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A GRAMMAR OF BURMESE

by

MYINT SOE

A DISSERTATION

Presented to the Department of Linguistics
and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

December 1999

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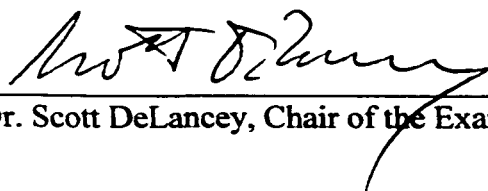"A Grammar of Burmese," a dissertation prepared by Myint Soe in partial fulfillment of

the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in the Department of Linguistics.

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An Abstract of the Dissertation of

Myint Soe   for the degree of   Doctor of Philosophy

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Title: A GRAMMAR OF BURMESE

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Dr. Scott DeLancey

This study describes and analyzes the major areas of the grammar of spoken colloquial Burmese, discussing, wherever appropriate, the functional and semantic motivations underlying syntactic alternations.   Burmese has only two lexical word classes, the noun and the verb, together with an assortment of grammatical morphemes. Grammatical relations which are indicated by word order and inflections in other languages, are, for the most part, indicated by grammatical morphemes in Burmese. A noun may be followed by a string of morphemes indicating number, intra-clausal propositional semantic role, and inter-clausal discourse or pragmatic function. This study shows that grammatical morphemes, which follow the noun and fall into position classes, become more abstract in function and reduced in form the further they occur from the head. The analysis of the structure of the verb phrase shows an analogous pattern.

Burmese is noted for the number of versatile auxiliary verbs following the head.

A good portion of this study relates the grammatical function of versatile auxiliaries to relative order, and shows how synchronic grammaticalized role correlates with relative versatile auxiliary order. Specifically, that the grammatical function of a versatile auxiliary varies with its position relative to other versatile auxiliaries. As the meaning of a verb determines its grammatical properties, this study categorizes verb types according to the common semantic properties they share. The study concludes with a description and analysis of clausal embedding, subordination and conjunction, providing evidence in part, from Burmese, of the correlation hypothesized to hold between strength of semantic bond and degree of syntactic integration.

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DEDICATION

To Professor Scott DeLancey

with love, respect and gratitude

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background to the Language and People

Burmese is the national language of Burma, the largest country in mainland Southeast Asia, bounded by India and Bangladesh on the northwest, China on the north and northeast, and Thailand and Laos on the east. Burma has a population of about 42 million, of which about 70 percent is Burmese. Burmese, together with Tibetan, are the two languages in Tibeto-Burman which have an extensive written history. The Burmese, originally from the Tibet-China border, seems to have migrated into the central plains of Burma early in the 9th century (Hall 1950, in Wheatley 1982). Before the arrival of the Burmese, there were already extant civilizations in what is now present-day Burma, but these civilizations waned with the ascendancy of the Burmese.

The Mons, whose language belongs to the Mon-Khmer language family, were the first peoples to have arrived in Burma, settling widely across the Southeast Asian region from the beginning of about the Christian era. By the 3rd century BC, the Mons already had close ties with the Indian empire of King Asoka. The earliest Mon writing found in Burma is from about the 7th century AD. The Pyu, who spoke a Tibeto-Burman language, comprised the second wave of people migrating into Burma. The Pyu civilization appears to have been

in decline by about the time the Burmese arrived. The establishment of the first Burmese Kingdom at Pagan in the 9th century AD, coincides with the destruction of the last Pyu Kingdom. The Burmese became the dominant political power in the region after overcoming the Mons in the 11th century AD.

The earlier Mon and Pyu civilizations of Burma were heavily influenced by the culture and religious practices of Indian civilizations, which was also the case with contemporaneous civilizations in what is now Indonesia, Thailand and Kampuchea. Buddhism, and the languages in which its scriptures were written, became pervasive in Pyu and Mon culture. Pyu writing found in the Irrawaddy river valley, in the form of stone inscriptions from the 4th to 6th century AD, comprised a mixture of Pyu and Sanskrit. The old Pyu script resembles the Kadamba script of Southern India. The Mon script is based on the 4th century AD Pallava script of Southern India, and it was from the Mon that the Burmese script was adapted. Theravada Buddhism came to the early Mon civilization through the medium of Pali, the language of its scriptures. When the Mon kingdom fell to the Burmese in the 11th century, its language, as well as Pali, the language of the Buddhist scriptures, were absorbed into Burmese.

> By the time the Burmese emerge on the historical scene, they have already begun to take on the religious and political features of the Indianised states that flourished in what is now the heart of Burma and from the first inscriptions their language shows the admixture of specialized Indic stock and original Tibeto-Burman roots and grammatical structure that is so salient a feature of the Burmese language today (Wheatley 1990).

The best known stone inscription is the Myazedi (or Yazar Kuma) stone inscription, dated AD 1113, which records an act of merit in four languages, Burmese, Pali, Pyu and

Mon. Mon loans, as well as that from Shan, a Tai language, are not easily identifiable in modern spoken Burmese, but it is generally accepted by scholars of the language that a Mon substratum underlies the native Burmese stock. On the other hand, Pali loans, which are extremely common, are relatively easy to identify. Regarding this, consider what Wheatley (1990) has to say:

> Rather than adapting English or other foreign phonetic material, the Burmese often form neologisms from their own lexical stock or from the highly esteemed classical languages of India, which are to Burmese (and many Southeast Asian languages) what Latin and Greek are to European languages. Thus the word for 'spaceship' *a=ka=tha. yin* is composed of *a=ka=tha.*, a learned term meaning 'space, expense' originally from Pali *akasa* and *yin*, derived from Pali *yana* 'vehicle'.

It is also of interest to note the difference between spoken colloquial and written literary Burmese. Literary written Burmese means the elevated style of Burmese which is associated with highly formal, official, and ritualistic social contexts. The written literary style is more conservative in that it retains an older form of the language in both grammatical and lexical forms.

Genetic Affiliations and Dialect Varieties

Burmese is the dominant member of the Burmish branch of Lolo-Burmese, other members being Maru, Atsi and Achang (DeLancey 1990). The other branch, Loloish, comprises Lahu, Lisu, Akha and Yi (Burling 1967, Matisoff 1986, DeLancey 1990). The variety of Burmese, which is the object of study here, is relatively free from dialectal variations and may be said to be representative of the standard spoken language of the major urban areas. However, although standard spoken Burmese is said to be relatively free from

dialectal variations, there are distinct dialects of the language found in the regions peripheral to the Burmese heartland. The major dialects include Arakanese, Tavoyan, Intha, Danu and Yaw. Arakanese, with about two million speakers, is spoken in the western coastal strip separated from Burma proper by the Arakan Yomas, the rugged coastal mountain range. Arakanese has been separate from standard spoken Burmese for approximately five centuries. Tavoyan, with about 400,000 speakers, is spoken in the Tenasserim coastal range of southern Burma, which, in earlier times, was relatively inaccessible. Intha, with about 90,000 speakers, together with Danu and Taungyo, are found in the relatively rugged and isolated valleys and low hills east of the central plain, the Burmese heartland (Bradley 1995).

Research by Western Scholars

The earliest appearance of studies about the Burmese language is found in the Alpabetum, published in Rome in 1787, where the Burmese were said to change their pronunciation associated with a certain Burmese symbol, under certain phonetic conditions (Sprigg 1974). After the British annexation of Burma, the earliest grammar of Burmese, written by the Reverend Adoniram Judson (1888), described Burmese from an Indo-European framework. Later works on the grammar of Burmese leading up to the outbreak of the second world war comprised those of Lonsdale (1899), Bridges (1915) and Stewart (1936), among others, who, for the most part, were members of the British colonial administration. Stewart, for one, observed that "Judson found six parts of speech in Burmese...in actual fact, there is no evidence that more than two classes of full words exist - nouns and verbs. Besides these, there are form words, either mere particles or broken-down

full words, which are used to show grammatical relations." During the second world war, U.S. involvement in the region may have led to Cornyn's (1944) grammar "which was within a Bloomfieldian framework" (Hale 1982). A pedagogical grammar was additionally published in 1968 by Cornyn and Roop. Armstrong and Pe Maung Tin (1925) was the first to describe the phonetics of the language. Okell's (1969) grammar of colloquial Burmese is the most comprehensive to date. It comprises two volumes, the first, which is replete with examples, describes the structure of the language. and the second provides a comprehensive list of grammatical morphemes. Wheatley (1982) is analytical in its treatment, and Johnson (1992), with very few examples from the language, is the most theoretical in its approach.

The Scope of the Dissertation

The structure of this dissertation revolves round the two major lexical word classes, the noun and the verb. The function and order of grammatical morphemes are described and analyzed with reference to their position in the noun phrase, the verb phrase and the clause. Morphology in Burmese is mainly derivational in the sense that adjectives and adverbs are typically deverbal expressions. The chapter on the noun phrase has a section on derived, i.e. deverbal nouns, which comprises, in part. a discussion on their function as adjectives and adverbials.

The chapter on versatile verb concatenations relates to 'instantaneous' synchronic grammaticalization. A note on the system of word glosses and sentence translation should be made here. To show the extent to which a grammaticalized versatile verb diverges from its lexical meaning, its lexical meaning is given in italics in the word gloss. This,

consequently, allows us to trace its semantic connection to its grammaticalized use, which is given in the sentence translation.

The chapter on phonology aims primarily at making the reader become acquainted with the sounds of the language and to describe the system of phonemic transcription used in the dissertation. The chapters on complementation, subordination and conjunction take the clause as a unit, and analyzes its semantic or functional role in relation to the main verb or the main clause.

The study as a whole is inspired by and draws upon the functional/semantic approach associated with the Department of Linguistics at the University of Oregon. The chapter on clause structure follows Dixon (1991). The study also draws upon the work of earlier scholars of the Burmese language, especially Okell (1969) and Wheatley (1982). The author bears full responsibility for errors of omission or misinterpretation and fully acknowledges the work of all those who walked the path before him.

CHAPTER II

PHONOLOGY

The Syllable

Burmese comes close to the isolating type of language and is essentially monosyllabic in terms of morphological typology. Most disyllabic and polysyllabic words are loan words from Pali and Sanskrit. There are two types of syllables in native Burmese words, full or reduced. Reduced syllables never occur as the final syllable in disyllabic and polysyllabic words and lexical compounds. The schwa in the reduced syllable is represented by /a-/ (/a/ followed by a hyphen) in the phonemic transcription. Reduced or weakened syllables contrasting only in initial consonant occur as the first syllable of disyllabic words like *hka-lou* 'switch' and *hta-min:* 'cooked rice/meal' where both syllables are not analyzable, i.e. synchronically opaque. It is possible that unanalyzable di- and polysyllabic words which are not identifiable as Pali or Sanskrit loans, may have originated in the Mon substratum or possibly borrowings from Shan, but such questions are beyond the scope of this dissertation. Reduced first syllables also occur in disyllabic words like *ba-you* 'rogue', where the first syllable is not analyzable, but the second is: *you* 'be unprincipled/ unscrupulous'.

The synchronically transparent phonological alternation where reduced syllables

occur most frequently may be seen in the process of lexical compounding. For example, reduced syllables occur in compound words like *za-kwe:* 'a type of rice (broken rice) used for animal feed' (*hsan* 'rice'+ *kwe:* 'to break'), *sa-yei:* 'clerk' (*sa* 'letter'+*yei:* 'write), *tha-htei:* 'wealthy person' (*thu* 'third person pronoun + *htei:* 'be rich') and *tha-taun:=sa:* 'beggar' (<*thu* 'third person pronoun'+ *taun:* 'ask' + *sa:* 'eat') where the initial syllable is reduced or weakened through the process of lexical compounding. Note the close juncture between *taun:* and *sa:* in *tha-taun:=sa:* which is represented with the /=/ symbol in the transcription.

The structure of the full (i.e. strong) syllable may be represented as below:

Initial C+(Medial C)+Vowel+Tone+(Stop)

There are 33 possible initial consonants including the initial glottal stop, represented by 'zero' in the transcription, e.g. *aun* 'to pass/overcome'. Wheatley (1982:17) also lists /r/ as an initial, which occurs only in loans like *reidiyou* 'radio' or *rainhpe* 'rifle' (Burmese Dictionary 1991:315).

There are only two possible medials: /y/ and /w/. As in Burmese, only /y/ and /w/ occur as medials in the Lolo-Burmese languages, Atsi, Maru, Lisu, Lahu and Akha (Burling 1967:5). The medial /y/ occurs only after the initial labials /hp, p, b, m, hm/. When /y/ followed velars, the *hky, ky, gy* clusters were replaced by the palatal affricate series (Wheatley 1982). Note that /ny/ and /hnya/ are unit phonemes in the transcription and not clusters. The medial /w/ occurs after all plosives, most fricatives except possibly /h/, the affricates, the nasals /m/, /hm/, /n/, /hn/, and after /y/, /hl/ and /l/. Onsets with three

consonants are extremely rare but does occur. The literary and archaic *mywe'* 'to speak' is one, where /y/ predictably follows the labial, and /w/ follows /y/. The other two are *kywan:* 'to be familiar with' and *pywan:* 'to be mixed together'. In addition to the medial /w/ and /y/, the medial /r/ is orthographically represented in the Burmese writing system. However, as a syllable medial, /r/ occurs in the dialect spoken in the Arakan region and not in standard Burmese. The medial /l/ occurs in old Burmese, and is attested in the Old Burmese inscriptions of the 11th to 13th century A.D. (Nishi 1999:1-3, also 1976) but does not occur in modern spoken Burmese.

The final glottal stop /?/, transcribed with the apostrophe / - ' / as in /ei'/ 'sleep', is sometimes analyzed as the fourth tone. Diachronically, the final glottal stop is a reflex of the syllable final /k, s, t, p/ . Final stops are still orthographically represented in the writing system, albeit with the symbol [- [c]], called /a-tha'/ 'the killer' in Burmese.

The final nasal, orthographically represented in the writing system, is actually a nasalized vowel which takes the full range of tones. Diachronically, it is a reflex of the final nasals /n/, /m/ and /ng/. As nasalized vowels do not distinguish between final /n/, /m/ and /ng/, they will be represented with a syllable final /n/ in the transcription, irrespective of the orthographic representation in Burmese; e.g. the homonyms /sein/ 'diamond' spelt with a final 'n', /sein/ 'to soak' spelt with a final 'm', and /kin/ 'to roast' spelt with final 'ng'.

Consonants

Out of the 33 possible consonants in Burmese, only the glottal stop occurs in syllable final position; I have not included /r/ in Table 1 as it occurs only in a few loan words from English.

TABLE 1. Consonants

	Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Alveo-palatal	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	*hp* *p* *b*		*ht* *t* *d*			*hk* *k* *g*	*? (-')*
Fricative		*th* *dh*	*hs* *s* *z*	*hy*			*h*
Affricate					*hc* *c* *j*		
Nasal	*hm* *m*		*hn* *n*		*hny* *ny*	*hng* *ng*	
Glide	*hw* *w*				*y*		
Lateral			*hl* *l*				

Note. Aspiration is indicated with an initial /h/ preceding the corresponding consonant; *ny, hny, ng, hng, hy, th, dh* are not consonant clusters but individual phonemes transcribed as such for convenience.

Initial Consonants

Labial Plosives

/hp/ as in /hpa'/ 'to read'; strongly aspirated

/p/ as in /pei:/ 'to give'; voiceless unaspirated

/b/ as in /bein:/ 'wheel'; voiced, like English /b/

Alveolar Plosives

/ht/ as in /htain/ 'to sit'; strongly aspirated

/t/ as in /tain/ 'pole'; voiceless unaspirated

/d/ as in /dan/ 'punishment'; voiced

Velar Plosives

/hk/ as in /hkin/ 'be friendly'; strongly aspirated

/k/ as in /ku:/ 'to cross'; voiceless unaspirated

/g/ as in /ge:/ 'stone'; voiced

Glottal Stop

/?/ as in /ei:/ 'cold'; in initial position it is transcribed with 'zero'

Dental Fricative

/ th / as in / thi' / 'new'; voiceless, like / th / in English 'thin'

/ dh / as in / mou: dhi: / 'hail' (sky fruit), where *dh* may be seen as the voicing of *tha* in *thi:* 'fruit'; like /th/ in English 'there'; rarely occurs as initial of a free morpheme in spoken modern Burmese

Alveolar Fricative

/hs/ as in /hsi/ 'oil'; strongly aspirated

/s/ as in /si:/ 'to ride'; voiceless unaspirated

/z/ as in /zi:/ 'plum'

Alveo-palatal Fricative

/hy/ as in /hyi'/ 'eight'; a hushed sibilant like the English /sh/ in 'ship' but with the tip of the tongue touching the lower teeth (Armstrong 1925), or made with the flat of the tongue (Okell 1969:9)

Glottal fricative

/h/ as in /hau'/ 'snore'.

Palatal Affricate

/hc/ as in /hcin/ 'mosquito', like the aspirated /c/ in English 'chin'

/c/ as in /ci./ 'see'; voiceless unaspirated.

/j/ as in /jin/ 'spinning top'; voiced like /j/ in the English 'jump'

Labial Nasal

/hm/ as in /hmin/ 'ink'; the breath expelled quietly through the nose before
aspiration begins (Okell 1969:9). Also described as partial devoicing, the
voiceless nasal sounding like a snort MacKay (1987:101)

/m/ as in /mi:/ 'fire'

Alveolar Nasal

/hn/ as in /hnein/ 'to put down (someone)'; aspiration or partial devoicing

/n/ as in /nein./ 'low'

Palatal Nasal

/hny/ as in /hnya'/ 'clip, tongs'; aspiration or partial devoicing

/ny/ as in /nya'/ 'to be squeezed'

Velar Nasal

/hng/ as in /hnge'/ 'bird'; aspiration or partial devoicing

/ng/ as in /nga/ 'I'; unaspirated

Labial Glide

/hw/ as in /hwe'/ 'to hide'; aspirated, rare in modern spoken Burmese

/w/ as in /we'/ 'pig'

Palatal glide

/y/ as in /yau'/ 'to reach'

Alveolar Lateral

/hl/ as in /hlei/ 'boat'

/l/ as in /lei/ 'air'

Vowels

<u>Pure Vowels</u>   The following vowels occur in open as well as closed syllables,

except for /o/ which does not occur in a closed syllable.

i as in *hsi* 'oil'; like the vowel in English 'he'

ei as in *pei:* 'give'; like the vowel in English 'pay'

e as in *le:* 'to exchange'; like the vowel in English 'sell'

a as in *hta:* 'to keep'; like the vowel in English 'car'

a- as in *a-sa:* 'food'; neutral, reduced vowel like the English /a/ in 'ago'

o as in *mo:* 'to be tired'; like the vowel in English 'saw'.

ou as in *hkou:* 'to steal'; like the vowel in English 'door'.

u as in *tu:* 'to dig'; like the vowel in English 'Susan' (Okell 1969:6).

Dipthongs   The following two diphthongs occur only in closed syllables.

/ai/ as in /kai'/ 'to bite'; like the diphthong in English 'bite'.

/au/ as in /taun/ 'south'; like the diphthong in English 'south'.

Tones

Burmese, like any other tone language, utilizes fundamental frequency (pitch) as a distinctive and inherent part of the word (Mackay: 1987:170). Pike (in Hyman:213) also defines as tonal any language "having significant, contrastive but relative pitch on each syllable". Depending on the author, Burmese is characterized as having either three or four tones: level (unmarked in transcription), heavy (indicated by a colon following the syllable), creaky (indicated by a period following a syllable) and stop (indicated by a single quotation mark). Level, heavy and creaky tones can appear on all nasalized and open syllables except the closed syllable with the final glottal stop. Table 2 is a partial summary of Maran's[1] review (1971:84-89) of different authors, with the addition of Okell (1969).

---

[1] I have omitted Taylor and included only Firth's revised analysis. See Maran (1971) for the complete review.

TABLE 2. Tones in Burmese

Tone	Firth (1935)	Cornyn (1944)	Stewart (1955)	Becker (1964)	Okell (1969)
Level					
pitch	low	low	low	low	low
contour	level	level	level	level	level
length	long	long		long	
Heavy					
pitch		high start	high start	high start	high start
contour	falling	falling	falling	falling	level
length	long	long		long	
quality	breathy		heavily stressed		breathy
Creaky					
pitch		high		high	
contour	fall	fall	fall	fall	fall sharply
length	medium	short		short	short
quality	weak closure	slow glottal closure	weak closure		glottally constricted
Stop					
pitch		high	high	high. level or rising	
contour					fall sharply
length	very short	very short	abrupt	short	short
quality	abrupt closure	sharp glottal closure	complete glottal closure	glottal stopped	glottal stop

The majority of writers classify Burmese tones into four categories. excepting Firth where the neutral, unstressed, reduced vowel has been analyzed as a fifth tone. The above review shows that tone in Burmese has been traditionally characterized not only by relative pitch, but also by layrngeal gestures such as slow or sharp glottal closure, phonation types such as creaky or breathy, and relative length. Henderson (1967) observes (in Thurgood

1981:19) on the meaning of tone in South East Asia: "It is important to recognize that pitch is frequently only one of the important exponents of tone as a phonological category. A phonological tone in our area (South East Asia) is very frequently a complex of other feature besides pitch - such as intensity, duration, voice quality, final glottal constriction and so on." Experimental results (Thein Tun:1982) seem to confirm that length as well as relative pitch are involved in syllabic contrasts. Bradley (1982:120) summarizes the acoustic properties of Burmese tones (see Table 3):

TABLE 3.   Acoustic Properties of Burmese Tones

name	pitch	contour	intensity	phonation	duration
level	low	level	low	normal	fairly long
heavy	fairly high	sharp fall	high	breathy	very long
creaky	high	slight fall	very high	creaky	less long
killed (stop)	very high	slight fall	high	normal	short

Juncture

Juncture is related to the degree of semantic/grammatical integration between syllables, which in Burmese may be nouns, verbs or function words. The degree of phonetic assimilation between   syllables correlates, to a large measure, with the degree of morphosyntactic integration. Sprigg (1974) notes that "an awareness of the problems presented by the phonetic features of intersyllabic junction makes its appearance in Burmese

studies as early as the first European account of Burmese pronunciation in the 'Alphabetum' published in Rome in 1787."

<u>Voicing</u>   We shall look at the conditions under which voicing occurs in the initial plosive, fricative or affricate of the second of two consecutive syllables in close juncture, when the second syllable is preceded by an open first syllable. All grammatical function words having a voiceable initial obstruent undergo voicing when preceded by an open syllable. Initial obstruent voicing is in fact a characteristic of grammaticalization (Smeall 1976). Consecutive syllables in close juncture "might be expected to reflect a higher grammatical unit than the morpheme"(Wheatley 1982:25); initial obstruent voicing tends to occur in nominal compounds, which comprise lexical morphemes such as nouns and verbs (see Chapter III, The Noun Phrase). Following Okell (1969:13) consonants that are voiced through juncture are underlined. The following examples show the occurrence of initial obstruent voicing in the second of two consecutive lexical morphemes, which together form a syntactic unit higher than the word.

<u>Noun+Noun</u>

sa <u>t</u>ai'	versus	*myau' tai'*
letter building		monkey building
'post office'		'monkey house in zoo'

lei: <u>c</u>a'		*hcau' ca'*
four kyats		six kyats (unit of currency)

<u>Noun+Stative Verb</u>

hsin <u>hp</u>yu	versus	*myau' hpyu*
elephant white		monkey white
'white elephant'		'white monkey'

yei   hke: *cau' hke:*   (homophonous noun?)
water freeze/piece   rock piece
'ice'   'stone'

Verb+Noun

sa: hsi   versus   *se'   hsi*
eat oil   machine oil
'edible oil'   'engine oil'

Verb+Verb

co hce'
fry cook
'stir fry' (a dish)

Weakening   Reduction or weakening of the initial syllable occurs in word

formation and processes of compounding.

thu + *taun:* + *sa:* -> *tha-taun:=sa:*
3P + ask + eat -> 'beggar'

sa   +   yei: ->   sa-yei:
letter + write   ->   clerk

In contrast, *sa* and *yei:* are not in close juncture below, each lexical morpheme retaining

its word boundary:

sa   yei: nei   te
letter write *stay* RLS
'(I'm) writing a letter.'

Induced creaky tone   Grammatically induced creaky tone is seen to occur in the

first of two consecutive words or morphemes which comprise a syntactic unit higher than the

grammatical word. Following are the syntactic categories where induced creaky tone is seen

to occur in the first lexical word followed by another word or grammatical morpheme.

(a) On pronouns and human nouns which occur in object grammatical relation, with

or without a following object case marking particle *kou*, e.g. *thu. kou* 'him'. In the word

gloss, induced creaky tone is marked after the object NP with 'O' as in '3P.O' for *thu.* .

(b)   On pronouns and human nouns which occur in postpositional phrases, e.g.

nga. a-twe ' 'for me', *nga. hpou.* 'for me', *nga. jaun.* 'because of me' (see Chapter IV for

further illustration).

(c)   On pronouns and human nouns to mark genitive case, e.g. *lu. pyei* 'human's

world'. In the word gloss, induced creaky tone is indicated with 'G' after the possessor as in

'human.G' for *lu.* (<*lu*).

(d)   Induced creaky tone is also seen on the sentence final declarative markers *te* and

me in relativization. We shall call the realis *te.* and irrealis *me.* 'relative clause markers'; in

the word gloss they will be marked with 'REL'.

CHAPTER III

THE NOUN PHRASE

This chapter looks firstly at noun types, and secondly, at the elements that comprise the noun phrase. In looking at noun types, of particular interest is the semantic structure of nominal compounds, the analysis of which enables us to see general syntactic and semantic patterns involved in their formation. The organization of the section on the structure of the noun phrase is based on the order of elements that modify the head noun. The section deals with the syntax and function of the elements in turn, and analyzes the semantics and pragmatic constraints involved in their patterns of alternation.

Noun Types

The noun as a minimal lexical unit, a minimal free form (Bloomfield 1933), may be either simple or compound. Burmese is a monosyllabic language and some examples of monosyllabic simple nouns are *lu* 'person, human', *hkwei:* 'dog' and *caun* 'cat'. At the level of morphology, we will say no further of monosyllabic simple nouns as they cannot be further analyzed into meaningful, discrete units. Disyllabic simple nouns, on the other hand, are interesting for their phonology as well as for the semantics of their constituents. In identifiable native Burmese words, disyllabic nouns differ from nominal compounds in typically having a weak initial syllable and a voiced second syllable. Initial obstruent voicing

of the second syllable generally correlates with the weakening of lexical boundaries in Burmese, whence individual words or morphemes combine to denote unitary semantic notions. A tight semantic bond between two constituents may be defined as one in which one constituent is subordinate to, or in an attributive relation with the other.

An additional difference that may be observed between disyllabic nouns and nominal compounds is that one or both syllables in a disyllabic noun may not be analyzable whereas both constituents in nominal compounds are. Li and Thompson (1981:46) provides a perspective from Mandarin Chinese, namely, that "we may consider as compounds all polysyllabic units that have certain properties of single words and that can be analyzed into two or more meaningful elements, or morphemes..." Most unanalyzable disyllabic and polysyllabic nouns in Burmese are loan words from Pali; e.g. *myi 'ta* 'compassion' from Pali 'metta', *dou 'hka.* 'suffering' from Pali 'dukha', *thanthaya* 'cycle of existence' from Pali 'samsara', *tha-ti.* 'alertness' from Pali 'sati' (mind). There are others like *moun=tain:* 'storm' where the origins of the constituents are synchronically and historically opaque. The following sections look first at the structure of disyllabic nouns having analyzable constituents, and next at the structure of nominal compounds, in order to see general patterns of lexical formation in semantics, syntax and phonology.

Disyllabic Nouns

Disyllabic nouns with a weak initial syllable are of two types. In the first type, neither syllable is synchronically relatable to a lexical word; e.g. in words like *hka-lau'* 'bell hung on the neck of an animal', *hka-lou'* 'switch/snag' neither syllable is relatable to a lexical

word or a semantically transparent bound morpheme. In the second type, the constituent syllables are analyzable into meaningful units, which may be either bound or free morphemes. An example of a disyllabic noun with a weak initial syllable which is a bound morpheme is the deverbal noun with the phonologically reduced nominalizer *a-*, which we will look at in more detail in the section on derived nouns. The following disyllabic nouns, on the other hand, comprise two erstwhile lexical items, namely, nouns and verbs. In this type, the reduced initial syllable is relatable to a lexical word, and as mentioned earlier, the initial obstruent of the second syllable undergoes voicing when preceded by an open syllable. E.g., the disyllabic nouns *za-kwe:* 'broken rice' (a type of rice usually used for animal feed) from *hsan* 'rice' and *kwe:* 'break'; *za-pwe:* 'table' from *sa:* 'eat' and *pwe:* 'festival/feast' evince reduction of the first syllable and initial obstruent voicing of the second.

As further example, consider the development of a semantically related set of disyllabic nouns, all having in common the constituent *htan:* 'toddy-palm; palmyra palm' *Borassus flabellifer.* The disyllabic nouns below have a reduced initial syllable and initial obstruent voicing of the second syllable where applicable:

> *hta-co:* 'length of bark stripped from a palm frond' < *htan:* + *co:* 'spine'
>
> *hta-yei* 'toddy-palm sap; fermented drink from toddy sap' < *htan:* + *yei* 'water'
>
> *hta-le'* 'toddy palm leaf or frond' < *htan:* + *le'* 'hand'
>
> *hta-hnya'* 'clamp used for sap collection' < *htan:* + *hnya'* 'to clamp'
>
> *hta-nye'* 'palm sugar, jaggery' < *htan:* + *lye'* 'to lick ' (Note the homorganic nasal assimilation in the second syllable)

Nominal Compounds

As noted earlier, disyllabic nouns differ from nominal compounds with respect to whether (a) their lexical roots are semantically transparent and analyzable, and (b) the initial syllable is reduced. We shall use this difference as a heuristic for our classificatory purposes. The list of different types of nominal compounds follows Wheatley (1982:40-42; see also Forbes 1967), with complementary observations on the correlation between semantic relations and the phonological processes involved. In general, when one lexical unit is subordinate to the other in functioning to modify it, the lexical units are seen to combine in close juncture,[1] whereby the voiceable initial obstruent of the second syllable undergoes voicing when preceded by an open syllable.

Nominal Compound Types   The following analysis distinguishes between constituents of the compound in a coordinate relation versus constituents in an attributive relation. Such considerations allow us, in general, to hypothesize possible source constructions and account for alternations in phonological reduction seen in the first morpheme and initial obstruent voicing in the second.

1. Noun+noun compounds

(a) Coordinate This type, where neither lexical unit is subordinate to, nor modifies, the other, may also be characterized as "synonym-compounds" (suggested by Scott

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[1]Wheatley (1982:25-6) notes that "a sequence of syllables in close juncture ...might be expected to reflect a higher grammatical unit than the morpheme-- the word, or rather, the lexeme (i.e. including compounds)" and that "compounds of the form [N+N] tend to be in close (phonological) juncture....and that close juncture is a regular feature of [N+SV]."

DeLancey). Note that neither is the initial syllable weakened nor does the initial obstruent

of the final syllable undergo voicing. That is, each unit in the compound noun is pronounced

like an independent lexical item when in fact they combine to form a single compound word.

ni: + *lan:* -> *ni:=lan:*
way+ road -> method

sa + *pei* -> *sa=pei*
letter + palm leaf manuscript -> literature

In contrast, when the first syllable is in an attributive relation to the second, the second

syllable is seen to undergo voicing:

pei + *sa* -> *pei* *s̲a*
palm leaf + letter -> palm leaf manuscript

(b) Subordinate. In this type, the first noun is the attribute and the second, the head.

When one constituent is subordinate to, and modifies the other, initial obstruent voicing

typically occurs in the second syllable.

bein: + *hpoun:* -> *bein:= h̲poun:* (Wheatley 1982)
wheel + cover -> hubcap

hsi + *mi:* -> *hsi=mi:*
oil + fire -> oil lamp

hsi + *hsei:* -> *hsi=h̲sei:*
oil + paint -> oil paint

yei + *hsei:* -> *yei=h̲sei:*
water + paint ->water color

da' + *bu:* -> *da'* =*bu:*
element + container -> thermos

2. Verb+Noun In this type, the attributive verb which precedes the noun is usually

a transitive verb. Intransitive verbs may also occur, but less commonly. This type of nominal

compound resembles a reduced relative clause construction, with the relative marker omitted.

thau' + yei -> thau'=yei
drink + water -> drinking water

ye' + hsa: -> ye'=hsa: (Wheatley 1982)
lick + salt -> licking salt (traditional Burmese medicine)

The head may be modified by a transitive verb and its nominal arguments:

le' + hsei: + yei -> le' =hsei: =yei
hand + wash + water-> hand-washing water (water specifically for washing hands)

le' + hnei' + se' -> le'=hnei'=se' (Wheatley 1982)
hand + press + machine -> typewriter

yei + thau' + myi'-> yei =thau' = myi'
water + drink + root -> tap root

In the ex. below, an intransitive with its nominal argument precedes and modifies the head

noun. In the first syllable of *tha 'tawa* 'animal', observe the initial obstruent voicing as well

as the phonological reduction. The loss of the final glottal stop through phonological

reduction in this syllable induces, in turn, voicing in the following syllable.

thwei: + ei: + tha 'tawa -> thwei:=ei:=tha-ta-wa
blood + be cold + animal -> cold-blooded animal (reptiles)

3. Noun + Transitive Verb   In this type the noun is usually the object of the

transitive verb.

hcin + htaun -> hcin=htaun (Wheatley 1982)
mosquito + to trap -> mosquito net

we'u + hle. -> we'u =hle. (Okell 1969, Wheatley 1982)
pig intestine + to turn -> screwdriver

htamin: + thou' -> htamin:=thou'
rice + to mix -> rice salad

htamin: + *hce'* -> *htamin:=hce'*
rice + to cook   -> cook (chef)

hsan + *pyou'* -> *hsan =pyou'*
rice + to boil -> rice gruel   (congee)

be: + *kin*   -> *be:=kin*
duck + to roast -> barbecued duck

hke: + *hpye'* -> *hke:=hpye'*   (Okell 1969)
lead + erase   -> eraser

4. Noun+Stative Verb   Attributive stative verbs, which are the equivalents of

adjectives in other languages, follow the noun head as a matter of rule.

yei   + *hke:*   -> *yei=hke:*
water + solidify -> ice

you' + *thei:*   -> *you'=thei:*
face + be small -> puppet

<div align="center">Derived Nouns</div>

The most productive process for deriving nouns from verbs is through affixation to the verb

stem. There are several types of affixes, which we shall look at in turn.

Prefixation

The bound morpheme *a-* is directly prefixed to bare verbs, i.e. a verb marked for

tense, aspect or modality cannot be directly prefixed with *a-* . The derived noun may have

a concrete referent or denote an abstract notion, and is like an ordinary noun in having the

ability to be the head of an NP. E.g. *a-twei:* 'thought' (*twei:* 'think'), *a-thi.* 'acquaintance'

(*thi.* 'know'), *a-hma:* 'error/mistake' (*hma:* 'to err'), *a-wu'* 'clothes' (*wu'* 'to wear').

(1) *a-wu' twei   a-mya:=ci:*[2] *hyo   ya. te*
    clothes PLU a.lot   wash *get* RLS
    '(I) had to wash a lot of clothes.'

Derived nouns occur in prototypical nominal positions, such as subject or object of a clause, and may also function as adverbs.[3] Derived nouns, for the most part, are appropriately translated by participial phrases or non-finite clausal complements in English:

(2) *a-ngai'*   *mi.   te*
    NOM-nod off/be sleepy catch RLS
    '(I) caught him off-guard.'

(3) *a-hla.   cai' te*
    NOM-pretty like RLS
    '(S/he) likes what is pretty.'

(4) *a-ei'   me' te*
    NOM-sleep desire RLS
    '(S/he) loves to sleep.'

(5) *a-pyo: kaun: te*
    NOM-talk good   RLS
    '(S/he) is good at talking.'

(6) *a-nei   a-htain a-sa: a-thau'   kou thati.=hta: pa*
    NOM-stay NOM-sit NOM-eat NOM-drink OBJ mind=keep POL
    'Be careful living, eating, drinking.'

The *a*-V derived noun is like the gerund in English in its ability to take verbal arguments:

(7) *jaman   za -ga: a-pyo: kaun: te*
    German speech NOM-talk good RLS
    '(S/he) is good at speaking German.'

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[2]Observe too the derivation of the quantifier phrase, *a-mya:=ci:* 'a lot' by nominalizing the verb *mya:* 'be many', and additionally modifying it with the attributive verb *ci:* 'be big'.

[3] See Givon (1990:498-501) for nominalization of verbs/verbal clauses.

In our first example, we have seen that *a-wu'* denotes a concrete object. However, *a-wu'*

also functions like a gerund occurring with its nominal arguments:

(8) *lounji a-wu'*   *kaun: lou. lu*   *hyei. thu hyei. cu'*   *ca. te*
       sarong NOM-wear good   as   people front 3P   front come.off drop RLS
       'It's good that (as) I wore the sarong, it came off and dropped in public.'

Similarly, *a-sa:* may either denote an object or function like a gerund.

(9) *a-sa: twei a-mya:=ci: sa: hke. lou.*   *ei'=ngai' nei te*
       food PLU a.lot   eat *distal* because sleepy   *stay* RLS
       'I'm sleepy as I ate a lot of food (hither).'

(10) *di hkalei: ka. to=to a-sa:*   *kaun: te*
       this child   SUB quite NOM-eat good   RLS
       'This child is quite good at eating (i.e. has a good appetite).'

In (11), the main verb *kaun:* 'be good' itself is nominalized with *hta* to derive an independent

nominal sentence.

(11) *min: ka. htamin: to=to a-hce'*   *kaun: hta hpe:*
       you SUB rice   quite NOM-cook good   NOM Emph
       'You are quite good at cooking rice!' (Usually said sarcastically.)

Suffixation with *hta/hma*

As has generally been noted in the literature Okell (1969:416), the realis nominalizer

hta and the irrealis *hma* appear to be a fusion of the relative clause markers *te.* and *me.* with

the noun *ha*, meaning 'thing'.

sa: te.   *ha*   >   *sa: hta*
eat R/REL thing   'thing someone ate/eats' (an object)/
'thing (someone) ate/eats'   'someone eating' (gerund)

(12) *min: sa: hta*   *ba le:*
       you eat R/NOM WH Q
       'What did you eat?'

(13) *thu sa:* *hta* *wun:=tha* *te*
3P eat R/NOM belly=pleasant RLS
'(I'm) glad that he ate.'

sa: me. *ha* > *sa: hma*
eat I/REL thing 'thing someone will eat' (an object)/
'thing (someone) will eat' 'someone eating' (gerund)

(14) *min: sa: hma* *ba* *le:*
you eat I/NOM WH Q
'What will you eat?'

(15) *thu la* *hma* *kou* *sou:=yein te*
3P come I/NOM OBJ worry RLS
'(I) worry that he will come.'

In *a-* prefixation, only the bare verb, i.e. the main verb without versatile auxiliary modification or followed by a particle marking tense/speech act, may be nominalized. On the other hand, *hta/hma* nominalization occurs in a verbal clause with its nominal arguments and modifiers intact. Additionally, as seen earlier, when finite sentences are nominalized with *hta/hma*, the realis and irrealis distinction is still retained. This is an extremely productive process, which allows them to appear as nominal arguments or nominalized complements of matrix verbs (see Chapter X on Complementation).

The *Verb+ hta/hma* derived noun/nominal expression may be translated by a non-finite complement in English:

(16) *wu' hta* *sa: hta* *thei' wadhana=pa* *te*
wear-NOM eat-NOM very interest=accompany RLS
'He likes to dress and eat.' (He likes dressing up and eating.)

In (17), *wu' hta* may denote (a) a proposition that is the object of *cai'* 'like', or (b) an object that is referential but indefinite.

(17) *thu wu' hta   cai' te*
     3P wear NOM like RLS
     a) 'I like that he wears (it).'   (proposition as object of *cai'* 'like')
     b) 'I like what he wears.'   (a referential but indefinite object)

Similarly, *sa: hta* may denote a proposition or denote an object.

(18) *sa: hta   kaun: te*   (proposition)
     eat NOM good RLS
     'It is good that he ate.' (He may have been sick and not been eating.')

(19) *nga sa: hta   ma-sa: ne.*   (referential, indefinite object)
     I   eat NOM NEG-eat IMP
     'Don't eat what I eat.'   (Lit: 'Don't eat the thing that I eat.')

Consider next why the argument slot in the interrogative below cannot be filled by

V+hta .

(20) [*sa: hta]   hyi. la:
     [   ] have Q
     'Do you have [   ]?'

If the speaker knows specifically what he asks for he would use an appropriate definite noun.

If, on the other hand, the speaker does not intend to be specific, i.e. if *any* food (anything to

eat) is what he intends to communicate, then he would need to use a non-referential and

indefinite nominal expression, which *sa: hta* is not. The appropriate deverbal noun is

sa:=saya, which we will look at in the next section.

Additionally, the argument slot in the negative sentence below, which asserts the

non-existence of something to eat, cannot be filled with *sa: hta* , which denotes something

that does exist, i.e., which is referential (but not specific).

(21) [*sa: hta] ma-hyi.   hpu:
     [   ] NEG-have NEG
     'There isn't [anything] to eat.'

If, on the other hand, one knows that someone ate something, but does not specifically know

what it was. then *sa: hta* appropriately occurs in the following interrogative:

(22) *min: sa: hta   ba   le:*
you   eat NOM WH Q
'What was it that you ate?'

Suffixation with the Bound Morpheme -*saya*

Nouns are also derived from verbs by suffixing with -*saya*.

(23) *sa:=saya twei yankoun ka.   pou. lai'   te*
foodstuff PLU Rangoon from send *away* RLS
'Some foodstuff was sent from Rangoon.'

In contrast to the *hta/hma* derived noun which is referential but indefinite. the -*saya* derived

noun is non-referential and indefinite. Consequently, it occurs in interrogatives, negatives

and as a non-referential indefinite NP in declarative sentences.

(24) *sa:=saya hyi. la:*   (**sa: hta hyi. la:*)
eat=NOM have Q
'Do (you) have something to eat?"

