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Differences between ‘Lacid’ and ‘Leqi’*

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Summary

Lacid, a member of the ethno-cultural group ‘Kachin’ in the Kachin State of Myanmar, is identified with Leqi 勒期 in Chinese, a member of the Jingpo nationality in China.

However, there are some differences between the language spoken by the former and that spoken by the latter. This paper will examine the phonological and grammatical differences below between the standard Cang Moo Khung (CMK) variety of ‘Lacid’ in Myanmar and ‘Leqi’ in China.

• Rhymes: PTB/PLB **-əy* corresponds to *-it* in CMK Lacid and *-ei* in Leqi, and PTB/PLB **-əw* corresponds to *-auk* in CMK Lacid and *-ou* in Leqi.

• Tones: In Leqi, the pitch rise occurred in most syllables with the ‘plain’ initial corresponding to *Tone I syllables in OB, unlike Lacid.

• Demonstrative proforms: Lacid has a demonstrative determiner distinct from the demonstrative noun in the proximal and medial, unlike Leqi.

• Case markers: Of the two, only Lacid has distinct Allative and Perlative markers, whereas only Leqi has a distinct Agentive-Instrumental marker.

• Expression for prohibition: The PTB negative imperative prefix is not inherited to CMK Lacid and Leqi; the latter developed a new prefix, whereas the former uses Realis negative sentences for expressing prohibition.

Key words: Lacid-Leqi, Northern Burmish, rhyme, demonstrative, case marker

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1. Introduction

lă²tʃʰit⁵³ is a member of the ethno-cultural group 'Kachin' in the Kachin State of Myanmar. They are identified with *lătʃhi⁵¹*, or Leqi 勒期 in Chinese, which is a member of the Jingpo nationality in China.

However, there are some differences between the language spoken by 'Lacid' and that spoken by 'Leqi'. (I continue to use the name in Chinese for the latter, merely to avoid confusion with 'Lacid' in Myanmar.)

This paper will examine some of the phonological and grammatical differences between 'Lacid' in Myanmar and 'Leqi' in China.

2. Lacid/Leqi

The Lacid-Leqi language is affiliated with the Northern sub-branch of the Burmish branch of Lolo-Burmese. In this section, let us view the profiles of the speakers.

Figure 1 shows the correspondence of subgroups between Kachin in Kachin State, Myanmar, and Jingpo in Yunnan Province, China, with their population data. In each area, the largest population is shown in boldface with underline, and the second-largest population in boldface.

Kachin State		**Yunnan Province**	
Bur. ကချင်လူမျိုး /kătʃʰɪɴᴸluᴸmjoᴴ/		Chin. 景颇族 Jingpozu	
	Autonym	**Chinese**	**Autonym**
Jinghpaw pop. **<u>375,298</u>**	/tʃɪŋᴸ pʰoʔᴸ/ (Maran, 1979)	景颇 Jingpo pop. ca. **38,900**	[tʃɪŋ³¹ pʰoʔ³¹] (Dai, 2005)
Lhaovo **29,573**	/lʾoŋᶠ⁽²¹⁾ voᶠ/	浪速 Langsu ca. 5,600	[lɔ̃³¹ vɔ³¹] (ibid.)
Lacid 15,765	**/lă² tʃʰit⁵³/**	**勒期 Leqi** ca. 10,700	**[lă³¹ tʃʰi⁵¹]** (ibid.)
Zaiwa 3,122	/tsai²² va⁴¹/ (Yabu, 1988)	载瓦 Zaiwa ca. **<u>76,500</u>**	[tsai³¹ va⁵¹] (ibid.)
and Lisu, Rawang.		and 波拉 Bola.	
# The year of population data is unspecified (estimated as the 2000s).		# The population data in 2000 (Dai, 2005)	

Figure 1 Correspondence of subgroups between Kachin in Myanmar and Jingpo in China

2.1 Lacid

As shown in the introduction and Figure 1, Lacid is a member constituting the ethno-cultural group called ‘Kachin’ with Jinghpaw and other ethnic groups.

No reliable data on their population is available. I show the data from the exhibition at the Kachin State Cultural Museum, Myitkyina.

Population 15,765 (year unspecified)
Inhabitant areas

- Sawlaw Township (Kachin State): They may reside sporadically in this township.
- Chipwe Township (Kachin State):
  - **Cang Moo Khung** (the middle reach of Ngochang River)
  - Khain Sheing Khung (the valley of Khaingshang River)
  - Shophei Khung (the valley of Chipwe River)
  - Tamu Khung (the valley of Tamu River)
- Waingmaw Township (Kachin State): especially Sadung area
- Myitkyina Township (Kachin State)

Lacid people also live in Muse, Kuthkai, Lashio, Thipaw, Momeik and Kyaingtone Townships of Shan State (Myat Wai Toe, 2014, p. 16)

According to a consultant, Lacid people regard the language spoken in Cang Moo Khung, the middle reach of the Ngochang River, as standard. However, the characteristics of the speech in each region listed here have not yet been well clarified.

Lacid data in this paper are obtained through interviews with two speakers from Cang Moo Khung (henceforth CMK), both in-field and online conducted by the presenter.

2.2 Leqi 勒期 (Dai and Li, 2007, p. 5)

Leqi is a member of the Jingpo nationality, together with Zaiwa, Jingpo, Langsu and Bola.

Population about 10,000 *cf.* 10,700 (Dai, 2005)
Inhabitant areas

- Dehong Dai and Jingpo Autonomous Prefecture 德宏傣族景颇族自治州 (Yunnan Province):
  - **Luxi County 潞西县 (N.B. the present Mangshi City 芒市)**: Manghai Town 芒海镇, Zhongshan County 中山乡, Dongshan County 东山乡, Santaishan County 三台山乡
  - Ruili County 瑞丽县 (N.B. the present Ruili City 瑞丽市)/Longchuan County 陇川县/Yingjiang County 盈江县
- Nujiang Lisu Autonomous Prefecture 怒江傈僳族自治州 (Yunnan Province)

Figure 2 is a map showing the location of Cang Moo Khung and Luxi (Mangshi).

