dawt tuk na
POSS.3s father CS.A that POSS.3s daughter little CS.O 3s.S love very PRO
tei in khan a nuei nih Ngunnu cu a daw lo ee ti
little P that POSS.3s step-mother CS.A name CS.O 3s.S love.I NEG FP say
si
BE

‘Ngunnu was loved so much by her father but her step-mother did not love her.’
She could not satisfied whatever Ngunnu did.’

‘One day, her father asked Ngunnu,"What do you like best?’”

‘Ngunnu siad,"Father, you gave me everything I need.”

‘I need nothing else.’

‘However, I only like the sun and the moon if you can take them for me.’

‘Her father went to get the sun and the moon.’
‘He did not believe his wife and he knew that his wife would deride his daughter so he gave a massage to his daughter's friend.’

‘My wife will deride Nggunnu while I am away and,’

“She (his wife) will make her do different kinds of work, so please look after her,” he put massage to Nggunnu's friend and went to get the sun and moon.'
‘Ngunnu was asked to go and do something to Dongral by her step-mother while her father was away.’

17 Dongral cu ral tampi an um nak a si ca ah khan
name-place CS.S enemy many 3p.S BE NMLZ 3s.S BE for P that
ahohmanh nih an kal ngam lo nak hmun a si tik ah khan
nobody CS.A 3p.S go dare NEG NMLZ place 3s.S BE when P that
khika zawn kal ahcun an thi lai ti mi kha a fiang
there spot go if 3p.S die.I FUT say REL CS.O 3s.S sure

‘Dongral was a place where the enemies were lived and nobody dared to go there and if somebody went there, it was sure that he/she would die.’

18 cu ca ah cun Ngunnu kha a nuei nih khan thi seh
that for P that name CS.O POSS.3s step-mother CS.A that die.I let
ti kha a duh i thinglam kha Dongral ah khan a fial ee ti
say CS.O 3s.S want and wood-cut CS.O name-place P that 3s.S ask FP say
si
BE

‘Ngunnu's step-mother wanted her to die and so she asked her to get firewood in Dongral.’

19 Dongral cu kal aa tim ti si
name-place CS.O go REFLEX.3s prepare say BE

‘She prepared to go to Dongral.’

20 a mawnu cu a va chimh ta ka maw ka
POSS.3s friend CS.O 3s.S DIR speak.II APPLI POSS.1s friend POSS.1s
nu nih Dongral ah thing va hlam ta law a ka ti ti
mother CS.A name-place P wood DIR cut IMPER and 3s.S 1s.O say say
ah khan a va chimh ti si
P that 3s.S DIR speak.II say BE

‘She went to her friend and said,"My friend, my mother asked me to get firewood in Dongral.”'
Her friend said, "My friend, don't go to Dongral because there are enemies there and they will kill you so take my firewood," and Ngunnu took her friend's firewood and went home.

Her step-mother said, "You knavish, deceitful girl, you bring the firewoods which are already cut by other. Don't I ask you to get it from Dongral?" and she beat Ngunnu with the firewoods she brought.

The next day, the step-mother asked Ngunnu again to get some water from Dongral.
'She was afraid so much to go to Dongral and said to her friend, "My friend, my mother ask me again to get some water from Dongral."'

'Her friend said, "My friend, the enemies will kill you at Dongral, bring my water home," and Ngunnu brought her friend's water home.'

'Her step-mother knew that and said, "You bring the water that other people already got," and she broke all the water bottle and poured Ngunnu with all that water.'
‘Later, the step-mother asked Ngunnu again to get vegetables from Dongral.’

28 a mawnu sin ah cun a va kal i a hawinu nih cun
POSS.3s friend RN P that 3s.S DIR go and POSS.3s friend CS.A that
an cu a rak pek ti si
vegetable CS.O 3s.S PAST give.II say BE

‘She went to her friend and her friend gave her vegetables.’