(25) *ba   sa:=saya hyi. le:*
WH eat=NOM have Q
'What is there to eat?'

(26) *sa:=saya ma-hyi.   hpu:*   (**sa: hta ma-hyi. hpu:*)
eat=NOM NEG-have NEG
'There isn't anything to eat.'

(27) *sa:=saya hyi. te*
eat NOM have RLS
'There's something to eat.'

Now consider the following exx. where V-*saya* will be further contrasted with V-*hta/hma*:

(28) *do   su.   pyo: hta   ka.   thabawa.=ca. te*
HON name say   NOM SUB nature=fall   RLS
'What Daw Su said is reasonable.'

But, *do su. pyo:=saya ka. thabawa.=ca. te is ungrammatical, as the 'Verb+saya'

derived noun is non-referential and indefinite. If one wants to say that whatever the subject

says is reasonable the following construction is used:

do   su.   ba   pyo: pyo: thabawa.=ca.   te
HON name WH say   say   nature=fall RLS
'Whatever/anything Daw Su said/says is reasonable.'

Additionally, consider (29), which may denote a proposition or a referential indefinite

concrete object:

(29) do=lei: hce' hta   cai' te
      aunt=small cook NOM like RLS
      a) 'I like that Aunty cooks/cooked.'
      b) 'I like what Aunty cooks.'

But *do=lei: hce'=saya cai' te is ungrammatical as hce'=saya is non-referential.

See (30) as further illustration:

(30) thu thwa: hta   cai' te
      3P go   NOM like RLS
      'I am glad that he left.'

But *thu thwa:=saya cai' te is ungrammatical as thwa:=saya being non-referential and

indefinite, cannot be the object of cai' 'like'. On the other hand, thwa:=saya hyi. te 'I have

somewhere to go.' is grammatical, as thwa:=saya 'somewhere to go', the subject of hyi. 'to

be', is non-referential and indefinite. This also accounts for the negative counterpart

thwa:=saya ma-hyi. hpu: 'I don't have anywhere to go.'

This leads us, finally, to the semantic shift in the use of thwa: hta ma-hyi. hpu: where

thwa: hta refers to the event of 'going', which, however, does not exist, i.e. ma-hyi. hpu:.

The literal meaning of 'going (does) not exist' translates into '(He) does not go.' or 'never

goes' as in:

(31) *thu. a-mei ou ci: hsi thwa: hta ma-hyi. hpu:*
his mother old big place go NOM NEG-be NEG
'He does not visit his aged mother.'

Consider also the difference between *a*-V and V-*saya*. We have seen above that *sa:=saya*, 'foodstuff', a non-count noun, denotes a non-referential indefinite object, 'something /anything to eat'. In contrast, *a-sa:* is more like a gerund

(32) *a-thwa: hyi te \ [4] a-la ma-hyi. hpu:*
NOM-go have RLS\ NOM-come NEG-have NEG
'Lit: There is going but not coming.'

Consequently, we do not normally say *a-sa: hyi. te* to mean 'There is something to eat/food.'as it sounds more like 'I have eating/There is eating'.[5] However, *a-sa:* is interpreted as 'food' in the presence of plural markers:

(33) *a-sa: twei a-mya:=ci: hyi. te*
NOM-eat PLU a-lot have RLS
'There's a lot of food.'

The difference between the more gerund-like *a-sa:* and the more concrete noun-like *sa:=saya* becomes clearer in the minimal pair below, where the preferred, i.e. normal reading is indicated:

(34) *a-sa: mya: te*
NOM-eat much RLS
'I ate a lot.'   (Lit: Eating be much.)

(35) *sa:=saya mya: te*
'There's a lot to eat.' (Lit: Things to eat are plenty.)

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[4] The backslash indicates an independent clause.

[5] Other native speakers may dispute this, but I have extremely strong intuitions that the preferred NP here is *a-sa: a-sa*, 'generic food', or *sa:=saya* 'food/something to eat'.

Moreover, *a-pyo: hyi. te* sounds awkward as it means something like 'I have saying.'; in contrast, *pyo:=saya hyi. te* 'I have something to say.' is clearly grammatical. Note, however, that *(thu) a-pyo: hpe: hyi. te* 'It's just talk on his part.' is well-formed, because of the presence of the emphatic postposition *hpe:* 'only'. The degree of finiteness lies along a continuum which, in general, correlates with the denotation of events or objects. In (34-5), we see that *a-sa:* indicates an event in contrast to *sa:=saya* which denotes an object. Additionally, *a-pyo:* is relatively less finite compared to *pyo: hta*, as seen in the examples *(thu) a-pyo: kaun: te* '(He) is good at talking.', which contrasts with the finite *pyo: hta kaun: te* 'It's good that he talked.'

Other Types of Noun Derivation

<u>Erstwhile Relative and Complement Heads</u>

The following derived noun constructions diverge the most from prototypical nouns in describing notions dealing with the manner of doing something, the method of doing something, general affairs or activities, the sound of an activity, permission and temporal notions. The construction appears to be either a reduced relative clause with the relative clause marker omitted, or a reduced non-finite complement with the complementizer *hpou.* omitted. Consider below a reduced relative clause with the third person pronoun *thu* as relative head, which may alternatively be categorized as a derived noun construction:

hti:	*pyin thu*	(<*hti: pyin te. thu* 'person who repairs umbrella')
umbrella	repair 3P	REL
'umbrella-repairer'		

Following are some erstwhile relative heads, identified and listed by Okell (1969:65) as

"special heads", which follow nouns productively to form derived nominal expressions:

(36) *min: lou' poun ka. hye'=saya kaun: te*   *(< lou' te. poun* 'picture that
you *do manner* SUB shame=NOM good RLS   you did')
'What you did is shameful.'/ 'The manner you did that is shameful.'

(37) *min: nei poun htain poun pyin hpou. kaun: te*
you stay *manner* sit   *manner* correct COMP good RLS
'You should correct the way that you live.'

(38) *thu pyo: poun hsou poun lei: twei kou thati.=ya. mi.   te*
3P speak *manner* say *manner* DIM PLU OBJ mindful=get inadvertently RLS
'I inadvertently recalled her (sweet) little ways of speaking.'

(39) *di twe' ni: ka. hman te*   *(< twe' te. ni:* 'method which you use
this calculate *method* SUB right RLS   for calculation')
'This method of calculation is correct.'

The following erstwhile relative heads differ from *poun* 'picture' and *ni:* 'method' in that

they require a prefixed *a-* when occurring as independent nouns. Note, however, that they

are not deverbal nouns in spite of the presence of the prefixed *a-*, as their lexical roots

are not synchronically identifiable verbs.

(40) *hce' yei: pyou' yei: twei ne. a-hcein ma-koun   sei. ne. (< a-yei:*'matter')
cook *matter* boil   *matter* PLU with time   NEG-finish CAUS IMP
'Don't waste your time cooking.' (Lit: 'cooking and boiling matters')

(41) *hkwei: haun than   ca: lai' la:*   *(< than < a-than* 'sound')
dog   bark   *sound* hear AUX Q
'Did you hear the dog bark?'

(42) *pyo: hkwin.   pei: pa*   *(< a-hkwin.* 'permission')
speak *permission* give POL
'Please give (me) permission to speak.'

It would be in order now to evaluate our classificatory scheme. Up to this point in

our discussion, erstwhile relative 'heads' like *poun* 'manner/way', *ni:* 'method', (a)-than

'sound', (a)-hkwin. 'permission' and (a)-yei: 'matter/affair' have been characterized as the head of a derived noun construction. They may consequently be classified as nominalizers, which directly follow verbs to derive nominal expressions occurring as arguments of a sentence.

The following heads describing temporal notions diverge even further from the function of prototypical noun phrases as they take on adverbial functions in addition to occurring as nominal arguments of sentences.

(43) hsaya win la   hcein hma a-tan: ka   hsu=nyan nei te (<a-hcein 'time')
     teacher enter come time at class SUB noisy   stay RLS
     'The class was noisy at the time the teacher came in.'   (Adverbial function)

(44) thin:bo: hsai' hcein kou thi. la:
     ship   arrive time OBJ know Q
     'Do you know the time the ship arrives?'

(45) nei win hcein ka. thaya te
     sun enter time SUB pleasant RLS
     'Sunset is pleasant.'

The derived noun with the temporal head hkai' (< a-hkai' 'time),[6] on the other hand, does not occur as subject or object of a sentence, and consequently, may alternatively be categorized as a subordinator, subordinating an adverbial clause of time to the main clause.

(46) hsaya ma-hyi.   hkai' ba lou' nei ca. tha-le:
     teacher NEG-present while WH do stay PLU RLS-Q
     'What were you all doing while the teacher was not present?'

Reduplication

To complete our discussion, we should look at reduplication of attributive verbs. The

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[6] hkai' is more characteristic of written than of spoken Burmese.

major distributional difference between affixation and reduplication is that NP's derived through affixation occur widely and freely as nominal arguments and complements, whereas reduplicated attributive verbs do not typically occur as nominal arguments and cannot normally be modified with nominal modifiers. Only stative and process type verbs are reduplicated to function mainly as adverbs, and to a lesser degree, as adjectives. In the following examples, an underlying nominal argument of the main verb may be pragmatically recovered in some cases.

(47) *a-sein: cai' te*
NOM-green like RLS
'I like (the color) green.'

(48) *sein:=sein: cai' te*
green=green like RLS
'I like (it) greenish.'

(49) *a-thi'   lou=hcin te*
NOM-new want   RLS
'I want (something) new.'

(50) *hka' thi'=thi' lou=hcin te*
quite new=new want   RLS
'I want (something) newish.'

The Structure of the Noun Phrase

We have seen above that attributive nouns and verbs combine with the head nouns they modify to form nominal compounds or disyllabic nouns. The pragmatic condition necessary for the innovation of nominal compounds functioning as independent lexical units is the existence of semantic classes or types which are general enough in meaning, and widely recognized as such, within the speech community. These semantic types may be

understood in terms of the formation of categories in the culture (Rosch 1978:28). Disyllabic or compound nouns are typically exponents of semantic types at the basic level of categorization, which are characterized by their frequent and widespread occurrence in the speech community. E.g., *kala-htain* 'chair' (*kala:* 'Indian' + *htain* 'sit'), *sa-pwe:* 'table' (*sa:* 'eat' + *pwe:* ' feast') and *mi:=ein* 'lamp' (*mi:* 'fire' + *ein* 'house) are classified as basic level objects by Rosch (1978:32). Such compound nouns fulfil the distributional characteristics of the noun as a "minimal lexical unit" or a "minimal free form."

The above discussion is a preliminary to distinguishing nominal compounds from noun phrases (NP's), for when is a sequence of two or more erstwhile free morphemes a nominal compound, i.e. a minimal free lexical unit, and when is it merely a combination of 'free' lexical units? Reference to citation forms in dictionaries may be helpful, but decisions about lexical entries (in a dictionary) ultimately depend on the judgement of the lexicographer who may decide, quite reasonably, that *le'=hnei'=se'* 'type-writer', *thwei:=ei:=tha-ta-wa* 'reptiles', *we'u =hle.* 'screw-driver' and *you'=thei:* 'puppet' should be included in the dictionary, but not *be:=kin* 'roast duck' nor *htamin:=thou'* 'rice salad' because in the latter two, not only is the semantic combination of their constituents relatively transparent but the constituents also participate more productively in a wider range of lexical combinations. Initial obstruent voicing cannot be used as a test to distinguish nominal compounds from noun phrases as there are nominal compounds where voicing does not occur, e.g. in *tha-htei:* 'rich man' (< *thu* '3P'+*htei* 'be rich') note that *htei:* does not undergo voicing; also *htain* 'sit' in *kala-htain* 'chair'.

The question is, why are some sequences of attributive nouns and verbs in

combination with their noun heads classified as noun phrases while others are classified, i.e. generally recognized as nominal compounds. In general, we may say that an attributive noun functions to describe, restrict or distinguish one referent from another. When we say that a *ko gaza:-saya* 'plastic toy' is a NP whereby the head noun *gaza:-saya* 'toy' (*gaza:* 'to play' + *saya* 'thing') is modified by *ko* 'plastic', we mean that 'toy' belongs to a semantic type at the basic level of categorization of which 'plastic toy' is a token. Analogously, *da' =bu:* 'thermos' (*da'* 'element'[7] + *bu:* 'container'), a nominal compound, is also a basic level object which may be subsumed under the superordinate level of semantic categorization, i.e. 'containers' (cf. Rosch 1978). A thermos is a specific type of container widespread enough in use in the culture, so much so that it leads to its innovation into a nominal compound. Finally, we may add that 'toys' are at the same basic level of semantic categorization as 'thermoses' and just as attributive nouns may modify simple nouns, they modify nominal compounds likewise, such that we have *ko da' =bu:* 'plastic thermos'.

<div align="center">Order of Elements in the Noun Phrase</div>

Demonstratives, genitive phrases, noun complements and relative clauses function, in general, to identify or distinguish the referent of an NP, or to restrict it. For example, demonstratives like *di* 'this' and *hou* 'that' distinguish a referent within a semantic system of deixis; similarly, a noun complement like *thu. hpou.* 'for him', a genitive phrase like *thu. ye.* 'his', a clausal complement like *thu sa: hpou.* 'for him to eat', and a relative clause like *thu sa: te.* 'which he eats' may all function to distinguish or restrict a referent. The order of

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[7]*da'* < loan word from Pali, meaning 'the basic quality of matter'.

'restrictive' noun modifiers varies, relative to one another. Alternations in the order of restrictive modifiers may not affect the overall meaning of the NP, given that each is in a direct functional relation with the head noun but not with one another.

Restrictive modifiers, as a group, precede attributive nouns, verbs and nominalized verbs which cluster round the head. As seen earlier in the section on nominal compounds, active verbs typically precede the head to modify it, e.g. *hlaun ein* 'cage' (imprison house); nominalized stative verbs may precede or follow the head but ordinary stative verbs may only follow the head, e.g. *yei ei:* 'water cold'. Elements marking number or quantity occur after the head in strict order, except for some variations within the classifier phrase itself. To indicate numeral quantity, the head and post-nominal attributive expressions, if any, are immediately followed by one of the plural markers *tou., mya:, twei*, followed in turn by a numeral, a classifier and a quantifier:

(51) *thu tou. hna-yau' sa-loun:*
      3P PLU two-CLF both
      'both of them'

The structure of the noun phrase is represented in Table 4:

TABLE 4. NP Structure

Restrictive	Attributive		Attributive	Quantity			
Demonstrative Genitive phrase Complement Relative clause	Active V NOM.V$_{stative}$	HEAD	Stative V NOM.V$_{stative}$	Plural mkr.	Number	Classifier	Quant.

1. Attributive Nouns and Verbs

Attributive nouns and verbs are closest to the head noun and occur on either side

of it. Attributive nouns may only precede the head.

ko you'
plastic toy

dan ou:
aluminum pot

yei=lan: hkayi:
water=road journey
"a journey by water"

The order of attributive verbs   Stative verbs in Burmese function as the

equivalent of adjectives in languages which have adjectives as a lexical class separate from

verbs. As mentioned earlier, stative verbs follow the head noun in an attributive relationship

with it. e.g. *ko bu: thi'* 'new plastic box' (plastic+box+be new). The stative verb, however,

may be nominalized with the nominalizing prefix *a-*; in which case the nominalized verb

a-thi' may either follow the head noun, or precede it like any other noun. The question here

is whether finer semantic distinctions relate to the absence or presence of the nominalizing

prefix *a-*. With regard to this, Okell (1969:50) observes that "the compound may be regarded

as tight if the prefix *a-* is absent, and loose if it is present." An attribute in Okell's sense of

being tight (semantically closely connected to the head) may be regarded as being an

inherent property, whereas an attribute in Okell's sense of being loose (semantically loosely

connected to the head) may be viewed as one, added on by the speaker for a contingent

purpose.

The subtle difference between the meaning and use of *ko bu: thi'* and *ko bu: a-thi'*

may be easier to understand if we relate it to the difference between non-restrictive and restrictive relative clauses in English. *ko bu: thi'* is somewhat like the English non-restrictive relative clause in that the use of the attribute 'new' is not normally intended by the speaker to distinguish a specific 'plastic box' from others. The presence of *thi'* is intrinsic to the meaning of *ko bu: thi'* 'new plastic box', and not added on for some contingent purpose. On the other hand, when one says *ko bu: a-thi*' ' the *new* plastic box.', the presence of *a-thi'* strongly implies that a specific plastic box is being distinguished from others. Consequently, *a-thi'* is like a restrictive relative clause in that it is added on for a contingent purpose. Structurally, it may also be viewed as an appositive: 'plastic box, the new one'.

The order of nominalized attributive verbs   As mentioned above, a nominalized attributive verb like *a-thi'* may follow or precede the head noun. Another type of nominalized verb is the reduplicated type, e.g. *haun: haun:* meaning 'somewhat old'. Reduplicated verbs allow further modification with the adverbial *hka'* 'quite', unlike *a-* prefixed attributives which do not.

(52) *baun:bi hka' haun: haun: yu   hke.* (Or) *hka' haun: haun: baun:bi yu hke.*
    trousers quite old   old   bring *distal*
    'Bring a pair of quite oldish trousers.'

Nominalized verbs, in general, may be additionally modified. In (53), the nominalized verb *ei: ei:* is additionally modified with the diminutive *lei:* .

(53) *yei   ei: ei: lei: thau' hcin te*
    water cold cold little drink   want RLS
    'I want to drink a cool, cool (glass of) water.'

In (54), the nominalized verb *a-pu* is further modified with the stative verb *ci:* :

(54) *yei   a-pu   ci: laun: ma-hte.   ne.*
water NOM-hot big pour NEG-insert IMP
'Don't pour very hot water.'

<u>The comparative and superlative degree</u>   As attributive verbs are the

counterparts of adjectives in other languages, consider next how the comparative and the

superlative are expressed in Burmese. The *a*-V may be additionally modified with the

stative verb, *hsoun:* 'be at end', to derive the superlative:

(55) *a-ma   hsoun: we'=tha: toun:*
NOM-hard be.at.end   pig=flesh piece
'the hardest piece of pork'

(56) *a-nge   hsoun: caun*
NOM-small be.at.end cat
'the smallest cat'

On the other hand, a pre-head versatile verb (See Chpt. VIII) expresses the comparative.

(57) *do   tou' ka.   do   than: hte'   pou   wa. te*
HON name SUB HON name POST be.more fat RLS
'Ms. Toke is fatter than Ms. Than.'

<u>The relative order of attributive verbs and nouns</u>   Given that attributive nouns

and verbs are the counterparts of adjectives in languages like English, the following

generalization with regard to adjective order is applicable to the relative order of attributive

nouns and verbs in Burmese. To quote Givon (1990:470), "an adjective that is closer to the

noun, is more likely to be (a) central to the meaning of the noun, (b) a more inherent quality,

(c) more generic rather than specific information, (d) more given rather than new

information and (e) non-restrictive rather than restrictive modifier." To this we may add the

following semantic and pragmatic principles along which attributive nouns and verbs are

ordered, namely, that attributes closest to the head are (1) core rather than superficial or

outer, (2) stable rather than temporary, (3) absolute rather than relative, (4) objective rather than idiosyncratic. As nouns, in general, are more time-stable than adjectives, modifier nouns are closer to the head than adjectives. In fact, nouns denote the most stable properties,[8] and are closest to the head they modify.

For example, 'color' is an intuitively 'outer' property, relative to the material from which an object is made, such as plastic. 'Color' is usually coded by adjectives in languages which have adjectives as a lexical class whereas 'plastic', a stable material, is coded by a noun. The prototypical noun 'plastic' is closer to the head than the nominalized attributive verb 'yellow', word order iconically following semantic order:

(Outer/less stable (Inner/more stable (Head)))
   yellow   *plastic*   *ball*

a-wa palasti' bo: is preferable to   (?*) *palasti' a-wa bo:*
'Yellow plastic ball'

Color terms are closer to the head than words expressing judgement or attitude:

(((Head) Objective) Idiosyncratic)
   shirt   *red*   *rag-like*

in:ji a-ni sou'   is preferable to   (?) *in:ji sou' a-ni*
shirt red rag-like
'Rag-like red shirt'

The expression of dimension appears to be more relative and idiosyncratic than the property of being old or new. In other words, characterizing something as 'old/new' is relatively more objective as the property may be observed in the object itself, normally without making reference to an external standard. On the other hand, the attributes 'big/small' are relatively

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[8]Prototypical nouns denote concrete, physical entities having the most time stable properties. See Givon (1984:51) for the time-stability scale of lexical classes.

more subjective; what is big for one may be small for another.

(((Head) Absolute) Relative)
house   new   small

thi'tha: ein   a-thi' hkalei: but not **thi'tha: ein hkalei: a-thi'*
wooden house new   small
'Small new wooden house'

Place of origin is an extrinsic property relative to the material from which an object is

made:

you:daya: mya.   hsin:=htu
Thai   emerald image
'Emerald (Buddha) image from Thailand'

2. Demonstratives

Demonstratives precede attributive nouns and verbs . The proximate

demonstrative is *di*, the distal *hou*.

(58) *di lu   be ka. le:*
this man WH from Q
'Where is this man from?'

(59) *hou hkalei: thoun: yau' be   yau' thwa: le:*
that child   three CLF WH reach *go*   Q
'Where have those three children gone?'

As a free form, *di* indicates a location, 'here'; *hou* means 'there'. As independent words,

they may be followed by postpositions:

(60) *di   (kou) la   hke.*
here (to) come *distal*
'Come here.'

(61) *hou (kou) thwa: ca.   ya.-aun*
there (to) go   PLU HORT
'Let's go there.'

(62) *hou hma ba hyi. le:*
there LOC WH have Q
'What is there?'

It has been noted (e.g. in Wheatley 1980:102) that *di* has fused with the noun *ha*, 'thing',

to form the demonstrative pronoun *da* 'this':

(63) *da ba le:*
this WH Q
'What's this?'

However, the distal *hou* and the noun *ha* remain phonologically intact:

(64) *hou ha be thu yu thwa: le:*
that thing WH 3P take *go* Q
'Who has taken that thing?'

The Wh-word *be* 'which', combined with the postposition *hma.* 'even', patterns together

with demonstratives in negative sentences (cf. Wheatley 1982; Okell 1969).[9] We may look

at this semantic pattern as one where NP's with the demonstratives *di* and *hou* describe

definite entities with a concrete reference, in contrast to *be NP hma.* in a negative sentence,

which does not.

(65) *be ha hma. ma cai. hpu:*   > *ba hma. ma cai. hpu:*
which thing even NEG like NEG   'id.'
'(I) don't like anything.'

3. Genitive Modification

The genitive phrase precedes the head noun. Overt genitive markers are the literary

i. and the standard spoken *ye.* . In the absence of overt genitive markers, a grammatically

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[9] Okell (1969:101-5) classifies *di, hou, be* as 'selectives' and notes that *be* + *ha* has fused into *ba* 'what', which parallels the fusing of *di* + *ha* into *da* 'thing'.

induced creaky tone remains in possessor pronouns and personal nouns, and certain NP's

having human attributes. This tone shift is a reflex of the PTB genitive postposition *-ki^{10},

cognate with the Tibetan genitive (Thurgood 1981, DeLancey 1997:62), and is also found

in related subordinate constructions, like the relative clause construction.

(66) *di   ahkan: ye.   hou be' htaun. hma*   (elct.)
     this room   GEN that side corner LOC
     'at the other corner of this room'

(67) *lei ei: ye.   thei'=thi:=hsa. kou tain: ci. yin*
     air cold GEN density   OBJ measure see if
     'If (you) measure the density of cold air, ...'

(68) *ei: te.   lei ye.   thei'=thi:=hsa. kou tain: yin* (elct.)
     cold REL air GEN density   OBJ measure if
     'If you measure the density of air which is cold, ...'

(69) *cano tou. gaba ye.   win=you:=sun: twei hma*
     1P   PLU earth GEN pole   PLU LOC
     'at the poles of our earth'

(70) *gaba ye.   lu=u:=yei* (elct)   Alternatively, *gaba. lu=u:=yei*
     world GEN population
     'world's population'

(71) *pin=le ye.   a-ne'* (elct)   Alternatively, *pin=le a-ne'* but not *pin=le. a-ne'* (?)
     sea   GEN depth
     'the sea's depth'

In the examples above, the genitive marker *ye.* occurred in all the elicited sentences. Both

informants agreed that *ye.* may be omitted after *gaba* 'world' in ex. (70), resulting in the

grammatically induced creaky tone, i.e. *gaba.* . In (71), however, one informant stated flatly

that *pin=le* 'sea' would not take on an induced creaky tone upon omitting *ye.* . Except in

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[10] Proto Tibeto-Burman *-*ki.* is reconstructed by Benedict (1972) as a general
subordinating morpheme (in Thurgood 1981).

words like *gaba* 'world' and *ngain=ngan* 'country', which both share the semantic feature "of human", the omission of *ye.* does not appear to produce an induced creaky tone in non-human lexical nouns:

(72) *ngain=ngan ye.   tha-main:*   Alternatively, *ngain-ngan. tha-main:*
     country   GEN history
     'country's history'

(73) *myi'ta   ye.   tagou:*   Alternatively, *myi'ta tagou:* but not **myi'ta. tagou:*
     compassion GEN power
     'the power of love '

When *ye.* was omitted in (73), induced creaky tone did not occur on *myi'ta* . When the possessor NP is non-human, *ye.* omission provides an alternative analysis, one in which the erstwhile possessor NP is re-analyzed as an ordinary attributive noun. Consequently, *myi'ta tagou:* may be analyzed as 'love power', where 'love' modifies 'power'.

With human possessors, *ye.* omission is the norm, induced creaky tone occurring on the final 'creakable' syllable of the human possessor noun:

(74) *tin =tin ye. ka: ka.   be ha le:* Alternatively and more usually, *tin tin. ka:*
     name   GEN car SUB WH thing Q
     'Which one is Tin Tin's car?'

But induced creaky tone does not occur when the final syllable of personal referents is heavy tone, i.e. the genitive *ye.* is obligatory in ex. (75):

(75a) *mun =mun =ei: ye.   hkalei:*   But not, **mun=mun=ei. hkalei:*
      name   GEN child
      'Mon Mon Aye's child'

With personal pronouns too, possession is invariably marked with a grammatically induced creaky tone on syllables that are originally level toned. Consider below the informal spoken Burmese personal pronouns *thu* 'he/she' and *nga* 'I' which are both level toned in contrast

with *min:* 'you' which is heavy toned:

(76) *thu.   pai'hsan pyan pei: lai'   pa*
3P.G money   again give *away* POL
'Please give his money back (to him).'

(77) *nga.   pai'hsan be   thu yu   thwa: le:*
1P.G money   WH 3P take *go*   Q
'Who took my money'

(78) *min: pai'hsan twei thu pyan   pei: la:*   But not *min.   pai'hsan* [11]
your money   PLU 3P *return* give Q
'Did he give your money back?'

Consider also the formal spoken *cano* 'I' (male), *hkinbya:* 'you' (male speaker/ male

addressee) and the slightly less formal *hyin* 'you' (female speaker/female addressee):

(79) *cano. boloun: pyan   pei:*   (*< cano*)
1P.G ball   *return* give
'Give me back my ball.'

(80) *hyin. saga: ka.   to-to yain: te*   (*< hyin*)
3P.G language SUB quite rude RLS
'Your language is quite rude.'

(81) *hkinbya: mi.ba.   twei nei   kaun: ca. la:*   But not   *hkinbya.   mi.ba.* [12]
your   parents PLU stay good PLU Q
'Are your parents well/ in good health?'

With kin terms:

(82) *mei=mei. beibi lei:*   (*< mei=mei*)
mother's baby small
'mommy's babe'

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[11] However, there may be dialects where the heavy toned syllable becomes creaky,
e.g., Okell's (1969:20) informants.

[12] Induced creaky tone appears here *hkinbya.* with Okell's (1969) informants.

(83) *hpei=hpei. sa-cu'*   (< *hpei=hpei*)
     father's   book
     'dad's book'

As already seen, heavy toned syllables do not allow induced creaky tone:

(84) *u:lei: tha-mi: be thwa: le:*
     uncle's daughter WH go   Q
     'Where did your daughter go?'

(85) *a-hpou: mye'sei. ka. to=to kaun: thei: hta   hpe:*
     grandfather's eye   SUB quite good still NOM EMPH
     'Granddad's eyesight is still good indeed.'

Induced creaky tone also occurs with non-individuated, class nouns meaning 'human' or

'people':

(86) *lu.   bawa.   ka.   ya. hke: te*   (< *lu*)
     human.G existence SUB get rare RLS
     'It is rare to be born human.'

4. Complements

There are two types of complements: postpositional phrases that function and non-

finite clausal complements. Following are some examples of postpositional phrases which

occur before the head to modify it.

thu. hpou. sa=ou'
3P.G for   book
'(a) book for him'.

jou thoun: hcaun: ne. nwa:
horn three   CLF   with cow
'(a) cow with three horns'

di lou   a-twei:
this manner thought
'(a) thought like this'

ein **ka.** *ce'*
house from chicken
'(a) chicken from home' / 'a home-raised chicken'

Locative phrases may also occur as pre-head nominal modifiers. In these phrases the

ablative postposition *ka.* follows the relator noun:[13]

hcan **hte: ka.** *we'*
yard in from pig
'(a) pig from inside the yard'

tain **po ka.** *a-lan*
pole on from flag
'flag on the pole'

A non-finite complement clause may also occur before the head noun in an attributive

relation with it. The non-finite complementizer *hpou.* , which also occurs as a postposition

meaning 'for', always occurs in this construction:

a-mei *sa:* **hpou.** *hsei:*
mother eat COMP medicine
'medicine for mother to take'

pyan *pyin* **hpou.** *a-pain:*
return correct COMP part
'part to be corrected'

5. Relative Clauses

When the independent clause is subordinated, the sentence final realis marker *te* and

the irrealis *me* undergo a shift to the creaky toned *te.* and *me.* , which we shall call relative

clause markers. Wheatley (1980:104) notes that the "shift to creaky tone is associated with

subordination (also in DeLancey 1997:62)." The same pattern is seen with the literary written

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[13]See Starosta (1985) for the use of this term.

Burmese counterparts: the relative marker *thi.* from the realis sentence final marker *thi*, and

myi. from *myi.* [14] Following are the different constituents of the clause occurring as relative

head.

Subject as relative head

(87) *cun: shwei wa*   *ka.* *gaba co*   *te*
teak gold yellow SUB world surpass RLS
'Golden yellow teak is world famous'

(88) *gaba co*   *te.* *cun: shwei wa*
world surpass REL teak gold yellow
'golden yellow teak which is world famous'

Object as relative head

(89) *ado.* *le'=ya*   *kou lu*   *tain: cai' te*
aunt's hand=print OBJ people every like RLS
'Everyone likes aunty's handiwork.'

(90) *lu*   *tain: cai' te.* *ado.* *le'=ya*
people every like REL aunt's hand=print
'aunty's handiwork which everyone likes'

Direct object or indirect object as relative head

(91) *nei=win: hou kaun=ma. =lei: kou yi:sa: sa* *pei te*
name   that girl=little   OBJ love letter give RLS
'Nay Win gave a love letter to that little girl.'

(92) *nei=win: yi:sa: sa* *pei te. hou kaun=ma.=lei:*
name love letter give REL   that girl=little
'That girl whom Nay win give a love letter'

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[14] The difference between the literary and spoken colloquial styles lies mainly in vocabulary (see Okell: 1994). The literary style, in its choice of vocabulary, retains an older form of Burmese; the literary *thi* and *myi* are believed to be the precursors of *te* and *me*.

(93) *nei =win: hou kaun=ma.=lei: ̲kou pei ̲te.   yi:̲sa: sa*
    name   that girl=little   OBJ give REL love letter
    'The love letter that Nay Win gave to that girl'

In (94a,b), *a-hcei=a-nei* 'situation' is not subcategorized by the lower clause verb:

(94a) *thin:=bo: myou' me. a-hcei=a-nei hyi'   ̲te*
    ship   sink IRR situation   exist RLS
    'A situation exists where the ship might sink.'

(94b) *mou: ywa me. a-hcei=a-nei hyi.   ̲te*
    sky   fall REL situation   have   RLS
    'A situation exists where it might rain.'

<u>Deletion of the relative clause markers *te.* and *me.*</u>   The realis relative marker

te. can be omitted in certain circumstances, but *me.* can never be omitted. The functional

aspects of relativization may be reconsidered for the analysis of the conditions under which

te. may be omitted. The function of a relative clause, as a restrictive modifier, is to help the

hearer identify the referent, the relative head (Givon 1990:645). The relative clause codes a

proposition, which the speaker assumes is accessible to the hearer, by which the hearer is

able to identify the referent.. I would like to suggest that the presence of *te.* strongly

correlates with a restrictive use of the relative clause, its absence with a non-restrictive use.

The non-restrictive use of the relative clause has an attributive function, in contrast to which,

the restrictive use has a referential function. In (95), the relative clause has a restrictive

function whereby the speaker indicates a specific container:

(95) *nga. hsi ̲kou hsan lei: loun: win ̲te.   poun: yu   hke.*
    I   place ALL rice four CLF enter REL container bring *distal*
    'Bring me the can that holds four tins of rice.'

When the relative marker *te.* is omitted the relative clause has a non-restrictive function,

indicating a referentially indefinite entity , e.g. any 'container holding four tins of rice'.

(96) *hsan lei: loun: win poun: yu   hke. pa*
rice four CLF enter container bring AUX POL
'Bring a can that holds four tins of rice.'

The relative clause may also be analyzed as non-restrictive when it has a conventionalized

sense. Thus, in a twenty-pack of cigarettes, 'twenty' is part of the conventionalized meaning

of the pack of cigarettes. As Wheatley (1982:107) states, "the relative clause has been

conventionalized to the point where a marker is no longer required". Wheatley's ex. is

repeated below:

(97) *alei' hna-hse win   bu:*   < *alei' hna-hse win te. bu:*
CLF twenty   enter pack
'a pack of 20 (cigarettes)'

Also consider (98), a text ex., where the indefinite NP is a conventionalized

expression with *te.* almost always omitted:

(98) *kou   twei. coun   thu mya:*
body see   encounter 3P PLU
'those having personal experience'

In (99), the third person *thu* in *hti: pyin thu* 'umbrella-repairer' has been seen previously

(pp. 33-4) as a 'special head', i.e. *thu* as the nominalizer deriving a nominal compound.

The construction *hti: pyin thu* is a conventionalized expression, analogous to a nominal

compound at the basic level of categorization.

(99) *hti: pyin thu la   pi*
umbrella repair 3P   come PUNC
'The umbrella-repairer has come.'

Note that in (98), where the third person *thu mya:* is a 'generic', *te.* may be omitted.

Conversely, when the head noun is referentially definite, *te.* may not be omitted.

(100) *se'=bein: si: te. hpou:=ke:*　　But not　**se'=bein: si: hpou:=ke:*
bicycle　ride REL name
'Hpou Ke, who rides bicycles'

(101) *lu　　tain: hci' te. ma. hnin:=si*　　But not　**lu tain: hci' ma. hnin:=si*
people　every　love REL　miss name
'Miss Hninsi, whom everyone loves'

(102) *be=to.=hma. le'　ma　hyo. te. nga* But not　**be=to.=hma. le' ma hyo. nga*
never　　　hand NEG relax REL I
'I, who never give up'

Additional factors that merit investigation are the difference between the third person

pronoun *thu*, and *lu* 'people', as relative heads, with the added variable of plural marker

choice between *mya:*, *twei* and *tou*. When *thu* is the head, *te.* is normally omitted; in (103),

thu mya: has a generic meaning:

(103) *se'=bein: si:　thu mya: kou u:=sa:　pei: pa*
bicycle　ride 3P　PLU OBJ precede give POL
'Please give preference to those riding bicycles.'

When *lu* 'people' is the head, *te.* cannot be omitted:

(104) *se'=bein:　si:　te. lu　　twei kou u:=sa:　pei: pa*
bicycleride ride　REL people PLU OBJ precede give POL
'Please give preference to people riding bicycles.'

When *thu mya:* is the subject of a declarative sentence, it has the meaning 'other people':

(105) *thu mya: se'-bein: si: hta　myin to.　ca=no le: si: hcin te*
3P PLU bicycle ride N/RLS see *when* 1P　　also ride want RLS
'When I see other people ride bicycles, I want to ride too.'

Below, *thu mya:* means 'some other person':

(106) *thu mya: yu thwa: te*
3P　PLU take *go*　RLS
'Some other person took it.'

The plural marker *twei* may follow *thu mya:* to mean 'other people':

(107) *thu mya: twei se'=bein: si: te*
    3P PLU PLU bicycle ride RLS
    'Other people ride bicycles.'

In a relative clause with *thu mya:* as the head *te.* is typically omitted as *thu mya:* is referentially indefinite. Furthermore, *thu twei* cannot occur as the subject of a declarative sentence:

(108) **thu twei se'=bein: si: te*
    3P   PLU bicycle ride RLS
    'People ride bicycles.'

But like *thu mya:*, *thu twei* can be relativized with *te.* usually omitted:

(109) *se'=bein: si: (te.)   thu twei*
    bicycle   ride (REL) 3P   PLU
    'those/people riding bicycles'

From the exx. above, we see that *thu mya:* and *thu twei* are referentially indefinite, patterning together as heads of reduced relative clauses where *te.* is usually omitted. In this pattern, the NP as a whole represents a conventionalized plural noun.

<u>The omission of the irrealis *me.*</u>   As irrealis, hypothetical situations are non-recurring, situations/events denoted by hypothetical statements do not lend themselves to being conventionalized. Consider the relative clause with *me.* below:

(110) *kinsa yo:ga ku. me. hsayawun twei hswe:=nwei: nei ca. te*
    cancer disease cure IRR doctors   PLU discuss   stay PLU RLS
    'The doctors who are going to cure cancer are in conference.'

(110) does not state that the doctors *are* cancer specialists, but that "(some) doctors who are going to cure cancer are in conference." When *me.* is deleted, *kinsa yo:ga ku. hsayawun twei* changes in meaning to 'cancer curing doctors'.

Similarly, (111), does not imply that the carpenter specializes in roof-repair.

(111) *amou: pyin me. le'=thama: di nya.=nei la   me*
      roof   repair IRR carpenter   this evening come IRR
      'The carpenter who will repair the roof will come this evening.'

On the other hand, the reduced relative clause, *amou: pyin le'-thama:* means 'a roof-

repairing carpenter', i.e. one who specializes in repairing roofs.

Order of pre-head modifiers and semantic scope The genitive and the relative

clause occur in flexible order without affecting the overall meaning of the modified NP:

(112) *ca-no. ahpou:=tan te.   sa-ou' twei*
      my   valuable   REL book   PLU
      'my books which are valuable'

(113) *ahpou:=tan te.   ca-no. sa-ou' twei*
      valuable   REL my   book PLU
      'ibid'

Similarly, the demonstrative and the relative clause occur in flexible order without

resulting in any meaning difference:

(114) *hou thou: thwa: te.   we'=tha: hin:*
      that rancid *go*   REL pork   curry
      'that pork curry which has turned rancid'

(115) *thou: thwa: te.   hou we'=tha: hin:*
      rancid *go* REL that pork   curry
      'ibid.'

Plural Markers

Of the three plural markers *tou.*, *twei* and *mya:* , only *mya:* has a synchronically relatable lexical word, the verb *mya:*, meaning 'to be many'. In its function to mark plurality, *tou.* is restricted to human nouns, in contrast to *twei* and *mya:* which occur with human as well as non-human nouns. Furthermore, *twei* may occur with count as well as non-count nouns in contrast to *mya:* which may not occur with non-count nouns. The marker *tou.* occurs with personal nouns to mark plurality as well as inclusiveness, 'and the others, and the rest'.

> *u: aun zeiya. tou. ko:*   **u: aun zeiya. mya:/twei*
> name   PLU Q
> 'What about U Aung Zeya and the others?'

> *myanma tou. a.caun:*
> Burmese PLU fact
> 'about the Burmese'

The distribution of *tou.* with non-human NP's is limited to a construction where there is a sequence of two or more NP's, having the meaning, 'and so on'/ 'and the like'. In other words, it does not mark inclusiveness as it does when it follows human NP's.

> (116) *sa=ou' tou. hke:=tan tou. kou yu la hpou. ma-mei. ne.*
> book PLU pencil   PLU OBJ bring come COMP NEG-forget IMP
> 'Don't forget to bring books, pencils and the like.'

The markers *mya:* and *twei*, on the other hand, do not occur with personal names and pronouns to mark plurality.

> *tin tin ne. hla. hla. tou. / * mya: / *twei*

Consequently, when *mya:* follows a singular subject personal name, the semantics of the personal name blocks the literal plural meaning of *mya:*, and it takes on a meaning of

vagueness:

> *tin=tin mya: la   tha-la: ma-thi.   hpu:*
> name   *vague* come RLS-Q NEG-know NEG
> 'I don't know if Tin Tin came.'

Consider too the difference between the grammatical *lu twei / mya:* 'people' and the

questionable *lu tou.*, which is semantically awkward since the generic meaning of 'people'

is inconsistent with that of inclusiveness which is part of the semantics of *tou.* .

Consider the following extract from a text, written in a literary style :

(117) *ta   nei. twin myanma si'-tha: mya: aun-pwe: ya. pyi: ei:=hsei:*
one day LOC Burmese soldiers PLU victory   get NF cool=calm

swa   le-pa' nei ca.   tha-hpyin. lu=su.   kwe: nei i.
ADV visit   *stay* PLU because   people=group separate *stay* RLS

'One day, the Burmese soldiers got separated as they went calmly visiting after

being victorious (in a battle)...'

In (117), *myanma si'-tha: mya:* 'Burmese soldiers' merely indicates plurality. It does not

refer to all the Burmese soldiers (at the fort). However, at the end of the paragraph, which

describes the conclusion of the siege by the British, *myanma tou.* occurs, meaning 'all the

Burmese':

(118) *myanma tou.   ayei:=neim. thwa: hke.   ya. thi*
Burmese PLU be.defeated *go*   *distal get* RLS
'The Burmese were defeated...'