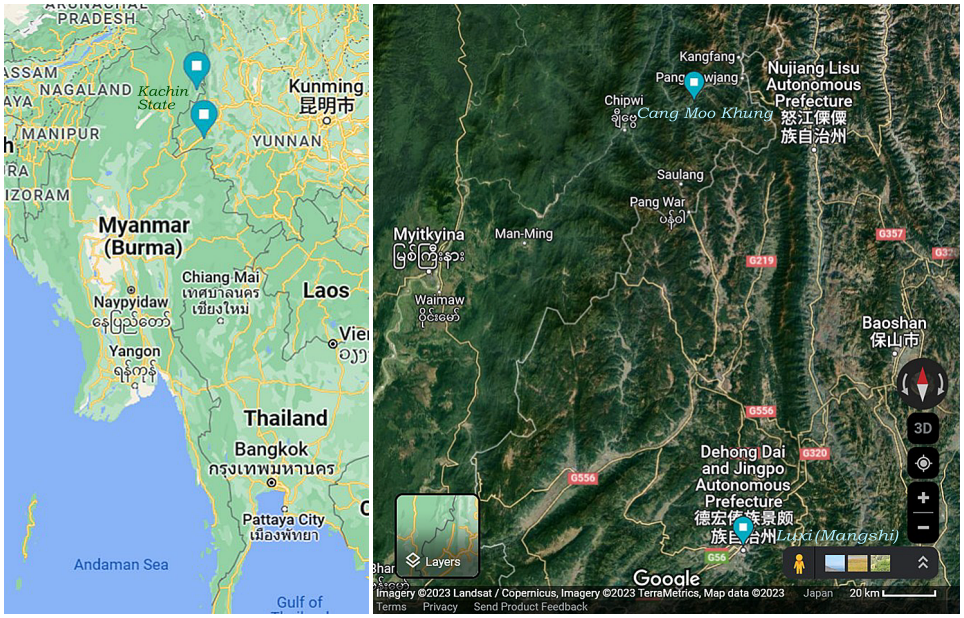

Figure 2 Locations of Cang Moo Khung and Luxi (Mangshi)

2.3 Previous studies

There are few previous studies on Lacid and Leqi.

2.3.1 Lacid (Lashi) in Kachin State

Professor Shiro Yabu wrote several concise descriptions of the language spoken in Nu Zung Baug village in Cang Moo Khung, Kachin State. Yabu (1992) is the newest one I have confirmed.

Hkaw Luk (2017) gives another description of Lacid. The author is a native Lacid speaker (p. 4) born in Waing Maw, Kachin State (p. 183). He lists six LRPs (language resource persons), though their birthplaces are not described, except that one of them is from China (p. 4).

2.3.2 Leqi in Yunnan

The most comprehensive work on Leqi in China is Dai and Li (2007). It describes the language spoken in Paya 帕牙 village in Luxi County, Dehong.

2.4 Topics for comparison

In this paper, the following topics are dealt with.

- Phonology: mainly rhymes and tones
- Demonstrative proforms: system and plural marking
- Case markers: Allative/Agentive-Instrumental
- Verb sentence types/Negative morphemes in Prohibitive

3. Phonology

3.1 Rhymes

Table 1 shows the rhyme system of CMK Lacid. As with other Burmish languages, there are co-occurrence restrictions between vowels and final consonants.

Table 1 CMK Lacid rhymes

i	e	a	o ɔ	au [au]	u	ə [ə]	wi	wa†
		ai† [æi]						
		am [æm]	om [ɤɛm]					
		ap [æp]	op [ɤɛp]					
in [ɪin]	en [ein]	an [ain]	on [oin–uin]					
it [ɪit]	et [eit]	at [ait]	ot [oit]				wit	
iŋ†		aŋ			uŋ [ouŋ]	əŋ [əŋ]		waŋ
		ak†		auk [auk–ɑuk]	uk [ouk]	ək [ək]		
		aʔ†	oʔ [ɔʔ]		uʔ			

Rhymes with † are rare and attested only in non-native words.

Table 2 gives Leqi rhymes listed in Dai and Li (2007).

Table 2 Leqi rhymes (based on Dai and Li, 2007, pp. 9–15)

ɿ	i	e	ɛ	a	o	u	ə	y	ɻ	iː	eː	ɛː	aː	ɔː	uː	əː	yː
ɿ̲	i̲	e̲		a̲	o̲	u̲	ə̲	y̲		i̲ː		ɛ̲ː	a̲ː	ɔ̲ː	u̲ː	ə̲ː	y̲ː

	ei			ɔi	ui	ua	uɛ	au	ou	iau		eːi		aːi	ɔːi			aːu
	e̲i			ɔ̲i					o̲u			e̲ːi		a̲ːi	ɔ̲ːi			a̲ːu
im		am		ɔm	um						iːm			aːm	ɔːm	uːm		
i̲m		a̲m		ɔ̲m	u̲m						i̲ːm			a̲ːm	ɔ̲ːm	u̲ːm		
	ɛp	ap		ɔp							iːp		ɛːp	aːp		uːp		
	ɛ̲p	a̲p		ɔ̲p									ɛ̲ːp	a̲ːp		u̲ːp		
	ɛn	an		ɔn	un	uan	uɛn				iːn		ɛːn	aːn		uːn		
i̲n		ɛ̲n	a̲n		ɔ̲n						i̲ːn		ɛ̲ːn	a̲ːn		u̲ːn		
	ɛt	at		ɔt							iːt			aːt		uːt		
	ɛ̲t	a̲t		ɔ̲t	u̲t	ua̲t					i̲ːt			a̲ːt		u̲ːt		
iŋ		ɛŋ	aŋ		ɔŋ	uŋ	əŋ	uaŋ	iaŋ		iːŋ			aːŋ	ɔːŋ	uːŋ	əːŋ	
i̲ŋ			a̲ŋ		ɔ̲ŋ	u̲ŋ	ə̲ŋ		ia̲ŋ					a̲ːŋ	ɔ̲ːŋ	u̲ːŋ	ə̲ːŋ	
ik		ɛk	ak		ɔk	uk	ək							aːk		uːk	əːk	
i̲k			a̲k		ɔ̲k	u̲k	ə̲k									u̲ːk	ə̲ːk	
		ɛʔ	aʔ		ɔʔ	uʔ							ɛːʔ	aːʔ	ɔːʔ	uːʔ		
			a̲ʔ		ɔ̲ʔ	u̲ʔ	ə̲ʔ							a̲ːʔ	ɔ̲ːʔ	u̲ːʔ	ə̲ːʔ	

The table has many more rhymes than that of CMK Lacid due to two reasons.