29 a nuei nih cun Dongral ah an va lo kan
POSS.3s step-mother CS.A that name-place P vegetable DIR pick.I 1s.S
ti lo maw mi lawh cia an cu maw na hun put ti
say NEG QUE person pick.II already vegetable CS.O QUE 2s.S DIR bring say
ah a ti i a hlonh piak dih than ti si
P 3s.S say and 3s.S throw BEN finish again say BE

‘The step-mother said,"Don't I tell you to get vegetables from Dongral? Do you bring that other people already picked?" and she threw them all.’

30 a thaizing ah Dongral ah cun thing va phor a ti than
3s.S tomorrow P name-place P that wood DIR carry.I 3s.S say again
hoi ti si
again say BE

‘The next day, she (the step-mother) asked Ngunnu again to get firewood at Dongral.’

31 a kal ngam lo na in khan zetti tuah awk kha a hngal ti lo
3s.S go dare NEG Pro P that how make to CS.O 3s.S know say NEG

‘Although she dared not to go there (Dongral), she did not know what to do.’

32 a mawnu sin ah a kal than i ka maw Dongral
POSS.3s friend RN.to P 3s.S go again and POSS.1s friend name-place
ah thing ka hlam lai ti ah a va chimh ti si
P wood 1s.S cut FUT say P 3s.S DIR speak.II say BE

‘Ngunnu went again to her friend and said,"My friend, I will go to Dongral to get firewood."’
33 a maw nih cun Dongral ah thing hlam an fial i ral
POSS.3s friend CS.A that name-place P wood cut 3p.S ask and enemy
nih an in thah sual lai ti ah keimah thing kan pek i an
CS.A 3p.S 2s.O kill.II may FUT say P Pro.1s wood 1s.S give.II and 3p.S
tuk nak hoi
very NMLZ again

‘Her friend said,’She asked you to get firewood from Dongral and I gave you my
firewood because I was afraid that the enemies would kill you but she beat with
them.’”

34 cun ti than an fial i ral nih an in thah sual lai ti
then water get 3p.S ask and enemy CS.A 3p.S 2s.O kill.II may FUT say
ah keimah ti kha kan pek i a thlet dih
P Pro.1s water CS.O 1s.S give.II and 3s.S pour finish

‘Then, she asked you to get some water and I gave you my water but she poured them
out.’

35 an va lo an ti i thih lai kan in sian lo ruang ah
vegetable DIR pick.I 3p.S say and die.II FUT 1s.S 2s.O will NEG cuase P
keimah ka an kan pek i an hlonh piak dih fawn
Pro.1s POSS.1s vegetable 1s.S give.II and 3p.S throw BEN finish also

‘She asked you to get vegetables and I gave you mine because we don't want you die
but she threw them all.’

36 atu cu zeiti tuah awk ka hngal ti lo ee na kal ko kun lai
now CS.S how make to 1s.S know say NEG FP 2s.S go S.F may FUT
dek maw ti ah khan mitthli tlak pah in khan a ti ee ti si
may QUE say P that tear fall.II as with that 3s.S say FP say BE

“'Now, I don't know what to do, you may have to go,” said her friend with tears.’
'Ngunnu went sadly toward Dongral to cut firewood.'

'Her friend said to Ngunnu,"Give us signal when you are going to die."'

'The lads and her friend watched Ngunnu till she disappeared.'

'She gave them signal when she almost disappeared.'

'Ngunnu was shot by the enemies and the lads and her friend took her body secretly at night.'
The step-mother did not want the corpse of Ngunnu to put in her house and her friend made her house for the funeral.'

'Her friend used a mythun and a pig for Ngunnu's funeral.'

'The step-mother was so happy for Ngunnu's death and she wore the best dresses (hnikaa and congnak) and also she smiled in the funeral.'

'Ngunnu's friend kept crying for her death.'
In her friend's cry, she said, "My friend, lend me your axe to cut firewood at Dongral."

Then, the little mouse and little bird are happy on the top of the tree as monkeys.

Stare often from Ngunnu's chair that you can see the native village.

Come back sabung flower from the farm that I can feel your smell.

Do they have iron bridge and can you go wherever you want."
51 ka maw aw na pa khuangcawi ni ah ee bongpi in
POSS.1s friend yes POSS.2s father feast day P FP name(bird) P
korlek korlek hun ti te law ti ah a tah lengmang ee ti
sound(bird) sound(bird) DIR say FUT and say P 3s.S cry.II always FP say
si
BE
‘My friend, come and sing ’korlek korlek’ in your father's khuangcawi (traditional
feast).’