<u>Pronouns and plural marking</u> The plural marker *tou.* occurs after the first and

second person pronouns whereas *mya:* and *twei* do not.

(119) *nga tou. bama twei gaba ahnan.   pyan. koun ca   pi   (*nga mya:/twei)*
1P PLU Bur. PLU world everywhere spread *all*   PLU PUNC
'We Burmans have spread all over the world.'

(120) *min: tou. be thwa: ça ma lou. le:*   *(*min: mya:/twei)*
2P   PLU WH go   PLU IRR COMP Q
'Where are you (guys) going?'

tou. occurs after the third person pronoun *thu* in all contexts; *mya:* and *twei* occur in some contexts but not in others.

(121) *thu tou. pyan thwa: ça pi*   *(*thu mya:/twei)*
3P PLU   return go   PLU PUNC
'They have gone back.'

There are certain constraints on the distribution of *thu=mya:*, as *mya:* does not invariably indicate plurality in all syntactic constructions. We have seen previously that when *thu=mya:* occurs as the head of a relative clause, it is a generic plural NP (cf. 103). On the other hand, it functions like a non-referential indefinite pronoun, meaning "some other person but not me" (cf. 106), which does not have an antecedent, in the following sentences. The meaning "some other person" may be related to the 'vague' sense which *mya:* takes on when it follows personal nouns as in *tin=tin mya: la tha-la: ma-thi. hpu:* 'I'm not sure whether Tin Tin came.' (seen earlier, pp. 57-58).

(122) *thu=mya:*   *kou pei: lai'*
some.other.person OBJ give *away*
'Give it to some other person/someone else.'

(123) *thu=mya:*   *pyo: hta*
some.other.person say NOM
'Some other person (but not me) said it.'

thu=mya: is appropriate in (123) but not in (124), because of its meaning of 'someone else *but not me*'.

(124) *? thu=mya:*   *la te*
some.other.person come RLS
'Some other person (but not me) came/is at the door.'

Obviously, when the speaker reports that 'someone' is at the door, it cannot logically be himself. In this context, 'someone else' has as its frame of reference not the speaker but an implied third person. The meaning of 'someone other than a third person' is indicated by the pre-modifier *ta/a-hca:* :

(125) *ta-hca:*   *lu*   *la*   *te*   (< *hca:* 'be separate')
      a-separate person come RLS
      'Someone *else* came.'

In the same context, the referential indefinite expression 'someone' is also appropriate, which is indicated by the classifier phrase 'NP one person'.[15]

(126) *lu*   *ta-yau'*   *la*   *te*
      person one-CLF come RLS
      'Someone came.'

Additionally, *thu tou./ mya:/ twei.* occur as the head of reduced relative clauses to denote a generic, non-referential meaning:

(127) *atha: sa: thu tou./ mya:/ twei*   *di*   *be'*   *la*
      meat eat 3P PLU   this side come
      'Meat-eaters step this side.'

Differences between *mya:* and *twei*   In the examples above, *mya:* and *twei* are seen to pattern together in opposition to *tou.*. However, a further distinction can be made between *mya:* and *twei*; *twei* which follows mass nouns in contrast to *mya:* which does not.

(128) *hsi twei /* **mya: hpei' thwa: pi*
      oil PLU   spill *go*   PUNC
      'The oil has spilt.'

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[15]'One' is commonly used as an indefinite pronoun cross-linguistically. See Givon (1984:381-3) for a discussion on indefinite pronouns.

(129) *hsa: twei / *mya: ma. hte. ne.*
salt PLU   NEG put IMP
'Don't put a lot of salt.'

(130) *yei   twei / *mya: sin   koun pi*
water PLU   splash *all*   PUNC
'(They) have (all) been splashed with water.'

twei also occurs with count nouns:

(131) *hke:=tan twei be   yau' thwa: le:*
pencil   PLU WH reach *go*   Q
'Where are the pencils?'

(132) *di sa=ou twei ka.   to-to tan=bou: hyi. te*
this book PLU SUB quite value   have RLS
'These books are quite valuable.'

Classifiers

Following Matisoff (1973:88),[16] classifiers in Burmese may be defined as a type of limited noun that occurs only after numerals or after another classifier, and whose selection is determined by a preceding noun. Numeral classifiers are found throughout Southeast Asia in languages of different genetic affiliations, Thai, Mon-Hkmer and Sino-Tibetan.[17] Like Lahu, Burmese has a highly developed system of classifiers. Classifiers may generally be categorized according to whether they measure, group into aggregates or classify by semantic type, which is usually the shape of the object being quantified.

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[16]This section follows Matisoff's analysis of classifiers in Lahu and adopts some of his terminology.

[17]See Okell (1969:209-19) for a comprehensive list of classifiers.

The general all-purpose classifier   The general classifier *hku.* is used with abstract

nouns such as *a-twei: ta-hku.* 'an idea/thought', *zaga: ta-hku.* 'something to say', *a-lou' ta-*

hku. 'a job', *mei:=hkun: hna-hku.* 'two questions', *zaga=poun thoun: hku.* 'three proverbs'.

It occurs with a non-specific material noun as in *pyi'si: ta-hku.* 'one (unspecified) object'.

It does not occur with humans, animals and sacred objects. As the general, unmarked

classifier, it is used for counting objects, e.g. *ta-hku., hna-hku., thoun: hku.* 'One, two, three

(things)'. When one does not want to be specific, the head may be omitted.

(133) *hou ta-hku.   yu   la   la:*
that one-CLF bring *come* Q
'Did (you) bring that thing?'.

Sometimes, a head noun may allow different classifiers. Okell's (1969:214) examples are

put into sentences below:

(134) *zaga: ta-hku.   hyi. te*   (general classifier)
language one-CLF have RLS
'There's a saying.'

(135) *zaga: ta-hkun: pyo: hcin te*   (*hkun:* occurs in expressions related to
lang. one-word say want RLS   speech; classifies spoken things)
'May I say something.'
(Lit: 'I want to say a word.')

(136) *zaga: ta-loun: htwe' hpou. to=to saun. ya. te*   (*loun:* 'to be round')
lang. one-CLF exit   COMP quite wait *get* RLS
'One has to wait for a while to hear a word.'
(It takes a while to hear him utter a word.)

Classifiers for humans and animals The general human classifier is *yau'* as in *lu*

thoun: yau' 'three people'; *pa:* is used for people of nobility, royalty and revered people as

in *wun=ci: lei: pa:* 'four ministers', *ba-yin ta-pa:* 'a king' and   *hpoun:=ci: kou: pa:* 'nine

monks'. Animals and other beings perceived to be inferior to humans take *kaun* as their classifier. This not only includes animals, fish, birds, insects etc. but also supernatural beings such as *bilu:* 'ogres' and *tha-ye:* 'ghosts' who are on a lower plane of existence.

Auto-classifiers These are nouns which are used as their own classifiers, and are referred to as 'repeaters' by Hla Pe (1965); e.g. *eim ta eim* 'one house', *caun: thoun: caun:* 'three schools'. Some quantified compound head nouns are partially classified, i.e. their classifiers are the same as their last syllables, e.g. *hsei=lei' ta-lei'* 'a cigarette' (*hsei:* 'tobacco' + *lei'* 'to roll'), *bo=loun: thoun: loun:* 'three balls' (*bo* 'ball' + *loun:* 'be round'), *da'=poun lei: poun* 'four photos' (*da'* 'base element' + *poun* 'picture').

Measure classifiers Mass nouns that are quantified select measure or receptacle words as their classifiers, e.g. *yei thoun: lita* 'three liters of water', *le'hpe'=yei ta-hkwe'* 'a cup of tea', *hsi nga: palin:* 'five bottles of oil'.

Time classifiers Words referring to units of time occur directly after numerals, e.g. *hna-pa'* 'two weeks'; *ta-nayi* 'one hour', *nga: hni'* 'five years', *hcau' mi.ni'* 'six minutes'.

Group classifiers These are used for aggregates; e.g. *lu thoun: su.* 'three groups of people', *nwa: ta-ou'* 'a herd of cows', *lu=mai' ta-thai'* 'a nest of bad-hats', *pan: ta-si:* 'a bunch of flowers (*si:* 'to tie together').

Round-number classifiers Any number, excepting an even twenty, hundred, thousand, etc. is followed by the classifier; e.g. *hsan hyi' loun:* 'eight tins of rice', *hsan hse loun:* 'ten tins of rice', *hsan hse-kou:loun:* 'nineteen tins of rice'.

hsa: hse thoun: ei'
salt   ten   three bag
'thirteen bags of salt'

tha-hkou: lei: htaun   thoun: ya   hna-hse kou: yau'
thief   4   thousand 3   hundred 2   ten   9   CLF
'4329 thieves'

But when the quantity is an even twenty, hundred, thousand, etc. the classifier is omitted as

in *tha-hkou: lei: htaun* 'four thousand thieves', or the appropriate classifier takes the prefix

a- and comes before the numeral as in *bo=loun: a-loun: hna-hse* 'twenty balls'.

Reduplication of classifiers   Classifiers of all types may be reduplicated in

Burmese. Reduplication occurs only with the numeral one. When a classifier is reduplicated

with the numeral one, the NP has an indeterminate, indefinite sense.

(137) *bo=loun: ta-loun: loun: yu   la   pa*
      ball   one CLF CLF   take come POL
      'Please bring a ball (any ball)'.

Numerical approximation   Burmese, like Lahu, expresses numerical

approximation by the use of two classifier phrases where the second contains a numeral that

is one greater than the first. In such expressions, the classifier may be omitted from the first

quantifier expression; e.g. *htamin: lei: lou' nga: lou'* or *htamin: lei: nga: lou'* meaning 'four

or five mouthfuls of rice'.

Quantifiers

Quantifiers, which are the final elements in the NP, comprise a diverse group of

syntactic constructions in Burmese. The following list notes, wherever applicable, the lexical

sources and construction types for different types of quantifier expressions, and reveals, in

part, the process of lexical formation in Burmese. The following quantifiers[18] additionally

qualify the quantity described in the classifier phrase.

thu tou. thoun: yau' hpe:
3P PLU three CLF only
'*only* the three of them'

yei   ta-hkwe' lau'   (< *lau'* 'to be enough')
water one-cup   about
'*about* a cup of water'

ngwei ca' thoun:-ya   co   (< *co* 'to surpass')
money Kyat three-hundred over
'*over* three hundred Kyats'   (Currency unit)

yei   (twei) ta=poun: loun: (< *loun:* 'be round')
water PLU   one=pail round
'the *whole pail* of water'

kyan   ta=hcaun: loun:
sugarcane one=long thing round
'the *whole stem* of sugarcane'

we'=tha: lei: toun: si   (< *si* 'to put in order, to put into a line')
pig=flesh four piece each
'Four pieces of pork *each*'

hsan thoun: pyi ti.=ti.
rice   three pyi exact
'exactly three pyis of rice'   (< *ti.* 'trim, pare', *ti.=ca.* 'to be exact')

The quantifiers below do not co-occur with classifier phrases:

mein:ma. (twei) ta/a-hcou.
woman   PLU some
'*some* women'

The verb *hcou.* means 'to be insufficient, inadequate, to be lacking or wanting in

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[18]Wheatley (1980:124) classifies these as nominal postpositions.

something' (Burmese English Dictionary1993).

The quantifier expressions below derive from nominalized verbs:

lu   (twei)   a=mya:=ci:
people PLU   NOM=many=big
'*a great many* people'

lu   a=mya:=su.
people NOM=many=gather
'*most* of the people'

lu   a=ne:=nge
people NOM=little=small
'*few* people'

lu   (twei)   a:=loun:
people PLU   (?)=round
'*all* the people'

Burmese uses the question words *be* 'which' and *ba* 'what' (from *be+ha* 'which thing) in

the following constructions to express notions of 'any' and 'none':

(138)   *be   thu   ma-hsou   la   nain   te*
which person NEG-say come can   IRR
'*Anyone* can come.'   Lit: '(I) won't say which person.'

(139)   *be   thu   hma.   ma   la   hpu:*
which person even   NEG come NEG
'*No one* came.'   Lit: 'Even which person did not come.'

(140)   *ba/be ha   ma-hsou   sa: nain te*
which thing NEG-say eat   can IRR
'I can eat *anything.*'   Lit: 'I won't say which thing.'

(141)   *ba/be ha   hma.   ma   sa: nain hpu:*
which thing even   NEG eat can   NEG
'(I) cannot eat *anything*'   Lit: 'I cannot eat even which thing.'

Partitive expressions resemble classifier expressions in that a numeral is followed by a

'measure' word that is lexically related to a verb of 'severing'.

kei'=moun. ta-we'
cake=snack one-half
'half a cake'

hna-pain: 'two parts'   (<*pain:* 'to cut up')

thoun:-sei'   'three slices/quarters'   (<*sei'* 'to cut into pieces')

ta-hcan: 'half'   (<*hcan:* 'to halve')

Fractions sequence the denominator and the numerator 'measure' phrases.

lei:=pain: thoun:=pain:
four part   three part
'three fourths'

lei:=poun thoun:=poun
four pile   three   pile
'three fourths'

NP Conjunction

Conjoined NP's in a single clause participate jointly in a single event and share the same case role. Givon (1990:495) observes that in many OV languages, the conjunction particle 'and' is derived historically from the comitative postposition 'with'. The conjunction particle *ne.* 'and' in Burmese, also functions synchronically as the comitative postposition 'with'.

NP *ne.* NP   Subject NP's conjoined with *ne.* may either be engaged together in the same activity or be engaged in a reciprocal activity. In ex. (142), the two participants are in some psychological and/or physical sense engaged together in the act of walking.

(142) *maunmaun ne. myamya lan:=shau nei ca.   te*
       name   and name   road-walk *stay* PLU RLS
       'Maung Maung and Mya Mya are walking (together).'

Exx.(143, 144) have reciprocal subjects where each participant performs an action that affects the other.

(143). *maunmaun ne.   myamya nan: nei   ca.   te*
name   and name   kiss *stay* PLU RLS
'Maung Maung and Mya Mya are kissing.'

(144) *maunmaun ne. myamya yan=hpyi' nei   ca.   te*
name   and name   fight   *stay* PLU RLS
'Maung Maung and Mya Mya are fighting.'

In sentences having conjoined object NP's, the object NP's are affected by the verb action in exactly the same way.

(145) *hkwei: ta   kaun ne.   caun ta   kaun lou=hcin te*
dog   one CLF and cat one CLF want   RLS
'(I) want a dog and a cat.'

(146) *maunmaun ne. myamya kou   hsaya=ci: ka.   hsu   te*
name   and name   OBJ teacher=big SUB scold RLS
'The principal scolded Maung Maung and Mya Mya.'

As conjoined NP's share the same case role, they may be additionally followed by a case-marking postposition.

(147) *thida ne.   sanda hpou. le'=hsaun twei pa   la   te*
name and name *for*   gift   PLU accompany *come* RLS
'(I) brought gifts for Thida and Sanda.'

(148) *bouni ne. co=thu caun.   pwe:=pye.   ya. te*
name and name   *because.of* affair=destroy *get* RLS
'(It's) a disaster because of Bo Ni and Kyaw Thu.'

<u>The Comitative Function of *ne.*</u> As mentioned earlier, Givon (1984:130) observes that in many languages the coordinate conjunction 'and' is simply a later sub-sense (or broadening, cf. Eric Pederson) of an originally asymmetrical 'with'.

(149) *tin=mou: ka   win:=win: ne. la   te*
      name   SUB name   **with come** RLS
      'Tin Moe came with Win Win.'

Previously, *ne.* , as a conjunction, is seen to occur between two NP's sharing the same case

role. However, when *ne.* occurs after the second NP (cf. 144), the participant roles become

asymmetrical, one marked as subject and the other as comitative. The participants no longer

share subject role, and the presence of the plural marker *ca.* consequently becomes

ungrammatical.

(150) *maunmaun myamya ne.   yan=hpyi' nei (*ca.) te*
      name   name   **with** fight   stay PLU RLS
      'Maung Maung is fighting with Mya Mya.'

<u>Other Types of NP Coordination</u>   Two NP's may also be coordinated by prefixing

each with *ko:* or *yo:*. This construction differs from *ne.* coordination in that it does not

describe a single event. It indicates instead that the NP's are individually engaged in identical

activities. Givon (1990:495) notes that this is a fairly common strategy, "where the

separateness of the conjoined NP's - thus of the states or events that logically underlie them -

is emphasized." In (151), both subjects are walking at the same time, and possibly even in

the same general area, but they are not walking together in any sense of the word.

(151) *maun maun ko:/yo: mya mya ko:/yo: lan:=shau' nei ca.   te*
      name   *ko:/yo:* name   *ko:/yo:* road=walk *stay* PLU RLS
      'Both Maung Maung and Mya Mya are walking.'

As the *ko:/yo:* construction conjoins NP's participating in separate but identical or parallel

activities, each NP may be marked with either the subject or object marker, but they cannot

be marked together as subject or object with a single case marker. Below, each NP is marked

with the object marker *kou* .

(152) *tin=htu' kou yo: sou:=htu' kou yo: hsaya ka.   hsu te*
name   OBJ too name   OBJ too teacher SUB   scold RLS
'The teacher scolded Tin Htut as well as Soe Htut.'

(153) *tintin ka.   ko: su.su. ka.   ko: ma-lou' pei: nain hpu: lou.   pyo: te*
name SUB too name SUB too NEG-do *give* *can* NEG COMP say RLS
' Tin Tin, as well as Su Su, said that they cannot do (it) for you.'

Other uses of *ko:/yo:*   A single NP may be followed by *ko:/yo:* in an interrogative

sentence or an emphatic phrase occurring on its own or in a sentence. The interrogative asks

whether the NP is involved in an activity/event parallel to, or identical with another event.

(154) *maun maun ko: lan:=shau' nei la:*
name   *also* road=walk *stay* Q
'Is Maung Maung walking too?'

In interrogatives with *ko:*, the main verb and question particle is quite often elided:

(155) *maun maun ko: (sa: ma-la:)*
name   *also* (eat IRR-Q)
'What about Maung Maung (is he eating too)?'

yo: occurs in an emphatic phrase below:

(156) *mya mya yo: hpe: (sa: te)*
name   *also* EMPH
'Mya Mya too, indeed!'

However, a single NP followed by *ko:/yo:* cannot occur alone in a declarative sentence;

mya mya yo: sa: te is highly questionable, the preferred postposition being *le:* as in *mya mya*

le: sa: te 'Mya Mya ate too.'

The NP + *pa* construction   An NP followed by *pa* designates that NP, or the event

it participates in, as additional to an NP in a previous or parallel event. The postpositional

use of *pa* is interesting here as *pa* is synchronically relatable to the lexical verb *pa*, meaning

'to accompany'. However, 'initial obstruent voicing' occurs in its use as a postposition

because of the close juncture between it and the preceding noun.

(157) *coco pa*   *la te*
name *accompany* come RLS
'Kyaw Kyaw came too.'

Below, *pa* is not voiced as it is a lexical verb; the absence of voicing indicates the word

boundary between it and the preceding noun. Note also that *la* 'come' takes on the function

of a versatile auxiliary.

(158) *coco pa*   *la te*
name accompany *come* RLS
'Kyaw Kyaw accompanied (me) here.'

As a stylistic variant, an NP suffixed with *ko:/yo:* may be followed by another NP suffixed

with *pa*.

(159) *maun maun yo:/ko: mya mya pa*   *la ca. te*
name   also   name   accompany come PLU RLS
'Both Maung Maung and Mya Mya came.'

But unlike *ko:/yo:*, the main verb and the question particle cannot be elided from an

interrogative with *pa* :

(160) *maun maun pa*   *sa: ma-la:*
name   accompany eat IRR-Q
'Will Maung Maung eat too?'

CHAPTER IV

POST-NOMINAL FUNCTION WORDS

The previous chapter looked firstly at different types of nouns and nominal compounds, and secondly at the structure of the noun phrase. This chapter looks at the function or semantic role of the noun phrase, that is, it looks at how the noun phrase is related to other phrasal or clausal elements. Specifically, this chapter looks at the relative order and distribution of post-nominal function words, i.e. postpositions, indicating various semantic and functional roles which the NP may assume. Additionally, the chapter also lists final post-nominal elements which mark the speaker's attitude, tone or the interrogative mood.

Classificatory Considerations

This chapter looks at the relative order and distribution of post-nominal elements and sorts them into position classes. An exponent that occurs in post-nominal as well as after other categorical classes, will be appropriately noted in the relevant section. For example, a post-nominal element like *hpou.* 'for', which marks the NP as beneficiary, also occurs immediately after the VP to mark it as a subordinate clause of purpose and will also be appropriately discussed in the section on subordination. Additionally, it should be noted that post-nominal elements which indicate discourse-level inter-clausal relations, or the

pragmatics of the utterance in which the NP has a semantic or functional role, also occur widely as subordinate clause markers. However, their meaning or function as post-nominal elements may differ from that of marking subordinate clauses.

Degree of Grammaticalization

Wheatley (1982:89-90) distinguishes "between two kinds of function words in Burmese, one which is phonetically meaty and the other which is phonetically spare. The phonetically meaty function word is relatable to a lexical word whereas the phonetically spare one has no known etymology." He calls the "spare, lexically orphaned, highly grammatical and abstract words particles." He notes additionally that there are a large number of function words in Burmese which are neither fully lexical nor fully grammaticalized and gives "the subordinate noun" *a-twe'* as example. Wheatley notes that a-twe', from its original status as the head noun of a genitive phrase, has undergone semantic depletion, shifting from its nominalized verb meaning of 'calculation' to 'for'. DeLancey (1997:63), in discussing grammaticalization and the gradience of categories, also notes with reference to relator nouns and postpositions in Burmese, that "the presence of the prefix *a-* (in *a-twe'*) makes the form more, and its absence less, noun-like." Furthermore, DeLancey adds that "the presence of the creaky tone (on the preceding NP) is more consistent with a dependent noun-head noun analysis of the phrase, and its absence with a noun-postposition analysis." Wheatley's and DeLancey's observations are relevant to the classification of post-nominal elements as the exponents

of a particular position class vary along a continuum between more and less lexical or between more or less grammaticalized. Wheatley (1982:93) observes that in general, the more abstract function words in Burmese are found to the right of the more concrete. To this, we might add that within a position class itself, exponents belonging to it evince varying degrees of abstractness or stages of grammaticalization.

Terminological Distinctions

Wheatley (1982) classifies the plural markers *tou.* , *twei* and *mya:* as noun suffixes and subsumes them under post-nominal function words whereas in my classification, plural markers are part of the NP. Wheatley also observes that noun suffixes like *loun:* 'whole', *hte:* 'only', *paun:* 'together', *co* 'over, more', *lau'* 'about' and *ti. ti.* 'exactly' are usually found following quantifier phrases. I have noted in the previous chapter that these elements qualify the classifier phrase as part of the NP. In my classification, elements of the NP do not mark intra-clausal semantic or grammatical relations, whereas post-NP elements, i.e. postpositions do.

This section not only looks at post-NP elements which mark the NP for its intra-clausal semantic role or function, but also at additional elements which further indicate inter-clausal discourse/pragmatic notions of emphasis, addition, restriction, contrast or concession. Following inter-clausal discourse/pragmatic role markers are markers of tone or attitude which occur in final position. Table 5 shows the position classes by which post-nominal elements are sorted.

Relative Order of Post-NP Elements

TABLE 5. Post-NP Elements

		Intra-Clausal Semantic Relations	Inter-Clausal Scope	Speech Act
		Propositional *Semantic Role* — *Propositional Semantic* *Role Marker*	*Discourse Role/* *Pragmatics of* *Utterance*	*Tone*
NP	SUBJECT	*zero, ka. , ha*	*le:* 'also, too'	*po.* 'curt'
	OBJECT	*zero, kou*	*hpe:* 'only/emphatic'	*pa* 'polite'
	OBLIQUE		*tha* 'only'	*kwa* 'manly'
	Ablative	*ka.* 'from'	*to.* 'contrast'	*kwe* 'gentle'
	Allative	*kou* 'to'		*lei* 'gentle'
	Locative	*hma* 'at'		*kou:* 'indeed'
	Comitative	*ne.* 'with'	*ko:* 'too'	*ko:* 'What
	Temporal	*ka. / hma (kou)*		about?'
	Identity	*hman:* 'identifies NP'	*hma.* '(not) even'	*no* 'Right?'
	Manner	*lou* 'like NP'	*taun* 'even'	*la:* 'Polar Q'
	Measure	*lau '* 'as much as NP'		
	Comparison	*hte '* 'more then NP'		
	Benefactive	*hpou.* 'for NP'		
	Benefactive	*a-twe '* 'for NP'		
	Reason	*jaun.* 'because of NP'		
	Substitution	*a-sa:* 'instead of NP'	*mya:* 'disdain',	
	Matter	*a-caun:* 'about NP'	'vagueness'	
	Manner	*a-tain:* 'like NP'		
	Limit	*a-hti.* 'as far as/up to'		
	Addition	*a-pyin* 'outside of/additionally'		
	Location	RN + [Locative *hma*] [Ablative *ka.*] [Allative *kou*]		
	Possession	*ye.* + Possessed NP		

Propositional Semantic Role Markers

Propositional semantic role markers include those which mark the core arguments of the verb, namely, subject or object, as well as those marking oblique arguments. The list of post-nominal elements in the column under propositional semantic role markers reflects the restriction on the co-occurrence of any two of them; in other words, neither of these elements may co-occur with any other element in the same position class.

We begin with a brief description of the marking of core arguments of the clause, namely, subject and object. As a number of interacting functional/semantic domains bear upon the selection of subject and object marking, such syntactic alternations will be looked at in more detail in the next chapter. The section below looks at the order of subject and object markers relative to other post-nominal function words. Additionally, each of the oblique semantic role markers will be looked at in turn below. Examples will include final elements, which indicate the discourse/pragmatic role or the tone/attitude, to the maximum possible combinatory sequence provided there is no semantic incompatibility.

<u>Subject</u>   Subject role may be marked with zero, *ka.* or *ha* .

(1)   *hla. hla. to.*   *ma-pyo: hpu:*
      name   *contrast* NEG-say NEG
      'Hla Hla (in contrast) did not say (something).'/ 'As for Hla Hla, she didn't say it.'

(2)   *hla. hla. ka.   taun   ma-pyo: hta*
      name   SUB *even* NEG-say NOM
      'Even Hla Hla didn't say it.'

(3)   *hla. hla. ko: la:*
      name   *too* Q
      'Hla Hla too?'

(4)   *hla. hla. taun ḵou:*
name   *even indeed*
'Even Hla Hla indeed!'

(5)   *hpou: tou' ha   lu=hsou: la: lu=leinma   la:*
name   SUB person=bad Q   person=good Q
'Is Hpo Toke a good or bad person?'

<u>Object</u>   Object role may be marked with zero or *kou* .

(6)   *thu.   ḵou hpe: no*
3P.O OBJ *only right?*
'Only her, right?'

(7)   *thu.   ḵou ṯaun la:*
3P.O OBJ *even* Q
'Even him?'

(8)   *thu.   ḵou pa*
3P.O OBJ POL
'Him.'   (Indicates the object NP in a polite tone.)

<u>Ablative</u>   The subject marker *ka.* also marks ablative case, which marks the NP as

source. Note that a human source (or destination) has to be marked as a location with *hsi*,

a bound morpheme.

(9)   *thu. hsi ḵa.   ya. ṯe*
3P.G *place source* get RLS
'I got (it) from him.'

(10)   *kala: zaga: ḵa.   hsin: ṯe*   (Wheatley 1982: 48)
Indian language *source* descend RLS
'(It's) borrowed from the Indian language.'

(11)   *be ḵa.   la   le:*
WH *source* come Q
'Where did you come from?'

<u>Allative</u>   The object marker *kou* also marks allative case, which marks the NP as

the goal of literal movement or as a metaphorical goal.

(12) *yujin: kou se'=bein: si: thwa: me*
Eugene to   bicycle   ride *go*   IRR
'I will ride (my) bike to Eugene.'

(13) *nga. hsi   kou pyei: la   te*
1P.G *place* to   run   *come* RLS
'(He) came running to me.'

(14) *thu. hsi   kou pai'=hsan pou. lai'   te*
3P   *place goal* money   send *away* RLS
'(I) sent money to him.'

(15) *pan:=tain kou yau'   aun   cou:=sa: me*
goal   OBJ reach PUR   strive   IRR
'I will strive to reach (my) goal.'

(16) *be   kou le:*
WH to Q
'Where are you off to?'

Locative   *hma* marks the NP as a static location.

(17) *ein   hma caun hyi. la:*
house LOC cat   have Q
'Is there a cat at (your) house?' / 'Do you have a cat at home?'

(18) *yan=koun hma   se'=youn twei   a-mya:=ci: hyi.   te*
Rangoon   LOC factories   PLU   plenty   be.situated RLS
'There are lots of factories in Rangoon .'

(19) *be   hma le:*
WH LOC Q
'Where is (it)?'

Comitative   The comitative *ne.* is related to the conjunction *ne.* and has been

noted in the section on NP conjunction: *tin=tin ka. win:=win: ne. ka. te* 'Tin Tin danced

with Win Win.'; *ne.* also has an instrumental function:

(20) *hlan ne.   htou: te*
spear *with* stab   RLS
'(He) stabbed with a spear.

(21) *hlan   ne.   hpe: kwa*
      spear *with   only tone*
      'Only with a spear!'

(22) *hlan   ne.   mya: kwa*
      spear *with disdain* manly.tone
      'That you should use a spear!'

(23) *ba   ne. le:*
      WH *with* Q
      'With what?'

Temporal   Time expressions may be marked with *ka.*, *hma,* and to a lesser

extent with *kou* . The ablative *ka.* indicates the beginning of a period of time.

(24) *nga: nayi ka.   you'=hyin sa.   te*
      five hour *source* movie   start RLS
      'The movie started at 5 o' clock.'

(25) *hcau' nayi ka.   hyi'   nayi a-hti. sa=hpa' te*
      six   hour *source* eight hour up.to study   RLS
      'He studied from 6 to 8.'

ka. occurs in past time expressions.

(26) *ma-hni' ka.   (*hma) sa=mei:=pwe: aun te*
      last.year PAST   examination   pass RLS
      'He passed the exam last year.'

hma occurs in future and generic time expressions.

(27) *sa=nei=nei. hma (*ka.) bo=loun: pwe: hyi. te*
      Saturday   LOC   ball   affair be RLS
      'There's a ball game on Saturday.'

(28) *mou:=u:=ca. hma (*ka.) hpa: twei a:=ci: o   te*
      rain=start=fall LOC   frog PLU a.lot   shout RLS
      'Frogs croak a lot in the beginning of the rainy season.'

The allative *kou* may occur in a future time expression to mark it as the temporal goal of an

event.

(29) *nau. la.   kou di kei'sa. a-pi: hyin: hpou. yi=ywe te*
next month *goal* this matter NOM-finish clear COMP intend RLS
'I intend to finish resolving this matter by next month.'

In contrast, the locative *hma* merely indicates future time, e.g., *nau. la. hma di kei'sa. a-pi: hyin: hpou. yi=ywe te* means 'I intend to finish resolving this matter next month.'

<u>Identity</u>   *hman:* occurs synchronically as a verb, meaning 'to estimate, gauge'.

(30) *hsaya=ci: hman: ma-thi.   lou.   ma hta. hta pa kwa*
principal *identity* NEG-know because NEG stand NOM POL *tone*
'I didn't stand up as I didn't know it was the principal.'

(31) *hsaya=ci: hman: taun ma-thi   hpu: la:*
principal *identity* even NEG-know NEG Q
'Don't you even know that was the principal?'

(32) *ba hman: le: ma-thi.   hpu:*
WH *identity also* NEG-know NEG
'I don't know what's up/going on.'

<u>Manner</u>   *lou*, which marks similarity in manner or attribute, is synchronically opaque.

(33) *thu. lou lu   ka. to.   hya: te*
3P.G *like* person SUB *contrast* rare RLS
'Someone like him is rare indeed.'

(34) *thu. lou hpe: po.*
3P.G *like only tone*
'Just like him.'

(35) *be   lou le:*
WH *like* Q
'What was it like?/How was it?'

<u>Measure</u>   *lau'* also occurs synchronically as the verb 'be enough/adequate'.

(36) *a-hpou: ka. myei: nge kou myei: ci: lau'   ma-hci' hpu:*
granddad SUB grandchild small OBJ grandchild big *measure* NEG-love NEG
'Granddad doesn't love the younger grandchild as much as he does the older.'

(37) *thu. lau' hpe: la:*
3P.G *measure only* Q
'Only as much as him?'

(38) *be lau' le:*
WH *measure* Q
'How much?'

Comparison *hte'* occurs as part of the noun *a-hte'* 'upper'.

(39) *tin tin. hte. taun lei*
name.G *more even tone*
'Even more than Tin Tin (gently said).'

Benefactive *hpou.* also occurs after the VP to mark it as a subordinate clause

of 'purpose'.

(40) *nga. hpou. hpe: po.*
I.G *for only curt*
'For me only, of course!'

Another way to mark a beneficiary is with *a-twe'*, which is a relator noun. Note the genitive

marking which occurs on personal nouns, a structural reflection of the nominal status of the

erstwhile genitive head *a-twe'* . The lexical verb *twe'* means 'to calculate'.

(41) *thu. a-twe' hpe: thu sin:=sa: la:*
3P.G *for only* 3P think Q
'Does he think only for himself?'

Reason *jaun.* is related to the noun *a-caun:* 'cause':

(42) *thu. jaun. la:*
3P.G *reason* Q
'Because of him?'

(43) *nga. jaun. mya: la:*
I.G *reason plural* Q
'Is it (possibly) because of me?' (*mya:* indicates vague tone)

(44) *ba   caun. le:*
WH *reason* Q
'Why?'

Substitution As a synchronic lexical verb, *sa:* means 'to eat'; the etymology of *a-sa:* is relatively opaque as it is not easily relatable to the verb.

(45) *thu. a-sa: tin tin. kou hkan.   lai' te*
3P.G *instead.of*   name OBJ appoint *away* RLS
'Tin Tin was appointed instead of him.'

Matter As a putative postposition, *a-caun:* means 'about something'; as a lexical noun, it means 'cause' or 'fact/information'.

(46) *di   you'=hyin yai'   poun   a-caun: pyo: pya. pa   oun:*
this movie   make manner *about* tell *show* POL *Cumulative*
'Tell (us) more about how the movie was made.'

(47) *ba   a-caun: le:*
WH *about*   Q
'What is it about?'

Manner *a-tain:* is synchronically related to the verb *tain:* 'to measure'; *a-tain:*, from its meaning of 'a measure', has shifted metaphorically to mean similarity or likeness.

(48) *ta-hca: lu=myou: twei a-tain: ko:*
other   races   PLU *manner what.about*
'What about like other races/nationalities?'

Limit *a-hti.* is synchronically related to the verb *hti.* 'to touch'; the deverbal noun *a-hti.* has shifted metaphorically in meaning from its sense of touching a spatial point (a physical location) to indicate touching or reaching a point along other semantic dimensions such as time or numerical quantity.

(49) *nga: nayi a-hti. taun ma-saun.   nain hpu: la:*
five hour *up.to even* NEG-wait can   NEG Q
'Can't you wait even up to 5 o'clock?'

(50) *yan=koun a-hti. to.   thwa: hpou. yi=ywe te*
      Rangoon *up.to* CONT go   COMP intend RLS
      'I intend to travel as far as Rangoon.' (*to.* means 'at least, in contrast to some

      other expectation')

(51) *lu   nga: yau' a-hti. hpe: le'=hkan me*
      people five CLF up.to only accept IRR
      '(We) will accept only up to five people.'

Addition *a-pyin* 'additionally/outside of' also occurs as a relator noun.

(52) *thu. a-pyin be thu la   thei: le:*
      3P.G *addition* Wh 3P come *still* Q
      'Who came in addition to him?'

Relator Nouns

When the propositional semantic role of the NP is to mark location, oftentimes more
specific information about the location is indicated. The term "relator noun" follows Starosta
(1985:111-112) who defines it as a class of case-marking nouns, stating that "true relator
nouns are nouns by all relevant syntactic and morphological criteria." Relator nouns not
only provide additional information about the specifics of the location, but also mark other
case relations, e.g. the benefactive *a-twe* ' 'for'. Locational relator nouns in Burmese are the
functional correlates of the English prepositions 'on, in, under, above, inside, etc.' and occur
immediately after the NP. They may additionally be followed by *hma* which marks the
NP+RN sequence as a static location, by *ka.* which marks it as a locative source or by *kou*
which marks it as a locative goal.

Terminological distinctions and analytical perspectives   In the literature on
Burmese, different terms have been used to refer to elements which mark location. Relator

nouns such as *(a)-hte:* 'inside', *(a)-pyin* 'outside', *(a)-po* 'on' are called "location nouns" by

Okell (1969:142) as they denote space (and time) and "occur alone like other nouns."

Wheatley (1982) refers to the locative *hma*, the ablative *ka.* and the allative *kou* as nominal

postpositions, but like Okell, states that more specific locations are indicated by location

nouns such as *au'* 'below', *hyei'* 'front, *bei:* 'side', etc. Wheatley later makes a syntactic

distinction between bound location nouns (BF) like *hte* 'inside', *pyin* 'outside' and *po* 'on'

and free location nouns (FF) like *a-hte:*, *a-pyin* and *a-po* and discusses the correlation

between form and function that is seen with location nouns like these. Wheatley's examples

with his translations are repeated below:

(53) lu   *ta-yau'*   *thi'=pin po hma*
      people one-CLF   tree   on LOC
      'There's a person up the tree (but not necessarily at the top).'

(54) *lu ta-yau' thi'=pin a-po hma*
      'There's a person at the tree's top.'

Wheatley states that the difference between the BF and the FF corresponds to the position

of the semantic head. In (53), the semantic head is 'the tree' which takes the BF *po*, a

location noun. In (54), the semantic head is the FF *a-po* 'the top', which has the NP 'the tree'

subordinate to it; Wheatley calls *a-po* 'the top' a noun of location, which is simply a subset

of ordinary nouns. Consider next another of Wheatley's examples where, in his words, "the

erstwhile location noun is the semantic head". I repeat his example with his sentence

translation:

(55) *yei*   <u>*hkwe*</u>*' au'*   *ka./hma*   *kwe:*   *nei*   *te*
      water cup   under SUB/LOC be-cracked *stay* RLS
      'The bottom of this cup's cracked.'

In (55), following Wheatley's terminology, the erstwhile location noun functions like a "noun of location." Wheatley relates this difference to "the difference in English between the noun and the preposition: 'the bottom' versus 'below'." In exx. (56, 57), note the locational, (i.e. RN) use of *yei hkwe' au'* :

(56) *yei hkwe' au' ka. pa-ywe 'hsei' kou hpe lai'*
water cup under from ant OBJ remove *away*
'Remove the ant from under the water cup'

(57) *yei hkwe' au' hma pa-ywe 'hsei' ta-kaun hyi. te*
water cup under LOC ant one-CLF be RLS
'There's an ant under the water cup'

Wheatley, however, does note the potential ambiguity of 'Noun + LocN' constructions, "having two possible structural descriptions, 'Head + Modifier' or 'Modifier + Head'." He adds that "the context, or lexical choice favors or forces one reading (over the other)." His example is repeated below:

(58) *ou'hke: poun koun=tin=ka: nau' hma tin hta: lai'*
brick pile goods=load=car *back* LOC load *keep away*
'Load (away) the bricks on *the back* of the truck.'

I add the example below to illustrate the distinction which Wheatley makes:

(59) *koun=tin=ka: nau' hma hkalei: hyi. te \ thati. hta:*
goods=load=car *back* LOC child be RLS\ mind keep
'There's a child *behind* the truck. Be careful!'

Grammaticalization of Relator Nouns

Wheatley (1982:136) states that "implicit in my synchronic analysis of LocN's (i.e. RN's) is the historical priority of the absolute orientation over the relative", noting that "LocN's must have entered the NP as nominal heads to genitive or relative clause

constructions", and to paraphrase him, "gradually losing their head status and phonological integrity as they shifted in meaning to include relative orientation." DeLancey (1997:62) states that "Burmese, like other TB languages, has a well developed RN construction."

<u>Morphosyntactic Alternations and Distribution</u>   Very few locational RN's occur without the *a-* prefix; below are the only two that do:

au'   'below'
bei: 'side'

Note the use of *au'* and *bei:* as lexical nouns; in the sentences below they occur as attributive nouns:

(60)   *au'   hta'   hma   nei   me*
       below floor LOC stay IRR
       'I will stay on the floor below/ground floor.'

(61)   *bei: eim   ka.   to=to hsu   te*
       side house SUB quite noisy RLS
       'The neighboring house is quite noisy.'

Most RN's have the de-verbal prefix *a-*. However, only a very few locational RN's have lexical stems that are relatable to a synchronic lexical verb. Following are those I can identify:

a-po   'on'   < *po* 'to rise to the surface'
a-hte' 'above'   < probably related to *te'* 'to climb'
a-hte: 'inside'   < probably related to *hte.* 'to insert/put in'

All other *a*-prefixed forms do not have a synchronically relatable lexical verb source:

a-na: 'near'
a-pa: 'near'   (literary)
a-le   'middle'   (< *le* 'to revolve'?)
a-ca: 'between'
a-twin: 'inside'   (*twin:* 'a hole in the ground')

a-pyin 'outside'
a-hyei' 'front'
a-nau' 'behind'　　(*co:=nau'* 'the back of the body')
a-yin 'before'　　(*yin* 'the chest/front of the body')

All of the *a*-prefixed RN's, with the exception of *a-yin*, may have the prefix *a*-

omitted. Note that *a-yin* 'before' describes a temporal or sequential relation and does not

describe a spatial relation.

(62) *wei wei. a-yin　be　thu la　le:*
　　name.G　before WH 3P　come Q
　　'Who came before Wai Wai?'

(63) *min: hsain a-yin　be　hsain twei. ya. ma-le:*
　　your shop　before WH shop　see　*get* IRR-Q
　　'Which shop will I see before yours?'

In (63), *a-yin* 'before' does not describe a location relative to the shop, unlike the English

preposition 'before'. Unlike other locational RN's, *hsain a-yin* cannot be further marked

with the locative *hma*, the ablative *ka.* nor the allative *kou*.