First, I analyze the long vowels of Leqi, similar to Lacid, as the outputs of a grammatically conditioned morphophonological process.

I introduce an abstract element VL which triggers vowel lengthening to the precedent syllable. VL bears some grammatical roles such as the marker of Realis positive sentence, as in example (1).

(1) CMK Lacid

ʔă-*kji*$^{L(22)}$	/	***kji:***^{L}
ʔă -*kji*^{L} = ∅		*kji*^{L} = ***VL***
not-large =NEG		large=**RLS**
(It) is not large.	/	(It) is large.

There are cases where rhymes with different vowels make a pair.

(2) CMK Lacid

a.

ʔă-*ki*$^{F(21)}$	/	***ke:***^{F}
ʔă -*ki*^{F} = ∅		*ki*^{F} = ***VL***
not -good =NEG		good=**RLS**
(It) is not good.	/	It (is) good.

b.

ʔă-*tso*^{L}	/	***tsɔ:***^{L}
ʔă -*tso*^{L} = ∅		*tso*^{L} = ***VL***
not-eat =NEG		eat =**RLS**
(I/(s)he) did not eat.	/	(I/(s)he) ate.

Leqi shows more complicated short-long correspondences as in Table 3.

Table 3 Short-long correspondence in Leqi (Dai and Li, 2007, p. 17, modified)

SHORT	ɿ	i	**i**	**ei/e,i**	**e̱**	a	ɔ/**o**	u	ə	y̱
LONG	ɿː	iː	**eː**	**ɛː**	**e̱ː**	aː	ɔː	uː	əː	y̱ː
SHORT	i̱	ei	**ei**	**ui**	**ou**	i̱m	am	ɔm	ɔm	e̱n
LONG	e̱ːi	eːi	**aːi**	**ɔːi**	**aːu**	i̱ːm	aːm	ɔːm	uːm	i̱ːn
SHORT	e̱n	an	**ɔn**	**ɛŋ**	a̱ŋ	ɔ̱ŋ	**uŋ**	u̱ŋ	əŋ	**iŋ**
LONG	e̱ːn	aːn	**uːn**	**iːŋ**	a̱ːŋ	ɔ̱ːŋ	**ɔːŋ**	u̱ːŋ	əːŋ	**əːŋ**
SHORT	ap	**ɔp**	**ɛt**	at	**ɔt**	ak	uk	ə̱ k	**ik**	**eʔ**,ɛʔ
LONG	aːp	**uːp**	**iːt**	aːt	**uːt**	aːk	uːk	ə̱ ːk	**əːk**	ɛːʔ
SHORT	a̱ʔ	uʔ	ə̱ʔ							
LONG	a̱ːʔ	uːʔ	ə̱ːʔ							

Boldfaced (by HS) are the pairs consisting of rhymes with different vowels.

For the sake of comparison, I eliminate the long vowels from the rhyme system of Leqi in Table 2.

Second, the two tables are based on different treatments of the phonetic feature of creaky phonation respectively.

Dai and Li (2007) attribute the feature to vowels straightforwardly. On the other hand, I attribute the feature to consonants, not to vowels, assuming the three consonant series: Plain, Creaky and Aspirated. It is along the same lines as Burling (1967) on Maru and Atsi, Lustig (2010) on Zaiwa and Sawada (2018) on Lhangsu.[1] See Table 4.

Table 4 Two treatments of creaky phonation

	[CV] (e.g. [po])	[CV̰] (e.g. [po̰])	[C^{h} V] (e.g. [p^{h}o])
‘Vocalic’ solution (Dai and Li, 2007: Leqi)	C[−Aspirated] V[−Creaky] po	C[−Aspirated] V[+Creaky] **po̰**	C[+Aspirated] V[−Creaky] p^{h}o
‘Consonantal’ solution (HS: CMK Lacid)	C[+P(lain)] po	C[+C(reaky)] **p’o**	C[+A(spirated)] p^{h}o

Again for comparison, I eliminate the creaky phonation from the rhyme system of Leqi in Table 2. Table 5 is a simplified version of Table 2.

Table 5 Leqi rhymes (a simplified version of the Table 2 by HS)

ɿ	i	e	ɛ	a	o	ɔ	u	ə	y						
		ei				ɔi†	ui			ua†		uɛ†	au†	ou	iau†
	im†			am		ɔm	um								
	ip†		ɛp†	ap		ɔp									
	in†		ɛn	an		ɔn	un†			uan		uɛn			
			ɛt	at		ɔt				uat					
	iŋ		ɛŋ	aŋ		ɔŋ†	uŋ	əŋ		uaŋ	iaŋ†				
	ik		ɛk†	ak†		ɔk†	uk	ək							
			ɛʔ	aʔ		ɔʔ	uʔ	əʔ							

The rhymes with † seem to occur only in non-native words, as far as the vocabulary listed in Huang et al. (1992) is concerned.

In CMK Lacid and Leqi native words, Proto-Tibeto-Burman (or in some cases Proto-Lolo Burmese) **-əy* corresponds to *-it* in CMK Lacid and *-ei* in Leqi. Also, PTB/PLB **-əw* corresponds to *-auk* in CMK Lacid and *-ou* in Leqi.