52 Ngunnu an vui ka hrawng ah a pa cu a hung
name 3p.S bury recently around P POSS.3s father CS.S 3s.S DIR
tlung ti si
arrive.I say si
‘Ngunnu's father arrived soon after she was buried.’

53 a pa nih Ngunnu zeidah a ti ti ah a nupi cu
POSS.3s father CS.A name what 3s.S say say P POSS.3s wife CS.O
a hal ti si
3s.S ask say BE
‘Ngunnu's father asked his wife,"Where does Ngunnu go?”’

54 caw le caw an i su i a zoh ti ah a nupi
cow and cow 3p.S REFLEX gore.I and 3s.S look say P POSS.3s wife
nih cun a hlen an ti
CS.A that 3s.S deceive 3p.S say
‘His wife lied,"She is watching what the cows gore each other."’

55 Ngunnu pa cu zuhui a pek len na in a zoh
name father CS.O fermented-grain 3s.S give.II keep 2s.S P 3s.S look
hmanh zoh piak duh lo in a um
even look BEN want NEG P 3s.S BE
‘Ngunnu's father was given fermented grain (by his wife) but he did not even look at
it.’
‘Ngunnu’s father was unhappy that he went to Ngunnu’s friend.’

‘When her friend saw Ngunnu’s father, she felt so sad and told him everything what happened.’

‘Ngunnu’s father gave half of the clothes he brought for his daughter to Ngunnu’s friend and put half in Ngunnu’s grave.’

‘Ngunnu’s father prepared to celebrate bawite bawi (traditional feast).’
They started the feast and when he was ready to shoot the mythun, a bird flew above his head crying 'korlek korlek' and it almost picked his turban.

Ngunnu's father could not bear his grief and so he shot his wife dead with his bow and arrow instead of shooting the mythun.

His wife's brothers came to kill him and said, "Why did he shoot our sister?"
At that time he told them all about his wife's cruelty and his daughter's death.

When they heard their sister's history, they did not like her.

They felt so ashamed for their sister and they put her corpse in the trash.

That's all. Thank you so much.
APPENDIX E
STORY OF PLANTING

2 ka chim ding mi cu Lai mi nih tlang cung i facang kan
1s.S speak.I FUT REL CS.O name person CS.A mountain on P rice 1s.S
cin nak kong a si
grow.II NMLZ about 3s.S BE

‘I will tell about farming by Lai people.’

3 Lai mi nih tlang cung facang kan cin tik ah a hmasa
name person CS.A mountain on rice 1s.S grow.II when P 3s.S first
bik ah lo facang cin nak lo kan zoh hmasa
SUP.D P farm rice grow.II NMLZ farm 1s.S look first

‘When Lai people grow rice, they firstly look for the farm to grow it.’

4 lo hi a linh nak ka ah hin facang hi cin khawh a
farm DEM 3s.S hot.II NMLZ here P this rice DEM grow.II possible 3s.S
si ca ah a linh nak hmun ah hin facang hi kan cin tawn
BE for P 3s.S hot.II NMLZ place P this rice DEM 1s.S grow.II often

‘We often grow rice in the warm place as rice can be grown in the warm place.’

5 a hmasa bik ah thingkung tang i um mi ram hi vah hmasa
3s.S first SUP.D P tree under P BE REL forest DEM clear first
a si
3s.S BE

‘Firstly, the grass under the trees is cleared out.’

6 ram kan vah dih hnu ah thingkung kha hau a si
forest 1s.S clear finish after P tree CS.O cut 3s.S BE

‘After we clear the grass, the trees are cut.’
After two months after we cut the trees, it is fired.

The trees and branches which do not burn are cut, collected and burnt again.

The farm is made clearly.

After that we grow rice.

When we grow rice, we use Lai's hoe, a small hoe.

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'We dig two holes first below and another hole above that the soil from the above hole covers the two holes underneath.'