(64) *min: hsain a-yin *hma / *ka. / *kou*

All RN's, irrespective of whether they occur as *a*- prefixed forms or not, induce a

creaky tone in pronouns and personal nouns preceding them. Moreover, the RN's *au'*

'below' and *bei:* 'side', as well as all *a*-prefixed RN's, may be preceded by a lexical noun

marked with the genitive *ye.* .

(65) *bidou　(ye.)　au'　hma ba hyi. tha-le:*
　　cupboard GEN below LOC WH be　RLS-Q
　　'What's under the cupboard?'

(66) *ein　(ye.)　bei: hma ma-hou'　hta　ma-lou' ya. hpu:*
　　house GEN side LOC NEG-right　NOM NEG-do *get* NEG
　　'You mustn't do inappropriate things by *the side* of the house.'

<u>Correlation between form and function</u> As noted earlier, Wheatley has observed the correlation between form and function, giving as example *po / a-po* . We shall now look at other *a*-prefixed RN's, with an omissible *a*-prefix, to see how strong the correlation is between the related forms. Depending on the specifics of the location, the *a*-prefixed RN's may not display any change in meaning in the absence of *a-* . In other words, if the context or the pragmatics of the situation does not allow alternate interpretations, the alternation in the presence (or absence) of *a-* has no functional significance. See examples below:

ein (a-) hte: hma	Inside the house'
ein (a-) na: hma	'Near the house'
hcan (a-) le hma	'In the middle of the garden'
bidou (a-) twin: hma	'Inside the cupboard/ wardrobe'

But when the context or the pragmatics of the situation allows alternate interpretations, the RN construction is variably interpreted. Note that (67) appears to be an exception, providing evidence contrary to the general principle that omission of the prefix *a-* correlates with a relational function.

(67) *ein   hyei. hma htain ca.   ya=aun*
      house front LOC sit   PLU HORT
      'Let's sit in the front (part) of the house.' (typically, the drawing-room facing the
                                          street)

To indicate that one wants to sit 'in front of the house' (a location outside of the front of the house), speakers would normally say *ein (ye.) a-hyei. hma*. The fact that there is a tendency for the genitive marker *ye.* to occur reflects the iconic relation between spatial separation and syntactic structure.

(68) *ein (ye.) a-hyei. hma htain ca. ya=aun*
      'Let's sit in front of the house.'

Moreover, the pragmatics of the situation determines, or overrides, weak correlations between form and function. Consequently, when referring to a coconut-palm in front of the house, it does not matter whether *ein hyei.* or *ein a-hyei.* is used; in either case, the coconut palm can only be *in front* of the house and not *in the front part* of the house. An example which does support the argument that the omission of prefixal *a-* correlates with a RN function is provided by Wheatley in (69), which appropriately exemplifies the strong or systematic correlation between form and function.

(69)   *e:di pa-ji=ka: kou nanyan po hma hcei' hta: lai'*
       this painting   OBJ wall   on LOC hang *keep away*
       'Hang this painting on the wall. (the usual situation)'

(70)   *e:di pa-ji=ka: kou nan-yan a-po hma hcei' hta: lai'*
       'Hang this painting up at the top of the wall.' (i.e. near the ceiling)

An additional syntactic test to examine the appropriateness of Wheatley's exx. is to insert an additional RN. Assuming that 'on the wall' is the preferred reading for *nan-yan po*, this would predict that a RN like *(a-)na:* would be semantically awkward after it. The sequence **nan-yan po (a-)na: hma* is semantically inappropriate, exactly because one cannot conceive of a situation where 'something is near on the wall.' However, *nan-yan a-po na: hma* is well-formed as a situation does exist where 'something is near the top of the wall/somewhere near the top of the wall.'

Syntactic Alternations and Shifts in Categorical Status

Consider the elements which mark an oblique semantic relation of some kind, namely, comitative, manner, measure, identity, comparison, beneficiary, reason, substitution,

matter, limit, addition and location. Table 5 shows that except for the comitative *ne.* and the

identity- marker *hman:*, all other elements which mark an oblique semantic relation induce

a creaky tone in the preceding pronoun or personal noun, irrespective of whether (i) the

exponent may have a synchronically relatable lexical word or (ii) whether the exponent is

a- prefixed. If we identify the induced creaky tone in the preceding pronoun or personal noun

as diagnostic of a genitive, then what we have is a 'dependent noun + head' structural

relation, the structure lagging behind the function of the 'emerging' oblique case-role

marker. The use of the term 'emerging' to refer to more noun-like case-markers, i.e. relator

nouns, is to be understood in the context of Hopper's (1967) argument that 'a grammar' is

always in the process of emerging and, to "take the adjective emergent seriously as a

continual movement towards structure and to view structure as always provisional."

The more noun-like case-role markers may be preceded by a lexical noun marked

with the genitive *ye.* :

(71) *di   za'=lan: twei   ye.   a-caun: kou   pyo: pya.   pa   oun:*
this story   PLU GEN *matter*   OBJ say   show POL *cumulative*
'Please tell me more about these stories.'
Lit: 'Please tell me the *facts* of these stories.'

The less noun-like or non-noun-like exponents may not be preceded by a lexical noun

marked with the genitive *ye.* :

(72) *ka: (*ye.) a-sa: se'=bein: si: ya=aun*
car   *instead.of* bicycle   ride HORT
'Let's ride bicycle(s) instead of car.'

Note that *a-sa:* is a bound form in that it cannot occur by itself to mean 'a substitute'

or 'substitution'. In contrast, *a-caun:* is a free form, with variable meanings, in that it can

occur by itself as seen in the sentences *a-caun: twei kou pyo: pa* 'Tell (me) the

facts/story/incidents.', and *a-caun: kaun: yin a-cou: kaun: me* 'If the cause is good, the

effect will be good.' The distributional difference between *a-sa:* and *a-caun:* in terms of

being 'bound' and 'free' may account for the difference in the naturalness of *ye.* in the NP

that precedes them.

Analogously, the genitive *ye.* may not precede *a-hti.* 'as far as/up to' and is

extremely awkward with *a-tain:* 'like'. As grammaticalized bound forms, *a-tain:* and *a-hti.*

are seen to have shifted dramatically in meaning from their lexical roots, *a-tain:* 'like/in the

manner of' from the verb *tain:* 'to measure', and *a-hti.* 'as far as/up to' from the verb *hti.*

'to touch'. As a free form, *a-tain:* , means 'measurement'. Similarly, the meaning of *a-hti.*

as a free form, 'touch', is quite different from its grammaticalized use, although a semantic

relation may still be identified in both cases. Thus, from the root meaning of *tain:* 'to

measure', the de-verbal noun *a-tain:* 'a measure' is seen to shift metaphorically to mean

'same' and from that to 'likeness'. Similarly, from the root meaning of *hti.* 'to touch', the

de-verbal noun *a-hti.* 'a touch' is seen to shift metaphorically to mean 'to touch the NP

indicated' and from that to 'as far as/up to'.

<u>Conclusion</u>   Burmese, like Tibetan, has an old set of postpositions which

mark grammatical and basic locational relations (DeLancey 1997). These are the

subject/ablative marker *ka.*, the object/allative marker *kou* and the locative *hma.* Core

grammatical relations such as subject and object may not always be explicitly marked, that

is, subject may not always be marked with *ka.* or *ha*, and object may not always be marked

with *kou* . The alternations seen in the distribution of *ka.* , *ha* and *kou* will be looked at in

more detail in Chapter V.

Oblique case-role markers evince varying degrees of grammaticalization. The fact that the locative postposition *hma* (the ablative *ka.* and the allative *kou* require the human subject to be followed by the locative *hsi*), the 'manner' *lou*, the 'measure' *lau '*, the 'comparison' *hte '*, the 'benefactive' *hpou.* and the 'reason' *jaun.* induce a creaky tone in the preceding human NP may be analyzed as a relic of the "dependent noun +head noun" construction (see DeLancey 1997:63-4). In many languages, postpositions are seen to develop from nouns through grammaticalization of a typologically very common construction, referred to as the relator noun construction (cf. DeLancey 1997:58).

Most Burmese RN's which mark location have the *a-* prefix, which functions as a nominalizer. Note, however, that not all *a*-prefixed RN's have a synchronically relatable lexical verb. The alternation in the presence of the prefixal *a-* is seen to correlate with whether the erstwhile noun marks a locational relation like prepositions do in English, or whether it is in fact a "noun of location". For example, *thi ' pin po hma* usually means 'on the tree' but *thi ' pin a-po hma* usually means 'on the tree top/on the top of the tree'. The more abstract the function or meaning of an erstwhile nominal morpheme, the less does it evince nominal morhphosyntax, e.g. *a-sa:* 'instead of', *a-hti.* 'up to' may not be preceded by a lexical noun marked with the genitive *ye.* . In contrast, all locational RN's may be preceded by a lexical noun marked with the genitive *ye.*; these include the non *a*-prefixed *au '* 'below' and *bei:* 'side', but exclude *a-yin* 'before' which marks sequentiality and not a spatial relation. Thus, *a-yin* is seen to shift from nominal (or RN) morphosyntactic behavior to a postpositional one. As DeLancey (1997:64) states "in Burmese...there are several

morphosyntactic behaviors which distinguish true nouns from true postpositions, and that as forms shift over time from nominal to postpositional function, the shift from nominal to postpositional syntax is gradual and piecemeal. This leaves a number of forms with synchronic mixed and uncertain categorial behavior."

Post-nominal elements which mark inter-clausal or discourse pragmatic role such as *le:* 'also', *hpe:*, 'only', *to.* 'contrast', *hma.* 'even' etc., as well as markers of tone, attitude or speech act such as *po.* 'curt', *pa* 'polite', *ko:* 'What about?, *no* 'Right?', *la:* 'Polar question' etc. are totally grammaticalized particles which occur to the right of case-role markers.

CHAPTER V

THE MARKING OF SUBJECT AND OBJECT

The previous chapter looked briefly at the subject markers *ka* and *ha* and the object marker *kou* in order to indicate their order and function relative to other post-nominal elements. This section examines the interaction between the need to mark semantic case role on the one hand and that of discourse/pragmatic role on the other, which bears upon the distribution of subject and object marking in Burmese. It looks specifically at the selection of overt case markers such as *ka* and *ha* for subject and *kou* for object, alternating with bare nominals, pronominals and zero anaphora.

A review of the literature indicates that most alternations were accounted for in terms of such intuitively grounded discourse/pragmatic notions as "previously mentioned topic", "theme", "emphatic topic" etc. which Tomlin and Pu (1991) characterized as "traditional discourse argumentation which depends on stipulated definitions of pragmatic functions and introspective analysis of text data." A review of previous work found mostly complementary analyses. I have presented alternative analyses wherever appropriate. Finally, to complement the insights of previous writers, analysis of data from longer connected discourse have been included.

Previous Work

Lehman's (1975) analysis of the difference between the subject markers *ha* and *ka.* is the chronologically earliest study reviewed here. Lehman characterizes *ha* as a non-contrastive subject/topic marker.

(1)   *mein:=ma. twei ha le: da myou: wadhana pa hta kou:*
       woman   PLU *ha* also this kind   penchant have NOM EMPH
       'Women are keen on that sort of thing.'

Lehman states that in (1), "in at least one of the traditional senses, what we are going to be told something about is not only the subject but also the topic of the sentence" and that the subject, marked with *ha*, "is already understood as being under discussion" and that "in particular, the subject in this case is not being taken contrastively". This notion of a non-contrastive subject marked with *ha* is further exemplified in the following sentence:

(2)   *taun=thu twei ha le: ta'=ma=to ha   hyan: padeithayi' twei ne.*
       Taungthu PLU *ha* also army   *ha*   Shan ruler   PLU with

       twe: pi: hnein me lou. htin ca te
       join NF oppress IRR COMP think PLU RLS

       'And the Tauntghus thought that the army was going to join up with the Shan rulers to oppress them.' (Okell 1969)

Lehman notes that *ha*-marking of two different NP's was acceptable to his informants given the context that "one had been speaking previously not only of the Taungthus but also about what they thought about the army".

On the other hand, Lehman characterizes *ka.* as a contrastive subject marker, observing that in opposition to *ha*, "the way *ka.* is used with subjects is just in this contrastive way".

(3) *htwe' la te. hai'daroujin da'=ngwei. ka. lei hte' po'*
appear *come* REL hydrogen gas *ka.* air above light

hta ne. hlan hta: te. da'=su.=hpan=tain hte: te' thwa: te
NOM with invert *keep* REL test.tube in ascend *go* RLS

'The hydrogen that came out, being lighter than air, goes up into the inverted test tube.' (Okell 1969:317)

Lehman states that in (3), "the behavior of the hydrogen is being singled out against that of other elements in the reaction". As further illustration:

(4) *thu. name ka. kou win: hpei te.* (Okell:317)
his name *ka.* Ko Win Pe QUOT
'His name is Ko Win Pe.'

Lehman notes that (4) does not indicate whether anyone else has been mentioned or anything presumed about other people's names. He states that " focal marking with **ka.** is comparable to focal stress in English, and need not be opposed to the topic, since the sentence could be an answer to the question 'What is his name?'." Note that (4) may be used to introduce someone. An alternative would be:

(5) *da (ka.) kou win: hpei pa*
this (*ka.*) Ko Win Pe POL
'This is Ko Win Pe.'

In (5), *ha* may alternatively occur given the context where Ko Win Pe is being discussed in his absence. If, during the course of the discussion, Ko Win Pe should come upon the scene then (6) would naturally occur, which is consistent with Lehman's designation of *ha* as a marker of a previously mentioned topic.

(6) *da ha kou win: hpei (hpe:)*
this *ha* Ko Win Pe EMPH
'This is Ko Win Pe indeed.'

Thurgood (1978) relates the Burmese case marking system to the principles of semantic organization underlying the system of topicalization. He states that "the Burmese system of topicalization uses two prime principles of organization, namely, in terms of two primitive semantic oppositions: (1) a dynamic/static opposition such as one finds between verbs and nouns and (2) a continuing state/changed state opposition." The continuing state/changed state opposition relates to the alternation of *ha* and *ka*. and parallels Lehman's observation that *ha* marks previously mentioned or established topics whereas *ka*. is used in a contrastive way. Thurgood states that the basic opposition in the marking of thematicization[1] is between the continuation of old topics, marked with 'zero' or *ha*, and new themes or topics marked most frequently with *ka.*, *kou* and *to.* . Thurgood points out that a single particle may simultaneously play two distinct roles in Burmese: intra-sentential case marking and inter-sentential thematicization. Following is Thurgood's schematic representation of the distribution of *ka.*, *ha*, *kou* and *to.* in their function as topic markers. His table is repeated in full although this section does not deal with verbal morphology. Additionally, note that *to.* does occur after NP's, and translates into "as for NP":

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[1] Thurgood makes no distinction between 'thematicization' and 'topicalization' and uses the terms 'theme' and 'topic' interchangeably to refer to intersentential thematicization patterns.

	Changed topic	Continued Topic
nominals and static entities	*ka.* with subjects etc. *kou* with objects etc.	'zero' and *ha*
verbals and dynamic entities	*to.*[2]	*thei:/oun:*[3]

Thurgood agrees with Lehman (1975) that the *ha*-marked "topic is one that has already been established prior to the discourse, and is clearly not in any sense being contrasted with any other material." *ka.*, on the other hand, "stands in clear opposition to *ha* and is used to mark both contrastive and non-contrastive new topics." To illustrate the distinction between contrastive and non-contrastive topics, Thurgood presents two English examples: (i) "It was Bill who ate the radishes." where Bill is a contrastive theme, "having been picked out of some set and made the topic of the sentence" and (ii) "The police finally recovered our stolen car: it only had minor damage done to it." where it topicalizes our stolen car. In both examples, Thurgood states that we have newly topicalized constituents, one in contrastive focus (e.g. Bill in the first sentence), the other simply a new topic (e.g, it in the second sentence). Thurgood states that Burmese treats both types of new topics with the same set of grammatical markers: *ka.*, *kou* and *to.*.

Thurgood, like Lehman, notes that "*ka.* is not invariably present, being used primarily when its omission would result in ambiguity, (which) is also true of the object marker *kou*."

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[2] *to.* also marks contrastive nominal subjects; see Chapter IV on post-nominal function words.

[3] These occur only as part of the verbal morphology; see Chapter VI on the VP.

His example is repeated below:

(7)   *cou'*   *kou to.*   *ba*   *hma.*   *ma- pyo: hpu:*   (Okell 1969:323)
       I   *kou to.*   what even NEG say NEG
       'As for me, I wasn't told anything.'

In (7), *kou* clearly occurs to mark the NP as object for without it, the NP would be interpreted

as subject. We should note, however, that *kou* and/or the induced creaky tone invariably

marks human objects irrespective of whether they are redundant or not. In (8), even when

the subject is overtly marked with *ka.* , the object still requires overt marking:

(8)   *thu ka.*   *boubou.*   *kou ba*   *hma.*   *ma- pyo: hpu:*
       3P SUB BoBo.G *kou* WH even NEG say NEG
       'She didn't tell BoBo anything'

Thurgood further states that "when an object is thematicized or topicalized it is

moved to sentence-initial position and in such cases the expected subject-object word order

is no longer useful for sorting out intrasentential role relationships and thus both the object

and the subject tend to be overtly marked with *kou* and *ka.* respectively." Thurgood's ex. is

repeated below:

(9)   *kou=ei:*   *kou*   *thu ka.*   *tha' te*
       HON=name OBJ 3P SUB kill RLS
       'He killed Ko Aye.'

But even when the NP arguments are in the default subject-object word order, the human

patient must invariably be overtly marked for object:

(10)a.   *?* thu ka. kou=ei: tha' te*   <u>vs.</u>   *thu ka. kou=ei: kou tha' te*

     b.   * thu ka. tin=tin tha' te*   <u>vs.</u>   *thu ka. tin=tin. kou tha' te*

The third writer on *ka.*, *kou* and *ha* is Wheatley (1982,1992). Wheatley gives the following example to illustrate the contrastive function of *ka.*

(11) *kou=tha pei: ka. nge* *te* \ *kou=tou' hpyou ka. ci: te* (Okell 1969:318)
      name *ka.* young RLS name *ka.* old RLS
      'Ko Tha Bay was the younger, (and) Ko Tout Phyo was the older.'

Wheatley (1982:170) notes that "the function of *ka.* is not to identify, that is, Ko Tha Bay is not being singled out from a list of possible candidates as 'the one who is big' (and) it is not 'the focus of contrast' in the sense of Chafe (1976), who identified three components of focus of contrast: shared background knowledge, a set of possible candidates and an assertion of the correct candidate" but rather, that his use of 'contrast' is in the sense of its everyday usage, namely, "to bring out the differences". Consequently, (11) does not identify; it elaborates.

In (12), Wheatley talks about the spotlight function of *ka.* :

(12) *cundo ka. a-nau. bacini:ya: pyi=ne hma*
      I *ka.* West Virginia state LOC

      ci:=pyin: hke. *te.* *thu* *pa*
      grow *distal* REL person POL

      Literally: 'I'm a person who grew up in West Virginia.'
      [Beginning his story:] I grew up in West Virginia.

Presumably, Wheatley's spotlight function orients the attention of the listener to a specific NP.[4] According to Wheatley, (12) was used by the speaker to begin a story. However, instead of *ka*, *ha* could just as well occur here. A possible context for *ha*-marking would be one where the speaker is already known to the hearer(s), i.e. the speaker may already have

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[4] See Hayashi (1995:30) for a discussion of the 'spotlight' function cf. Japanese *wa.*

been introduced.

Wheatley (1982:171) states that focus of contrast is signaled in Burmese by a cleft construction; (13d) illustrates the use of *ka.* "on a presupposed element with a full cleft":

(13)

a. *kou=hla.=thu ta-you' zaga: pyo: ta' te hsou* (Wheatley 1982)
   [name]   Chinese language speak able RLS say
   'I hear that Kou Hla Thu speaks Chinese.'

b. *ma-hou' hpu:\ thu ta-you' zaga: pyo: ta' me ma-htin hpu:*
   not-be   NEG he Chinese language speak able IRR not-think NEG
   'No, I don't think so.'

c. *thu pyo: ta' hta ka. ja-pan zaga: hpe:*
   he speak able NOM *ka.* Japan language only
   ' He speaks Japanese.'

d. *ta-you' zaga: pyo: ta' hta ka. kou=tin=maun*
   Chinese language speak able NOM *ka.* name
   ' The one who speaks Chinese is Ko Tin Maung.'

Wheatley points out that "rather than being associated with the focus of contrast (the referent identified), *ka.* is often found with the first part of the cleft, the phrase that conveys the presupposed information."

Wheatley (1992) illustrates how *ha* marks given information:

(14) *hyei: toun: ka. tain:=pyei ta-pyei hma a-lun a-hnau.=a-hye'*
     far while past country   one-CLF LOC very   nuisance

pei: nei te. balu: ci: ta-kaun hyi. te
give *stay* REL ogre big one-CLF exist RLS

'Long ago, in another land, there lived an ogre who was very bothersome.'

e:di balu: ci: ha thu=ta-pa: kou hkuya: lou ya: sei
that ogre big *ha* other   *kou* caterpillar like itch CAUSE

nain te. dagou: hyi. te.
able REL power exist RLS
'That big ogre had the power to cause other people to itch like caterpillars.'

Wheatley (1992) states that *ha* is also used with nominals whose status is *not 'given'* -

not in 'current registry' (italics mine) which he illustrates with the sentence below:

(15) *hou: hyei: toun: ka. tain:=pyei ta-pyei hma bayin ta-pa: hyi. te*
far old while past country one-CLF LOC king one-CLF be RLS

min:=ci: ye. mi.baya:=ci: ha ta-nei. hma tha:=to ta-pa:
king=big GEN queen=big *ha* one-day LOC son=HON one-CLF

'Long ago, in a certain country, there lived a king; and one day, his queen ...(bore a
son).'

Wheatley's designation of *min:=ci: ye. mi.baya:=ci: ha* 'the king's wife' as 'not given/not in

current registry' is equivalent to 'not previously mentioned', and apparently contradicts

Lehman's, as well as Thurgood's, thesis that *ha* marks an element that has previously been

mentioned. However, there is an alternative analysis which would resolve this apparent

anomaly. I argue that the queen has in fact been in a sense 'foreshadowed', or partly

'activated'[5] because it is preceded by the genitive *min:=ci: ye.* 'the king's'. Given exactly the

same context, *mi.baya:=ci: ha* 'the queen' by itself sounds definitely odd if it is not preceded

by *min:=ci: ye.* 'the king's'. Clearly, *ha* marks an established topic (cf. Lehman 1975) or

marks a sense of continuity (cf. Thurgood 1978), and in this example, the continuity or link

to the established topic is provided by *min:=ci: ye.* 'the king's'.

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[5] My use of the terms 'activated/non-activated' is probably analogous to Wheatley's
'current registry/not current registry'.

In (16), Wheatley (1992) exemplifies the use of *ha* for purposes of foregrounding and backgrounding.

(16) cundo *ka* a-nau. baji:ni:ya: pyi=ne hma ci:=pyin: *hke*. *te*. thu pa
     I   *ka*. West Virginia state LOC grow AUX REL person POL

     cundo. mi.=tha:=su. a:=loun: ha tha'htu.dwin:
     1P.(G) family all *ha* mine

     hya=hpwei=tu:=hpo=yei:=thama: *twei* *ci*: pa hpe:
     seek=find=excavate=matter=person PLU big POL EMPH

'I grew up in West Virginia. My family were all miners,'

If foregrounding indicates information that is linked to "the semantic main event line" (Hopper 1979) or information that "advances the action of the narrative along a chronological time line" (Labov and Waltezky 1967, cf. Hayashi 1995), then *cundo. mi.=tha:=su. a:=loun: ha* 'my whole family' presumably indicates background information. This interpretation complements Wheatley's previous discussion of *cundo ka* as being under the 'spotlight', ie. foregrounded.

Wheatley (1982:198) states that one of the factors determining the occurrence of *kou* "seems to be the degree of referentiality of the noun phrase". Consider Wheatley's e.g., *htamin: sa:* 'to eat anything'; he adds that if *kou* is inserted after *htamin:* then it can only mean 'to eat the rice' as in *htamin: kou sa: lai' pa* 'Eat your rice all up.' Another example Wheatley gives is *cano moun=hin:=hka: cai' te* 'I like mohinga (a food).' When the informant was asked if *kou* could be inserted after *moun.=hin:=hka:*, the reply was that 'it would make the mohinga sound like a person'. From this, Wheatley hypothesizes that "*kou* would require a highly individuated object ... more typically a person than a thing." As

further illustration, Wheatley gives (17) as an ungrammatical sentence, where *lounji* 'sarong'

is intended to be referentially non-definite.:

(17). *ba-ma   lumyou: lounji (*kou) wu' ta'   te*
       Burmese people   sarong (*kou) wear tend-to RLS
       'Burmese generally wear sarongs.'

This leads us to what Johnson (1992) has to say about grammatical 'case marking' and

related issues. Johnson (246) states that languages in the Lolo-Burmese group generally have

optional case, and since Burmese exhibits freedom of word order and of case marking, this

has "led to a system which is structurally highly underspecified (and in which semantic

considerations play a correspondingly greater role)." To illustrate this, Johnson (1992:245)

presents the following sentence:

(18)   *thu. mein:=ma. kho ma-la   hpu: la:*   (Okell:329)
       his wife   bring NEG-come NEG Q
       'Won't (he) bring his wife?'

Although Johnson concedes that Okell's gloss is a likely one, he points out that "the very fact

that the '(he)' element is unexpressed" allows the interpretation of *thu. mein:ma.* as the

subject, the sentence then meaning "Won't his wife bring him/some other person?"; Johnson

however, adds that "this reading is unlikely in context."

Granted that in (18) the speaker intended *thu. mein:ma.* as object, suppose that

instead of saying *thu. mein:ma.* the speaker uses the wife's name, say *mimi,* as in

mimi. kou hko ma- la hpu:la: with induced creaky tone on *mimi* to mark it as object, meaning

'Won't he bring MiMi (his wife)?' However, in the absence of overt case marking for

object, *mimi hko ma-la hpu: la:* was translated by an informant into 'Didn't Mi Mi bring

(someone)?' Considering that in the absence of overt case marking there was a strong

tendency to interpret *thu. mein:ma.* 'his wife' (cf. 18) as object (by Okell as well as my informant), why then is a proper name without overt case marking interpreted as subject? I suggest an explanation similar to the one offered for (15). I propose that the use of *thu. mein:ma.* 'his wife' implies that the interlocutors had been talking about the husband and not about his wife, i.e. the established topic was the husband. Consequently, the pragmatic reference to the established topic by the presence of *thu,* which occurs as the genitive in the NP *thu. mein:ma.* 'his wife', signals the continuity of the subject *thu,* which consequently determines that 'his wife' is interpreted as object.

My arguments, up to this point, were offered in the absence of a context. But given a specific context, the interpretation becomes predictable. If the preceding sentence was *boubou la te* 'Bo Bo came', then *thu. mein:ma. hko ma- la hpu: la:* (cf. 18) would be interpreted as 'Didn't he bring his wife?' But if the preceding sentence was *boubou ma-la hpu:* 'Bo Bo didn't come', then (18) would be interpreted as 'Didn't his wife bring him?'

Analysis of Connected Discourse

Previous writers have observed that the alternations seen between NP-*ka.*, NP-*ha*, and zero-anaphora for subject and between NP-*kou* and zero-anaphora for object correlated with the semantic and/or discourse roles assumed by the exponent (cf. Thurgood 1978). Previous observations were, for the most part, based on analyses of discrete sentences elicited either from native-speaker informants or from previously published sources. The following discussion is an excerpt from a longer study (Soe 1996), which looked at a variety of longer connected discourse, written as well as oral.

Written Text

A Political Pamphlet   The following is a preface to extracts from Aung San Suu

Kyi's speeches. It exemplifies the use of *ha* to mark shared or previously mentioned

information, contrasting with the use of *ka.* to mark "switch subjects." It is written in a

mixture of informal spoken and formal literary styles. E.g., there are some occurrences of

the literary[6] irrealis sentence marker *thi*, the nominalizer *hcin:* etc. which do not normally

occur in spoken colloquial Burmese.

In (19)a, the subject 'Ne Win-Saw Maung military clique', marked with *ha*, indicates

'given' or 'shared' background knowledge; *kou*-marks 'Daw Aung San Suu Kyi' as patient.

(19)

a.   *nei=win: so:=maun   si'   ou'=su. ha   cundo tou.*
      Ne Win   Saw Maung military group *SUB* 1P   PLU

      a-myou:=tha: dimouhkareisi a-hpwai.=gyou' yai.   a-htwei=htwei
      national   democracy   organisation   GEN general

      a-twin:=yei:=hmu: lu=htu. gaun:=hsaun   do   aun=hsan:=su=ci kou
      secretary   mass   leader   HON name   OBJ

      1989 *zu-lain la.   hna=hse yai' nei. ka. sa. pi: ma-taya:*
      1989 July   month 20   CLF day *ka.* start NF unfairly

      a-cai=gyou' hpan:=si: hta: hke.   te
      detain   arrest   *keep distal* RLS

      'The Ne Win - Saw Maung military clique-*ha* has unfairly arrested and detained
      Daw Aung San Suu Kyi-*kou*, the secretary-general and leader of our national

---

[6]See Okell, 1994, for "An Introduction to the Literary Style". The difference between the
formal literary and the spoken colloquial styles is mainly that of vocabulary, especially
grammatical particles, eg., *thi* instead of *te* for the sentence final realis declarative marker,
myi instead of *me* for the declarative irrealis marker, *hcin:* instead of *ha* for the nominalizer,
a: instead of *kou* for the indirect object, etc.

league for democracy.'

In (b), zero-anaphora is used for both the continuing subject 'military clique' and the continuing object 'Daw Aung San Suu Kyi'; the *kou*-marked 'the former law' is a new topic.

b. *hku. hti. pyan ma-hlu'*　　*pei: youn=ma=ka. 3 hni' tha a-ce=jou'*
　　now upto again NEG- release *give* not.only　　3 year only detention

　　hca. hta: nain te. mula. u.padei kou 5 hni' a-hti. tou:=hce.
　　put *keep can* REL former law　　OBJ 5 year up.to extend

　　lai. caun: a-hye'=a-cau' ma-hyi. cei=nya lai. thei: te
　　away fact shame=fear NEG-have announce *away* still RLS

　　'Not only has (Aung San Suu Kyi) not yet been released, but the former law-*kou*,
　　that can keep (her) detained for only 3 years, was shamelessly announced to have
　　been extended to 5 years.'

The next three clauses form a single sentence. In (c), the *ka.*-marked 'Not only Burmese citizens but also the world's citizens' is a switch subject. Note also how 'in the midst of demands' is marked with *ka. kou hpe:*[7] for emphasis:

c. *myanma pyi-thu twei tha ma-ka. gaba. pyi-thu mya: ka. pa*
　　Myanmar citizen PLU only NEG-*ka.* world citizen PLU *ka* POL

　　a-myan=hsoun: hlu' pei: hpou. taun:=hsou nei te.
　　quick-most　　release *give* COMP ask=say　　*stay* RLS-REL

　　ca: hte: ka. kou hpe:
　　midst within *ka* EMPH only

　　'In the midst of demands, not only by Burmese citizens but also the world's
　　citizens-*ka.*, to release (Aung San Suu Kyi) immediately, ...'

The sentence continues in (d), where zero-anaphora is used for the continuing topic 'the military clique' in the subordinate clause:

---

[7] Following the subject marker *ka.* , *kou* has an emphatic function.

d.   *di-lou   a.da.ma. lou'=hsaun la   ḫṭa   mou'*
       this-manner unfair   act   *come* NOM as
       '(the military clique) having come to act in this unfair manner,...'

The sentence continues in (e), where the *ha*-marked pronoun is used for the continuing topic

'the clique'. Note again, the *ka.* marking on the switch subject *hkalei: twei ḵa. a-sa.* 'even

children':

e.   *thu ṭou. ta-twei   ha   ana   yu: ṭwei hsou ḫṭa*
       3P PLU one-PLU SUB power mad PLU say   NOM

       lu=ci̱: ṭwei ma-pyo: ne.   hkalei: ṭwei ḵa.   a-sa.
       adults PLU not say IMP   child   PLU SUB NOM-start

       thi.   nei ca̱. te
       know *stay* PLU RLS

       'not to mention adults, even children-*ka.* know that they-*ha* (are) power mad.'

In (f), the *ha*-marked 'Daw Aung San Suu Kyi' is the continuing topic. 'Oxford University'

is marked with *ka.*, where we may observe the significant functional load *ka.* carries; namely,

to indicate contrastive subject as well as the 'source' role of the NP. Without *ka.*, the bare NP

'Oxford University' sounds extremely awkward:

f.   *da ca̱un. ḫpe: do   aun=hsan:=su.=ci ha   a-cai=gyou. hpan:=hsi:*
       this reason only HON Name   SUB detention   arrest

       hta: ḫcin: hkan nei ya. te.   kala. a-twin: hma ḵou
       keep NOM suffer stay get REL period within LOC *kou*

       byi.tein nainngan au'sa-hpou. ta'kathou ḵa.   thu.=teithi pyinnya
       Britain country Oxford   University *ḵa.* 'Research Fellow'

       bwe. ḵou sa. pi: hci:=hmyin. ḫcin: hkan   ḫḵe.   ya. te
       degree OBJ begin NF award   NOM undergo *distal get* RLS

       'For this reason, even during the period when Daw Aung San Suu Kyi-*ha* was
       under (suffered) house arrest, (she) began to receive (to undergo the awarding)

of a 'Research Fellow' degree-*kou* from Britain's Oxford University-*ka*.'

In (g), the *ka.*-marked 'Norway', which is subject as well as source, contrasts with 'Britain's

Oxford University' in (f); additionally, the *kou*-marked object '[Swedish Name] Prize-

contrasts with 'Research Fellow'.

g.   *ta-hka   nowei   nainngan ka. le: lu.   a-hkwin.=a-yei: hsain=ya*
      one-time Norway country   *ka.* also human rights   connected=with

      hsu. hpyi' te.   thoro.ya.tou   hsu. ci: kou du.ti.yan=mi.
      prize be   REL "Swedish Name" prize big *kou* second=time

      hci:=hmyin. hcin: hkan   ya. pyan te
      award   NOM undergo *get return* RLS

      'Again, from Norway-*ga* too, the big "Swedish Name" prize-*kou*, which is the
      prize related to human rights, was awarded (to her) for the second time.'

In (h), 'the third prize, that Daw Aung San Suu Kyi again received' is marked with *ka. to.*[8]

which indicates a still higher degree of contrastiveness:

h.   *ta.ti.ya. myau' do   aun=hsan:=su.=ci ya. pyan   te.*
      third   time   HON Name   get *return* R/REL

      hsu. ka. to. lu'la'=swa twei:=hko hmu. hsain=ya
      prize *ka. to.* freely   think   NOM in.connection.with

      hsahkayo. hsu. ci: pa   hpe:
      'akharov   prize big POL EMPH

      'The third prize-*ka.-to.*, that Daw Aung San Suu Kyi again received, (was) the
      important 'Sakharov' prize related to freedom of expression.'

In (i), 'This important prize' is preposed and marked with *kou* and the contrastive subject/

source 'European Parliament' is marked with *ka.*:

----

[8] The construction *ka. to.* translates into 'as for'; as a postposition *to.* marks
concession (see Chapter IV). In general, *to.* indicates "changed", i.e. contrastive states.
See Allott (1965), Okell (1973) and Thurgood (1978).

i.   *di   hsu. ci: kou u.yo:pa.   paliman   ka. hci:=hmyin. hke. pa te*
      this prize big *kou* European parliament *ka.* award   *distal* POL RLS

    'This important prize-*kou* was awarded by the European Parliament-*ka*.'

In (j), 'the important personage called Sakharov', marked with *ha*, was previously mentioned

in (h).

j.   *hsahkayo. hsou te.   pou'gou ci: ha   soubiye. pyi=daun=su. ka.*
      Sakharov say REL personage big SUB Soviet   Union   *from*

    hpyi. pi: 1975 hku. hni' ka. gaba. nyein:=gyan:=yei:
    be   NF 1975 CLS year *past* world peace

    noube hsu. ci: ya.=hyi. hke. thu hpyi' pa thi
    Nobel prize big get   *distal* 3P be   POL RLS

    'The important personage called Sakharov-*ha*, (was) from the Soviet Union and
    in 1975 was the person who received the important Nobel Peace prize.'

In (k) the 'Sakharov Prize', marked with *ha*, was previously mentioned in (i):

k.   *di hsahkayo. hsu. ci: ha hsu. dasei' a-pyin ngwei=tha:*
      this Sakharov prize big SUB prize medal besides cash

    ameiyi.kan dola 20,400 pa   hyi. pa te
    American dollar 20,400 include have POL RLS

    'This big Sakharov Prize-*ha* includes 20,400 American dollars cash besides the
    prize medal.'

In (l), the 'fourth important prize' is still more contrastive and is marked with *ka. to.* :

l.   *hku. ta-hka do   aun=san:=su.=ci ya. hyi. lai'   te.*
      now one-time HON name   get have *away* REL

    satou'hta. hsu. ci: ka. to. gaba.   a-hsin. a-myin. hsoun:
    fourth   prize big *ka to.* world.G level high   most

    nyein:=jan:=yei: hsu. ci: pa hpe:
    peace   prize big POL EMPH

The fourth important prize, which Daw Aung San Suu Kyi received
this time, (is) the world's premier peace prize.'

m. *hni'=sin hci=hmyin. mye: noube hsu. 6 myou: a-hti.*
    yearly   award   usually Nobel prize 6 kind   up.to

hyi. pa   te
be   POL RLS

'Yearly, (there) are up to 6 kinds of Nobel prizes usually awarded.'

In (n), the *ha*-marked 'Nobel Peace Prize' is previously mentioned in (m) as one of the six

Nobel Prizes.

n. *di   noube hsu. 6 myou: a-ne' hma   noube nyein:=hcan:=yei:*
    this Nobel prize 6 kind   in   LOC   Nobel peace

hsu. ci: ha a-myin.   hsoun: hpyi' pi: nowei   nainngan
prize big *ha* NOM-high most   be   NF   Norway country

myou.=do osalou hma   hci:=myin. pa   te
capital   Oslo   LOC   award   POL RLS

'Of these 6 kinds of Nobel prizes, the Nobel Peace Prize-*ha* is the highest and
awarded at Oslo, Norway's capital.'

A Comic Strip **Lazy Po Tay**   In this narrative comic, the analysis focuses

on the third person narrative captions, which are in the informal spoken style. This narrative

comic illustrates well the use of *ha* to mark 'continuing' subjects. Po Tay, the main character,

is introduced with the phrase *lu pyin: lei: hpou:tei ta-yau.* (person lazy small PoTay one-

CLF), translating into 'One lazy little person, Po Tay'. Quite often in narrative texts, a

common noun is followed by 'one + CLF' to introduce referentially indefinite arguments.

Zero anaphora is used for the continuing *hpou:tei* in the subordinate clause in the second

frame of the comic strip, (20a).[9] In the transitive main clause, the overt NP *mi.ba. ka.* 'parents' appears as subject of newly asserted information; <u>zero</u>-anaphora is used for the object 'Po Tay', the continuing referent.

(20)

a. *be lau pyin: tha-le: hsou yin mi.ba. ka. ma- hnou: hpe: ne.*
how much lazy RLS-Q say if parents *ka.* NEG-wake only with

   be=to=-hma. ei'ya ka. ma- hta. hpu:
   never bed *from* NEG-get.up NEG
   'He was so lazy he would never get up from bed before his parents woke him.'

In (b), *hpou: tei* is still the continuing topic and still marked with zero-anaphora. In the subordinate clause 'When he drinks coffee', the referentially indefinite *kohpi* is not marked with *kou*:

b. *kohpi thau' pyan yin le: pyin: lun: lou. thaja: nou.=hsi ne.*
coffee drink again when also lazy very as sugar milk=oil and

   kohpi hmoun. kou ba-za' hte: hte. pi: hku. lou yei nwei: kou
   coffee powder *kou* mouth in put NF now like water warm *kou*

   ba-za' hte: laun: hte. pyan te
   mouth in pour put *return* RLS

   'Too lazy to make coffee, he'd put coffee powder, sugar and milk into his mouth and then pour hot water.'

However, the phrases 'sugar, milk and coffee powder' and 'hot water' are both marked with *kou*. Normally, when one talks about making coffee, 'sugar, milk, coffee powder and hot water' are never marked with *kou* for object; e.g. *kophi hte: tha-ja: hte. pa* (coffee in sugar put POL) 'Please put sugar in the coffee.' Thus, the use of *kou* 'highlights' the object.

In (c), 'zeros' are used for all continuing referents, the subject 'parents' and object 'Po

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[9]See Appendix A for the complete transcript.

Tay' in the subordinate clause and for the subject 'Po Tay' in the main clause:

c.　*pan:　pin　laun: hkain: yin　le:　a-pyin:=htu　pi:*
　　flower plant water ask　when also NOM-lazy=thick　NF

　　hku. lou lou' ta'　thei: te　lei
　　now like do　know still　RLS　TONE
　　'When asked to water the flowers he'd be lazy and do like this...'

In (d) *thu ha* is used for the continuing *hpou:tei:*

d.　*ei'ya ka.　nou: lou. ci. lai'　to.　thu ha*
　　bed *from* wake as　see *away* CONT　he SUB

　　pya: lei:　ba-wa.　pyaun: nei hta　twei. ya. lou. an.o:　thwa: te
　　bee small existence　change *stay* NOM find　*get* as　surprise *go*　RLS
　　'Waking up, he found that he had been transformed into a bee.'

Natural Spoken Discourse

The following analysis looks at two recorded sermons. 'The Wise Brahmin' provides

exx. of *ha*-marked NP's which indicate culturally shared knowledge:

(21)　*lu.　ye.　sei'=da' ha te.　thabawa. taya: ha te.*
　　　man GEN mind　*ha* QUOT nature　law　*ha* QUOT

　　　lu' nei hta　kou ma-loujin hpu: te.
　　　free *stay* NOM　*kou* NEG-want NEG QUOT

'It is said that man's mind, (and) that the law of nature, do not desire a vacuum.'