Table 6 gives a few examples of the two correspondences.

[1] Lhangsu is a distinct Northern Burmish language that differs from Langsu in China. See Sawada (2018).

Table 6 CMK Lacid and Leqi counterparts of PTB/PLB **-əy*, **-əw*

	CMK Lacid	Leqi (Dai and Li, 2007)	PTB/PLB (Matisoff, 2003)
'water'	k**ji**$t^{F(21)}$	k**ei**^{53}	***rəy**
'grandchild'	m**ji**$t^{L(22)}$	m**ei**^{33}	*b/m-l**əy**
'wind'	l**i**t^{F}	l**ei**^{53}	*l**əy**
'nine'	k**auk**^{L}	k**ou**^{33}	*g**əw**^{2}
'grandfather'	ʔă p^{h}**auk**^{H}	a^{33}ph**ou**^{55}	*ʔ-b**əw**^{2} (PLB)
'widow'	$tʃ^{h}$ **auk**^{H}mo^{H}	tʃh**ou**^{55}mo^{55}	tš**əw**^{2} (PLB)

Table 7 adds the data from other Northern Burmish languages to a part of Table 6.[2] It indicates that CMK Lacid aligns with Lhaovo rather than Leqi. It would be the result of parallel phonological changes induced by contact.

Table 7 Comparison with other NBsh languages

	'water'	'wind'	'nine'	'widow'
Zaiwa: Zhefang (Zhu and Lepai, 2017)	w**ui**^{51}-	l**ai**^{51}	k**au**^{51}	tʃh**ui**^{31}mɔ^{55}mj̱i̱^{55}
Lhangsu	ɣ**i**^{22}	n**i**^{22}	k**aw**^{21}	$tʃ^{h}$**u**^{22}ma^{22}
Bola (Dai et al., 2007)	ɣ**əi**^{55}	l**əi**^{55}/l**i**^{55}	k**au**^{31}	tʃh**u**^{35}ma^{31}mi̱^{35}
Ngochang (Sampu et al., 2005)	dʒ**ei**^{31}	lj**ei**^{31}	g**ɑu**^{3}	$tʃ^{h}$**ɑu**^{54}
Leqi (Dai and Li, 2007)	kj**ei**^{53}	l**ei**^{53}	k**ou**^{33}	tʃh**ou**^{55}mo^{55}
Lhaovo: Wakhaug[3]	ɣ***ik***^{21}	l**a**^{21}-	k**aw**^{21}	***tʃ^{h}ip***^{53}***mo***^{55} [4]
Lhaovo: Standard	ɣ***it***$^{F(21)}$	l**a**^{F}	***kuk***^{F}	***tʃ^{h}uk***^{H}***mo***^{H}
Lacid: CMK	***kjit***$^{F(21)}$	***lit***^{F}	***kauk***$^{L(22)}$	***tʃ^{h}auk***^{H}***mo***^{H}
PTB/PLB (Matisoff, 2003)	***rəy**	***ləy**	*g**əw**^{2}	*tš**əw**^{2} (PLB)

[2] The data of Lhangsu and Lhaovo (both Standard and Wakhaug) in this paper are the author's own.

[3] Wakhaug dialect is a variety of the Lhaovo language which was originally spoken in several villages on the west side of the Nmai Kha River in the northern Sawlaw Township, such as Wase and Wamyit (Sawada 2019: 98). Sawada (2018) referred to the variety as 'Gyannoʔ.' I have altered the variety's name because it turned out that Gyannoʔ is a general term for the Lhaovo people who speak non-standard Lhaovo and their varieties. The name Wakhaug /vǎkhauk^{H}/ was given to us by a local expert. However, he is not a native speaker of the variety, and its autonym remains unknown (Sawada 2019: 98).

[4] Wakhaug *-ip* after palatal consonants or medial *-j-* would correspond regularly to *-əw* in PTB/PLB.

3.2 Initials

Due to the treatment of creaky phonation, the CMK Lacid initial system has an additional consonant series [+C] (Creaky), besides [+P] (Plain) and [+A] (Aspirated), as shown in Table 8.

Table 8 CMK Lacid and Leqi initials(+medial)

CMK Lacid									Leqi (Dai and Li, 2007, p. 7, rearranged by HS)					
p	**p’**	p^h	m	**m’**					p	ph	m			
pj	**p’j**	p^hj	mj	**m’j**					pj	phj	mj			
							f	v					f	v
t	**t’**	t^h	n	**n’**	l	**l’**		r	t	th	n	l		
ts	**ts’**	ts^h					s		ts	tsh			s	
tʃ	**tʃ’**	$tʃ^h$	ɲ	**ɲ’**			ʃ		tʃ	tʃh			ʃ	ʒ
k	**k’**	k^h	ŋ	**ŋ’**				ɣ	k	kh	ŋ		x	ɣ
kj	**kj’**	k^hj			j	**j’**			kj	khj	ŋj	j	xj	
	ʔ						h					w		
[+P]	**[+C]**	[+A]	[+P]	**[+C]**	[+P]	**[+C]**	[+A]	[+P]						

3.3 Tones

CMK Lacid and Leqi have the same number of tonemes, shown in Table 9.

Table 9 CMK Lacid and Leqi tones

CMK Lacid	Falling 21, Low 22, High 55, High Falling 53
Leqi (Dai and Li, 2007, p. 15)	High Level 55, High Falling 53, Mid Level 33, Low Falling 31

Table 10 shows the correspondence of the tonal classes between Leqi, CMK Lacid, Zaiwa and Old Burmese (OB). Regarding syllables without final stop, there are clear correspondences between CMK Lacid *H* and Leqi *55*, as well as CMK Lacid *L* and Leqi *33*. However, the correspondence between CMK Lacid *HF*, *F* and Leqi *53*, *31* is not straightforward. Turn to their correspondences with Zaiwa/OB, each tonal class of CMK Lacid corresponds to different tonal classes of Zaiwa/OB, depending on the phonation types of the initials of CMK Lacid/Leqi.