13 khur khat ah hin facang hi mu hra hrawng in thlak a si
hole one P this rice DEM seed ten around P drop.II 3s.S BE

‘About ten seeds of rice are grown in a hole.’

14 cu cu March thla ni kul in April thla ni kul karlak
that CS.O name month day twenty P name month day twenty between
hrawng i tuah mi a si
around P make REL 3s.S BE

‘That (growing seeds) is done around from March 20 to April 20.’

15 cu hnu ah cun May thla dih lai ah khin le June thla a
that after P then name month finish FUT P that and name month 3s.S
thawkka hrawng ah khin voikhat thlawh piak a si
begin around P that once weed.II BEN 3s.S BE

‘After that, it is weeded one time in around the end of May and the beginning of June.’

16 cu hnu ah cun August thla ah voikhat thlawh piak a si
that after P then name month P once weed.II BEN 3s.S BE

‘After that, it is weeded one time in August.’

17 cuh September thla hrawng ah khin a dongh nak ah tlawmpal te
then name month around P that 3s.S end.II NMLZ P little little
in a buat deuh nak kha namtong in vah piak in thlawh a si
P 3s.S long COM.D NMLZ CS.O knife P clear BEN P weed.II 3s.S BE

‘Then, at last it is weeded where it is needed with knife in around September.’

18 cu ti cuh voithum thlawh hi a si
that say that time-three weed.II DEM 3s.S BE

‘In this way, it is weeded three times.’
The rice is grown in April and harvested in November.

When the rice is ripe, we cut it, we gather it and thresh it and then we get rice.

After the rice is taken, a small barn is built where it is not far from the farm and the rice is stored there.

After we store all the rice in that barn house, we bring it (the rice) home.

A tin of rice is grown in one acre of farm.

A tin of rice is grown in one acre of farm.
‘If three tins of rice is grown, a hundred and fifty tangs (300 tins) can be harvested.’

25 facang lo ah hin facang lawng si lo in thlaici dang te te rice farm P this rice only BE NEG P seed another little little zong cin chih a si also grow.II together 3s.S BE

‘In the farm, not only the rice but also other kinds of seeds are grown.’

26 cu hna cu sentawk mahtak bawnbok khamhhuai ti mi that PL CS.O eggplant(bitter) chilli eggplant basil say REL hi facang lo chung ah cu cin a si DEM rice farm within P that grow.II 3s.S BE

‘They are bitter eggplant, chilli, eggplant and basil that are grown in the farm.’

27 mi cheukhat nih fungvei zong hi a tlawmpal te a person some CS.A maize-grain also DEM 3s.S little little 3s.S pawngkam ah khin an cin chih boundary P that 3p.S grow.II together

‘Some people also grow corn around the corner of the farm.’

28 a tam bik kan cin chih cu anthor a si anthor hi 3s.S many SUP.D 1s.S grow.II together CS.O rosselle 3s.S BE rosselle DEM lo a kam vialte khi kan tuh dih le a tha ngaingai farm 3s.S boundary all that 1s.S grow finish and 3s.S good very

‘Roselle is grown all around the corner of the farm and it is well grown up.’

29 pe nga hrawng an sang kho a thei a vun tlai i sen cur foot fish around 3p.S tall can.I POSS.3s fruit 3s.S DIR fruit and red very i a um tik ah cu cin lo hi a zoh dawh ngaingai P 3s.S BE when P that farm DEM 3s.S look beautiful very

‘It (rosselle) can grow till five feet and when it has fruits, the farm is very beautiful with its red fruits.’
30 tlanglo  ti ah kan ti i a cheukhat nih cun canghmun a
    mountain-farm say P 1s.S say and 3s.S some CS.A that name 3s.S
ti mi zong an um zeicatiah cun facang kan cin nak a si ca
say REL also 3p.S BE because that rice 1s.S grow.II NMLZ 3s.S BE for
ah a si
P 3s.S BE

‘We call it ‘tlanglo’ and some people call it ‘canghmun’ because the rice is grown
there.’

31 tlanglo  tuah tik ah hin a har bik mi pakhat cu a
    mountain-farm make when P this 3s.S hard SUP.D REL one CS.S 3s.S
thlawh hi a si
weed.II DEM 3s.S BE

‘The hardest work in farming is weeding.’