Although the NP's 'man's mind' and 'law of nature' were not previously mentioned, they were

introduced with *ha*-marking. Subjects such as 'man's mind' and 'the Chinese' (another ex. in

the sermon) are examples of culturally shared knowledge. In contrast, highly referential and

individuated human NP's, whether frequently occurring like 'the wise Brahmin' or other less

frequently occurring minor characters, were consistently marked with *ka.*. This may be

explained from the perspective of 'definiteness' and 'referentiality'. Du Bois (1980) states that "mentions which occur in a narrative mode tend to be referential; mentions which occur in non-subject position in a descriptive mode clause are often non-referential..."

The sermon, 'Life's highest value' also provides many examples of non-individuated subjects or abstract topics that were marked with *ha*:

(22) *kama=koun   ha alaga: hpe:*
    sensual=pleasures *ha* useless EMPH
    'Sensual pleasures are useless indeed. '

(23) *di   pyi'si:=ou'sa ha yan=thu myou: nga: pa: ne.   ma-kin: hpu:*
    this material.thing *ha* enemy   kind five CLF with NEG-free NEG
    'This material wealth is not free from the 5 kinds of enemies.'

(24) *ana   kin: hcin: ha la'   ci: ta-hku.*
    disease free NOM *ha* blessing big one-CLF
    'Being free from disease is a big blessing.'

In the examples above, the fact that *ha*-marked NP's were previously mentioned may be viewed either as instances of spurious correlations or argue strongly for a multi-causal analysis. That is, the choice of *ha* reflects the confluence of many functional dimensions, namely continuing topic, shared knowledge and non-individuated (abstract) entity.

The difference between planned (written) discourse and spontaneous oral production merits consideration in discussing the tendency to mark continuing subject with *ha* in planned discourse and its near absence in normal conversation. In normal everyday conversation, the first mention of referentially definite humans, animates, as well as inanimate subjects occurs either with bare NP's or NP-*ka.*. The presence of *ka.* cannot be invariably interpreted as indicating switch/contrastive subject as the *ka.*-marked NP may not be contrasted with some other referent. In (25), 'the coffee' is not being contrasted with

anything else:

> (25) *kohpi (ka.) pu lai'   hta*
>   coffee *ka.* hot *away* R/NOM
>   'The coffee is so hot.'

Additionally, the absence of *ka.* (i.e. the bare nominal) cannot be invariably interpreted as indicating continuing subject as this may have been the first mention of 'the coffee'.

In ex. (26), if the speaker has been (previously) thinking about "The Simpsons", it is a matter of conjecture whether the absence of *ka.* may have some correlation with his cognitive state. But such questions are beyond the present scope of this discussion.

> (26) *Simpson (ka). kou: nayi la   hma*
>   Simpson   nine clock come I/NOM
>   'The Simpsons will come at 9.'

However, successive mentions of the same referent in thematically closely connected clauses tend to consistently occur with zero anaphora.

Summary   The distribution of *ka.*, *ha* and *kou,* alternating with zero-anaphora, bare nominals and pronominals, is seen to be determined by the need to mark intra-sentential semantic role as well as inter-sentential discourse-pragmatic function, i.e. to mark the referent as given/continuing or new/contrastive. In general, there is a strong tendency to mark continuing, non-contrastive subjects with either *ha* or zero-anaphora. The written text "A Political Pamphlet" and the comic strip "Lazy Po Tay" provide strong evidence that non-contrastive subjects are marked with either *ha* or zero-anaphora. As a non-contrastive marker, it is of interest to note that *ha* also marks subjects that are "given" or assumed to be culturally shared knowledge. For example, the analysis of natural spoken discourse shows that the *ha*-marked 'man's mind' and 'law of nature' were not previously mentioned in the

sermon. On the other hand, there is a strong tendency to mark contrastive subjects with *ka.* in connected discourse (see examples in "A Political Pamphlet").

However, not all subjects, whether continuing or contrastive, are explicitly marked for case-role either with *ha* or *ka.* (see the unmarked subjects in exx. 13a, 17 and 25). In other words, a bare nominal may occur as subject. Tomlin's (1992:8) discussion of the difference between "syntactic coding" and "pragmatic signaling" is of relevance here. The presence of explicit case-role markers such as *ha* and *ka.* obviously "permit the hearer to infer a particular function in a given context but there is no automatic production requirement on the speaker." With reference to the need for marking subject and object grammatical role, it is helpful to characterize the distribution of *ka.* and *ha* in opposition to *kou*, namely, that in the absence of an explicit case-role marker, the default role assigned to the unmarked human noun is that of subject. As Burmese allows the omission of some or all of the core arguments of a clause, the occurrence of an unmarked human noun in a clause is typically interpreted as subject unless otherwise indicated with *kou*. Analogous to the marking of contrastive subjects with *ka.*, there is a strong tendency to mark contrastive objects with *kou*; on the other hand, zero-anaphora is also seen to occur with continuing objects.

CHAPTER VI

THE VERB PHRASE

The verb phrase is the nucleus of the verbal clause, which may be either dependent or independent. The dependent clause is marked with a subordinate marker which occurs clause-finally. Subordinate clauses in Burmese are syntactically marked for polarity but not for tense. If the clause is a main and/or independent clause, it is marked by grammatical particles along several functional and semantic domains. These grammatical particles may or may not be mutually exclusive. The expression 'main clause' in Burmese appropriately refers to the final clause of a complex sentence or the final clause in a clause chain. Only the final clause in a complex sentence is syntactically marked for tense and modality, i.e. speech act. Non-final clauses are dependent upon the final main clause for tense, polarity and speech act.

The functional and semantic domains along which a main or independent clause in Burmese is marked pertains to the type of speech act, polarity and tense. Firstly, with regard to the type of speech act, the moment an independent clause realizes a communicative intent of some sort, i.e. an illocutionary force of some kind, it may quite appropriately be referred to as a sentence. Consequently, is it a declarative, imperative, interrogative or hortative verbal sentence? Secondly, the independent sentence must be marked as to polarity. Is it in

the affirmative or the negative? Thirdly, the independent clause must be marked as to tense.[1]

With reference to Burmese, is the event described by the clause marked for future or non-future time reference relative to the time of utterance or instead, to a certain point in time at which it was realized ?

We shall define the verb phrase in Burmese as the nucleus of a clause, consisting of an obligatory main verb, the head , with one or more optional pre- and post-head 'versatile' auxiliary verbs, aspectual particles and particles indicating politeness and speaker's attitude or tone. In our definition, the VP in Burmese does not comprise sentence final particles marking tense and/or speech act which characterize main clauses or sentences.

Order of Elements in the Verb Phrase

<u>Terminological preliminaries</u>   In looking at the elements that constitute the VP, I have made a classificatory and terminological distinction between "versatile" auxiliaries and particles which function as verbal or phrasal modifiers. The semantic and syntactic criteria, upon which the classification of versatile auxiliaries is based, is discussed in detail in the chapters on pre- and post-head versatile auxiliaries. In brief, versatile auxiliaries are not only distinguished by their juxtapository productivity but also by virtue of comprising a large and open set; additionally, a large number of 'versatile' auxiliaries have synchronically relatable lexical verbs (Matisoff 1969). With regard to syntactic

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[1]Related to this is Johnson's (1992:176) observation about an opposition in modality (realis vs. irrealis) with reference to the core verb-sentence markers *te* and *me* (Okell's 1969 terminology).

position-class, post-head versatile auxiliaries as a subclass, precede other post-head modifying particles.

Wheatley (1982:229) has observed that "dividing the VMods's (verb modifiers) into particles and verbs according to whether or not they have a corresponding lexical verb has a number of drawbacks ...(because) many VMod's are highly grammaticalized, ...in some cases the relationship between the VMod and the lexical verb is hardly recognizable." He cites the 'versatile' auxiliary *lai'* '(do) effectively, decidedly' as example, stating that Bernot (1980)[2] does not hesitate to derive it from the lexical verb *lai'* 'to follow', although the semantic connection is not obvious. One counter argument against Wheatley's observation is that *lai'*, as a modifier, has certain uses that are relatable to its meaning as a main verb, specifically, uses that have 'physical dislocation' as part of their semantics. This may be offered as evidence in support of Bernot and Okell (1969) as it can be argued that the sense of 'physical dislocation' may be semantically related to the lexical verb meaning 'to follow'. However, the question as to whether *lai'* is a versatile auxiliary or a particle is not determined by whether it has a synchronically relatable lexical verb or not. It depends primarily on the position class it appears in.

Thus, in the classificatory distinction made here, the most important criterion is that of relative order of subclasses within the VP. Note that subclasses within the VP are marked not only by order of occurrence, but also by being members of a semantic or functional domain which constitute a paradigm. The best example is the semantically 'tightly-knit' set

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[2]Okell (1969:330-2) also classifies " *lai'* as an auxiliary, perhaps from the 'simple' verb *lai'* meaning 'follow after, go along with, match'."

of aspectual particles *thei:*, *oun:* and *to.*, which comprise a paradigm where all members are mutually exclusive with one another. Granted that there are versatile auxiliaries which have an aspectual function; however, they do not belong to the "*thei:*, *oun:* and *to.*" set as they may co-occur with one of the exponents of the set. The following chart shows the order of elements in the VP:

$$\text{VP} \rightarrow \quad (vV)^n \quad \text{Vh} \quad (Vv)^n \quad (P_{Polite}) \quad (P_{Aspect}) \quad (P_{Polite}) \quad (P_{Attitude})$$

	(36)		(42)		(*oun:*)		(*lei*)
					(*thei:*)		(*pei*)
					(*to.*)		(*hcei*)
					(*lein.*)		
					(*pa*)		
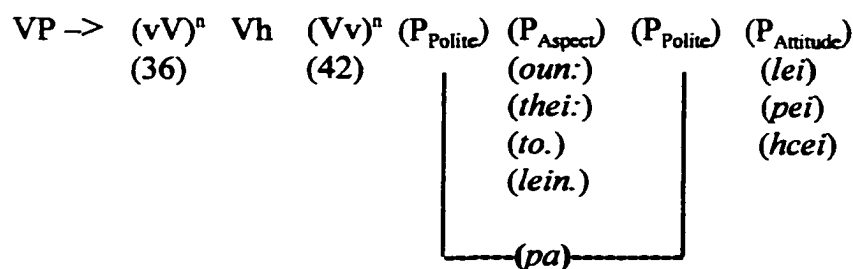
Vh	—> Verb head
$(vV)^n$	—> One or more optional pre-head 'versatile' auxiliaries out of about 36
$(Vv)^n$	—> One or more optional post-head 'versatile' auxiliaries from about 42
(P_{Aspect})	—> Optional aspectual particles;
(P_{Polite})	—> The polite particle *pa* may optionally precede or follow (P_{Aspect});
$(P_{Attitude})$	—> *hcei* and *pei* rarely occur in spoken colloquial Burmese, if at all;

<u>Pre- and post-head versatile auxiliary verbs</u>   There are about 36 pre-head

versatile auxiliary verbs in Burmese. Multiple pre-head versatile auxiliary concatenations are

rare in Burmese; three pre-head versatiles appear to be the maximum number in a

concatenation. A general order may be observed in their order of occurrence with the most

abstract and grammaticalized occurring the furthest away from the head. A mirror-image

may be seen in the order of occurrence of roughly 42 post-head 'versatile' auxiliaries, with

the more abstract and grammaticalized versatile auxiliaries being further away from the head

in general.

<u>Aspectual particles</u>   The aspectual particles, *thei*, *oun:* and *to.* are mutually exclusive and occur toward the end of the VP, after the post-head 'versatile' auxiliaries and before the particle which indicates tense and/or speech act. In this position class, the 'probability' particle *lein.* may optionally occur on its own or may optionally precede *oun:* in a future declarative sentence.[3]

<u>The polite particle</u>   The polite *pa* may occur between the post-head versatiles and the aspectual particle, or after the aspectual particle. Okell (1969:375) classifies it as an auxiliary verb but the fact that it may alternatively occur after the aspectual particles *thei:* and *to.* argues for its alternate classification as a particle. Wheatley (1982) notes that Bernot has categorized *pa* as a particle ignoring the possible connection with the lexical verb *pa* 'to include'. The semantic connection, in my view, is not strong enough to override the classificatory parameter of position class.

<u>Particles marking attitude</u>   Compared to the polite particle *pa*, which commonly occur in modern colloquial Burmese, there are other, less frequently occurring particles which mark the speaker's attitude or convey a certain tone to the utterance. Attitude or tone particles such as *lei*, *pei* and *hcei*, having a polite, gentle euphonic function occur towards the end of the VP in an independent declarative sentence, usually just before the speech act marker. The euphonic particles *pei* and *hcei* are common in older elevated literary styles of the written language but relatively rare in the modern colloquial language spoken in Rangoon. On the other hand, the use of *lei* which indicates a "gentleness or

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[3] There are some very restricted uses of the *oun: to.* sequence which "violate their claimed mutual exclusiveness" (see Okell 79).

softening of tone" (Okell 1969:340) appears to be relatively more common; *lei* is common

at the end of an imperative sentence to mark a 'gentle' tone of persuasion or concession:

(1) Vh Vv   P$_{asp}$ P$_{Tone}$
     pyo: lai' *oun:* *lei*
     say *follow* further concessive
     'Go on. Tell (him).'

Pre- and post-head versatile concatenations   Multiple post-head versatile

concatenations are more frequent than multiple pre-head versatile concatenations.

Concatenations comprising two post-head versatile verbs are extremely common and three

are fairly common in naturally occurring speech. However, the semantic and pragmatic

constraints become extremely higher for four or more post-head versatiles to occur. Note

that there are more abstract, grammaticalized post-head versatile auxiliaries than there are

abstract pre-head versatile auxiliaries. The more abstract a grammaticalized versatile

auxiliary is, the wider its semantic scope. This consequently allows more versatile

auxiliaries to co-occur with it, and would account for why there are longer post-head

versatile verb concatenations than there are pre-head versatile concatenations. As Matisoff

(1969:87) has observed with reference to Lahu, "the more concrete, specific or marked the

semantic content of a versatile verb is, the less readily it participates in lengthy

concatenations." Although a broad correlation may be observed between the degree of

grammaticalization and order of occurrence, there are frequent exceptions. The correlation

between degree of grammaticalization and order of occurrence is shown graphically below:

$$\longleftarrow \text{------------} (_vV^n) \text{------------------} Vh \text{------------------} (V_v^n) \text{----------------} \longrightarrow$$

[more abstract—less abstract/lexical]   [less abstract/lexical— more abstract]

	[[vV	vV	Vh	Vv	Vv	Vv	P_{polite}	P_{asp}	$]^{VP}$	$P_{speech\ act,\ tense}]^{Sentence}$
(2)	*hta'*	*te'*	hku: *hkain:*	*ci.*	*hcin*	*pa*		*thei:*	*te*	
	stack	climb	pick	order	see	want	POL	still	RLS	

'(I) still wanted to try ordering (him) to climb up and pick (the fruit) again.'

The pre-head versatile *hta'* 'again' is more abstract and grammaticalized than the pre-head versatile *te'* 'climb', *hta'* having metaphorically shifted from its main verb meaning 'to stack'. Similarly, the post-head versatile *ci.* 'try to' is more abstract and grammaticalized than the post-head versatile *hkain:* 'order/ask', *ci.* having metaphorically shifted from its main verb meaning 'to see' (indicated by italics in the gloss). Moreover, *hcin* is even more abstract and grammaticalized from two complementary perspectives. In terms of the degree of abstraction it is a modal, modals having wider sentential scope as a matter of rule. In terms of the degree of grammaticalization, *hcin* does not occur synchronically as a lexical main verb, although it does occur as part of the di-syllabic compound *lou=hcin* 'to want'. Finally, *thei:* is a totally grammaticalized particle in that it is not relatable to any synchronically occurring lexical verb.

The Independent Clause

The VP in Burmese has been defined as the nucleus of the clause, which is either main and independent or subordinate and dependent. Furthermore, we have seen that the VP in itself, is not marked for speech act or tense, although it is marked for polarity by the insertion of the negative morpheme *ma.-* immediately before the verb head.. Consequently,

the VP needs to be additionally marked for speech act and tense if a specific communicative intent were to be realized. Some particles that occur after the VP to mark it as an independent clause are mutually exclusive whereas others are not. Particles like *te, me* and *pi (pyi)* mark tense as well as indicative mood. As *te, me* and *pi* contrast in tense in marking the indicative mood, they are mutually exclusive. Imperative mood is marked by the absence of these particles, whereas interrogative mood is additionally marked with the question particles *la:* (yes/no question) or *le:* (information question). In their dual function as markers of tense in addition to the declarative mood, *te, me* or *pi* co-occur with *la:* or *le:* to mark the interrogatives for tense.

The Marking of Tense and Polarity

<u>Declarative mood</u>   When an independent declarative clause is negated in Burmese, the negative particle *ma.*- occurs before the main verb and *hpu:* occurs in clause final position in place of *te, me* or *pi.* In the absence of explicit tense markers in a negated sentence, time reference is recovered from the context of situation. This is possible because a negative assertion has presupposed information or background knowledge as its discourse communicative background. Positive and negative polarity in the declarative mood is shown below:

<u>Declarative mood</u>

	VP *te*	(Non-future/Realis)
Affirmative	VP *me*	(Future/Irrealis)
	VP *pi*	(Punctative/Change of state)
Negative	VP *hpu:*	

(3) *hsaya=ci: ka. hsu te*
     teacher=big SUB scold RLS
     'The Principal scolded (us).'

(4) *hsaya=ci: ka. ma-hsu hpu:*
     teacher=big SUB NEG-scold NEG
     'The Principal didn't scold (us).'

(5) *hsaya=ma. thin me*
     teacher=female teach IRR
     'The female teacher will teach.'

(6) *hsaya=ma. ma-thin hpu:*
     'The female teacher won't teach.'

Imperative mood   The imperative mood is marked by the absence of *te, me* and

pi. The VP followed by a 'zero' morpheme is marked as the positive imperative; however,

the positive imperative may end with the polite particle *pa*, additionally followed by the

'cumulative' aspectual particle *oun:* (see Allott, 1965 for the use of this term). The verb-head

preceded by the negative *ma-* and followed by the 'prohibitive' particle *ne*. indicates the

negative imperative. However, *ne*. may additionally be preceded by the polite particle *pa* and

followed by the 'cumulative' aspectual particle *oun:*.

Imperative mood

Affirmative	VP-Zero
Negative	*ma*-VP *ne*.

(7) *sa: pa oun:*
     eat POL more
     'Please have some more (the food has been ready for some time now).'

     sa: lai' pa oun:
     eat *follow* POL more
     'Please *go ahead* and eat./Eat away, please.'

sa: thwa: pa   oun:
eat *go*   POL more
'Please eat *before you leave.*'

(8)   *ma-sa: pa   ne.   oun:*
NEG-eat POL IMP yet
'Please don't eat yet.' (You have been not eating for some time; please still don't
eat.)

Minor sentence types

Hortative   VP *ya.=aun* / VP *sou.*

In the hortative speech act, the VP is followed by *ya.=aun*. Assuming that *ya.* is the

same as the post-head versatile verb *ya.* , having the meanings of obligation, necessity,

opportunity, coercion, compulsion, and that *aun* is the same as the 'purposive' subordinator

aun, a semantic analysis would be of interest to show how the combination of these two led

to the hortative.[4]

(9)   *thwa: ca   ya.=aun*
go   PLU   HORT
'Let's go.'

(10)   *sa.   ca.   pa   sou.*
start PLU POL HORT
'Let's start, shall we?'

Counter-expectation   VP + *pa=la:*

Another minor sentence type realizes counter-expectation. Analogous to the

imperative and the hortative, the default time reference for the counter-expectation

construction is the moment of speech. Note that the counter-expectation expression is

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[4]Johnson (1992:178) also discusses the derivation of the verb-sentence marker
V +*ya. aun* "from a concatenation of verbs, auxiliaries (and verb particles)."

semantically and syntactically nearly identical with the interrogative. The counter-expectation marker appears to be a fusion of the polite particle *pa* and the question particle *la:*. Depending on context, the same construction may function either as counter-expectation or as an interrogative. The use of <u>V *pa=la:*</u> [5] as an interrogative does not appear to occur naturally. The use of this construction as an interrogative with a second person subject sounds extremely formal and stilted. Its function as an expression of counter-expectation is essentially determined by the pragmatics of the situation, namely, the presence at the speech act location of the third person subject and/or object.

Given that the third person subject or object is present at the scene or the speech act location, i.e. as the event has, in fact, taken place or is evidently taking place, the sentences below can only have the illocutionary force of expressing a counter-expectation.

(11)   *tin=tin la   pa=la:*
        name   come   Counter-exp
        '(I'm surprised that) Tin Tin came.'

(12)   *caun:=tha: twei kou loun=htein: twei ka.   wain: yai'   nei ca pa=la:*
        student   PLU OBJ riot.police PLU SUB *encircle* beat.up *stay* PLU Count-exp
        '(I'm surprised that) the riot police are beating up the students.'

<u>Interrogative mood</u>   In the interrogative mood , the question particle co-occurs with one of the 'declarative' particles marking tense. In the absence of a (declarative) tense particle, the default tense is non-future. In a negative interrogative, the question particle follows *hpu:* and the question is not syntactically marked for tense. Tense for the negative

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[5]An alternate form is *pa=ka-la:* (cf. Okell 1969:173), which Johnson (1992:178) gives as an e.g. of a non-core member of the 'verb-sentence marker' class. He states that it is "a clause fragment, a frozen remnant of a verb complex, probably the result of a lexicalizing process." See Johnson (1992) for a discussion and analysis of the similar <u>V+*hla.*</u> *hci. (ka-)la:* expressing 'surprise'.

interrogative is recovered from the discourse context as with negative declaratives. In the chart below, note that the tense-marking particles '*te, me, pi*' are shown in the reduced (i.e. weakened) form they occur in the interrogative, namely *tha-, ma-* and *pa-*.

Interrogative mood

Affirmative	VP *ma-*IRR VP *tha-*RLS VP *pa-* Change of state/Punctative	*la:* (yes/no question)
Negative	*ma-* neg VP *hpu:*	*le:/toun:* (information question)

(13) *min: kohpi thau' la:*
you coffee drink Q
'Do you drink coffee?'

(14) *thu pyo: la:*
3P say Q
'Did he tell (you)?'

(15) *mei=aun hta-min: hce' pa- la:*[6]
name rice cook PUNC-Q
'Has May Aung started cooking?'

(16) *min: sa: ma-la:*
you eat IRR-Q
'Will you eat?'

(17) *thu bo=loun: ma-kan hpu: la:*
3P ball NEG-kick NEG Q
'Didn't/Won't he play football?'

(18) *min: be hma ei' ma-le:*
you WH LOC sleep IRR-Q
'Where will you sleep?'

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[6]*pa-* in *pa-la:* is the weakened, reduced form of the change of state, 'punctative' declarative particle *pi*; it should not be confused with the *pa* in *pa=la:* which, like the polite particle (which it probably is), is fully stressed.

<u>Structure of the independent clause</u>　　We have seen that the VP is the nucleus

of the verbal clause, and that the verb clause needs to be additionally marked for mood

(speech act), tense and polarity in order for it to realize a specific communicative intent as

an independent sentence. We have also seen that the VP allows certain polite particles and

attitude particles to occur in it. In addition to the polite and attitude particles occurring as part

of the VP, there are optional particles occurring sentence finally which additionally mark

attitude or tone (see Table 6).

Table 6. The Independent Clause

VP	$P_{\text{speech act, tense, polarity}}$	P_{Attitude}
	Pos. Declarative *te / me / pi*	*lei* 'concessive, gentle'
	Neg. Declarative *hpu:*	*kwe* 'gentle' [7]
	Pos. Imperative Zero	*kwa* 'manly/male'
VP	Neg. Imperative *ne.*	*kwa.* 'insouciant'
	Hortative　　　*ya.=aun / sou.*	*po.* 'of course, naturally'; only
	Interrogative　*tha- / ma-/ pa-* +{ *la: / le:*}	in imperatives, neg. decls.
	Neg. Interrogative　*hpu:*　{　　}	and nominalized pos. decls.

There are also independent clauses ending in the nominalized forms *hta* and *hma*[8]

instead of *te* and *me* (see Table 7). We shall call such clauses independent nominal

sentences. Independent nominal sentences allow postpositions to follow them; e.g. *thu la*

<u>*hta*</u> <u>*hpe:*</u> 'He came indeed.'

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[7]The particle *kwa* is associated with males and *kwe* with females, although females may use *kwa* to indicate brusqueness or practicality and males may use *kwe* to indicate gentleness, the use of these particles being extremely idiosyncratic.

　　　[8]The punctative (change of state/point of realization) *pi* does not have a nominalized form.

Table 7. The Independent Nominal Sentence

VP	P_{speech act, tense, polarity}	(Postposition_{Attitude})
VP	*hta / hma*	*pa* 'polite' *hpe:* 'indeed' *lei* 'gentle' *kou:* 'So, in fact, he did VP' *no* 'VP really?' *po.* 'of course'

The attitude marker *lei* may occur at the end of the VP in elevated styles of writing; it occurs sentence finally in colloquial Burmese. The attitude marker *po.*, on the other hand, may occur at the end of an independent sentence ending in *te/me/pi* or at the end of a nominal sentence. Similarly, the polite *pa* occurs within the VP, but as a postposition it follows NP's as well as the independent nominal sentence.

Declarative Mood and Tense Particles

Okell refers to *te*, *me* and *pi* as verb-sentence markers which mark independent verb clauses. Although *te* can generally be translated into the English past and present tenses and *me* into the English future, merely characterizing their tense opposition as between non-future and future does not adequately capture their semantic opposition. Like the English present tense, *te* may be used to describe habits, customs, universal truths etc. On the other hand, *me* is used not only to mark future tense, but also to indicate deductions and estimations about events with a past-time reference. Johnson (1992) appears to be the first to gloss *te* as 'realis' and *me* as 'irrealis'.

Consequently, there are two ways of characterizing the semantic contrast between *te* and *me*: either as non-future and future or as realis and irrealis. The non-future/future distinction is not totally satisfactory because of the non-future use of the 'future' *me* to make deductions about the past. The realis/ irrealis distinction is not totally satisfactory too, as the 'realis' *te* is used for generics. Between these two terminological alternatives, I have chosen to retain the terms realis/irrealis as the non-future/future distinction can be subsumed under it.

The realis *te* . The realis declarative marker *te* may be translated by the English past and present tenses[9]. It is used to indicate past events, generic events, habit or custom.

(19) *maun=maun hsei:=lei' thau' te*
name   cigarette   drink RLS
'Maung Maung smoked cigarettes. / smokes cigarettes (habitual action).'

A weakened form *tha-* occurs before question particles (see above); it also occurs before postpositions in the formation of subordinate expressions.

(20) [Subordinate clause   ] [Main clause]
thu ka.   pyo: tha-lou   lou' te
3P SUB say RLS-POST$_{manner}$ do   RLS
'He did/does as he was told..' (in the manner he was told)

The nominalized form *hta* may occur sentence finally, allowing postpositions to occur after it.

(21) *tin=hpei ma-nei.   ka.   pyo: hta   hpe:*
name   yesterday PAST say   R/NOM POST$_{Emphatic}$
'Tin Pe *did* say that yesterday.'

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[9]See Okell (1969) for a comprehensive description of sentence final particles; specifically, (pp. 424-8) for *te*.

The irrealis *me*. Depending on person and context, it may be translated by 'will, shall, would , going to'[10]. Allott (1965:289) points out that *me* "denotes everything which is not realized, such as intentions, estimates, future events, assumptions."

(22) *nga a=hku. zei: thwa: me*
I now market go IRR
'I'm going to the market now.'

(23) *thu di hsei: thau' me*
3P this medicine drink IRR
'He's going to take this medicine.'

Okell (1969:355) states that *me* is translatable by 'may'; his ex. is repeated below with his sentence translation retained:

(24) Vh   Vv   P
hman lein.   me
true no.doubt IRR
'(That) may be true.'

Assumptions and estimates are appropriately translated with 'may'; however, this reading is possible only with epistemic or stative verbs. Following action verbs, the appropriate translation is with will/shall/going to (cf. 23).

(25) *hsaya pyo: hta   hman me*
teacher say NOM true RLS
'What the teacher said may be true.'

(26) *twin: hte: hma mwei hyi. me*
hole in LOC snake have RLS
'There may be a snake in the hole.'

(27) *nau ta-yau' hpyi' me*   (Wheatley 1982:218)
next one-CLF be RLS
'(That) must be someone else.'

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[10]See Okell (1969:354-7) for a comprehensive discussion of *me*.

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(28) describes an estimate about an event which has a remote past time reference:

(28) yan=koun hma   toun: ka. tha:=nge ka. nga: hni' lau' hpe: hyi. me
      Rangoon LOC while at   son=DIM SUB five year about only have IRR
      'Back in Rangoon then, small son would only have been about five years old.'

Analogous to *te*, a weakened form *ma-* occurs before question particles:

(29) a-tan: te'   ma-la:
      class climb IRR-Q
      'Will you attend class?'

Like *te*, a nominalized alternative form also occurs clause finally, which allows emphatic

postpositions like *hpe:* or attitude marking particles like *po.* to occur after it.

(30) hpyi. hcin hta   hpyi hma   hpe:
      happen want R/NOM happen I/NOM POST$_{Emphatic}$
      Lit: 'What (one) wishes to happen, must happen indeed!'
        'What will be, will be.'

(31) thu ku lou' pei: hma   po.
      3P help do *give* I/NOM P$_{attitude}$
      'He will help you, of course!'

<u>Change of state/point of realization *pi*</u>   The declarative marker *pi* is the most

difficult to characterize[11], compared to *te* and *me*. Earlier western scholars of the Burmese

language traditionally equate *pi* with the perfect tense and commonly use 'already' to

translate sentences with *pi* into English.[12] Wheatley (1982:219) states that *pi* indicates a

change of state. Allott (1965), on her part, uses the term 'punctative' to describe *pi* and

states that "a punctative statement has a precise punctual reference; it indicates that at the

moment of speaking the point of realization of the action or state indicated by the verb has

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[11]See Okell (1969:382-6) for a comprehensive discussion.

[12]E.g., see Stewart, 1936 and Cornyn, 1944 (in Allott 1965:289)

been reached." Her ex. is repeated below:

(32) *mou: ywa pi*
 sky rain PUNC[13]
 'It is raining now.'

It should be pointed out that the realization of the action or state may also be at a point in time other than the moment of speaking. This has been noted by Okell (1969:385) who states that "the point of fulfilment (or realization) may also be related to other times, in the past or in the future". His ex. is repeated below along with his sentence translation:

(33) *lei: hse kou: hku. hni. hma toun: ka. lu'=la'=yei: ya. pi*
 four ten nine unit year LOC WHILE past Independence get PUNC
 '(We) already had Independence in 1949.'

As further illustration, consider the pair of exx. below where a transitive verb has been contrasted with an intransitive stative verb. The exx. below imply that the action or state has been anticipated, and is realized or fulfilled at the point of speaking.

(34) *htamin: hce' pi*
 rice   cook PUNC
 '(I) have (finally) started to cook rice.'

(35) *htamin: ce'   pi*
 rice   be.cooked PUNC
 'The rice is (finally) cooked.'

Allott (1965) has noted that "punctative statements (with *pi*) are always in the affirmative."

Okell (1969) points out that in negative yes/no questions and statements, the "auxiliary verb" *thei:* (a grammaticalized aspectual particle in my classificatory system) is used instead of *pi* to indicate that an event has not yet been realized at a certain point in time.

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[13]I will follow Allott in using 'PUNC ' to gloss *pi*.

(36) *aun=nain yau' pi*
      name   reach PUNC
      'Aung Naing has arrived.'

(37) *aun=nain ma-yau'   thei: hpu:*
      name   NEG-reach still PUNC
      'Aung Naing still hasn't arrived./ hasn't arrived yet'

(38) *thu yei=hcou: pa-la:*
      3P bathe   PUNC-Q
      'Has he started to bathe?/Is he already bathing?'

(39) *thu yei   ma-hcou: thei: hpu: la:*
      3P water NEG-bathe still NEG Q
      'Hasn't he started to bathe yet?/Is he still not (yet) bathing?'

Still another distinction Okell makes is the use of *pi* to indicate "a point on an imaginary

scale reached by a certain time." Okell's ex. is repeated below:

(40) *tha=hcin: be   hna=pou' ya. pi/pa-le:*
      song   how many=CLF *get* PUNC-Q
      'How many songs have you learnt so far?'
      Alternatively: 'How many songs have you already learnt?'

Note that in the ex. above, the main verb has an object NP that is seen to increase in

magnitude.

"A point on an imaginary scale" interpretation is appropriate with 'ambient' verbs[14]

that describe temperature or weather but not with 'stative' adjectival verbs.

(41) *mou: be   lau' ywa pi   le:*
      sky   WH much rain PUNC Q
      'How much has it rained?'

(42) *to=to ywa pi*
      quite rain PUNC
      'It has rained a lot, so far.'

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[14]the use of the term 'ambient' follows Wheatley 1982:59

(43) *yei   ka. ei: pi*
   water SUB cold PUNC
   'The water has gone cold, finally.'

Ex. (44) is ungrammatical as the semantics of stative verbs does not allow "the reaching

of a point on an imaginary scale by a certain time."

(44) **thu ka. hla. pi*
   3P SUB pretty PUNC
   ? 'She is pretty, so far.'

(44) becomes grammatical with the Vv 'inceptive/inchoative' auxiliary *la* :

(45) *thu ka. hla.   la   pi*
   3P SUB pretty *come* PUNC
   'She is becoming pretty.'

Grammaticalized Aspectual Particles

The grammaticalized aspecual particles *thei:* , *oun:* , *to.* deserve a section of their

own,[15] separate from the post-head versatile auxiliaries. This is because (i) they follow the

post-head versatiles as a group in order of position class, (ii) they are totally grammaticalized

without synchronically relatable lexical items, and (iii) they comprise a closed semantic

system with specific exponents in complementary distribution with one another.

Allott (1965) uses the term 'cumulative' to refer to *thei:/oun:*, by which she means

"a continuation, a repetition, an adding of one state to another, an unfinished accumulation."

In contrast, she uses the term 'culminative' to refer to *to.*, by which she means "one thing

inevitably or imminently leading on to, finishing, in fact culminating in a certain action or

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[15]See Allot (1965), Wheatley (1982); Thurgood (1978); but the definitive discussion is Okell (1973), who follows Morrissey's (1973) treatment of the semantic features associated with the English 'still/anymore.'

state." Okell (1973), on the other hand, makes the semantic differences "more explicit by drawing attention to their double time reference." He states that "the information relating to one of the times is new ('stated'), while that relating to the other is not ('implied') and there may be a positive or negative truth value for either time." Okell's chart and exx. are repeated below:

	Positive verb	Negative verb
thei:/oun:	+event : +event	-event : -event
to.	-event : +event	+event : -event

pa'tala: ti:	*oun: me*	(+ : +) 'I'll go on playing the xylophone.'
pa'tala: ma-ti:	*thei: hpu:*	(- : -) 'I won't play the xylophone yet.'
pa'tala: ti:	*to. me*	(- : +) 'I'll play the xylophone at last.'
pa'tala: ma-ti:	*to. hpu:*	(+ : -) 'I won't play the xylophone anymore.'

N.B. *pa'tala:* ' xylophone'; *ti:* 'play'.

The 'cumulative' *thei:/oun:*   As Okell notes, *thei:/oun:* "not only inform the hearer of some action (or inaction, i.e. a negated sentence), but also imply a relationship with some preceding action (or inaction.)" Using Okell's example, *pa'tala: ti: me* simply states that 'I'll play the xylophone.' *pa'tala: ti: oun: me* , in contrast, implies that the speaker has already been playing the xylophone, or that the speaker has been playing the piano and that he is going to play the xylophone now, or that the speaker has been reading and that he is going to play the xylophone now. From this we see that the 'cumulative' events need not be the

same or even the same type of events.

Consider also the negative declarative *pa'tala: ma ti: hpu:*, which simply states 'I won't play the x.' In contrast, *pa'tala: ma ti: thei: hpu:* implies that the speaker '*still* hasn't been engaged in the activity' and 'will not be further engaged *too*.' Similar to the positive sentences, the implied activity and the stated activity need not actually be the same type. See (46) as illustration:

(46) *sa   ma-ce'   thei: hpu: la:*
      letter NEG-memorise *still* NEW Q
      'Are you still not studying?'

The sentence above may be appropriately used by a parent to a child who is engaged in some activity other than studying. Consequently, the interrogative sentence relates two non-events: an implied non-event of 'not studying' previous to the moment of speaking to a stated non-event at the moment of speaking. The implication is presented in graphical form below:

[not study]$_{prviously}$: [not study]$_{now}$

thei:/oun: in complementary distribution   As Allott (1965), Okell (1973) and others have observed, the particles *thei:* and *oun:* are in complementary distribution with each other. The cumulative *oun:* occurs only in the affirmative future declarative but not in the negative future declarative (**ma-sa: oun: me*) ; nor does it occur in the non-future declarative (**sa: oun: te*).

(47) *sa: oun: me*   (+event : +event)
      eat P$_{Cum. Asp}$ IRR
      i) 'I will eat some more.' (The Subject has already been eating.)
      ii) 'I'll eat (now).'

The Subject may have been reading a book when he asserts (47), by which he implies: "I've

been doing *this* for some time; I intend to do *that* now."

As further illustration:

(48)   *sa*   *hpa'ya. hta*   *mo:*   *pi*   *htamin: sa:* *oun:*   *me*
     letter read *get* NOM be.tired PUNC   rice   eat $P_{Cum. asp}$ IRR
     'I'm tired (now) from studying. I'll eat (now).'

Imperatives with *oun:*

(49)   *sa: pa* *oun:*   (+event : +event)
     eat POL $P_{Cum. asp16}$
  i) 'Please have some more.'
     (We both know you have had some already, but still, have some more please.)
  ii) 'Please eat (now).'
     (We both know that we have been talking for some time but please eat now.)

(50)   *ma-sa:* *ne. oun:*   (-event : -event)
     NEG-eat IMP $P_{cun. Asp}$
     'Don't eat yet.'

The cumulative *thei:*, in complementary distribution with *oun:*, occurs only in non-future

declarative sentences (positive or negative polarity) and not in positive, future declaratives,

e.g. **saun:* *ti:* *thei:* *me* (harp play *.thei:* me).

Affirmative realis declaratives with *thei:*

(51)   *saun: ti:* *thei:*   *te*   (+ event : +event)
     harp   play $P_{Cum. asp}$ RLS
     'I played the harp also.'
     (I had been playing the xylophone. I played the harp also.)

Negative irrealis declaratives with *thei:*

(52)   *saun: ma-ti:*   *thei:*   *hpu:*   (- event : -event)
     harp   NEG-play $P_{Cum. asp}$ RLS

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[16] This is a provisional notation to indicate that *oun:* is a grammaticalized aspectual particle which has a cumulative sense in Allott's use of the term. Henceforth, the notation CUM(ulative) will be used interchangeably with it for the sake of brevity.

'I won't play the harp yet.'
(I hadn't been playing the harp. I won't play it yet.)

The culminative _to._   The culminative _to._ stands in opposition to _thei:/oun:_ in the

semantic system.

(i) It relates an implied non-event to a stated event in an affirmative sentence:

(53)   _sa: to.   me_   (- event : +event)
       eat P_{Cul} IRR
       'I'll eat now.'

Ex. (53) implies that the subject has not been eating prior to the moment of speaking, and

that he is only going to start eating now.

(ii) It relates an implied event to a stated non-event in a negative sentence:

(54)   _ma-sa: to. hpu:_   (+event : -event)
       NEG-eat P_{Cul} NEG
       'I won't eat anymore.'
       i) The Subject has been eating previously and won't eat any longer.
       ii) The speaker has not actually been eating previously but there is an expectation (by
       others), or an 'intention to eat', on the part of the speaker previous to the moment of
       speaking. This interpretation is appropriate in response to the question "Are you
       going to eat?", where "I won't eat anymore." implies that the speaker has previously
       intended to eat. Thus, the implied previous event is the 'intention to eat' , which the
       speaker asserts will not be the case anymore.

The grammaticalized 'probability' particle _lein._   Finally, a description of _lein._

is in order to complete our discussion of the grammaticalized aspectual paradigm which

occurs as part of the VP. Although _lein._ is not semantically a true aspectual particle, having

more of a modal sense of 'probability', it comprises a natural class with the aspectual

particles as it occurs in the same position class. It occurs only in the future tense and tends

to co-occur with the aspectual _oun:_ in the future declarative. It has variously been described

by Okell (1969:341-342) as " probably/ possibly" and "no doubt/surely." From this we see

that *lein.* expresses an estimation about the probability of a future event, with the degree of probability being determined by context.

(55) *thu mo:=mo: ne. pyan la pi: htamin: sa: lein. me*
3P tired=tired with return come NF rice eat PROB IRR
'He will come back pretty tired and *surely* eat.'

(56) *yei=hke: ka. hco: te / tha-ti. hta:/ lein. ca. lein. me*
ice SUB slippery RLS / mindful keep/ roll fall PROB IRR
'The ice is slippery. Be careful. You might fall.'

It is of interest to note that as *lein.* is used to express an estimate about the probability of an event, it is not appropriate with a first person subject who asserts intention about a future volitional activity:

(57) ** ca-no asi:=awei: ca.=yin a-hpyi' hman twei kou pyo: lein. me*
I conference fall=SUB state true PLU OBJ tell PROB IRR
* 'I'll probably tell (them about) the true state of affairs at the conference.'[17]

However, a first person subject may use *lein.* to express an estimate about a future event involving himself, when his participation as a volitional agent is implied to be non-existent or reduced. Note that such sentences of 'estimation' usually occur as the embedded argument of the matrix 'I think':

(58) *ci. ya. hta nga sa=mei:=pwe: aun lein. me htin te*
look *get* NOM I examination pass PROB IRR think RLS
'I think (it) looks like I'll surely pass the exam.'

lein. co-occurs with *oun:* in a future declarative:

(59) *ma-cei=na' hta twei kou hse' pyo: pa lein. oun: me*
NEG -satisfy NOM PLU OBJ continue say POL PROB CUM IRR
'(He) will probably continue to tell (us) more about his dissatisfactions.'