Table 10 Tonal correspondence between CMK Lacid and Leqi

	Syllables with stop finals		Other syllables (including those with rhymes dealt with in Table 6)					
CMK Lacid	F	HF	F	L		H		HF
Leqi	31	55	53 (31)	33		55		53
NBsh initials	[+P]	[+C/A]	[+P]	[+C/A]	[+P]	[+C/A]	[+P]	[+C/A]
Zaiwa (Xu and Xu, 1984)	21	55	51	51	21	21	55	55
OB	—	—	*Tone I	*Tone I	*Tone II	*Tone II	*Tone III	*Tone III

Based on OB tonal classes, Table 10 has been rewritten as Table 11. Leqi's current state is characterized by the pitch rise occurring in most syllables with the [+P] initial corresponding to *Tone I syllables in OB.

Table 11 Tonal correspondence between CMK Lacid and Leqi (with respect to OB)

OB	*Syllables with stop finals		Other syllables					
			*Tone I		*Tone II		*Tone III	
NBsh initials	[+P]	[+C/A]	[+P]	[+C/A]	[+P]	[+C/A]	[+P]	[+C/A]
Zaiwa	21	55	51	51	21	21	55	55
CMK Lacid	F	HF	F	L	L	H	H	HF
Leqi	31	55	53 (31)	33	33	55	55	53

If the feature of creaky phonation had been attributed to vowels, the generalization for tonal split would have been more complicated. In this respect, the 'consonantal' solution of creaky phonation is superior to the 'vocalic' solution.

4. Demonstrative proforms

Now let us turn to the next topic, demonstrative proforms.

Table 12 gives CMK Lacid demonstrative nouns.[5] They distinguish 4-grades of distance from the speaker. Distal and Super-distal have 3-term opposition in relative height to the speaker. Proximal and Medial have distinctions in syntactic function.

[5] I do not posit so-called 'pronouns' as an independent word class but as a subclass of the word class 'noun' based on syntactic behavior, like 'demonstrative nouns' and 'personal nouns'.

Table 12 CMK Lacid demonstrative nouns

	Proximal	Medial		Distal	Super-distal
			Higher than the speaker	hu^{L}	$hɔ^{H(55)}$-hu^{L}
Noun	$hit^{L(22)}$	huk^{L}	At the same level as the speaker	thu^{L}	$thɔ^{H}$-thu^{L}
Determiner	he^{L}	hau^{L}			
			Lower than the speaker	$m'ɔ^{L}$	$m'ɔ^{H}$-$m'ɔ^{L}$

Table 13 displays the system of Leqi demonstrative pronouns in Dai and Li (2007).

Table 13 Leqi demonstrative pronouns (Dai and Li, 2007, p. 81. English by HS)

	Nearest 最近	A little far 稍远	Further 更远
‘This’ 这	$xjɛ^{33}$	xu^{33}	xu^{55}
‘That’ 那(forward 前方)	$xɛ^{33}$	$thə^{33}$	$thə^{55}$
‘That’ 那(below 下方)	—	$mɔ̱^{33}$	$mɔ̱^{55}$

The triplet $xu^{33}/thə^{33}/mɔ̱^{33}$ in Table 13 shares the feature ‘A little far’ indicating a degree of distance from the speaker/addressee. Of these, xu^{33}, further labeled ‘This’, is opposed to $thə^{33}/mɔ̱^{33}$ labeled ’That’, the latter exhibiting a ‘forward’ $(thə^{33})$ vs. ‘below’ $(mɔ̱^{33})$ opposition. The same is true for the set $xu^{55}/thə^{55}/mɔ̱^{55}$, sharing the distance feature ‘Further’. The analysis of the triplets is extremely odd in that it lacks the term ‘above’ which would be opposed to ‘below’.

This oddity is clearly the result of an attempt to integrate the ternary opposition with the deictic opposition exhibited by the $xjɛ^{33}/xɛ^{33}$ pair. However, the deictic opposition can involve relative distance from the speaker/hearer. Hence, it is more plausible to consider that the Leqi demonstrative pronouns are located on a unidimensional scale of distance: ‘This’ (Proximal) - ‘That’ (Medial) - ‘A little farther’ (Distal) - ‘Further’ (Super-distal).

Table 14 presents the reanalysis of the system of Leqi demonstrative pronouns along the line of CMK Lacid. Note that there is a single term for Proximal and Medial respectively, unlike CMK Lacid.

Table 14 A reanalysis of Leqi demonstrative pronouns by HS

PROXIMAL	MEDIAL		DISTAL	SUPER-DISTAL
		HIGHER	xu^{33}	xu^{55}
xjɛ^{33}	xɛ^{33}	SAME LEVEL	thə^{33}	thə^{55}
		LOWER	mɔ̲^{33}	mɔ̲^{55}

Then, how are the demonstratives used? See the examples of Proximal demonstratives.

(3a) and (4a) are the usages with Locative case marker. In CMK Lacid, the demonstrative noun *hit*^{L} is chosen.

(3b) and (4b) are the usages modifying nouns. In Leqi, the demonstrative follows the noun. In CMK Lacid, the demonstrative determiner *he*^{L} is chosen and must precede the noun.

(3c) and (4c) are the usages as subject. In CMK Lacid, the combination of the determiner and the nominalizer *-tsi*^{F} is preferred over the demonstrative noun. The topic marker often follows them.

(3) CMK Lacid

a. ***hit***$^{L(22)}$ = *mo*^{L}
DIST =LOC

here

b. ***he***^{L} *mjaŋ*^{L} *(*mjaŋ*^{L} *he*^{L}*/hit*^{L}*)*
DIST.DET horse

this horse

c. ***he***^{L} *-tsi*$^{F(21)}$ = *ki*^{F} / ***hit***^{L} = *ki*^{F} ...
DIST.DET-NMLZ =TOP **DIST** =TOP

this is ...