32 May thla dih lai June thla thawkka hrawng in kan thlawh
    name month finish FUT name month begin around P 1s.S weed.II
tik ah hin hmaisem a tam tuk i kan pum paluk in hmaisem nih
when P this gnat 3s.S many very and 1s.S body whole P gnat CS.A
an kan buk dih
3p.S 1p.O crowd finish

‘When we weed in the end of May and the beginning of June, there are a lot of gnats
and they bite our body everywhere.’

33 zingka le zanleisang thlawh ah hin hmaisem hi a tam khun
    morning and evening weed.II P this gnat DEM 3s.S many more
chun ah cun hmaisem hi a um deuh lo
noon P that gnat DEM 3s.S BE COM.D NEG

‘There are more gnats in the morning and late afternoon, and less in the noon time.’
'Weeding is the hardest work (in farming).'

In earlier time, the rice that is harvested is brought home with their own back.

'It is very difficult to carry 300 tins of rice with back.'

Nowadays, the road of the farm is made well and they carry with horses or motorbike if the road is good enough for motorbike and it is easier for farmers.

'It is needed to get enough rain in the right time in farming.'
‘If it rains before burning the farm, they are late to burn the farm.’

‘If it is too late till the end of May, it is not good to grow rice, it is the best to grow in April.’

‘More rice is produced in some farms than in fields.’

‘The rice that is produced from the farm is more delicious than the ones from the field.’

‘So, some people prefer farming more than ploughing the field.’
44 tlanglo belte hi lo pakhat kan tuah tik ah kum khat ca
mountain-farm only DEM farm one 1s.S make when P year one for
lawng a si kumvui tuah duh tik ah i thial than lengmang
only 3s.S BE year-next make want when P REFLEX move again always
kha a si
CS.O 3s.S BE

‘However, in farming, it is only for one year and it needs to move another place every
year.’

45 lo vah than bawk thar in sak than ti in rian thar lengmang
farm clear again tent new P build.II again say P work new always
a chuak i lo thlo tu ca ah rian har deuh kha a si
3s.S appear.I and farm weed NMLZ for P work hard COM.D CS.O 3s.S BE

‘It always needs to cut the farm again, to build a new hut and so it is harder for the
farmers.’

46 tlanglo ah hin a tam bik nih an tuh mi cu atu
mountain-farm P this 3s.S many SUP.D CS.A 3p.S grow REL CS.O now
lio ah cun facang hi pung khat in pung thum karlak hi an tuh
TAM P that rice DEM tin one P tin three between DEM 3p.S grow

‘Nowadays, most people grow from one tin to three tins of rice in a farm.’

47 mi cheukhat nih cun pung li pung nga tuh mi zong an rak
person some CS.A that tin four tin five grow REL also 3p.S PAST
um na in atu lio ah cun a tam pi an tuh kho ti lo
BE Pro P now TAM P that 3s.S many big 3p.S grow can.I say NEG

‘In the past, some people grew four or five tins in a farm, however, in present days
they cannot grow much.’
The population is growing and we do not have enough farm and only one or two at most three tins of rice is grown in a farm.

If a farm produces rice well, it is enough for one year living.

When one and a half tins of grain rice from the farm is pounded, it becomes one tin of rice.

When two tins of grain rice from the field is pounded, it becomes only one tin of rice.

And it produces more (in the farm).
‘However, nowadays there are less people who do farming.’

‘They prefer ploughing the field more and if there are one hundred houses in a village, only twenty or thirty houses do farming, the rest do ploughing the field.’

‘The woman cannot do farming.’

‘Cutting the trees is a very hard work and only the men can do it.’

‘The family who does not have any man has difficulty in farming as most of the works in farming are for man.’
In farming, a village has ‘lobung’ that is enough farm for every house there and some villages have nine or ten lobung.

They move one lobung (farm) to another every year.

In some places, they cut the trees every five year.

The farm that is already weeded for one year is not used again for next year, it is always left.
If it is weeded for next year, it is very hard for human to clear because there are lots of grass.'
RESUME

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