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[17]Instead, V *yin* V *me* is used; e.g. *pyo: yin pyo: me* [tell if tell IRR] meaning 'I might tell.'

Summary   The verb phrase is the nucleus of the verbal clause. The verb

phrase comprises elements that mark aspect, modality and the tone or attitude of the speaker.

Pre-head and post-head versatile auxiliaries not only mark verbal aspect and modality but

also have diverse adverbial functions such as that of marking direction, manner,

intensity/degree, comparison, frequency, urgency, sympathy etc. (see Chapter VII on versatile

verb concatenation). Additionally, the aspectual particles *thei:*, *oun:* and *to.*, which comprise

a closed semantic set, are in complementary distribution with one another. In brief, this

closed semantic system is organized in terms of the semantic opposition between a

continuing state and a changed state. As a rule, particles occur to the right of the less

grammaticalized versatile auxiliaries.

The verbal clause is either dependent or independent. The dependent clause is marked

with the clause final subordinate marker. Dependent clauses are marked for verbal aspect,

modality and polarity but are not syntactically marked for tense. The independent clause is

marked with a sentence final particle (or zero) to indicate speech act and tense. The

declarative sentence is marked with the sentence final particles *te*, *me* and *pi* which contrast

in tense. Interrogative sentences are marked with either the information question particles

le:/toun: or the yes/no question particle *la:* . A reduced form of the tense particles *te*, *me* and

pi may optionally precede the question particles to explicitly mark tense. However, in their

absence, tense is recovered from the context of situation. The imperative sentence is marked

by the absence of a speech act particle.

CHAPTER VII

NEGATION

As a speech act,[1] negation functions to deny or contradict presupposed information or background knowledge which the speaker assumes is shared by the hearer. As Givon (1984:324) describes it, "The negative declarative speech-act is used to deny P, (the proposition expressed in the clause), against the background of the hearer's presumed inclination to believe in P, believe in the likelihood of P or be familiar with P. We shall see below how the degree of presupposition affects the syntax of negation in Burmese.

The Negative Construction

The unstressed negative verbal prefix *ma-* occurs with the declarative sentence final *hpu:* in a negative declarative sentence. Later in the chapter, we shall look at the different syntactic environments where *hpu:* is omitted.

(1) *thiha. ma-nei.   ka.   caun: ma-thwa: hpu:*
     name   yesterday past   school NEG-go   NEG
     'Thiha didn't go to school yesterday.'

Omission of *hpu:*   The sentence final *hpu:* is seen to be obligatorily omitted under some circumstances and optionally omitted in others. It is obligatorily omitted in subordinate clauses.

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[1] See Givon (1984:323) for negation as a speech-act and its disourse context.

(2)   *caun: ma-thwa: yin ba lou' ma-le:*
          school NEG-go   if WH do IRR-Q
          'If you don't go to school, what will you do?'

hpu: is obligatorily omitted in *hta/hma* nominalized clauses.

(3)   *thu ma-pyo: hma   kou sou: te*
          she NEG-tell I/NOM OBJ worry IRR
          'I worry that she won't tell me.'

(4)   *ma-hpyi' nain hta   kou ma-sin:=sa: hpu:*
          NEG-be can R/NOM OBJ NEG-think NEG
          'I won't think about what cannot be.'

hpu: is optionally omitted after the verb in conjoined clauses; the negative prefix *ma-*,

however, occurs before the main verb of both clauses.

(5)   *ei'   le: ma-ei'   (hpu:)\\ na: le: ma-na: (hpu:)*
          sleep also NEG-sleep   rest also NEG-rest
          '(She) neither sleeps nor rests.'

(6)   *thu di nei. yei   le: ma-hcou: (hpu:)*\\ *thwa: le: ma-tai'   (hpu:)*
          he this day water also NEG-bathe   teeth also NEG-brush
          '(He) did not bathe nor brush (his) teeth today.'

hpu: is sometimes seen to be omitted in the presence of the polite marker *pa*:

(7)   *thu ma-la   pa (hpu:)*
          he NEG-come POL
          'He didn't come.'

<u>Omission of the negative prefix *ma-*</u>   The omission of *ma-* appears to be

idiosyncratic and is strongly associated with extremely informal speech.

(8)   *hsan=pyou' kaun: la:*
          rice=boil   good Q
          'Is the rice porridge good?'

          kaun: hpu:
          good NEG
          'It's not good.' (childish tone)

(9) *tha=ye: ka: ci. hcin tha-la:*
     ghost   movie see *want* IRR-Q
     'Do you want to see a ghost movie?'

ci . hcin pa   hpu:
see *want* POL NEG
'I don't.'

Negation of Declarative Sentences

Affirmative declarative sentences are marked for tense with the three contrasting affirmative sentence final particles: the realis *te*, the irrealis *me*, and the punctative *pi*. The sentence final negative *hpu:* is the fourth member of this set and is in complementary distribution with the three affirmative sentence final particles. Consider first an affirmative punctative sentence and its negative counterpart:

(10) *thu yau' pi*
      3P reach PUNC
      'He has arrived.'

The negative counterpart requires the presence of the cumulative aspectual particle *thei:* 'still':

thu ma-yau'   thei: hpu:
3P NEG-reach *still* NEG
'He still hasn't arrived./He hasn't arrived yet.'

When the realis *te* or the irrealis *me* is replaced with *hpu:* in a negative declarative, tense is determined by the discourse context. In the sentence pairs below, the questions set the context:

(11) *tin=hpei a=ye' thau' tha-la:*   (Present habitual)
      name   liquor drink RLS- Q
      'Does Tin Pe drink?'

> *tin=hpei a=ye' ma-thau' hpu:*
> name   liquor NEG-drink NEG
> 'Tin Pe doesn't drink.'

(12) *nya. ka. hsei: thau' tha-la:* (Past)
      night Past medicine drink RLS-Q
      'Did (you) take medicine last night?'

> *nya. ka. hsei: ma-thau' hpu:*
> night Past medicine NEG-drink NEG
> '(I) didn't take medicine last night.'

(13) *ma-ne'=hpan zei: thwa: ma-la:*   (Future)
      tomorrow   market go   IRR-Q
      'Will (you) go to market tomorrow?'

> *ma-ne'=hpan zei: ma-thwa: hpu:*
> tomorrow   market NEG-go NEG
> 'I won't go to market tomorrow.'

As the negative declarative does not syntactically distinguish between future and non-future tense, a syntactic device to code the distinction in a negated proposition is to nominalize *the affirmative* proposition, which is marked for tense, and to make it the argument of the verb *hou'* 'be true/right/be the case', which is then negated. Lahu has a parallel construction. Matisoff (1973:269) states that "clauses are also negatable by means of *ma he?* 'is not the case', provided they are nominalized...These periphrastic negatives are more emphatic and contrastive than the simple negatives where *ma* precedes the verb." In contrast to the simple negative declarative *thu ma-pyo: hpu:* 'He didn't say it.', the nominalized construction in (14), usually denies a stronger degree of presupposition.

(14) *thu pyo: hta   ma-hou' hpu:*
      he say R/NOM NEG-true NEG
      'It's not the case that he said (it).'

A stronger degree of presupposition is implicit in questions with the nominalizer *hta*:

(15) *thu pyo: hta   la:*
      he   say   R/NOM Q
      'Did he say that?'   (strongly presupposes P)

The same pragmatic difference is seen between the simple future negative declarative and the nominalized future negative construction. The future interrogative in (16) provides the context:

(16) *thu pyo: ma-la:*
      she speak IRR-Q
      'Will she speak?'

(17) *thu ma-pyo: hpu:*
      she NEG-speak NEG
      'She won't speak.'

The nominalized future negative, in contrast, has as background a stronger degree of presupposition about the likelihood of her speaking.

(18) *thu pyo: hma   ma-hou' hpu:*
      he   say   I/NOM NEG-true NEG
      'It's not the case that she will speak '

Negation of Imperative Sentences

When an imperative sentence is negated, the prohibitive particle *ne.* occurs sentence finally.

(19) *kha-lei: kou ma-yai' ne.*
      child   OBJ NEG-hit IMP
      'Don't hit the child.'

Negation of Interrogative Sentences

When a yes/no question is formed, the yes/no question particle *la:* occurs clause-finally after the declarative sentence final particle. In a non-future question, the non-future particle *te* alternates morphologically between zero, reduced *tha-* and nominalized *hta*. These alternations correlate discourse-pragmatically with such factors as the speaker's belief, certainty or presupposition about the likelihood of an event. Absence of overt non-future tense marking, or the phonologically reduced and unstressed *tha-* , usually occurs when the speaker is least certain about the likelihood of an event.

(20) *pyo: pya. lai'*   *(tha)- la:*
      tell *show away* (RLS)-Q
      'Did you tell (him)?'   (low degree of certainty about P)

Zero or unstressed *tha-* also occurs in questions about habitual actions, having as background the speaker's ignorance. i.e. no presupposition about P, about the likelihood of a habitual action.

(21) *min: bi=ya thau'*   *(tha)-la:*
      you beer drink (RLS)-Q
      'Do you drink beer?'   (questioning habitual action)

The nominalized *hta,* on the other hand, occurs when the speaker strongly assumes that the event took place; consequently, the nominalized construction has only past time reference. Additionally, when the object NP is omitted, the subject NP is seen to fall under interrogative focus as in (22).

(22) *min: pyo: hta   la:*
you say R/NOM Q
'Were you the one who said (that)?'

Similarly, when the subject is omitted, the object is seen to fall under interrogative focus.

(23) *thu. kou pyo: hta   la:*
3P.O OBJ say R/NOM Q
'Was she who you spoke to?'

The future interrogative with the phonologically reduced future marker *ma-* (from the sentence final *me*) is the unmarked construction which does not seem to be associated with any strong presuppositions.

(24) *mei=aun htamin: sa: ma-la:*
name   rice   eat IRR-Q
'Will May Aung eat?'

In contrast, the nominalized future construction seems to be associated with a stronger degree of presupposition, consequently functioning to ask for confirmation.

(25) *mei=aun htamin: sa: hma   la:*
name   rice   eat I/NOM Q
'Is it certain that May Aung will eat?'

Yes/No Question of a Negative Sentence

The negative yes/no question in Burmese may be semantically characterized as the addition of interrogative scope over a negative declarative by means of the question particle *la:*. A negated yes/no question, like its negated declarative counterpart, is not structurally marked for tense in Burmese.

(26) *thu a-ye' ma-thau'   hpu: la:*
he liquor NEG-drink NEG Q
'Doesn't/Didn't/Won't he drink?'

As seen earlier, a syntactic means to distinguish tense is to nominalize the affirmative proposition to make it the argument of the verb *hou'* 'be true/be the case', which is then negated. The interrogative of this 'tensed' construction expresses a strong presupposition

(27) *thu a-ye'   thau' hta   ma-hou'   hpu: la:*
      he liquor drink R/NOM NEG-true NEG Q
      'Isn't it true that he drank?'

Similarly, the nominalized future negative interrogative strongly presupposes that someone 'will drink', consequently functioning to ask for confirmation.

(28) *thu a-ye'   thau' hma   ma-hou'   hpu: la:*
      he liquor drink I/NOM NEG-true NEG Q
      'He will drink, won't he?'/'Isn't it true he will drink?'

Wh-Questions of Negative Propositions

In a Wh-question, the speaker asks for information about a subpart of a proposition which he does not know.[2] For example, (29) asks for information about 'the food' a specific dog eats. The discourse-pragmatic background to such a question is the presupposition that there are *some foods the dog eats*, but about which the speaker does not know.

(29) *di   hkwei: ba sa: tha-le:*
      this dog   WH eat IRR-Q
      'What does this dog eat?

An alternative is the nominalized cleft-focus construction which expresses a stronger degree of presupposition that *there are* some foods which the dog eats.

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[2] See Givon (1990:793) for the functional dimensions of WH questions.

(30) *di hkwei: sa: hta ba le:*
this dog   eat NOM WH Q
'The things this dog eats, what are they?'

A negated Wh-question has, as its discourse-pragmatic background, the presupposition that

there are *some foods which the dog doesn't eat.*

(31) *di hkwei: ba ma-sa: hpu: le:*
this dog   WH NEG-eat NEG Q
'What doesn't this dog eat?'

A syntactic alternative, analogous to (30), has the presupposed information, 'the food which

the dog doesn't eat', nominalized and fronted:

(32) *di hkwei: ma-sa: hta ba le:*
this dog   NEG-eat NOM WH Q
'What are the things this dog doesn't eat?'
Lit: 'This dog not eat thing, what?'

Permutations and Negative/Interrogative Scope Alternations

A negative question may be characterized as the negative declarative proposition

coming under interrogative scope.

(33) *min: thu. kou ma-pyo: lai' hpu: la:*
you she OBJ NEG-tell *away* NEG Q
'Didn't you tell her?'

In order to have a specific argument fall under negative and interrogative scope, the

affirmative counterpart of the proposition in (33) is nominalized and the target argument is

extracted and moved to the position immediately before the negative interrogative *ma-hou'*

hpu: la: 'be not true?'. In (34), negative and interrogative focus is on the subject *min:* 'you'.

(34) *thu. kou pyo: lai'   hta   min: ma-hou'   hpu: la:*
     she OBJ tell *away* R/NOM you NEG-true NEG Q
     'Isn't it true *you* (were the one who) told her?'

When the lower clause object is extracted and moved to subject position in the matrix clause,

its dual semantic case roles are reflected syntactically by both the accusative *thu. kou* 'her'

and the nominative *thu* 'she' being acceptable alternatives.

(35) *min: pyo: lai'   hta   thu/thu. kou   ma-hou' hpu: la:*
     you tell *away* R/NOM 3P/3P.O OBJ   NEG-true NEG Q
     'Isn't she the one you spoke to?'

Negation of Interrogatives of Reason

Burmese does not have a single word corresponding to 'why' in English, having

instead two functionally equivalent expressions. These are the subordinate construction

ba hpyi' lou. (what happened because) and the postpositional phrase *ba jaun.* (what because-

of).

(36) *ba   hpyi'   lou.   le:*
     WH happen because Q
     'Why?'

(37) *ba jaun.   le:*
     WH because-of Q
     'Why?'

The order in which the reason expression occurs is not fixed. It may occur before the subject,

object, verb or even the question particle in a nominalized question.

(38) *thida   ba=hpyi' =lou./ba=jaun. thu. kou pyo: hta   le:*
     name why   3P.O OBJ tell NOM Q
     'Why did Thida tell her?'

In sentence initial position:

> *ba jaun. /ba hpyi' lou. thu. kou thida pyo: hta le:*
> 'id.'

Before the verb:

> *thu. kou thida ba jaun./ba hpyi' lou. pyo: hta le:*
> 'id.'

Before the question particle in a nominalized question:

> *thu. kou thida pyo: hta ba jaun.//ba hpyi' lou. le:*
> 'id.'

The scope of negation vis-a-vis interrogation may be distinguished by the movement of the question particle *le:*. The fact that *le:* may immediately follow *ba jaun.* or *ba hpyi' lou.*, syntactically reflects the interrogative scope of *le:* as distinct from the scope of negation. That is to say, interrogative scope falls only on the reason expression, whereas negative scope falls only on the proposition which is presupposed.

(39) *ba jaun.*   *le:* \\ *min: thu. kou ma-pyo: hta*
      WH because-of Q   you 3P.O OBJ NEG-tell NOM
      'Because of what? You didn't tell her.'

Scope of Negation in Clause Chains

Clause chain constructions in Burmese code co-temporal events, consecutive events, single 'macro' events or events describing causal relations. The temporal or logical relations holding between multiple events described in clause chains are not indicated by the syntax. As the negative prefix *ma-* occurs only once in a clause chain negation, negative scope is discourse-pragmatically determined. That is, the question as to whether negative scope falls

on all clauses, or only on the final clause, or only on the non-final clause in the chain is determined by the temporal or logical relations that are pragmatically construed to obtain between events described in the clause chain.

The negative prefix *ma-* occurs immediately before the main verb of the final clause in a clause chain. Specifically, when a string of verbs (or clauses) is negated, *ma-* occurs before the final lexical verb. The term 'string of verbs' would, by definition, include not only clause chains describing multiple events but also verb concatenations describing single events. Anticipating the following chapter on versatile verb concatenations, we should note here that the final lexical verb may not function as a main verb but may have an 'auxiliary' function. Irrespective of whether the final lexical verb functions as an auxiliary or a main verb, the fact that it is a 'versatile' lexical verb allows it to be directly negated with *ma-*. Consequently, when the main verb of the final clause is followed by a 'versatile' verb, *ma-* may occur alternatively before the versatile verb.

Furthermore, clause chain constructions in Burmese may evince the non-final marker *pi:*, which is synchronically related to the lexical verb *pi:* 'finish'. Although it is possible for the non-final marker to occur more than once, it usually occurs only once in the position immediately preceding the final clause. The presence of *pi:* does not strongly correlate with the coding of temporally successive events as we shall see below. The non-final *pi:* is roughly analogous to "the suspensive particle" *le* in Lahu,[3] which indicates that the preceding clause is not the last in a series of clauses, and which also refers to successive as

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[3]The Lahu suspensive particle *le*, unlike the Burmese non-final particle *pi:*, appears to be totally grammaticalized as it also occurs after NP. Burmese appears to have a cognate, the particle *le*: 'also/too' which also occurs both after VP's and NP's.

well as simultaneous events (Matisoff 1973:204)."

Simultaneous Events and Negation   Pragmatic inference that people sing while

bathing, as well as the presence of the progressive auxiliary *nei*, determine a co-temporal

reading for the affirmative clause chain below:

(40)   *win:=u: tha-hcin: hsou pi: yei=hcou: nei te*
     name   song   sing NF bathe   *stay* RLS
     'Win Oo sings while bathing.'

In negating (40), *ma-* may either occur before the main verb of the final clause or before the

versatile auxiliary *nei*.

(41)   *win:=u: tha-hcin: hsou pi: yei   ma-hcou: nei hpu:*
     name   song   sing NF water NEG-bathe *stay* NEG
     'Win Oo did not sing while bathing.'

     win:=u: tha-hcin: hsou pi: yei hcou: ma-nei hpu:
     'id.'

In either case, negative scope does not normally fall on the final clause. In notation:

     <—NEG]
     [sing   ] bathe

A possible context might have (41) in answer to someone who mistook the radio for Win Oo

who was bathing.

A similar pragmatic inference gives a co-temporal reading to the affirmative clause

chain below:

(42)   *thida=nain ka.   bai' pu' pi: ka.   te*
     name   SUB belly rub NF dance RLS
     'Thida Nain rubbed her belly while she danced.'

When negating (42), *ma-* occurs before the final lexical verb:

(43) *thida=nain ka. bai' pu' pi: ma-ka. hpu:*
name   SUB belly rub NF NEG-dance RLS
'Thida Nain did not rub her belly while she danced.'

(43) is possibly multiply ambiguous. Under one interpretation, both verbs are under negative scope to mean that Thida Nain neither rubbed her belly nor danced. Under another interpretation, the preferred one, only the first verb comes under negative scope to mean that Thida Nain did not rub her belly while dancing. The preferred interpretation has, as background, the presupposition that Thida Nain usually rubs her belly while dancing.

Consecutive Events and Negation   In the section above, we have seen that a clause chain may represent co-temporal events even in the presence of the non-final marker *pi:*. To this, we may need to add that *pi:* almost always occurs when the clause chain describes temporally separate events that are not logically or causally related. In other words, the absence of the non-final marker isomorphically correlates with a higher degree of semantic integration construed between consecutive clauses. In (44), the two clauses clearly describe events dislocated in space and time, which, additionally are not logically or causally related. That is to say, 'taking the children to school' and 'borrowing books from the library' are only 'incidentally' related.

(44) *hkalei: twei kou caun: pou. pi: sa=ci.=tai' ka.*
child PLU OBJ school send NF library   from

sa=ou' twei hnga: hke. tha-la:
book   PLU borrow *distal* IRR-Q

'Did you borrow books from the library after you took the children to school?'

When events are clearly dislocated in space and time, only the final clause normally comes under negative scope:

(45) *hkalei: twei kou caun: pou. pi: sa=ci.=tai' ka. sa=ou' twei ma-hnga: hke. hpu:*
'I didn't borrow books from the library after I took the children to school.'

[<————————————NEG
take children to school [borrow books from library]

The non-final marker must occur in (46), where the same-subject events of 'eating' and

'bathing' are pragmatically inferred to be consecutive. Consequently, only the final clause

is normally interpreted to fall under negative scope.

(46) *htamin: sa: pi: yei ma-hcou: hpu:*
rice   eat NF water NEG-bathe NEG
'I won't bathe after I eat.'

[<—NEG
bathe [eat   ]

We have seen above that the presence of the non-final marker *pi:* does not correlate with

whether multiple events are construed as being co-temporal or consecutive. From this we

may conclude that the presence of *pi:* also does not correlate with negative scope in clause

chains. We see thus that the scope of negation is discourse-pragmatically determined by

whether simultaneous or consecutive multiple events are represented by the clause chain.

Unitary 'Macro' Events and Negation   When multiple events share the same

subject and object, it is often the case that the multiple events are seen as sub-components

of a unitary macro event. In this type of clause chain, consecutive events are construed to be

logically related in some manner. For example, the second event may provide the purpose

or reason for carrying out the first event or the performance or achievement of the latter event

may depend on the carrying out of the prior event. When multiple events are construed as

sub-components of a single macro event, *pi:* tends not to occur.

In (47), the question normally means 'Did you fry the noodles prior to eating (them)?':

(47) *min: hkau'=hswe: kou co sa: tha-la:*
      you noodles   OBJ fry eat IRR-Q
      'Did you fry and eat the noodles?

(48), which is the felicitous answer to (47), means 'I didn't fry the noodles prior to eating

them'.

(48) *co ma-sa: hpu:*
      fry NEG-eat NEG
      'I didn't fry and eat noodles.'

Consider next a clause chain describing events that are dislocated in time and space, but still

construed as sub-components of a single macro event

(49) *tin=hla. ka. to: hte: thwa: hmou   hya hmyi'   tu:*
      name   SUB forest into go   mushroom search bamboo.shoots dig

      myou. te'   zei: yaun: pi: mi.=tha:=su. kou   lou' cwei: tha-la:
      town ascend market sell   NF family   OBJ work feed IRR-Q

      'Does Tin Hla go into the forest, search for mushrooms, dig bamboo shoots, go up to
      town, peddle (his wares) to provide for his family.'

<u>Conclusion</u>   In this section, we have seen how negative scope is determined

by the construal of temporal or logical relations obtaining between events described in clause

chains.

Negation of Versatile Verb Concatenations

Two types of versatile verbs (see Chapter VIII) may be distinguished in Burmese

depending on whether they precede or follow the main verb. We have seen above that in

negation, the negative prefix occurs either before the final clause in a chain or the final

lexical verb in a concatenated string of verbs. A string of verbs in Burmese may describe

either discrete events or a unitary event. Under a unitary event construal, only a single verb in the string can be the verb head. Other verbs in the string, which may either precede or follow the head, typically contribute adverbial, modal or aspectual notions to the unitary event.

<u>Negation of Pre-Head Versatile Verb Concatenations</u>   Pre-head versatile verbs in Burmese comprise a heterogeneous   class of verbs displaying varying degrees of abstractness and grammaticalization (see Chapter VIII). Some pre-head versatiles have shifted dramatically in meaning from their use as lexical verbs, although a semantic connection, however tenuously, may still be made in most cases. Other pre-head versatiles are identical in meaning with their lexical use as main verbs, but are classified as versatile verbs because of their juxtapository productiveness (Matisoff 1969:70). The term pre-head versatile verb refers to the first verb in a concatenated string, which may or may not retain its meaning as a lexical verb, but typically functions to add an adverbial component to the main verb which follows.

(50) ci. pyo: pa
      see speak POL
      'Please speak at your discretion/with care.'

When a pre-head versatile concatenation is negated, *ma-* follows its usual pattern of occurring before the main verb with negative scope extending over both the pre-head versatile verb and the head.

(51) saga: pyo: yin ci. ma-pyo: hpu:
      speech say when see NEG-speak NEG
      'When you speak, you don't speak with care.'

<u>Negation of Post-Head Versatile Verb Concatenations</u>   The position of *ma-*

varies with respect to post-head versatile verbs; some versatile verbs may be preceded by *ma-*

while others may not. The possibility of direct negation of a post-head versatile is one

diagnostic of the degree of grammaticalization that it has undergone.[4] The less

grammaticalized a versatile auxiliary is, the higher the possibility of it being directly negated.

Below, *ma-* occurs before the main verb as it is followed by the totally

grammaticalized auxiliary *hcin* 'want'.

(52)   *nga di   nei. htamin: ma-sa: hcin hpu:*
       I   this day rice   NEG-eat *want* NEG
       'I don't want to eat today.'

With respect to a string of verbs in Burmese, the general rule of negation states that *ma-*

immediately precedes the final lexical verb. In (53), *ma* occurs before the versatile verb *pei:*

'give', the final verb which retains its synchronically relatable lexical verb sense, although

it functions as a benefactive auxiliary in its use below.

(53)   *min: hpou. a=me:=tha: kou hsa: ne pi: nei hlan: ma-pei: hcin hpu:*
       you for   beef   OBJ salt mix NF sun hang NEG-*give want* NEG
       '(I) don't want to salt and dry the beef for you.'

In the clause chain below, the versatile *pei:* 'give' extends its auxiliary scope over the

preceding string of lexical verbs, namely 'cook, feed and take care of'. The extension of

negative scope over the concatenated string of verbs parallels the auxiliary scope of *pei:*.

(54)   *hka-lei: twei kou hce' pyou' cwei: mwei: pyu.=su. ma-pei: hpu:*
       child   PLU OBJ cook boil   feed raise   take.care. NEG-*give* NEG
       'We did not cook (boil), feed, raise and take care of the children.'

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[4] See Smeall (1976), Park & Soe (1991), Park (1994) for discussion of direct negation
as one diagnostic of the degree of grammaticalization of a versatile verb.

<u>Conclusion</u>   In an affirmative declarative sentence, the three contrasting

sentence final particles are the realis *te*, the irrealis *me* and the punctative *pi*. The sentence

final negative *hpu:* is the fourth member of this set and occurs in complementary distribution

with the three sentence final affirmative particles. Consequently, tense is pragmatically

determined in a negative declarative sentence . Additionally, the negative verbal prefix *ma-*

occurs in conjunction with the sentence final negative *hpu:* . The *ma-* prefix typically occurs

before the main verb, but may also occur before post-head versatile auxiliaries like *pei:*

'give' or *pya.* 'show' which strongly retain their lexical content.

In a negative imperative, the prohibitive particle *ne.* occurs sentence finally in

conjunction with the negative verbal prefix *ma-*. The yes/no question particle *la:* and the Wh-

question particle *le:* occur at the end of negative propositions. When clause chains are

negated, negative scope is typically pragmatically determined; in other words, negative scope

is determined by whether the clause chain represents simultaneous or consecutive events.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCATENATION

Pre-Head Versatile Verb Concatenations

This section will look at a class of verbs in Burmese that parallels a class of verbs in

Lahu referred to by Matisoff (1969) as pre-head versatile verbs (henceforth pre-head

versatiles). As Matisoff's term implies, the pre-head versatile precedes the head, "the

versatile being in a subordinate, modifying relationship to the head on the right (ibid.)." In

Lahu, two or more pre-head versatiles may commonly occur before the head. For example,

three pre-head versatile's, 'return', 'assemble' and 'ask' occur before the head 'eat' in the string

vV vV vV Vh[1] meaning 'We ask again together to eat it.' Below is the Burmese

counterpart:

(1) *pyan   su.   taun: sa: ca.   te*
     return gather ask   eat PLU RLS
     'We again asked together to eat (it).'

I will generally adopt Matisoff's terminology in the analysis and classification of pre-

head, as well as post-head[2] versatile verbs. Matisoff's (1969:87) observation, with reference

to Lahu, that the "the more concrete, specific or marked the semantic content of a versatile

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[1] The notation follows Matisoff (1969): vV stands for a pre-head versatile, Vh for the
head verb, and Vv for the post-head versatile.

[2] Post-head versatile verbs in Burmese are traditionally called auxiliaries.

verb is, the less readily it participates in lengthy concatenations" is applicable to Burmese as well. Burmese pre-head versatiles, in general, are less abstract and less grammaticalized than those in Lahu, which may account for why Burmese has fewer multiple pre-head versatile concatenations than Lahu.

Okell (1969:25) uses the term "pre-verb" to refer to the first member of a "two-member compound verb" which may alternatively be suffixed with the non-final marker *pi:*. The insertion of *pi:* does not change the meaning of the compound and Okell notes that this is diagnostic of a pre-verb, a pre-head versatile in our classification. Okell (1969:31) lists two sets of pre-verbs, the first comprising verbs of movement and the second comprising verbs having an adverbial meaning, along with those meaning 'very/tremendously'. Okell's translations of these verbs as pre-verbs and not as simple verbs reflect their more abstract grammaticalized use. However, in the classification of pre-head versatiles here, there are many which retain their meaning as lexical verbs. The semantics underlying the syntactic behavior of putative pre-head versatiles and their syntactic categorization is presented below.

The analysis of pre-head versatiles requires as background a review of simple binomial concatenations, which have three alternative semantic structures underlyingly. These are (a) a nonce-concatenation, [3] where neither member of the string qualifies the other and is subordinate to it, or (b) the second member of the string qualifies the first and is subordinate to it (post-head versatile concatenation), or (c) the first member of the string

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[3] With reference to Lahu, Matisoff (1969:72) also refers to these as "fortuitous concatenations", where verbs "appear in juxtaposition even though they belong to separate underlying VP's...(which) represent a series of temporally consecutive actions.'

qualifies the second and is subordinate to it (pre-head versatile concatenation). Pre-head versatiles comprise a relatively closed set of verbs which typically occur before the head in simple binary concatenations.

For one verb in a two-verb sequence to be identified as qualifying the other, the two-verb sequence must *in some way* represent a construal of a unitary event. This statement, qualified by the phrase 'in some way', reflects the gradient nature of linguistic representation where a range of tokens of a semantic category (say degree of event integration) is typically described by a limited set of syntactic structures (say verb concatenation). In this case, a binary verb concatenation may, at one end of the continuum, describe two discrete events and at the other end a clearly unitary event with a fuzzy range of categories being represented in-between these two clear-cut construals.

Syntax of Pre-Head Versatile Concatenations

We shall limit our initial analysis to simple binomial pre-head versatile concatenations as these are the most common in Burmese. The first syntactic alternation, which may be used as a diagnostic, is the insertion of the non-final marker *pi:*. As seen above, Okell has noted that "a pre-verb in a compound" may be suffixed with *pi:* without the compound undergoing a change in meaning. Consider, e.g., *tha hsou:* (more bad) and *tha pi: hsou:* (more NF bad) both meaning 'worse' (Okell:ibid). Although *pi:* is relatable to the lexical verb *pi:* meaning 'to finish/complete', its function as a non-final marker is grammaticalized to such a degree that it occurs not only between temporally consecutive clauses but also between simultaneous ones. Depending on context, *pi:* is variously translated

with the English words 'after, while, and.' Its grammatical function is indicated by references to it as a "dependent clause marker" (Okell 1969:51), or as a "conjunctive particle" or "subordinate marker" (Wheatley 1982: 250-2).

A pre-head binomial versatile concatenation allows the insertion of the non-final marker *pi:* after the versatile verb without a change in meaning. In other words, the source construction of a pre-head versatile concatenation in Burmese is the clause chain. In contrast, a post-head versatile concatenation does not allow the insertion of *pi:* as a rule.[4] In post-head versatile concatenations, the source constructions are more diverse. If, for example, the source construction is that of complementation, then the complementizers *lou.* or *hpou.* may be inserted before appropriate post-head versatiles without resulting in a meaning difference.

The second syntactic alternation is the order of *ma-* insertion in the negation of pre-head versatile concatenations (see also section on Negation of Pre-Head Versatile Verb Concatenations, Chapter VII). In a pre-head versatile concatenation, *ma-* occurs appropriately before the head when the head is preceded by a grammaticalized pre-head versatile. A characteristic of a main verb is its ability to be directly negated (Wheatley 1982:85). As Matisoff (1973) has noted for Lahu, "precedability by *ma* is our defining criterion for verbhood itself." For example, *ma-* must occur before the head when it is preceded by grammaticalized abstract versatiles like *thei'* 'very' or *pou* 'more'. That is to say,

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[4] But there are a few post-head versatiles, like *thwa:* 'go' and *la* 'come', which allow *pi:* to be inserted before them, providing evidence that the source construction is a clause-chain. To <u>Vh *pi: thwa:/la*</u> means to "Vh and go/come" .

the more abstract and grammaticalized a versatile is, the more it disallows the negative *ma-* before it. When the putative pre-head versatile (strongly) retains its lexical sense, *ma-* may occur before the head or before the putative pre-head versatile.

(2a) *thu ei:=ei:=hsei:=hsei: htamin: taun htain ma-sa: nain hpu:*
she leisurely   rice   even *sit*   NEG-eat *can* NEG
'She cannot even sit and eat leisurely.'

thu ei:=ei:=hsei:=hsei: htamin: taun ma-htain sa: nain hpu:
'id.'

But the normal order is for *ma-* to precede the head and not the versatile:

(2b) *a-mou: po ka   htain ci. te*
roof   on from sit   see RLS
'(He) sat and watched from (on top of) the roof.'

When the sentence is negated, *a-mou: po ka htain ma-ci. hpu:* is normal whereas *a-mou: po ka ma-htain ci. hpu:* sounds awkward and ill-formed.

The third syntactic alternation is the order of pre-head versatile verbs. Although multiple pre-head versatile concatenations are not common in Burmese, when they do occur the more abstract, grammaticalized versatile occurs to the left of the less abstract versatile and further away from the head.[5] Analysis of possible permutations will allow us to analyze not only the semantic scope of pre-head versatiles, but also clausal boundaries with respect to the alternation of *pi:*. Before we look at the order and permutation of pre-head versatiles in detail, we shall first classify them into broad functional semantic categories, allowing us to see the general syntactic order of members of particular semantic subcategories. Specifically, to see whether a specific subcategory of pre-head versatiles precedes or follows

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[5] See Matisoff (1969) for the original insight cf. Lahu.

another.

Semantic Subcategories of Pre-Head Versatiles

The semantic subcategorization of pre-head versatiles makes reference to the degree to which a versatile has lost its lexical content in assuming a more abstract sense. In general, we may state that a pre-head versatile qualifies the description of the main verb event in some manner. It may function as an intensifier, an aspectual or a manner adverb. Or it may indicate direction of motion, orientation of action, or posture of the animate subject. Additionally, it may retain its lexical content but still be identified as a pre-head versatile as it is seen to be semantically closely connected to the head. In general, we can say that two predicates are semantically closely connected or integrated when the fulfilment of one is dependent on the other. In this case, when the fulfilment of the action described by the head is dependent on the verb which precedes it, the preceding verb may be identified as a potential pre-head versatile verb. Like any other syntactic category, the class of pre-head versatiles in Burmese comprises a range of members from those whose category membership is clear-cut to those whose category membership is ambiguous.

<u>Aspectuals</u>   The following versatiles contribute an inceptive, iterative or continuative notion to the main verb event.

	<u>As pre-head versatile</u>	<u>As main verb</u>
hta'	again	to stack
pyan	again	to return
sa.	begin to	to begin
hse'	continue to	to continue

<u>Intensifiers</u>   The following versatiles[6] contribute an adverbial sense to the main

verb event.

	<u>As pre-head versatile</u>	<u>As main verb</u>
thei'	very	to compress
hpi.	tremendously totally unrestrained with total involvement	to press upon
nin:	tremendously totally unrestrained	to step on
hlu'	very, unrestrained	to release
te	quite/very	-

te is an exception in that it is not relatable to a lexical verb; moreover, a '*te*+Head'

sequence cannot be negated:

(3)   *min: ka. nga. kou te   hsu te*
        you SUB I   OBJ *very* scold RLS
        'You scold me very much.'

*min: ka. nga. kou te ma-hsu hpu: (*ma*-V_h negation)

*min: ka. nga. kou ma-te hsu hpu: (*ma*-$_v$V negation)

<u>Comparatives</u>   The following versatiles contribute a comparative degree to the

predicate.

	<u>As pre-head versatile</u>	<u>As main verb</u>
tha	more	be better
pou	more	be more/to exaggerate

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[6] Versatiles classified under intensifier, comparative, aspectual, manner, direction and
posture subcategories are listed under Okell's pre-verbs (1969:31).

	<u>As pre-head versatile</u>	<u>As main verb</u>

<u>Manner</u>   The following versatiles function as manner adverbs.

	<u>As pre-head versatile</u>	<u>As main verb</u>
ci.	to V at discretion, to V with care	to look
cou	to V in advance	to go out and meet
hyau'	wander & V	to walk/wander
hlan:	hither/reach out & V	to reach out with hand
wain:	encircle/in unison	encircle
san:	to try V	to touch/grope

Consider the verb *wain:* 'to encircle' in its use as a pre-head versatile and, in reverse

order, when following the head:

(4)   *caun:=tha: twei ka.   hsaya. kou wain: pyo: ca. te*
        student   PLU SUB teacher OBJ *encircle* speak PLU RLS
        'The students spoke to the teacher for a common purpose.'

(4) is typically not interpreted literally, suggesting instead that the students got together to

speak in unison to the teacher for a common purpose. When the verb order is reversed,

the sentence sounds odd as *pyo:* cannot qualify *wain::*

        **caun:=tha: twei ka. hsaya. kou pyo: wain: ca. te*

But when *pi:* is inserted the sentence becomes acceptable, iconically reflecting the

separation construed between the event of speaking and that of encircling:

(5)   *caun:=tha: twei ka. hsaya. kou pyo: pi: wain: ca. te*
        'The students spoke to the teacher and circled round (him).'

Additional Manner versatiles[7]

	As pre-head versatile	As main verb
hya	to look for and V	search
ku	to help V	help
su.	together	gather
hkou:	stealthily/to steal & V	steal
pyin	to re-V	repair/revise/prepare
pyaun:	change & V	change
hswe:	pull & V	pull
ka'	to V sycophantically/	to adhere/to be close
	to V in confidence	
lein	to deceive and V	to deceive/twist (literally)

With versatiles like *hswe:* 'pull' and *ka'* 'to stick/to be close', a metaphorical shift in

meaning is seen to take place when they precede utterance verbs.

(6)   *thiri. ka. saga: kou hswe:pyo: ta'   te*
name SUB speech OBJ *pull* speak *be.good.at* RLS
'Thiri is clever at manipulating language towards her ends.'

(7)   *thu ka. si'=bou   twei kou ka'   sa: te*
he SUB military=officers PLU OBJ *adhere* eat RLS
'He lives sycophantically off military officers.'

(8)   *meisi ka. hsaya=ci: ne. hkin   to. mei:=hkun: ka'   mei: te*
name SUB principal with friendly as question   *adhere* ask RLS
'Being friendly with the Principal, Maisie asked him in confidence about the
                                    examination question.'

The meaning of a putative pre-head versatile like *lein* is so specific that the semantic

range of verbs which may occur as its head is extremely restricted:

(9)   *thu ka. ta-ywa   win ta-ywa   htwe' lein sa: nei te*
3P SUB one-village enter one-village exit   *lie* eat *stay* RLS
'He goes from one village to the next swindling people.'

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[7]These are counterparts of the most important Lahu pre-head versatiles (see Matisoff 1969:80-81).

(10) *pai'=hsan twei a-mya:=ci:*   *lein yu thwa: te*
money   PLU NOM-plenty=big *lie* take *go*   RLS
'He swindled and took away a lot of money.'

(11) *lein pyo: tain: ma-youn   ne.*
lie tell whenever NEG-believe IMP
'Don't believe whenever he tells a lie.'

Similarly, the range of verbs which follows *hku:* is very limited:

hku: sa: 'to pluck and eat'
hku: yu 'to pluck and take'

Direction, orientation and posture   Verbs of motion, orientation and posture retain their lexical content in describing either the first of two successive events or a concurrent aspect of a single event. It is well known that motion verbs like *thwa:* 'go' and *la* 'come' comprise a deictic component in their meaning which allows them to contribute a directional aspect to an event. Verbs of motion and posture are common candidates for grammaticalization into auxiliaries as their semantics allow them to participate productively in verb concatenations.[8] When verbs like *win* 'enter', *htwe'* 'exit', *te'* 'climb', *hsin:* 'descend' and *lai'* 'follow' occur first in a binary concatenation, it is generally the case that the second verb event is dependent on the first, the pre-head versatile. The verbs below have the same meaning as pre-head versatiles and as lexical main verbs:

thwa:	to go and V
la	to come and V
htwe'	to go out and V
htain	to sit and V
hta.	to stand and V
hsin:	to ascend and V
hle'	to turn round and V

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[8]The grammaticalization of motion and posture verbs into auxiliaries is common crosslinguistically (see Bybee et al.1994).

lai'	to follow/accompany and V
win	to go in/join in and V
te'	to climb & V

Verbs like *win* and *te'* lend themselves to a metaphorical shift in meaning when they precede utterance verbs:

(12) *thu win   pyo: to.   pou   hsou: thwa: te*
   3P *enter* speak when *more* bad   go   RLS
   'It got worse when he joined in and spoke (up).'

(13) *lou   yin to.   wun=ci: a-hti. te'   pyo: me*
   need if   when minister   up-to *climb* say   IRR
   'I will speak (up to the level of) to the Minister if necessary.'