(4) Leqi (Dai and Li, 2007)

a. ***xjɛ***^{33} *mo*^{33}
DIST LOC

here (p. 81)

b. *mjaŋ*[33] ***xjɛ***[33] [6]
horse **DIST**

this horse (p. 203)

c. ***xjɛ***[33] *ke*[33] ...
DIST TOP

this is ... (p. 82)

The forms of Plural demonstratives referring to inanimate objects offer an instance of language contact, coupled with Zaiwa and Lhaovo-Langsu data. See Table 15.

In Zaiwa, both in Yunnan and Kachin State, the plural marker *pV̲* is suffixed to both common nouns and demonstratives.

In CMK Lacid and Lhaovo in Kachin State, the plural markers have initial *tʃ’* and final *-m*, again attached to both common nouns and demonstratives.

Leqi shares the plural marker for common nouns with CMK Lacid, but that for demonstratives with Zaiwa. A similar thing holds between Langsu and Lhaovo.

So, it is natural to think that Leqi and Langsu plural markers for demonstratives are the results of an influence of Zaiwa.

Table 15 Plural marking used with proximal demonstratives (for inanimate)

	Zaiwa-Atsi	Lacid-Leqi	Lhaovo-Langsu
Kachin State	Atsi (Yabu, 1988) šɪ̲[(44)] **pé**[(44)]	CMK Lacid he[L(22)] ***-tʃ’om***[F(21)]	Lhaovo tʃʰĕ[L(22)] ***-tʃ’am***[F(21)]
Yunnan	Zaiwa (Lustig, 2010) hi[55] **-bvue**[55] [çi[55] **pə̲** > [55]]	Leqi (Dai and Li, 2007) xjɛ[33] **pə(i)**[55]	Langsu (Dai, 2005) tʃʰɛ[31] **pɛ̲**[55] [7]
	Zhefang Zaiwa (Zhu and Lepai, 2017) xji[51/55] **pə̲**[55]	*cf.* sə̆ [33]ʒa[33] ***tʃɔm***[53] ‘teachers’	*cf.* nuŋ[35/31] ***tʃa̲m***[31/51] ‘cattle (pl.)’
	Zaiwa (Xu and Xu, 1984) xji[51] **pɛ̲**[55]		

[6] In Leqi, the demonstratives modifying some nouns (e.g., *jə̲m*[33] ‘house’; *mo*[55] ‘affair’) not only follow them, but also precede them. (Dai and Li, 2007, p. 203)

[7] In Lhaovo, *p’e*[H] ‘what’ has a post-nominal usage, which means ‘... and so on’ (cf. Langsu *pɛ̲*[55] ‘what’). I could not find its usage with demonstratives.

5. Case markers

Table 16 shows the case markers of CMK Lacid and Leqi. Here I limit the scope to those which mark the relation of NP to their head verb. I include in the list the noun coordinators *jɔ*^{55} an *ɣɛʔ*^{55} in Leqi, because a few instances of *ɣɛʔ*^{55} as Comitative case marker are attested in Dai and Li (2007).

Table 16 Lists of case markers (marking the relation of NP to their head V)

CMK Lacid		Leqi (based on Dai and Li, 2007, pp. 165–177)	
ACCusative	ri^{F}	OBJect	le^{55}
LOCative	mo^{L}	AGenTive- INStrumental	ŋjei^{53} [9]; (ŋ^{53})
ABLative	mɔ^{F}	LOCative	mo^{33}
ALLative	k^{h}jo^{L} [8]	ABLative	mɔ^{53}
PERlative	k^{h}jɔ^{H}	(COORDinator)	(jɔ^{55} ; ɣɛʔ^{55} [7])
COMitative	jɔ^{H}		

There are two remarkable differences between CMK Lacid and Leqi. One is the existence of Allative and Perlative markers only in CMK Lacid. The Allative marker is somehow related to a homophonous noun which means ‘road’. Another is the existence of an Agentive-Instrumental marker only in Leqi.

CMK Lacid has a distinct Allative marker, as in (5a), but Leqi lacks it and uses a Locative marker instead, as in (6a). They can be dropped when the Goal NPs are well-known place names, such as Yangon in (5b) and Kunming in (6b).

(5) CMK Lacid

a. *pom*^{F} *-p*^{h}*jo*^{H} *= mɔ*^{F} *vŏ*^{F}*kuŋ*^{F} **= *k*^{h}*jo*^{L}** *r’e*^{H} *= VL.*
mountain-peak =ABL village **=ALL** come=RLS

(He) came from the mountain peak to the village.

b. *ŋo*^{F} ***jaŋ*^{L}*kuŋ*^{L} (= *k*^{h}*jo*^{L})** *j’e*^{L} *= VL.*
I **Yangon** **=ALL** go =RLS

I went to Yangon.

[8] Lacid Allative marker is somehow related to a homophonous noun ‘road’.

[9] Dai and Li (2007) mention that both come from Zaiwa (p. 63), but I could find neither in the previous descriptions. *ɣɛʔ*^{55} might be of Lhaovo origin.

(6) Leqi (Dai and Li, 2007, translated by HS)

a. *ŋo*^{53} *maŋ*^{53}*ʃŋ*^{53} ***mo***$^{\mathbf{33}}$ *lɔ:*^{55}.
I Mangshi **LOC** go (LV)

I went to Mangshi. (p. 174)

b. *naŋ*^{53} ***khun***$^{\mathbf{55}}$***min***$^{\mathbf{31}}$ *a*^{33}*lɔ*^{55} *la*^{53}.
you **Kunming** not.go (SV) Q

Won’t you go to Kunming? (p. 250)

Table 17 shows the distribution of Allative case markers related to the noun ‘road’ in Lacid-Leqi, Zaiwa, and Lhaovo-Langsu.