Pre-Head Versatile Verb Order

Pre-head versatiles functioning as intensifiers, comparatives and aspectuals have the most abstract grammmticalized meaning. In general, the more abstract pre-head versatiles occur to the left of those having a more concrete or specific lexical content (see Matisoff 1969:84 for the Lahu parallel). In Matisoff's words "the more concrete pre-head versatiles are attracted centripetally to the head, forming compound heads to which abstracter versatiles may stand in a subordinate, modifying relationship." The more abstract aspectuals, intensifiers and comparatives precede the more lexical manner and directionals as a rule. The chart below shows the general order according to subcategory membership. Note that there are exceptions and when permutations are possible, there are corresponding changes in meaning. Lexical meanings (in italics) are given to indicate the broad semantic pattern seen in the degree of metaphorical shift which versatiles undergo. Exceptions to the pattern may be seen; e.g., the 'aspectuals' *sa.* 'start to Vh' and *hse'* 'continue to Vh' retain their lexical

senses even when they precede intensifiers like *hpi.* and *nin:*, which have dramatically changed in meaning from their lexical senses. The general pattern of pre-head versatile verb order is shown in Table 8:

TABLE 8. Pre-Head Versatile Order

Aspectuals	Intensifiers	Comparatives	Manner	Direction
'again'	'very'	'more'	*ci.* see	*thwa:* go
hta' stack	*thei'* compress	*tha* be better	*cou* meet	*la* come
pyan return	*te*	*pou* more	*hswe:* pull	*win* enter
			ka' adhere	*htwe'* exit
'begin'	'unrestrained'		*hkou:* steal	*te'* climb
sa. start	*hpi.* press		*su.* gather	*hsin:* descend
	nin: step on		*pyin* repair	*hle.* turn
	hlu' release		*pyaun:* change	*lai'* follow
'continuative'			*ku* help	
hse' continue				Posture
			hya search	*htain* sit
			hyau' walk	*hta.* stand
			hlan: reach	*hle:* lie down
			lein lie	
			wain: surround	

In illustrating the grammatical sequences, examples of ungrammatical permutations, order of *pi:* insertion and examples of negation have been included wherever appropriate and illuminating. The more abstract versatiles, namely, the aspectuals, intensifiers and comparatives tend to occur in a relatively fixed order in relation to the more concrete manner and directional versatiles. Borderline cases in grammaticality judgements of permuted sequences are seen with versatiles which tend to retain their lexical content. In general,

acceptability of a concatenated string of verbs ultimately depends on the degree to which the string can represent a unified construal of phenomena.

<u>Aspectuals</u>   Aspectuals precede intensifiers as a matter of rule. Note that aspectuals are incompatible with the intensifiers *thei'* and *te;* . We have noted earlier that *te* does not have a synchronically relatable lexical verb, which is indicative of its relatively abstract grammatical function. The fact that aspectuals may not precede *thei'* but may precede *hpi.* and *nin:* suggests that *thei'* is relatively more abstract. In other words, *hpi.* 'press', *nin:* 'step on' and *hlu'* 'release', in their function as versatile auxiliaries, retain a lexical flavour of an 'unrestrained manner' which is absent in *thei'* 'very' (< 'compress ').

(14) *pyan hpi. pyo: pyan pi*
      return press say return PUNC
      '(He) again pressed (him) with words repeatedly.' (Verbally attacked him)

The more abstract aspectuals precede the less abstract manner adverbials as a matter of rule:

(15) *pyan su.   sa: ca. te*
      return gather eat PLU RLS
      'They again ate together.'

Insertion of *pi:* after *pyan su.* allows a clausal boundary to be interpreted between this sequence and the following verb *sa:*; (16) may represent either a construal of a unitary event (as in ex. 15) or a construal of successive events:

(16) *pyan su.   pi: sa: ca. te*
      return *gather* NF eat PLU RLS
      a. 'id.'
      b. 'They again gathered *and then* ate.'

Consider when *pi:* occurs after the first versatile instead of the second. Here too, the construction may represent either a construal of a unitary event or a construal of successive

events. In the second interpretation, *pi:* demarcates a clausal boundary between *pyan* 'return'

and *su. sa:* 'eat together':

(17) *pyan pi: su.   sa: ca. te*
      return NF *gather* eat PLU RLS
  a. 'They again ate together.'
  b. 'They returned *and then* ate together.'

Following is the expanded context for the (b) reading. Assume that the nominal argument,

moun. twei 'snacks', of the final clause has been elided but is recoverable from the context

of situation:

(18) *nga tou. youn: pyan pi: (moun. twei) su.   sa: ca. te*
      1P PLU office return NF (snack PLU) *together* eat PLU RLS
      'We returned to the office and ate (the snacks) together.'

Following is an even more richly enumerated context, where the unitary construal of the

chain of events may be seen by the scope of the post-head versatile *ta'* 'used to':

(19) *nga tou. tha-nge=hcin: twei ta-nei. ta-nei. zei: li'*
      1P PLU friends   PLU one-day one-day market slip-off

     pi: moun. myou:=soun   twei hya we   pi:=to.
     NF snack kind.different PLU find buy finish=when

     youn: pyan pi: su.   sa ta'   ca te
     office return NF *together* eat *used.to* PLU RLS

     'Day after day, my friends and I used to slip off to the market, finding different
     snacks to buy and then returning to the office and eating together.'

Below, is another ex. where the aspectual precedes the manner versatile:

(20) *ein   kou pyan pyin   hsau' nei te*
     house OBJ *return correct* build *stay* RLS
     '(They) are rebuilding the house.'

In general, aspectuals precede the more concrete directional/posture versatiles:

(21) *wun=ci: a-hti. hta' te' pyo: te*
      minister up.to *again climb* say RLS
      '(We) again presented/spoke about (the matter) up to (the level of)the Minister.'

In (22), the versatile aspectual *hta'* is so fixed in its grammaticalized abstract sense that when *pi:* optionally occurs, its presence cannot be interpreted to demarcate a clausal boundary:

(22) *wun=ci: a-hti. hta' pi: te' pyo: te*
      'id.'

In contrast, as the directional *te'* retains a strong lexical sense even when permuted, *pi:* is necessary when it precedes *hta'*. However, note that in ex. (23), *te'* is metaphorically interpreted, which is suggestive of its incipient grammaticalization:

(23) *wun=ci: a-hti. te' pi: hta' pyo: te*
      'We again presented the matter, up to the Minister.'

In (24), the aspectual *pyan* qualifies *hle. ci.* 'turn look', indicating that the subject has turned to look previously and again turns to look:

(24) *pyan hle. ci. te*
      return turn look RLS
      '(He) again turned to look.'

Analogous to *hta'* and *te'*, the order of the aspectual *pyan* and the the directional *hle.* may not be permuted without the 'obligatory' occurrence of *pi:*, or a marked comma pause to indicate the clause boundary: (?) *hle. pyan ci. te*

Inserting *pi:* after *hle.* results in a clause chain reading, where *hle.* 'turn' describes an event separate from that of *pyan ci.*'again look'. The sentence is appropriate when someone turns round (once only) to look again.

(25) *hle. pi: pyan ci.*   *te*
turn NF *return* look   RLS
'He turned to look again.

In (25), the subject turns around only once although he repeats the act of 'looking'. In contrast, in (24) the subject repeats the act of turning as well as that of looking.

Intensifiers   The intensifiers *thei'* and *te,* which both mean 'very', commonly occur with stative or adjectival verbs in binary concatenations. As Matisoff (1969) notes that "adjectives tend to be highly concrete and specific...so much so that their semantic features would be selectionally incompatible with any but the abstractest pre-head versatiles."

(26) *deisi ka.*   *thei' hla.*   *te*
name SUB *very* pretty RLS
'Daisy is very pretty.'

deisi ka. thei' pi: hla. te   (*pi:* insertion)
'id.'

deisi ka. thei' (pi:) ma-hla. hpu: (negation)
'Daisy is not very pretty.'

The more abstract intensifiers (and aspectuals) allow a relatively flexible NP-object order. Note the alternate order of the transitive object in (27, 28):

(27) *tha:=nge ka.*   *nwa:=nou. thei' thau' te*
son=small SUB milk   *very* drink RLS
'Smaller son drinks a lot of milk.'

Alternatively, the object may occur between *thei'/te* and the head:

(28) *thu ka.*   *thei' we' tha:*   *hin: cai' hta*
she SUB *very* pig flesh curry like NOM
'She likes pork curry a lot.'

(29) *min: ka.*   *te*   *pwe:*   *ci. pa=la:*
you SUB *very* drama see POL.Q
'You see a lot of plays (Burmese theater), don't you?'

In general, abstract intensifiers are incompatible with relatively abstract comparatives

and aspectuals:

Aspectuals	+	Intensifiers
* *pyan / hta'/ sa. / hse'*	+	*thei' / te*
again/ again/ start/ continue +		'very'

In ex. (30), the intensifier sounds awkward with the comparative:

(30) ? *min: ka. nga. hte'*   *thei' pou to*   *te*
      you SUB I COMPARISON *very more* clever RLS
      'You are a lot more cleverer than I am.'

The comparative *pou* may be preceded by the de-verbal *a-mya:=ci:* 'a lot' or the de-verbal

a-yan: 'excessively':

(31)   *min: ka. nga. hte'*   *a-mya:=ci:/a-yan:*   *pou to*   *te*
      you SUB I COMPARISON a.lot   /excessively *more* clever RLS
      'You are a lot/excessively cleverer than I am.'

thei' and *te* precede the more concrete manner versatiles

(32)   *thu ka. thei' hkou: sa: te*
      he SUB *very steal* eat RLS
      'He eats a lot surreptitiously.'

thei' and *te* are so fixed in their abstract grammaticalized sense that *pi:* insertion does not

demarcate a clausal boundary:

      thu ka. thei' pi: hkou: sa: te
      'id.'

<u>Comparatives</u>   Comparatives like *tha* and *pou* usually occur in binary

concatenations with the main verb. Below is a rare ex. where the comparative precedes the

putative manner versatile 'steal':

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(33) *si:=pwa:=yei: ca' lou.*   *pou hkou: sa: la   ca   ya te*
      economy   tight because *more steal*   eat *come* PLU *get* RLS
      'People are having to steal more (from work) to eat because of
      the bad economy/ straitened economic circumstances.'

<u>Manner</u>   Manner versatiles precede directionals:

(34) *hsaya=ci: kou su.   win   twei. ca   ya=aun*
      Principal OBJ *gather enter* see   PLU HORT
      'Let's go in and see the Principal together.'

As expected, the more lexical directional cannot precede the more grammaticalized abstract

manner adverbial *su.* 'together':   * *hsaya=ci: kou win su. twei. ca ya=aun*

Another ex. of a manner preceding a directional:

(35) *ci. te'   hku:*
      see climb pluck
      'Climb and pluck (the fruit) with care.'

As expected, a directional and manner may not be permuted: (?) *te' ci. hku:*

The strong lexical sense of *te'* requires *pi:* after it:

(36) *te' pi: ci. hku:*
      'Climb up (the tree) and pluck (the fruit) with care.'

There are very few instances where aspectual, manner and directional versatiles co-occur.

Following is one ex. where they occur in the expected order:

(37) *za'   youn hte: kou pyan   hkou: win ci. ca   te*
      drama hall in   to   *return steal enter* see PLU RLS
      '(They) surreptitiously re-entered the theater to see (the play).'

<u>Discussion.</u>   We have seen that pre-head versatiles generally occur in a fixed

order, with the more abstract grammaticalized versatiles preceding those having a more

specific or concrete sense. A fixed, grammaticalized sequence of pre-head versatile verbs

generally rules out multiple, ambiguous interpretations. Permuting the order of pre-head

versatile verbs usually requires the insertion of *pi:*. When a more lexical versatile precedes a more abstract versatile, *pi:* is necessarily inserted to demarcate a clausal boundary. For example, when versatile order is reversed in *pyan su. sa: ca. te* (cf. ex. 15)'We again ate together.', *pi:* insertion is preferable after *su.* :

(38)   *su.   pi: pyan sa: ca. te*
       gather NF *return* eat PLU RLS

   a) '(We) gathered and then returned to eat.'
   b) '(We) gathered and ate *again.*'

In (a), *pyan* retains its lexical meaning 'return'; in (b) *pyan* shifts metaphorically to 'again'. The lexical meaning of *pyan* may be 'fixed', i.e. not allowed to shift metaphorically, by the presence of a spatial location:

(39)   *ein   pyan su.   sa: ca. te*
       house return gather eat PLU RLS
       'We returned home to eat together.'

<u>Conclusion</u>   To conclude, *pi:* insertion is highly favored when the normal order of pre-head versatiles is reversed. We may account for this by virtue of the fact that concrete lexical items carry the bulk of semantic information in discourse. Consequently, when an erstwhile versatile, having a relatively concrete lexical sense, comes to precede a more abstract versatile contrary to expected versatile order, the first verb would not typically be interpreted as qualifying the second. Instead, the first verb would be interpreted as describing a discrete event, which consequently accounts for why *pi:* is necessarily inserted after it.

Post-Head Versatile Verb Concatenations

In this section there is an examination of the class of versatile verbs in Burmese which follows the head, assuming a function that is traditionally referred to as "auxiliary" in the literature. [1]

Previous work   The earliest attempt to systematically list auxiliary verbs in Burmese is seen in Lonsdale (1899:211-2), who defined "auxiliary affixes"[2] as "a numerous class of words (which) when they are affixed to other verbal roots, lose their individuality, and incorporating with the roots, form a kind of compound verb....since their function is to help the verbal roots to which they are attached to acquire a new and wider meaning, they may, when so employed, be appropriately called auxiliary affixes." In his list of thirty-one auxiliary affixes, Lonsdale describes first the lexical meaning of each followed by its meaning as an auxiliary affix. Another systematic attempt may be seen in Bridges (1915), who lists about the same number of "auxiliary verbal affixes" and gives their meanings when "used alone" and "when following another verb."   Okell's (1969) comprehensive list of "auxiliary verbs" refers briefly to their meaning as "simple verbs". Bernot (1980) also gives a list of auxiliaries in Burmese. Wheatley (1982:234-8) briefly describes 15 common auxiliary verbs, discussing in greater detail the four "directional auxiliaries" *thwa:*, *la*, *lai'*

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[1] The term was introduced by Matisoff (1969) in his analysis of Lahu. DeLancey (1980:220) uses the term in reference to Burmese, noting that "Burmese has an extensive system of versatile verbs."

[2] Lonsdale's use of the term "affix" is misleading because only a very few auxiliaries are totally grammaticalized. As will be seen, a great many versatile auxiliary verbs in Burmese occur synchronically as lexical main verbs.

and *hke.*. DeLancey (1980) discusses the historical development, etymologies and semantics of the "deictically specified motion verbs" in Burmese.[3]   An early discussion of the grammaticalization of auxiliary verbs may be seen in Smeall (1975), who classifies 20 auxiliary verbs into a "sloppy hierarchy of increasing grammaticalization, a trait whose definition will take into account boundness, the presence or absence of complements and complementizers in underlying structure, the possibility of direct negation, flexibility of scope and surface ordering." Smeall also mentions initial obstruent voicing as a syntactic criterion of boundness. An initial grouping of auxiliaries in Burmese along similar lines may be seen in Soe and Park (1991a). Park (1994) discusses the grammaticalization of auxiliary verbs in three Tibeto-Burman languages: Burmese, Tibetan and Hayu.

Classification of Post-Head Versatile Verbs

Most post-head auxiliary verbs in Burmese are relatable to lexical verbs. Analogous to what Matisoff (1969:70) has noted for Lahu, versatile auxiliary verbs in Burmese are "distinguished by what might be termed their juxtapository productivity." Matisoff refers to this class of verbs as "versatile verbs" and notes that "he prefers the term 'versatile' to 'auxiliary', both because the class is open and quite large, and because some of its members are not at all abstract in meaning."   The term "versatile verb" in Matisoff's sense quite appropriately applies to Burmese auxiliary verbs. DeLancey (1980:220) has also noted that "Burmese concatenates verbs fairly freely, and has an extensive system of versatile verbs

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[3]See also Soe (1994, 1995).

which can be roughly classified into sets of varying degrees of grammaticalization." Many are synchronically related to lexical verbs, which commonly serve as source concepts cross-linguistically for auxiliaries, e.g., verbs of motion, desire and location (Heine 1993:28).

The meaning of a versatile verb is not fixed in its auxiliary use. It typically evinces a variable semantic range which is determined by its semantic interaction with different verb types. It will be seen that some main verbs allow the putative auxiliary to retain its lexical meaning whereas others block it, giving rise to what might be viewed as "instantaneous grammaticalization" (Givon 1991:122). Thus, a versatile verb can be more or less grammaticalized, depending on the main verb it follows. In other words, the grammaticalized use of a versatile verb is relative and conditional, dependent upon the type of head verb it follows.

Although the term "auxiliary" is used by many authors to refer to elements that mark functions such as tense, aspect and modality[4], versatile auxiliaries in Burmese encompass a wider functional/semantic domain than these. This section aims, firstly, to group versatile auxiliary verbs in Burmese into broad functional domains. Some of the major functional domains are those typically associated with auxiliaries cross-linguistically, such as those marking verbal aspect and modality. Other domains are typically associated with the function of adverbs in other languages or with complementation. For example, two auxiliaries in Burmese perform the function of the causative, which, in other languages, is associated with complementation. Matisoff's (1969:71) statement that versatile verbs in Lahu "provide the

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[4] See Heine (1993) for a comprehensive survey of the semantic development of auxiliaries.

sort of information that in...languages like English is handled by a formally disparate array

of subordinating devices (e.g., complementary infinitives, -ing complements, adverbs etc.)"

is applicable to versatile auxiliaries in Burmese.

The classification below will show (a) a functional and semantic overlap between

different versatile auxiliaries as well as, (b) a semantic continuum with respect to specific

auxiliary verbs, showing at one end a clearly lexical meaning and at the other a clearly

grammaticalized one. In other words, an auxiliary verb, depending on the head verb it co-

occurs with[5], may be seen to retain either its lexical meaning or to take on a more abstract

grammaticalized sense, which in some cases may be variable. The meaning and function of

a versatile auxiliary verb is sometimes made clearer by reference to its membership in a

semantically opposing lexical pair, e.g. *thwa:* 'go' in opposition to *la* 'come'. This

methodological heuristic is, in part, a reflection of the relative and gradient nature of the

semantic and functional space occupied by auxiliaries in Burmese. Table 9 subcategorizes

post-head versatiles by functional/semantic domain and presents them in their general order

of occurrence. Although a general correlation may be observed between functional/semantic

subcategories and position class, exceptions are seen to be common and will be noted

appropriately in the more detailed discussion of individual post-head versatiles in subsequent

sections. Table 10 lists the lexical and grammatical meanings of post-head versatile verbs.

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[5] Matisoff (1969) uses the terms 'juxtaposition, concatenation' to refer to strings of verbs
without intervening elements.

TABLE 9. Post-Head Versatile Verb Categories

Cause/ Benef.	Manner Adv.	Aspect	Modals	Freq.	Degree	Tone
sei	*pyi'*	*nei*	*ya.*	*hke:*	*lun:*	*hya*
cause	impet.	stay	get	rarely	very	pity
hkain:	*hte.*	*pi:*	*hpyi.*	*pyan*	*hla.*	*pa*
order	impet.	finish	happen	repeat	quite	polite
pei:	*hca.*	*thwa*	*hcin*			
give	impet.	go	want			
pya.		*la*	*lou*			
show		come	want			
	mi.	*hke.*	*nain*			
	inadv.	distal	can			
	ye'	*lai'*				
	heart-	away/				
	less.	displace				
	ye:	*hta:*				
	brave	keep				
	wun.	*hpu:*				
	brave	exper.				
	a:	*ta'*				
	free	habit				
		ci.				
		try				

Temporal	Deontic	Evaluative	Plural	Urgency
lu.	*kaun:*	*kaun:*	*ca.*	*san:*
almost	app.	good		
hnin.	*htai'*	*lau'*		
before	app.	enough		
	thin.	*lwe*		
	app.	easy		

N.B. Specific 'deontics' precede/ follow specific aspectuals.
Specific 'evaluatives' precede/follow specific modals
'Temporal' *lu.* almost never occur with other Vv's; the order of *hnin.* is variable with manner and aspectual Vv's.
'Urgency' *san:* occurs only in imperatives.

TABLE 10. Lexical and Grammatical Meanings of Post-Head Versatiles

	Lexical meaning	Grammaticalized meaning
Causative/Benefactive		
sei	send on an errand	cause/make somebody Vh
hkain:	order	make somebody Vh
pei:	give	benefactive
pya.	show	demonstrative
Manner adv.		
pyi.	throw	Vh impetuously
hte.	insert	Vh impetuously
hca.	hit, drop	to let go and Vh (Okell 1969:261)
mi.	apprehend/get hold	inadvertently
ye.	be cruel in *ye '=se '*	Vh heartlessly
ye:	be valiant	brave enough to Vh
wun.	- ·	brave enough to Vh
a:	be free/at leisure	be free/be at leisure to Vh
Aspectual		
nei	stay, reside	progressive
pi:	finish	finish Vh/perfective
thwa:	go	perfective
la	come	inceptive/inchoative
hke.	-	distal/perfective
lai '	follow	Vh away, on one's own volition
hta:	keep, put, place	resultative
hpu:	behold, see	experiential
ta '	be skillful	habitual/accustomed to Vh
ci.	look	try Vh
Modals		
ya.	get	manage to, obligation, permission
hpyi.	become, happen	Vh as planned
hcin	*lou=hcin* 'to want'	desiderative
lou	'ditto'	desiderative
nain	win. overcome	ability, permission, can

TABLE 10. (Continued)

	Lexical meaning	Grammaticalized meaning
Frequency		
hke:	*hke:=yin:* 'to be difficult'	Vh rarely
pyan	return	Vh additionally/again
Degree		
lun:	*lun* 'to exceed'	Vh excessively
hla.	be pretty	Vh repeatedly, much
Tone		
hya	- questionably related to *hya* 'search'	to commiserate over Vh event
san:	− questionably related to *san:* 'grope/touch'	Vh urgently (in imperatives only)
pa	-	polite
Deontic		
kaun:	be good	appropriate/advisable to Vh
htai.	be worthy of	be worthy of Vh
thin.	be appropriate	should/advisable to Vh
Evaluative		
kaun:	be good	good/enjoyable to Vh
lau'	be enough	enough to Vh
lwe	be easy	easy to Vh
Temporal		
lu.	-	imminent, about to Vh
hnin.	-	to Vh in advance
Plural		
ca.	-	Plurality

Order of Post-Head Versatiles

Unlike pre-head versatiles, post-head versatile order is relatively less orderly. The following overview describes the ordering of post-head versatiles which are observed to most systematically correlate with the gradience of functional/semantic categories.

(a)   Within a subcategory relating to a specific functional domain, the less grammaticalized Vv precedes the more grammaticalized Vv as a matter of rule. Wheatley (1982:93) has noted that "in general, the relative order of grammatical words in Burmese correlates with their relative abstractness; the more abstract are found to the right of the less."

(b)   If a Vv allows an interpretation between lexical or more abstract grammatical notions and if it participates in permutations, it usually takes on a more abstract grammatical function the further away it is from the head.

(c)   Causative and benefactive Vv's that invariantly retain their lexical senses are, borrowing Matisoff's (1969) elegant expression, centripetally attracted to the head. These are followed by aspectuals which are in turn followed by modals. However, it will be seen that specific aspectuals are permutable with specific modals. For example, when a putative aspectual like *thwa:* 'go/perfective' precedes a modal like *hcin* 'want' it has a deictic sense, but when it follows *hcin* it has a perfective aspectual function.

(d)   Deontics like *kaun:*, *htai'*, *thin.*, which all have the meaning of 'appropriate to V', rarely occur in multiple   post-head versatile   concatenations. Specific deontics are permutable with specific aspectuals. An assertion of the appropriateness of an action or event may be aspectually marked in principle; e.g. the 'appropriateness' may be currently relevant,

be in a state of progression or may be perfected, in which case the deontic comes under the scope of the aspectual and precedes it. Or, in reverse, appropriateness may be asserted with regard to an action or an event that is aspectually marked in some respect, in which case the aspectual would precede the deontic.

(e) Evaluatives like *kaun:* 'good to V', *lau'* 'enough to V' and *lwe* 'easy to V' are even more restricted as to which post-head versatiles they co-occur with. In general, when an evaluative falls under aspectual scope, the evaluative precedes the aspectual, the reverse being also applicable.

(f) The time adverbial *lu* 'imminence' does not co-occur with post-head versatiles which have a sense of volition. In contrast, *hnin* 'to V in advance', which has 'volition' as part of its meaning, may co-occur with Vv's which retain a volitional sense. Consequently, *hnin.*, but not *lu* , may be additionally modified by modals like *hcin* 'want', *lou* 'need', *nain* 'can'; e.g., Vh *hnin. hcin* 'want to V in advance'.

(g) The order of adverbials with respect to aspectuals and modals varies with the adverbial subtype. E.g., manner adverbials like *pyi'*, *hte.* and *hca,* which all have the meaning of 'impetuousness', may precede specific aspectuals. Manner adverbials like *mi.* 'inadvertently', *ye'* 'heartlessly', *ye:* 'bravely', *wun.* 'bravely' and *a:* 'free to V' are generally permutable with specific aspectuals like the progressive *nei,* the perfectives *thwa:, hke, lai'* and the inceptive /inchoative *la.*

Frequency adverbials like *hke:* 'rarely', *pyan* 'again' and adverbials of degree like *lun:* and *hla.,* which both have the meaning 'excessively', follow aspectuals and modals. Finally, the commiserative *hya,* which has the widest semantic scope, tends to occur towards

the end of the concatenation.

To summarize, semantic scope extends from right to left as a matter of rule. The order of adverbials, aspectuals and modals in Burmese suggests strongly that modals, in general, have wider semantic scope than aspectuals, which in turn, have wider semantic scope than most manner adverbials. However, both aspectuals and modals are seen to be under the semantic scope of frequency adverbials like *hke:* 'rarely' and *pyan* 'iterative' and degree adverbials like *lun:* 'excessively' and *hla.* 'pretty much'. Additionally, a commiserative adverbial like *hya,* would typically have the widest semantic scope and would characteristically tend to occur towards the end of the post-head versatile verb concatenation. On the other hand, questions regarding the correlation between permutations and semantic scope may not be applicable to the plural marker *ca.* and the polite *pa* which are bound morphemes, and which tend to occur toward the end of the versatile concatenation. Their etymology, interestingly enough, is observed to be synchronically totally opaque.

In the classification of post-head versatile verbs, I have, for the most part, indicated the central or core meanings and functions of versatile verbs and referred, wherever appropriate, to their use and meaning as lexical verbs. I have done this with the purpose of explicating the functional and semantic range of a putative auxiliary deriving from its semantic interaction with different types of main verb.

Post-Head Versatile Verb Distribution

The purpose of this section is twofold. Firstly, it tracks the variable semantics of post-head versatiles which correlates with their order relative to other versatile verbs in the concatenation. Secondly, it lists in as comprehensive a manner as possible post-head versatiles and the lexical verbs they are related to. It will be seen that versatiles like *thwa:* 'go', *la* 'come', *nei* 'stay', *pi:* 'finish', *lai'* 'follow', *hke.* 'distal' are more 'interesting' in that they exemplify versatiles encompassing a wide semantic range which systematically correlates with relative order of occurrence. Consequently, a good part of this section focuses on such verbs.

1. *nei*   Vh: 'to stay, reside'
                 Vv: 'progressive'

(1)   *hla.maun hta-min: sa: nei te*
       name   rice   eat *stay* RLS
       'Hla Maung is eating.'

Following stative verbs, a present temporary state is described.

(2)   *hpou:=tou' ka. ke:*   *nei te*
       name   SUB naughty *stay* RLS
       'Hpo Toke is being naughty.'

(3)   *thu kou twei pu nei te*
       he body PLU hot *stay* RLS
       'He is feverish (now).'

<u>Order and scope relations</u>   (a) *nei* does not occur with the aspectuals *thwa:*
'go', *la* 'come' and *hta:* 'keep' but follows *pi:* 'finish'.

(4)   *sa: pi: nei pi*   / **sa: nei pi: pi*
       eat *finish stay* PUNC
       'At this moment, I have finished eating.'

> [Vh   *pi:*   ] *nei*]
> [eat finish] stay]

nei precedes the totally grammaticalized *hke.*:

(5)   *caun: hma sa=hpa'   nei   hke.   te   / *Vh hke. nei*
school LOC letter.read   *stay distal* RLS
'(He) stayed behind reading at school .'

Similarly, *nei* precedes the more grammaticalized *lai':*

(6)   *pyin: hta   ne'   ein   hyin: nei lai' te   / *Vh lai' nei*
bored NOM with   house tidy   *stay away* RLS
'Being bored,   I went ahead tidying the house.'
Lit: 'Under my own volition, I was tidying the house because I was bored.'

> [Vh   *nei*] *lai'*   ]
> [tidy stay]   volition]

nei is permutable with the 'experiential' *hpu:*:

(7)   *ya'=kwe'   hte: hma hkin=bya: kou myin hpu: nei te*
neighborhood in   LOC 2P   OBJ see   *exp stay* RLS
'I have been seeing you (around) in the neighborhood.'

> [*myin hpu:*]   *nei*]
> [see   exp] stay]
> 'experiencing seeing'

(8)   *ta-nei.   loun: hpe: gaza: nei hpu: te*
one-day whole card   play   *stay exp* RLS
'I have experienced playing cards the whole day.'

> [gaza: nei] *hpu:*]
> [play stay] EXP]
> 'experienced playing'

nei follows the more lexical *ci.*.

(9)   *nau' ta-ni: lou' ci' nei te   /*Vh nei ci.*
next one-way do   *see stay* RLS
'I am trying to do it another way.'

[Vh *ci.*] *nei*]
[do see]   stay]
'trying to do'

(b) *nei* precedes the modals *nain* 'can', *ya.* 'get', *lou* ' want'.

(10) *min: di hma hkana.   htain nei nain te*
you this.LOC short.while sit   *stay can* RLS
'You can be sitting here for a short while.'

[Vh *nei*   ] *nain*]
[sit stay   ] can]
[be sitting] can]

(11) *bai'   aun. lou.   nei. tain: hsei: sa: nei ya. te*
stomach ache because day every medicine eat *stay get* RLS
'I have to be taking medicine daily because (my) tummy aches.'

(12) *thu. kou hpe: ci. nei lou te*
3P.O OBJ only look *stay want* RLS
'I want to be looking only at her.'

But *nei* is permutable with *hpyi'* 'happen'.

(13) *ein   hma sa   to=to lou' hpyi'   nei te*
house LOC letter quite do   *happen stay* RLS
'I am managing to do quite a lot of studying at home.'

[Vh *hpyi'*   ] *nei*   ]
[do happen   ] stay   ]
[manage to do] PROG]
'managing to do'

lou' nei hpyi'   te
do   stay happen RLS
'managed to be doing'

nei is permutable with *hcin* 'want'.

(14) *hkalei: twei ka.   ta-hcein loun: hso. nei hcin te*
child   PLU SUB one-time whole play *stay want* RLS
'Children want to be playing all the time.'

[Vh *nei*] *hcin*]
[Vh stay] want]
'want to be playing'

(15) *hkalei: twei ka. ta-hcein loun: hso. hcin nei te*
'Children are wanting to play all the time.'

[Vh   *hcin*] *nei*]
[play want] stay]
[play want] PROG]
'are wanting to play'

nei is permutable with *ta'* know how to'. When *ta'* follows *nei* and is further away from

the head, the meaning of *ta'* becomes more abstract:

(16) *yei=hcou: yin: tha-hcin: hsou nei ta'   te*
bathe   while song   say *stay know.how* RLS
'He has the habit of singing while bathing.'

[Vh   *nei*] *ta'*   ]
[sing stay] habitual]

When *ta'* precedes *nei* and is next to the head, *ta'* is more likely to retain its lexical sense

of 'know how to/be skilled in':

(17) yei=hcou: yin: tha-hcin: hsou ta'   nei te
bathe   while song   say *know.how stay* RLS
'He now knows how to sing while bathing. /He now usually sings while bathing.'
*'He is knowing how to sing while bathing.'

[Vh *ta'*   ]   *nei*]
[Vh know.how.to]   stay]
[knows how to sing] now] -> 'now knows how to sing'

The temporal sense 'now' is derived from *nei*'s sense of 'presently being in a state'.

(c) *nei* is permutable with the deontic *thin.* 'be appropriate'.

(18) *nga=ywe=sin hma pyinnya   si:=pu: nei thin.   te*
small.size.time LOC knowledge acquire *stay appropriate* RLS
'One should be acquiring knowledge in one's youth.'

[Vh   nei]   thin.]
[acquire stay] appropriate]
[be acquiring] should   ]

(19)   a-lou' lou' thin.   nei pi
        work do appropriate stay PUNC
        'You should now be working.'
        Lit: 'You are now in the state where you should work.'

        [Vh thin.   ] nei]
        [do appropriate] stay]

(d)   In general, nei precedes manner adverbials.

(20)   a-mya: pyi=thu dou'hka. yau' nei hcein hma
        a.lot   citizen hardship reach stay time LOC

        thu tou. ta-twei zein hkan   nei ye'   te
        3P PLU one-PLU luxury undergo stay heartless RLS

        'They, as a group, are callously living a life of luxury at a
        time when multitudes of people are suffering.'

nei is permutable with mi. without practically any difference in meaning:

(21)   hla.   lou.   ci. mi.   nei te   / Vh nei mi.
        pretty because look catch stay RLS
        'I am inadvertantly looking because (she) is pretty.'

nei precedes adverbs of frequency like hke: 'rarely' and pyan 'again'.

(22)   nei.=le   hma ei'   nei hke: te   / *Vh hke: nei
        afternoon LOC sleep stay rarely RLS
        'I rarely sleep in the afternoon.'   Lit: 'stay sleeping'

(23)   hpou:=tou' ka. hta-min: sa: nei pyan pi   / *Vh pyan nei
        name   SUB rice   eat stay return PUNC
        'PhoToke is eating again.'

        [Vh nei] pyan]
        [eat stay] return]
        [is eating] again]

(e) As an aspectual, *nei* follows the more lexical benefactives *pei:* and *pya.*

(24) *a-hpwa: ci: twei kou ku pei: nei te*
grandma big PLU OBJ help *give stay* RLS
'I am helping the old ladies.'

(25) *hsaya ka. pou'sa a-thi' kou hyin: pya. nei te*
teacher SUB problem new OBJ explain *show stay* RLS
'The teacher is explaining the new problem (showing to us).'

2. *pyi:/pi:* Vh: 'to finish/complete'
Vv: 'to finish/complete V

As a main verb, *pi:* requires implicit or explicit reference to a point in time to indicate the

'termination' of an event:

(26) *nga: nayi ka. a-lou' pi: te*
five hour past work finish RLS
'(I) finished work at 5 o' clock.'

With the sentence final 'point of realization' *pi*, the event terminates at the moment of

speech:

(27) *you'=hyin pi: pi*
movie finish PUNC
'The movie has ended.'

A terminus for a future event is provided by a future point in time expression:

(28) *nya=nei hcau' nayi hma you'=hyin pi: me*
evening six hour LOC movie finish IRR
'The movie will end at 6 p.m.'

As a Vv, *pyi:* typically requires a specific time reference also to indicate the

termination of an activity:

(29) *nga: nayi ka. a-wu' hyo pi: te*
five hour past clothes wash finish RLS
'I finished washing clothes at 5.'

Note that the sentence final marker *pi* customarily co-occurs with the Vv *pyi:* to indicate the completion of an activity that is currently relevant.

(30) *ca=no htamin: sa: pyi: pi*
I   rice   eat finish PUNC
'I have finished eating (now).'

<u>Order and scope relations</u>   (a) *pi:* is semantically compatible with the aspectuals *thwa:* 'go', *hta:* 'keep', *hke.* 'distal' when they are used in their perfective aspect.

When *pi:* is precedes *thwa:*, we find that *thwa:* becomes more abstract the more it moves to the right, losing its semantic components of motion and direction in the process. When *thwa:* follows *pi:*, it has a perfective aspect identical to that of *pi:*, i.e. *thwa:* does not retain its deictic component. The following sentence can be used even when the subject is present at the event location.

(31) *hin: twei a-koun=loun: hce' pi: thwa: pi*
dish PLU all   cook *finish go*   PUNC
'I have finished cooking all the dishes.'

But when *thwa:* precedes *pi:*, it is less abstract and retains its semantic component of departure from the scene. However, (32) is questionable, *pi:* being possibly redundant:

(32) ? *hin: twei a-koun=loun: hce' thwa: pi: pi*
dish PLU all   cook go   finish PUNC
'She has finished cooking all the dishes and left.'

<u>Interaction with *la*</u>   First consider *pi:* as a main verb followed by the Vv *la*, which contributes the inceptive/inchoative aspect

(33) *di ein   ka. to=to pi: la   pi*
this house SUB quite   finish *come* PUNC
'This house is becoming quite finished.'

But in a <u>Vh *pi: la*</u> string, it is logically contradictory for the Vv *pi:* to have a perfective and

for the Vv *la* to have an inceptive aspect. Consequently, *pi:* functions to mark the preceding

Vh as a non-final clause and *la* functions as a main verb in a bi-clausal chain.

(34) *hin: twei a-koun=loun: hce' pi: la   te*
      dish PLU whole   cook *finish come* RLS
      'She cooked all the dishes and came.'

Following *hta:*, *pi:* takes on the perfective aspect:

(35) *a-wu' twei hyo hta: pi: pi*
      clothe PLU wash *keep finish* PUNC
      'I finished washing all the clothes (and they remain in that state).'

pi: is permutable with *hke.* without any appreciable meaning difference.

(36) *pwe: ci. hke. pi: pi   / ci. pi: hke.*
      play see *distal* finish PUNC
      'I have finished seeing the (Burmese) play hither.'

Following *ci.* 'see', *pi:* takes on the perfective aspect.

(37) *hsei: a-thi' kou thoun: ci' pi: pi*
      medicine new OBJ use *see finish* PUNC
      'I have tried out using the new medicine.'

          [*thoun: ci.*] *pi:*]
          [use   see] finish]
          [try to use] PERF]

(b) *pi:* does not occur with the modals *ya.* 'get', *nain* 'can', *ta'* 'know how to' and

hpyi' 'happen'. It may occur with the modal *hcin* 'want' but must precede it. If *pi:* were to

follow *hcin*, it would take on the perfective aspect, and at this point I cannot explain why

the irrealis *hcin* cannot come under the perfective scope of *pi:* although it may come under

the progressive scope of *nei* and the perfective scope of *thwa:* .

(38) *di kei'sa. kou hyin: pi: hcin pi*
      this matter OBJ clear.up *finish want* PUNC
      'I want to finish resolving this matter (as of now).'

[Vh *pi:*   ] *hcin*] / *[Vh *hcin*] *pi:*   ]
[Vh finish] want]   [Vh want] finish]

pi: must precede the deontic *thin.* .

(39)   *di   a-hcein hma bwe.   ya. pi: thin.   pi*
       this time   LOC degree get *finish should* PUNC
       'You should have finished getting your degree by now.'

[Vh *pi:*   ] *thin.*] / *[Vh *thin.*   ] *pi:*   ]
[Vh finish] should]   [Vh should] finish]

(c)   *pi:* is incompatible with manner adverbials in general. A rare ex. may be seen

with *hke:* 'rarely'. If *pi:* were to follow *hke:*, it would take on the perfective aspect which

would logically contradict the irrealis modality of *hke:*:

[Vh *pi:*   ] *hke:*]   / *[Vh   *hke:*] *pi:*   ]
[Vh finish] rarely]   [Vh rarely] finish]

(40)   *tin=hpei ka.   a-lou' kou a-hcein=hmi lou' pi: hke: te*
       name   SUB work OBJ time=reach do *finish rarely* RLS
       'Tin Pe rarely finishes doing his work in time.'

(d)   The *pi: pi* sequence follows the benefactives *pei:* and *pya.* to indicate the

perfective aspect.

(41)   *tin=wa. kou ku   pei: pi: pi*
       name   OBJ help *give finish* PUNC
       'I have finished helping Tin Wa.'

3. *thwa:*   Vh: 'to go'
                 Vv: meaning varies with the type of head: perfective/directional

(i)   When *thwa:* follows a transitive verb, the subject is understood to have left

the location where the event took place.[6]

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[6]See DeLancey (1980) for a discussion of deictic motion verbs in Burmese.

(42) *tin=htu' kou lu   hsou: twei yai' thwa: te*
name   OBJ person bad PLU beat *go*   RLS
'Tin Htut was beaten up by some toughs (who left).'

(43) *ci=htun: ka.   min: a-twe' sa   pei: thwa: te*
name   SUB you for   letter give *go*   RLS
'Kyi Tun gave a letter for you (and left).'

(ii)   When *thwa:* follows 'stationary' verbs such as *nei* 'live/stay', *ei'* 'sleep' and

htain 'sit', which describe mode of rest at a static location, the 'to Vh and go' sense is seen to

shift in varied ways. Below, the meaning of *thwa:* shifts to 'used to'.

(44) *di   hkoun hma ta=ya:=thu: ci: htain thwa: te*
this bench LOC justice   big sit   *go* RLS
'The Chief Justice sat on this bench (but not anymore).'

(45) *yan=goun hma ma-hni'   ka. nei thwa: te*
Rangoon LOC last-year   past live *go*   RLS
'(He) lived in Rangoon last year (and no longer does).'

(46) *bou=jou' di a-hkan: hma ei'   thwa: te*
general this room   LOC sleep *go*   RLS
'The general slept in this room (once).'

The examples below differ from those above in that the sentences do not occur in the

context of a vacated or empty location. As the subject is still at the location where the

stationary activity took place, *thwa:* cannot logically indicate the subject's literal departure,

and consequently takes on the ingressive aspect. Below, the 'point in time' expression

provides the moment of entry into the state:

(47) *lei: nayi hma hka=lei: lei: ei'   thwa: te*
four hour LOC child   small sleep *go*   RLS
'The little baby went off to sleep/fell asleep at 4 o' clock.'
* 'At 4 o' clock, the little baby slept and left (the scene).'

In a sentence with *pi*, the time when entry was made into the state is currently relevant, or

close to the time of speech, or even at the moment of speech. Consequently, the 'ingressive' aspect into a state at the time of speech is translated into the present perfect in English.

(48)   *tha-mi:*   *lei:*   *ei'*   *thwa:* <u>*pi*</u>
     daughter small sleep *go*   PUNC
     'Little daughter has fallen asleep (now).'
     * 'Little daughter slept and left (now).'