Table 17 Allative markers related to the noun ‘road’

	Zaiwa-Atsi	Lacid-Leqi-Lashi	Lhaovo-Langsu
Kachin State	Atsi (Yabu, 1988) ***-khyô***$^{(41)}$	CMK Lacid ***=kʰjo***$^{L(22)}$ Lacid (Hkaw Luk, 2017) ***kʰjo:***$^{(MID)}$ Lashi (Yabu, 1992) ***-khyo***$^{(22)}$	Lhaovo ***=kʰjo***$^{F(21)}$ Maru (Clerk, 1911) ***kyaw */kʰjo***^{F}***/*** [10]
Yunnan	Zaiwa (Lustig, 2010) — Zhefang Zaiwa (Zhu and Lepai, 2017) — Zaiwa (Xu and Xu, 1984) —	Leqi (Dai and Li, 2007) —	Langsu (Dai, 2005) ***(kʰjo***^{31}***)*** [11]

[10] Usages with demonstratives and ‘rice-field’ are attested.

[11] The Roman transcription of Clerk (1911) is not fully phonemicized. The phonological form with asterisk is based on an internal reconstruction of Clerk’s language in Sawada (2008). Note that the phonological form in Sawada (2008) has been rewritten here in the author’s current transcription.

The forms are reported in the languages spoken in Kachin State. Dai and Li (2007) record the usages of the morpheme with demonstratives and a noun which means ‘rice-field’.

I guess that first the noun k^hjo^F ‘road’ was grammaticalized to the Allative marker in Lhaovo, and perhaps also in Langsu, and the phenomenon spread to Lacid and Zaiwa only in Kachin State.

Instrument role is marked with a Comitative marker in CMK Lacid as in (7a), and a distinct Agentive-Instrumental marker in Leqi as in (8a).

The latter can mark Agentive subjects as in (8b), but the former, Comitative, cannot mark them. (7b) can be interpreted only as ‘Someone hit the father and his son.’

(7) CMK Lacid

a. $ŋo^F$ $k^he^Htan^L=\mathbf{jo^H}$ $mauk^Fsauk^H$ $l'it^H=VL.$
I pencil =COM letter write=RLS

I wrote a letter with pencil.

b. $*ɲa^L$-pa^H $=\mathbf{jo^H}$ $ɲa^L$-$tso^L=ri^F$ $pa{:}t^F=VL.$
PFX -father=COM PFX -child=ACC hit =RLS

(Intended meaning: The son is hit by his father.)

(8) Leqi (Dai and Li, 2007, translated by HS)

a. $pɔ̲ŋ^{33}ti̲n^{33}$ $\mathbf{ŋjei^{53}}$ $mou^{53}sou^{55}$ $le̲{:}i^{55}.$
pen AGT/INS letter write (LV)

(He) wrote a letter with pen. (p. 169)

b. $a^{55}maŋ^{33}$ $\mathbf{ŋjei^{53}}$ $a^{33}nɔʔ^{31}$ le^{55} $lɔ̲$ $^{55}pɔn^{33}$ $pjɛ^{33}.$
e.brother AGT/INS y.brother OBJ wake (SV) PERF

The younger brother was woken by his elder brother. (p. 168)

Table 18 shows the distribution of Agentive-Instrumental markers distinct from the Comitative marker or Coordinator.

Table 18 Agentive-Instrumental markers distinct from Comitative/coordinator

	Zaiwa-Atsi	Lacid-Leqi-Lashi	Lhaovo-Langsu
Kachin State	Atsi (Yabu, 1988) (-ʔéʔ$^{(22)}$, *same as* COM/GEN)	CMK Lacid — Lacid (Hkaw Luk, 2017) — Lashi (Yabu, 1992) —	Lhaovo ***= TAjaŋ$^{F(21)}$*** [12] Maru (Clerk, 1911) ***yang */jaŋ^{F}/***
Yunnan	Zaiwa (Lustig, 2010) **-(N)eq^{1} [ə?^{1}]** [13] Zhefang Zaiwa (Zhu and Lepai, 2017) **ə?^{31}** [14] Zaiwa (Xu and Xu, 1984) **e?^{21}** [15]	Leqi (Dai and Li, 2007) **ŋjei^{53}; (ŋ^{53})**	Langsu (Dai, 2005) ***jaŋ^{31}***

Zaiwa in general has an Agentive-Instrumental marker and a Comitative/Coordinator, but they differ only in Tone: the former bears low tone, and the latter bears high tone. An exception is the variety described in Yabu (1988). A fusion of the two markers might have occurred in the variety.

Lhaovo-Langsu also have distinct Instrumental markers, but in Lhaovo the Comitative marker also serves as marking of Instrument.

Lacid lacks such a marker, whereas Leqi developed a marker of unique form. The origin of the marker still remains a mystery. There is a lexical word homophonous with the marker. It is the verb *ŋjei^{53}* which means ‘to stay, live’, but the desemanticization from the verb to the Agentive-Instrumental marker sounds peculiar.

Table 19 summarizes the relations of semantic and grammatical roles and their morphological marking, containing those dealt with in the paper.

[12] I regard *TA*, an abstract element triggering tonal alternation comparable to Lacid *VL*, as a part of INS.

[13] *cf.* COM *-(N)eq^{5}*.

[14] *cf.* COM *ə?^{55}*.

[15] *cf.* COORD *e?^{55}*.

Table 19 Semantic/grammatical roles and their marking

	CMK Lacid	Leqi
Source	ABL: mɔ$^{F(21)}$	ABL: mɔ^{53}
Location	LOC: mo$^{L(22)}$	LOC: mo^{33}
Goal	**ALL**: **k^{h}jo^{L}** (∅)	∅, **LOC**: **mo^{33}**
Path	**PER**: **k^{h}jɔ$^{H(55)}$**	—
Concomitant	**COM**: **jɔ^{H}**	**(COORD): ɣɛʔ^{55}**
Instrument	**COM**: **jɔ^{H}**	**AGT-INS: ŋjei^{53}; (ŋ^{53})**
A	∅	∅, **AGT-INS: ŋjei^{53}; (ŋ^{53})**
S	∅	∅
P	∅, ACC: ri^{F}	∅, OBJ: le^{55}
Recipient	ACC: ri^{F}	OBJ: le^{55}

6. Verb sentence types

Finally, let us compare the basic speech-act types of verb sentences in CMK Lacid and Leqi. Here I enumerate Informative (=declarative-interrogative), Imperative, Hortative, and Optative as basic speech-act types. Informative is further classified into Realis and Irrealis.

Table 20 gives basic speech-act types of verb sentences in CMK Lacid and Leqi.

Table 20 Basic speech-act types of verb sentences in CMK Lacid and Leqi

		CMK Lacid	Leqi (based on Dai and Li, 2007)
(informative-)ReaLis	positive	V = VL	V (long vowel form)
	negative	ʔă-V = ∅	a^{33} V
(informative-) IrReaLis	pos.</neg.>	< ʔă- > V = **a^{F}**	V **a^{31}ŋ^{53}**
IMPerative	pos.	V = **eʔ^{H}**	V **a^{31}**
	neg.	**ʔă**-V = ∅ **(= l'e^{H})**	**k^{h}aʔ^{55}** V
HORTative	pos.</neg.>	< ʔă- > V = ʃaŋ^{F}	V ʃaŋ^{53}
OPTative	pos.</neg.>	< ʔă- > V = **pătʃa^{F}**	V **a^{31}ɔ^{53}**

The most striking difference between the two is on the sentence type expressing prohibition.

(9) CMK Lacid

ʃi^{H} **ʔă-***tso*^{L} = ∅ **(= *l’e*^{F}).**
first **not-**eat =NEG **(=SFP)**

Don’t eat first.

(10) Leqi (Dai and Li, 2007, translated by HS)

kha?^{55} *tso*^{33}**.**
PROH eat (SV)

Don’t eat. (p. 150)

The PTB negative imperative prefix **da* ≋ **ta* is not inherited to CMK Lacid and Leqi; Leqi developed another prefix ***kha?***^{55} as in (10). CMK Lacid lacks this sentence type and uses Realis negative sentences with simple negative prefix *ʔă-* for expressing prohibition as in (9).

The differences are also found in Irrealis (CMK Lacid (11), Leqi (12)), Imperative positive (CMK Lacid (13), Leqi (14)), and also Optative.

(11) *tʃ*^{h}*ĕ*^{L} *k’ot*^{HF} **= *a*^{F}.**
what do **=IRL**

What will (you) do?

(12) *ŋo*^{53} *naɒ*^{31}*jɔ*^{53}*ŋjei*^{55} *lo*^{55} ***aʔ***^{31}***ŋ***^{53}**.**
I tomorrow go (SV) **FUT**

I will go tomorrow. (Dai and Li 2007, p. 133)

(13) *j’i*^{L} **= *eʔ***^{H}**.**
go **=IMP?**

Go!

(14) *naŋ*^{53} *tso*^{33} ***a***^{31}***!***
you eat (SV) **MODAL**

You eat! (Dai and Li 2007, p. 257)

Table 21 displays the distribution of negative morphemes used to form sentences expressing prohibition.

Table 21 Negative morphemes used to form Prohibitive sentences

	Zaiwa-Atsi	Lacid-Leqi-Lashi	Lhaovo-Langsu
Kachin State	Atsi (Yabu, 1988) **khá?$^{(44)}$-**	CMK Lacid ?ă- *(simple negative)* Lacid (Hkaw Luk, 2017) ?a- *(ditto)* Lashi (Yabu, 1992) ?ă?$^{(22)}$- *(ditto)*	Lhaovo ***tă-*** Maru (Clerk, 1911) ***tă- */tă-/***
Yunnan	Zaiwa (Lustig, 2010) **ke^{5}- ~ he^{5}- [k^{h}ɘ^{5} ~ xɘ^{5}]** Zhefang Zaiwa (Zhu and Lepai, 2017) **khə^{55}** Zaiwa (Xu and Xu, 1984) **khě^{55}**	Leqi (Dai and Li, 2007) **kha?^{55}**	Langsu (Dai, 2005) ***tə̆^{31}-***

It is remarkable that Leqi *kha?^{55}-* is very similar to *khá?-* in Yabu (1988), which is not found in any other descriptions of Zaiwa mentioned here. It is highly probable that Leqi borrowed the Prohibitive morpheme from a variety of Zaiwa. There might be a variety of Zaiwa close to Sadon (Sadung) dialect in Waingmaw Township described by Yabu.

I would like to mention that Jinghpaw, which has much influence on Zaiwa, has a preverbal prohibitive morpheme with initial *kh-*.

Lhaovo-Langsu inherited the PTB negative imperative prefix, unlike Lacid and Zaiwa.

7. Conclusion

In this paper, I argued that Lacid and Leqi, recognized as the same ethnic group, show differences in various aspects of phonology and grammar.

The differences in plural morphemes in Section 3 and the introduction of the distinct Allative marker in Section 4 can be explained by the influence of neighboring languages.

A key factor is the relative number of speakers given in Figure 1. Among the three languages dealt with in Sections 3–5, Lhaovo has the largest population and Zaiwa has the least in Kachin State, and vice versa in Yunnan. It leads to the prediction that the most influential language among them is Lhaovo in Kachin State and Zaiwa in Yunnan.

Abbreviations

ABL	Ablative	LV	Long vowel
ACC	Accusative	MODAL	Modal
AGT	Agentive	NEG	Negative
ALL	Allative	NMLZ	Nominalizer
COM	Comitative	OBJ	Objective
DET	Determiner	PERF	Perfect
DIST	Distal	PFX	Prefix
FUT	Future	PROH	Prohibitive
IMP	Imperative	RLS	Realis
INS	Instrumental	SFP	Sentence Final Postposition
IRL	Irrealis	SV	Short vowel
LOC	Locative	TOP	Topic

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