(iii)   When *thwa:* follows an attributive or stative Vh, it cannot retain its literal sense. In the past tense, the Vv *thwa:* encompasses both 'entry into' and 'completion' of a state. It indicates the perfective aspect in Comrie's (1976:3) sense of "presenting the totality of the situation without reference to its internal temporal constituency: the whole of the situation is presented as a single unanalysable whole, with beginning, middle and end rolled into one."

(49)   *mou:=ywa* <u>*to.*</u>   *ei:*   *thwa:* <u>*te*</u>
     rain   when cold *go*   RLS
     'It got cold when it rained.'

(50)   *e:di tha-<u>t</u>in:* *ca:* *ya.* *to.*   *pyo*   *thwa:* <u>*te*</u>
     that news   hear get when happy *go*   RLS
     'I got happy when I heard that news.'

(51)   *hou kaun=ma. lei:*   *bai' ci: thwa:* <u>*te*</u>
     that girl   small belly big *go*   RLS
     'That little girl got pregnant.'

In a declarative with the sentence final *pi*, the state is understood to have been perfected at the moment of speech. Below, the temperature has reached the desired level of warmth and the speaker neither expects nor desires it to be hotter than it is now.

(52)   *a-<u>hku</u>. a-hkan: hte: hma pu thwa:* <u>*pi*</u>
     now   room   in   LOC hot *go*   PUNC
     'It has gotten hot in the room now.'

The Vv *thwa:* may be seen in opposition to the Vv *la*, which indicates that a state is still in progress.

(53)   *a-hku. a-hkan: hte: hma pu la   pi*
       now   room   in LOC hot *come* PUNC
       'It is becoming hot in the room now.'

(iv)   When *thwa:* follows motion verbs it adds its directional semantic component to the main verb meaning, contributing a sense of movement away from or tangential to the Speech Act Location (henceforth SAL). The trajectory-source may or may not be the SAL, but the trajectory-goal is always away from it.

(54)   *cwe'   hka-lei: ta-kaun pyei: thwa: te*
       mouse small   one-CLF run   *go*   RLS
       'A little mouse runs/ran thither.'

Order and scope relations   (a) *thwa:* is semantically incompatible with the other aspectuals *nei* 'stay', *la* 'come' and *hta:* 'keep'. It is compatible with *pi:* (seen in the section on *pi:*). It precedes the totally grammaticalized *hke..* The semantics of *hke.* has two components to it: (i) a spatial sense of dislocation which in some contexts means ' to Vh hither', and in other contexts means a dislocation of the subject away from the SAL, and (ii) the perfective aspect, of which the second is more abstract. When *hke.* follows *thwa:*, its auxiliary function duplicates that of thwa: in contributing both the perfective aspect and the deictic sense of indicating that the subject is no longer at the scene of the event.

(55)   *mali   ka. hcan hyin: thwa: hke.   te*
       gardener SUB garden clear *go*   DIS/PERF RLS
       'The gardener cleared the garden and left.'

thwa: also precedes the more grammaticalized *lai':*

(56) *yei=hcou: thwa: lai' me*
bathe   go   away IRR
'I shall bathe and go.'

[Vh *thwa:*] *lai'*] / *[Vh *lai'*] *thwa:*]

(b)   *thwa:* precedes the modals *ya.* 'get' and *lou* 'want', retaining its sense of

departure.

(57) *thu tou. kou lou hta twei pyo: thwa: ya. te* / *Vh ya. thwa:
3P PLU OBJ need NOM PLU say *go* *get* RLS
'I had to tell them what was necessary (before leaving).'

(58) *saga: ta-hkun: pyo: thwa: lou te* / *Vh *lou thwa:*
speech one-word say *go* *want* RLS
'I want to have a word with you before I leave.'

thwa: is permutable with *nain* 'can', *hpyi'* 'happen', *ta'* 'know how to' and *hcin* 'want'.

When *thwa:* precedes them, it retains its deictic sense of departure from the scene/SAL.

(59) *min: lou=hcin hta yu thwa: nain te*
you want   NOM take *go* *can* RLS
'You can take what you want and leave.'

[*yu thwa:*] *nain*]
[take go   ] can]
'can take and leave'

(60) *thu daga: pei' thwa: hpyi' te*
3P door close *go*   *happen* RLS
'He managed to close the door before he left.'

[*pei' thwa:*] *hpyi'*]
[close go   ] happen]
'manage to close and leave'

(61) *caun hka-lei: ka. cwe' ci: kou hswe: thwa: hcin te*
cat small SUB rat big OBJ pull *go* *want* RLS
'The little cat wants to drag away the big rat.'

[hswe: thwa:] hcin]
[pull go   ] want]
'want to pull away'

But when *thwa:* follows *nain*, *hpyi'*, *ta'* and *hcin*, it becomes more abstract and takes on the

perfective aspect.

(62) *lou' hcin h̲t̲a̲   lou' nain thwa: t̲e*
      do want NOM do   can go   RLS
      'He was able to do what he wanted to do.'

      [lou' nain] thwa:]
      [do can] PERF]
      'was able to do'

(63) *daga: pei'   hpyi'   thwa: te*
      door close *happen go*   RLS
      'He managed to close the door.'

      [pei'   hpyi'] thwa:]
      [close happen] PERF]
      'managed to close'

(64) *caun h̲k̲a̲=lei: k̲a̲.   cwe' ci: k̲ou tha' h̲c̲in thwa: t̲e*
      cat   small   SUB rat   big OBJ kill *want go* RLS
      'The little cat wanted to kill the big rat.'

      [tha' hcin] thwa:]
      [kill want] PERF]
      'wanted to kill'

thwa: is permutable with the deontic *thin.*:

(65) *le'hpe'=yei h̲p̲ou: lei: pei: thwa: thin.   t̲e*
      tea =water cost small give *go*   *appropriate* RLS
      'You should give a little tea money (a small bribe) before you leave.'

      [pei: thwa:] thin.]
      [give go   ] should]
      'should give and go'

When *thwa:* is further away from the head, it does not retain its lexical semantic component

of departure from the scene.

(66)   *a-lou' cou:=sa: lou. a-pou hsu. pei: thin.   thwa: te*
          work be.diligent as extra prize give *appropriate go*   RLS
          'As he worked diligently, he should have been given a bonus.'

               [pei: thin.   ] thwa:]
               [give should] go   ]
               [should give] PERF]
               'should have been given' / *'should give and go'

(c)   In general, *thwa:* is permutable with manner Vv's. When *thwa:* precedes a

manner Vv, it retains its lexical semantic component of departure from the scene.

(67)   *si' tha: twei ka. mein=hkalei: twei kou*
          soldier PLU SUB young.woman PLU OBJ

               a-nain   cin. thwa: ye'   te
               NOM-overcome do *go*   *heartless* RLS

          'The soldiers heartlessly took advantage of the young women and left.'

(68)   *a-nain=cin. te.   caun:=tha: kou yai' thwa: ye: te*
          bully   REL student   OBJ beat *go*   *brave* RLS
          'I am brave enough to beat up the student who bullies (and then leave).'

When *thwa:* follows a manner Vv it becomes more abstract, indicating the 'bringing about

and perfection' of a state/event.

(69)   *lei.=cin. pei: to. lou' ye'   thwa: te*
          train   give as do *heartless go*   RLS
          'As (they) were trained, (they) heartlessly did it.'

(70)   *a-ya=hyi. twei ka. thin pei: lou. pyi=thu twei kou yai' ye: thwa: te*
          officer   PLU SUB teach give as   people PLU OBJ beat *brave go*   RLS
          'As trained by their officers, they overcame their hesitation to beat up the people.'

               [yai'   ye:] thwa:]
               [beat   brave] go]
               [brave enough to beat] PERF]

(d)   *thwa:* is permutable with the benefactive *pei:* 'give' without any appreciable

difference in meaning.

(71) *thu.*   *kou*   *pyinnya*   *twei*   *thin*   *thwa: pei: te*   / *thin*   *pei: thwa:*
     3P.O OBJ skills/arts PLU teach *go*   *give* RLS
     '(He) educated her before he left.'

4. *la*   Vh: 'to come'
                Vv: meaning varies with type of head

(i)   When *la* follows an action verb, the 'bounded' meaning of the action verb

determines that *la* retains its lexical sense.

(72) *thu hta-min: sa: la*   *te*
     3P rice   *eat come* RLS
     'She ate and came.'

Although the main clause below is structurally identical to (72), the expression 'compared

to yesterday' forces an 'inceptive' reading.

(73) *ma-nei.*   *ka.*   *sa=yin*   *thu htamin: sa: la*   *te*
     yesterday past compared.to she rice   eat *come* RLS
     'Compared to yesterday, she is starting to eat.'
  *   'Compared to yesterday, she ate and came.'

It is well known that in the absence of explicit linguistic cues, the pragmatics of the situation

determines the interpretation of linguistic forms in general. Thus, having as background the

knowledge that someone hasn't been eating well for some time, *thu htamin: sa: la te* is

intended and interpreted to mean that 'She has started to eat (again).' However, when the

shared background knowledge is not about someone's appetite but about 'someone having

literally come from some other place', the same sentence is interpreted as 'She ate and came.'

Consider also (74) where the sentence final marker *pi*, meaning 'now/as of now', weighs the

sentence toward *a single event* interpretation.

(74) *thu hta-min: sa: la*   *pi*
       she rice   eat *come* PUNC
       'She is eating now.'   (in the sense of 'gaining her appetite')

The semantic characterization of <u>Action Vh+*la pi*</u> may be contrasted with

<u>Action Vh+*thwa: pi*</u> in the functional paradigm in which they alternate. Consider first *la* as

a main verb in *la pi* '(He) has come.' From the perspective of a motional event which has

beginning and endpoints, 'he has come' means that although he has departed from the

beginning point he *hasn't arrived yet* at the endpoint. This meaning of non-completion of the

motional event allows a shift to an imperfective or inchoative sense when *la* follows an

action verb head. In contrast, *thwa: pi* 'he has gone' indicates *departure from the scene* and

makes no reference to whether the subject has arrived at the endpoint. In an <u>Action</u>

<u>Vh+*thwa: pi*</u> string, departure from the scene logically implies the completion of the verb

action which precedes *thwa:*.

(75) *thu yei=hcou: thwa: pi*
       'She bathed and has left now.'

(ii)   When a stative verb precedes *la*, it blocks *la* from retaining its lexical sense,

supporting Givon's (1991:122) view that "*cognitively*, grammaticalization is not a gradual

process, but rather an *instantaneous* one." As seen above, the grammaticalized auxiliary

meaning of *la* may be traced to its lexical meaning of departure from a beginning point but

of non-arrival yet at the endpoint. When a stative verb is followed by *la*, the state is

interpreted to have begun (i.e. left the beginning point) and remains in effect because it has

not reached the endpoint yet. It is in this sense of not reaching the endpoint that *la* takes on

an imperfective aspect. With an ambient[7] verb that predicates 'state of weather', *la* indicates

that the state has come into effect and will continue and may even intensify unless and until

it reaches the endpoint.

(76) *ei: la pi*
cold *come* PUNC
'It's becoming cold.'

An attributive verb followed by *la* in a non-future sentence indicates that the attribute has

come into existence.

(77) *mei=aun wa. la te*
name fat *come* RLS
'May Aung has become fat.' / *'May Aung is fat and came.'

That is to say, *la* indicates entry into a state while the past tense marker *te* gives the situation

a completed, bounded meaning. As further illustration see (78):

(78) *a-tei' ka. a-caun: twei sin:=sa: mi. to. wun:=ne: la te*
past from matter PLU think inadvertent when sad *come* RLS
'I became sad when I inadvertently thought about matters from the past.'

Below, with the punctative *pi*, the attribute is seen to come into existence and is still in
progress.

(79) *mei=aun wa. la pi* (cp. 77)
name fat *come* PUNC
'May Aung is becoming fat.' /*'May Aung is fat and has come.'

In other words, while *la* indicates entry into a state, *pi*, which indicates 'present relevance',

adds the progressive aspect. As further illustration:

(80) *ma-pyo: ne. to.* \\ *nga wun:=ne: la pi*
NEG-say IMP CONT I sad *come* PUNC
'Don't say anymore. I'm becoming sad.'

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[7] 'Ambient verbs' describe an all-encompassing event which does not refer to some
specific thing in the environment (following Chafe 1970:102, in Wheatley 1982:59).

(iii)   The lexical meaning of *la*, like that of *thwa:*, has two semantic components to it: motion and direction. We have seen above that when *la* follows an action verb, it retains its full lexical sense of motion and direction toward a deictic center. But when *la* follows a motion verb, its motional semantic component is redundant and it consequently contributes only its directional semantic component to the construal of a unitary event. Below, the motion described by *pyei:* 'run' is oriented by *la* 'come' in the direction toward the speech act location (SAL).

(81)   *hkwei: ci: ta-kaun   nga. hsi   pyei: la   te*
         dog   big one-CLF I   LOC run   *come* RLS
         'A huge dog ran up to me.'

Below, the speaker takes the viewpoint that he will be at the location of the motional goal towards which the addressee has been directed. As DeLancey (1982:168) notes, 'the viewpoint referred to by *come*, often has nothing to do with the actual location of the speech act; the speaker is relatively free to choose a viewpoint'.[8]

(82)   *ma-ne'=hpan caun: kou nga: ca'   yu   la   pa*
         tomorrow   school to   five kyats take *come* POL
         'Please bring 5 kyats to school tomorow (where I will be).'

Below, the viewpoint adopted is that of 'the little bear' who is in the cave, which is the motional endpoint of 'the big tiger'.

(83)   *gu   hte: kou ca: ci: win la   lou. we'=wun nge   lei: ka.*
         cave in   to   tiger big enter *come* as   bear   small small SUB

         cau'   pi: o   lai'   hta
         afraid NF cry *away* NOM

         'The little bear was frightened and cried out when the big tiger entered the cave.'

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[8] Fillmore (1966, 1975) cited in Delancey (1982).

<u>Order and scope relations</u>　　　　(a)　*la* is semantically incompatible with other

aspectuals, the perfectives *thwa:, hta: and pi:.*　　　In (84), where *la* precedes the totally

grammaticalized *hke.*, we see *la* retaining its deictic sense and *hke.* assuming a dual function

of spatial dislocation, which is redundant in the presence of *la*, as well as the perfective

aspect.

(84)　*zei:　we　la　hke.　te　/ *Vh hke. la*
　　　market buy *come distal* RLS
　　　'I shopped for groceries and came.'

la precedes *lai'* .

(85)　*zei: we la lai' te*
　　　'On my own volition, I shopped for groceries and came.'

　　　　　[*we la*　　] *lai'*]
　　　　　[buy come] VOL]

(b)　　*la*, like *thwa:*, retains its deictic sense in preceding the modal *ya.* 'get'.

(86)　*lan:　hma　twei. te.　caun:=tha: hsou: twei kou hsu　la　ya.　te*
　　　street LOC see　REL student　　bad　PLU OBJ scold *come* get　RLS
　　　'I had to scold the wayward students I met on the way here.'

　　　　　[*hsu　la*　　] *ya.*　　] / **hsu ya. la*
　　　　　[scold come]　have to]
　　　　　'had to scold and come'

Like *thwa:*, *la* is permutable with *hcin* 'want', *ta'* 'know how to' and *nain* 'can'. When *la*

precedes *hcin* 'want', the sequence is ambiguous between 'to want to Vh and come' or 'to

begin to want to Vh'.

(87)　*ai' lou.　　yei=hcou: la　hcin te*
　　　hot because bathe　　*come want* RLS
　　　'As it was hot, I wanted to bathe and come.'
　　　'As it was hot, I began to want to bathe.'

But when *la* follows *hcin*, only an invariant and abstract aspectual reading is derived.

(88) *yei=hcou: hcin la te*
bathe   *want come* RLS
'I'm beginning to want to bathe.'

Similar to the *la hcin* sequence, the *la nain* sequence either allows *la* to retain its deictic

sense or to indicate the ingressive aspect.

(89) *thu htamin: sa: la nain te*
3P rice   eat *come* can RLS
'She can eat and come.'
'She is beginning to gain appetite.'

But when *la* follows *nain*, *la* takes on an invariant abstract aspectual sense.

(90) *htamin: sa: nain la te*
'You are becoming able to eat/You are gaining appetite.'

     [*sa: nain*] *la*   ]
     [eat able.to] become]

When *la* precedes *hpyi'*, it retains its deictic sense:

(91) *htamin: sa: la hpyi' te*
rice   eat *come* happen RLS
'I managed to eat and come.'

But when *la* follows *hpyi'*, it takes on a more abstract ingressive sense:

(92) *pou pi:=to. bama sa hpa' hpyi' la te*
more NF.CONT Burmese letter read *happen come* RLS
'I am beginning to manage to read Burmese more.'

     [*hpa' hpyi'*] *la*   ]
     [read happen] INGRESS]

When *la* precedes *ta'* 'know how to' in a realis sentence, the construction is possibly

marginal, but *la* is usually interpreted to indicate an ingressive aspect contrary to the syntax.

That is, one would expect *la* to retain its deictic component, but it appears that the pragmatics

of the situation does not allow (93) to mean that the subject knows how to cook and come.

(93) *bousi   tayou'   hin: hce' la   ta'   te*
name Chinese dish cook *come* know.how.to RLS
?'Bosi knows how to cook Chinese dish and come.'

[*hce' la*   ] *ta'*   ]
[cook come] knows how to]
?'know how to cook and come'

However, when the main verb allows such a meaning, the sentence is grammatical:

(94) *a-hpei youn: ka. pyan la   yin*
father   office from return *come* when

bousi a-hpei.   hsi   pyei: la   ta. te
name father.G LOCrun *come* know.how RLS

'When father comes back from work, Bosi knows how/is accustomed to running toward him.'

But with the sentence final *pi*, *la* takes on an ingressive aspect.

(95) *bousi   tayou'   hin: hce' la   ta'   pi*
name Chinese dish cook *come* know.how PUNC
'Bosi (as of now) knows how to cook Chinese.'

On the other hand, when *la* follows *ta'*, it unambiguously takes on an invariant abstract

aspectual sense.

(96) *tayou'   hin: hce' ta'   la   te*   (Cp. 93)
Chinese dish cook know.how *come* RLS
'She is beginning to know how to cook Chinese.'

[*hce' ta'*   ] *la*   ]
[cook know.how   ] come   ]
[know how to cook] INGRESSIVE]

la is permutable with *thin.*

(97) *youn: pya'thana youn: hma hyin: la   thin.   te*
office problem   office LOC clear *come* appropriate RLS
'Problems at work should be resolved at work (before coming home).'

[*hyin: la   ] thin.   ]
[clear come] should]
'should clear and come'

(98) *a-hku. a-hcein hma   pya'thana twei hyin: thin.   la   pi*
now   time   LOC problem   PLU clear appropriate *come* PUNC
'Now has come the time (whence we) should resolve problems.'

[*hyin: thin.*] *la*   ]
[clear should] come   ]
[should clear] INGRESSIVE]

(c) In general, *la* precedes manner adverbials; *la* precedes a frequency adverb like

pyan as a matter of rule.

(99) *hnge' twei pyi' la   pyan pi   / *Vh pyan la*
bird PLU shoot *come return* PUNC
'He has shot some birds again (prior to being here).'

Following the general pattern seen above, *la* is less abstract and retains its deictic sense when

it precedes a manner Vv like *mi.*:

(100) *lan: hyau' yin: twei. te.   pan: twei*
road walk while see   REL flower PLU

hku: yu la mi   hke.   te
pluck take *come inadvertent* DIS/PERF RLS

'I inadvertently plucked the flowers I came across while walking and have brought
them.'

But when *la* follows *mi.* it takes on the ingressive aspect.

(101) *thu. a-hpyi'   ka. hsan: to. thu. a-caun:*
3P.G circumstance SUB strange as 3P.G matter

> *pou sin:sa: mi.*   *la*   *te*
> more think   inadvertent *come* RLS

'As his circumstances are strange, I am beginning to inadvertantly think more about him.'

5. *hke.*   Vh: no synchronically relatable main verb

               Vv: 'distal'; "by using *hke.*, the speaker associates a specific action carried through in one location (in space or time) with another location" (Allott (1965:299). If the event is removed only in time, *hke.* may be said to have a perfective aspect.

(i) When *hke.* follows action verbs, it has a deictic sense analogous to *la*,

meaning 'to V elsewhere and be here now' .

(102) *tin=hla. ein*   *a-thi'*   *hsei:=thou'*   *hke.*   *te*
       name   house new   paint   *distal*   RLS
       'Tin Hla painted the new house (prior to being here).'

(ii) When *hke.* follows the stationary verb *nei* 'stay/live', its meaning is ambiguous

between distal (physical dislocation) and perfective, meaning being determined by the

pragmatics of the situation.

(103) *nga yangoun*   *hma nei*   *hke.*   *te*
      I   Rangoon LOC *stay distal* RLS
      'I once lived in Rangoon.'
      'I stayed behind in Rangoon.'

With a 'near past' time reference:

(104) *ma-nei.*   *ka.*   *yangoun hma nei*   *hke.*   *te*
      yesterday past Rangoon LOC stay *distal*   RLS
      'He stayed behind in Rangoon yesterday (and is still there).'

With a 'remote past' time reference:

(105) *nge=nge toun: ka. yangoun*   *hma*   *nei*   *hke.*   *te*
      young   while past Rangoon LOC stay *distal*   RLS
      'He lived in Rangoon when he was young.'

Below, the subject of the 'stationary' activity is no longer at the scene. A temporally distal aspect is derived from the spatial dislocation schema.

(106) *di   hkoun hma   ta-ya:=thu: ci: htain hke. te*
this bench LOC justice   big sit   DIS RLS
'The Chief Justice sat on this bench (but not anymore).'

(107) *bou=jou' di   a-hkan: hma ei'   hke. te*
general   this room   LOC sleep DIS RLS
'The general slept in this room (once).'

(iii) When *hke.* occurs with 'mental' state verbs, which describes a state in the mind and not at an 'outside' physical location, the spatially distal sense of *hke.* is blocked and only the temporally distal sense remains, from which the 'perfective' reading is derived.

(108) *thu. a-caun: ca: ya. to.   wun:=tha hke.   te*
his matter hear *get* when happy   *distal* RLS
'I was happy when I heard about him.'

(iv) Following motion verbs, *hke.* contributes its semantic component of orientation toward a deictic center, analogous to the auxiliary *la* 'to come'.

(109) *nga. hpe' kou hyau' hke.*
my side to walk *distal*
'Walk towards my side.'

The motional goal may be a location where the speaker projects himself to be at .

(110) *nya.=nei lau'   ca.=yin zei: hpe' kou maun: khe.*
evening about when   market side to   drive   *distal*
'Drive by to the market this evening (where I'll be).'

<u>Order and scope relations</u>   (a) Interaction with the other aspectuals, *nei, pi:,*

thwa: and *la* has been described in the previous sections. Following the more lexical *hta:,* the abstracter *hke.* has the dual function of indicating both physical dislocation and the perfective aspect.

(111) *thi'pin twei hle: hta: hke.   te   / *hle: hke. hta:*
      tree   PLU fell *keep dis/perf* RLS
      'They felled the trees and left them (lying) hither.'

          [*hle: hta:*] *hke.*]
          [fell keep] distal]

hke. precedes *lai'* 'volition/impulse'.

(112) *zei: hte: hma moun.=hin:=hka: we sa: hke. lai'   te*
      market in LOC mohinga   buy eat *distal away* RLS
      'On an impulse, I bought and ate mohinga hither in the market.'

(b) In general, *hke.* precedes the modals *nain* 'can', *hcin* want', *ya.* get' and *hpyi'*

'happen', retaining its sense of physical displacement.

(113) *myou. hte: yau' toun: ban ka. ngwe htou'   hke. nain te*
      town in reach while bank from money withdraw *distal can* RLS
      'I can withdraw some money from the bank while I'm in town.'

But when *hke.* follows *nain*, it takes on an abstracter perfective aspect in addition to its sense

of physical displacement.

(114) *ngwe   htou'   nain hke.   te*
      money withdraw can   *dis/perf* RLS
      'I was able to withdraw money (hither from the bank).'

Similarly, when *hke.* precedes *hcin* 'want' it retains its sense of physical displacement:

(115) *boun: ci: ka. lei: to. lan: hma hca. hke. hcin te*
      box big SUB heavy as road LOC drop *distal want* RLS
      'I wanted to drop the box on the way as it was so heavy.'

          [*hca. hke.*] *hcin   te*]
          [drop DIS] want RLS]
          'wanted to drop hither'

But when *hke.* follows *hcin*, it adds a perfective aspect. However, there is no practical

difference in meaning between the alternative sequences.

(116) *hca. hcin hke. te*
      drop want *dis/perf* RLS
      'id.'

        [*hca. hcin*] *hke.*]
        [drop want] PERF]
        'wanted to drop'

hke. tends to precede *ya.* 'get'.

(117) *to: hte: hma ca: ci: ta-kaun twei. hke. ya. te*
      forest in LOC tiger big one-CLF see *distal get* RLS
      'I got to see a big tiger hither in the forest.'

hke. may only precede the deontics *thin.* 'should'. If *hke.* were to follow *thin.*, it would

take on tan abstracter perfective aspect which logically contradicts the irrealis modality of

thin. .

(118) *a-hma: twei kou a-hman hpyi' aun lou' hke. thin. te*
      wrong PLU OBJ right happen PUR do *distal should* RLS
      'You should have made right the wrongs hither.'

    (c) Individual manner adverbs vary in order with respect to *hke.*; *pyi'* 'throw/

impetuously' tends to precede *hke.* .

(119) *sei' tou hta ne. thu. kou pyo: pyi. hke. te*   / ? Vh *hke. pyi.*
      mind short NOM with 3P OBJ tell *throw dis/perf* RLS
      'Being irritated, I told him off (hither).'

hke. is permutatable with *mi.*, without a resulting meaning difference.

(120) *hkwei: ta-kaun tai' hke. mi. te*   / *tai' mi. hke.*
      dog one-CLF hit *distal inadvertent* RLS
      'I inadvertently hit a dog.'   / 'id.'

hke. precedes the frequency adverb *pyan*, which tends to occur toward the end of the

clause:

(121) *ka: hte: hma tho. can   hke.   pyan pi*   / *Vh *pyan hke.*
car in   LOC key   leave *distal return* PUNC
'(I) left the key in the car again.'

hke. follows *hnin.*:

(122) *hsaya-wun ne.   twei. hnin.   hke.   te*   / ?Vh *hke. hnin.*
doctor   with see   in.advance *distal* RLS
'I have already seen the doctor.'

(d) When the order of *hke.* and the benefactive *pei:* 'give' is permuted, there is practically no difference in meaning.

(123) *youn: ma-thwa: hkin   htamin: hce' hke.   pei: te*   / Vh *pei: hke.*
office NEG-*go*   before rice   cook *distal give* RLS
'She cooked (for them) before she left for work.'

6. lai'   Vh: 'to follow, accompany'
Vv : 'to Vh away , to Vh on one's own volition/on an impulse'

(i) When lai' occurs with transfer verbs it indicates spatial displacement.

(124) *lwin=lwin. kou sa=ou' pei: lai'   te*
name   OBJ book   give *away* RLS
'(I) gave away the book to Lwin Lwin. (who has left with the book).'

(125) *nga. kou pai'=hsan pei: lai'*
I   OBJ money   give *away*
'Give me the money (to take away).'

(126) *hsaya ka.   di   sa=ou' pei: lai'   te*
teacher SUB this book   give *away* RLS
'The teacher gave me the book (it is with me here).'

In (126), the transfer event took place at a location separate from the SAL.

(ii) An action Vh does not allow *lai'* to retain its sense of spatial dislocation.

(127) *hsaya=ci: ka.   caun:=tha: twei: kou hsu lai'   te*
teacher.big SUB student   PLU OBJ scold *away* RLS
'The teacher scolded the students (on his own volition).'

(128) *ma-saun.   nain lou.   hta-min: sa: lai'   te*
    NEG-wait can   because rice   eat *away* RLS
    'I went ahead and ate (on my own cognizance) because I couldn't wait.'

(129) *htamin: hsa   yin sa: lai'*
    rice   hungry if   eat *away*
    'If you are hungry, eat away/go ahead and eat.'

    (iii)   Verbs of 'seeing, hearing' become compact and bounded with *lai'* .

(130) *hcan   hte: hma   mwei lei: myin lai'   te*
    garden in   LOC snake   small see   *away* RLS
    'I saw a snake in the garden./I caught a glimpse of a snake.'

<u>Order and scope relations</u>   (a) As a rule, *lai'* follows the aspectuals *nei* 'stay',

thwa: 'go', *la* 'come' and *hke.* 'distal'. (See relevant sections above.)

lai' must follow *hta:*:

(131) *se'   pyin hta: lai' me / *Vh lai' hta:*
    machine repair keep *away* IRR
    'I will have the machine fixed.'

    (b)   *lai'* must precede the modals *ya.* 'get', *hcin* 'want' and *nain* can'.

(132) *nya ka.   ce cwe hta   twei. lai' ya. te*
    night PAST star drop NOM see   *away get* RLS
    'I was able to see a falling star last night.'   (for an instant, briefly)

(133) *hkalei: twei   hsu=nyan lou. htwe' o   lai' ya. thei: te*
    child   PLU noisy   as   exit shout *away get still* RLS
    'I had to go out and yell at the children as they were noisy.'(on the spur of the
                                        moment)

    (c) The order of *lai'* varies with specific adverbials.

pyi' 'impetuously' must precede *lai'*:

(134) *sei' tou   lou.   daga: kou kan pyi' lai' te*
    mind short because door   OBJ kick *throw away* RLS
    'I impetuously kicked the door as I was irritated.'

mi. 'inadvertently' is permutable with *lai'*:

(135) *sei' hsou: lou.   thu. kou hse: lai' mi.   te / hse: mi. lai'*
mind bad   because 3P OBJ curse *away inadvertent* RLS
'I inadvertently cursed away at him because I was angry.'

pyan 'return' must follow *lai.*:

(136) *min: ka.   hpan=hkwe' hkwe: lai'   pyan pi*
you SUB glass   break *away return* PUNC
'You have broken a glass again.'

(d) *lai'* must follow the benefactives *pei:* and *pya.*:

(137) *lou' pei: lai'   te   / *Vh lai' pei:*
do give *away* RLS
'I did something for him (on my own accord).'

(138) *bama   tha-hcin: hsou pya. lai' te   / *Vh lai' pya.*
Burmese song   say *show away* RLS
'I performed a Burmese song (for him).'

7. *hta:*   Vh: 'to keep, put, place'
Vv: 'to Vh and keep in that state'

(i) Following an action verb, *hta:* indicates that an activity has been completed and

'is kept/left in that state'.

(139) *ca-no htamin: hce' hta: te*
I   rice   cook *keep* RLS
'I have cooked rice (and it is in that state).'

(140) *ci. lou' pei: hpou. ye: aya=hyi. kou pyo: hta: te*
see do give to   police officer   OBJ tell   *keep* RLS
'I have told the police officer to do what's necessary.'

(141) *ei'   hta: te*
sleep keep RLS
'I have slept (in readiness for some other activity).'

In the future tense, *hta:* indicates that the event will be perfected at some future time.

(142) *nya. pwe: a-twe' a-hku. ei' hta: me*
      night show for   now sleep *keep* IRR
      'I'll sleep now for the late night movie.'

(143) *ca-no htamin: hce' hta: me*
      I   rice   cook *keep* RLS
      'I will have the rice cooked.'

      (ii)   *hta:* is also used when a present state provides evidence of a past event. For example, when someone is seen to have evidently cried, the following sentence is appropriate.

(144) *thu ngou hta: te (htin te)*
      3P cry *keep* RLS (think RLS)
      '(I think) she has been crying.'

Similarly, when there is evidence of rain:

(145) *mou:=ywa hta: te*
      sky.fall   *keep* RLS
      'It has rained.'

      <u>Order and scope relation</u>   See relevant sections for interaction with other aspectuals.

      (a) *hta:* must precede modals.

(146) *da a-yin lou' hta: ya. me*
      this first do *keep get* IRR
      'I must have this done first.'

           [*lou' hta:*] *ya.*]
           [do keep] get]
           'must do and keep' > 'must have this done'

(147) *gabya ta-pou' yei: hta: hpyi' te*
      poem one-CLF write *keep happen* RLS
      'I managed to get/have a poem written.'

(148) *hsu. twei a-mya: ci: ya. hta: hcin te*

(149) *na:=le   yin cou   hpa' hta: nain te*
understand if   in.advance read *keep can* RLS
'If you understand, you can read in advance and be ready (for class).'

vV   Vh Vv   Vv
[*cou   hpa' hta:*] *nain*]
[in.advance read keep] can]
'can read and be ready in advance'

hta: must precede *thin.*:

(150) *a-kaun:=hsoun: hmyo=lin. pi: a-hsou:=hsoun: a-twe'*
NOM-good.end hope   NF NOM-bad.end   for

pyin   hta: thin.   te
prepare keep appropriate RLS

'Hoping for the best, one should be prepared for the worst.'

(b) *hta:* precedes adverbials in general.

(151) *ma-saun.   nain lou. htamin: sa: hta: mi.   te*
NEG-wait can as   rice   eat *keep inadvertent* RLS
'I have inadvertently eaten as I could not wait.'

(152) *hou kaun=ma. =lei: kou bei: hpe   hta: pyan pi*
that girl.small   OBJ side move *keep return* PUNC
'That girl has been pushed aside again.' (passed over)

8. *hpu:*   Vh: 'visit (with) monks/holy places, to behold/see
Vv: 'have experience of Vh, ever'
N.B. It is a matter of conjecture whether the Vv *hpu:* is related to the
lexical verb *hpu:*.

(153) *ca-no ka-tha yau' hpu: te*
I   Katha   reach experience RLS
'I have been to Katha.'

Questions about 'experiencing an event/activity' translate into 'ever'. The sentences below are

irrealis in the sense that they do not refer to specific events.

(154) *hkin-bya: moun.=hin:=hka: sa: hpu:*   *tha-la:*
you   mohinga   eat *experience* RLS-Q
'Have you ever eaten mohinga (a popular Burmese food)?'

The answer with *hpu:* does not refer to a specific event too.

(155) *moun.=hin:=hka: sa: hpu:*   *te*
mohinga   eat *experience* RLS
'I have experienced eating mohinga.'

A specific past-time reference like *ma-nei'=ka* 'this morning' cannot occur in (155), as a specific past-time reference implies a specific instance (of eating mohinga) which would clash semantically with the irrealis meaning of *hpu:*.

* *ma-nei. ka. moun.=hin:=hka: sa: hpu: te*

But the sentence becomes acceptable by adding *hma.* 'only' after the time phrase. 'It was only yesterday' has as background the idea that the subject has never experienced 'eating mohinga' up to that point in time.

(156) *ma-nei.=ka. hma. moun.=hin:=hka: sa: hpu:*   *te*
yesterday only mohinga   eat *experience* RLS
'It was only yesterday that I experienced eating mohinga.'

The sentence also becomes acceptable when *hpu:* is followed by *thwa:*, which gives the meaning of 'finally'.

(157) *ma-nei.=ka. (hma.) moun.=hin:=hka: sa: hpu:*   *thwa: te*
yesterday   mohinga   eat experience *go*   RLS
'Yesterday, I finally experienced eating mohinga.'

Order and scope relations   (a) *hpu:* is permutable with the aspectual *nei:*

(158) *min: kou myin hpu: nei te*   \ *be hma le: ma-thi.   hpu:*
you OBJ see *exp stay* RLS \ WH LOC Q   NEG-know NEG
'I have been seeing you (around). I don't know where.'

[*myin hpu:*] *nei*   ]
[see EXP   ] stay   ]
[have seen] PROG]
'have been seeing'

(159) *ta-nya.*   *loun: taya:=htain nei* <u>*hpu:*</u>   *la:*
one-night whole truth.sit   *stay exp*   Q
'Have you ever experienced meditating whole night long?'

[*taya:=htain nei*]   *hpu:*]
[meditate   stay] EXP]
[meditate PROG] EXP]
'have experienced meditating'

hpu: usually follows the aspectual *hke.* in interrogatives.

(160) *deili myou. hma nei hke. hpu: tha-la:*   / ?* Vh *hpu: hke.* Q
Delhi town LOC live *dis* *Exp* RLS-Q
'Have you ever lived in Delhi?'

Binomial concatenations of *hpu:* and *hke.* in declarative sentences are permutable without

any practical meaning difference, although the preferred order is for *hpu:* to follow *hke.* .

(161) *deili myou. hma nei hke.* <u>*hpu:*</u> <u>*te*</u>   / Vh *hpu: hke.*
Delhi town LOC live *dis* *Exp* RLS
'I have lived in Delhi.'

Below, *hpu:* is the last of three Vv's occurring after the head:

(162) *pyin:=pyin: ne. ta-nei=koun*   *ei'* *nei* <u>*hke. phu: te*</u>
lazy.lazy   with one.sun.finish sleep *stay dis Exp* RLS
'Being bored, I have experienced sleeping the whole day.'

(b) *hpu:* does not occur with the modals *nain* 'can', *ta'* 'know how to' and *hpyi.*

'happen'; *hpu:* follows *ya.* although it does not commonly occur with it.

(163) *lu*   *myou: soun ne. paun: ya.* <u>*hpu: te*</u>   /*Vh *hpu: ya.*
people kind varied with combine *get exp* RLS
'I have experienced getting to make friends with many types of people.'

hpu: precedes the desideratives *hcin* and *lou* :

(164) *la.   gaba   kou yau'   hpu: hcin te*
    moon world to   reach exp want RLS
    'I want to experience visiting the moon.'

hpu: follows *hcin* and the distal/perfective *hke.*:

(165) *thu ta-hcein ka   hpoun:=ci: wu'   hcin hke. hpu: te*
    3P one-time SUB monk   dress *want dis   exp* RLS
    'He once experienced wanting to become a monk.'

(c) *hpu:* follows the adverbials *pyi'* and *mi.*:

(166) *ta-hka   hpe: lein nya mi.   hpu: te*
    one-time only twist lie *inadvertent Exp* RLS
    'Only once has he inadvertently deceived (another).'

9. *ci.*   Vh: 'to look'
                 Vv: 'to try out Vh'

(i) Following a motion verb, *ci.* retains its lexical meaning when there is a literal object to see.

(167) *tin=tin pwe: la   ci. te*
    name performance come look RLS
    'Tin Tin came and watched the theatrical performance.'

A metaphorical extension of *ci.* may be seen in (168), where *ci.* means 'to find out, try, check' from its more literal meaning of 'to see if the bough is firm'.

(168) *hkain la: lou.   thi' kain: po te'   ci. te*
    firm Q COMP tree bough on climb *look* RLS
    'I climbed on to the bough to see if it was firm.'

Following verbs which describe mode of motion like 'run, fly', *ci.* retains its lexical sense when there is a literal object to be looked at.

(169) *ka: tai' than ca: lou.   pyei: ci ca. te*
    car crash sound hear because run   look PLU RLS
    '(They) ran and looked because they heard the sound of a car crash.'

But the same sequence *pyei: ci.* is seen to metaphorically shift in meaning, in the absence of a literal object to look at.

(170) *pyei: ci.   to.   hcei'=htau' ka.   na   toun: hpe:*
run   look when leg   SUB hurt still   EMPH
'My leg still hurt when I tried to run.'

(ii) Following transitive verbs, *ci.* is only metaphorically interpreted to mean 'try out Vh'.

(171) *ma-hce'   hpu: te.   hin: kou   hce' ci.   te*
NEG-cook experience REL curry OBJ cook *see* RLS
'I tried (out) cooking the curry I have never cooked before.'

(172) *thu. kou   le'=hkan hpou   pyo: ci.   me*
3P   OBJ accept   COMP talk *see* IRR
'I'll try talking to him to make him accept.'

<u>Order and scope relations</u>   As the Vv meaning of *ci.* is relative close to its lexical meaning, it follows causatives/benefactives but precedes the more grammaticalized aspectuals, modals, deontics and adverbials as a matter of rule.

(a) The more grammaticalized aspectual *nei* follows the less grammaticalized *ci.*:

(173) *a-kwe' a-thi'   gaza: ci.   nei   te   / * Vh nei ci.*
gambit new   play *look stay* RLS
'I am trying to play a new gambit (in chess).'

The preferred order for the more grammaticalized aspectual *thwa:* is to follow *ci.*:

(174) *ce'   pa-la: lou.   myi: ci.   thwa: te   / ?Vh thwa: ci.*
be.cooked PUNC-Q COMP taste *look go*   RLS
'She tasted to see if it was cooked (before leaving).'

Abstracter aspectuals like *hke.* and *lai'* follow *ci.* as a rule.

(175) *japan hsain   hma   saki thau'   ci'   hke.   te*
Japan shop   LOC saki drink *see distal* RLS
'I tried saki at a Japanese shop hither.'

(b) Modals follow *ci.* as a rule.

(176) *ma-lou' hpu:* _hta_ _kou lou' ci. ya. te_
NEG-do *exp* NOM OBJ do *see get* RLS
'I had to try out doing something I have never done before.'

(177) *hou taun* _kou te'_ *ci.* _hcin te_
that mountain OBJ climb *see want* RLS
'I want to try climb that mountain.'

(178) *ma-youn* *yin mei: ci. nain* _te_
NEG-believe if ask *see can* RLS
'If you don't believe (me), you can try asking.

The deontic *thin.* follows *ci.* :

(179) *a-cou: ne. a-caun: ne. pyo: ci. thin.* _te_
effect with cause with tell *see appropriate* RLS
'You should try telling (him) reasonably.'

(c) Adverbials follow *ci.* as a matter of rule.

(180) *hou* _hpe'_ *hcan* _ka._ *hkwei: kou sa. ci. pyan* _pi_
that side yard from dog OBJ tease *see return* PUNC
'He again tries to tease the neighbor's dog.'

(181) *mi:=thwei:=hke:* _twei_ *a-po nin: ci. ye:* *la:*
coal PLU on step *see brave* Q
'Are you brave enough to try stepping on the hot embers.'

(182) *di pou'sa* _kou_ *twe'* *ci. hnin.* *me*
this problem OBJ calculate *see in.advance* IRR
'I'll try working on this math problem first.'

10. *ya.* Vh: 'to get, obtain';
Vv: 'manage to, opportunity, obligation, compulsion, permission'.

(183) *ma=nei.* _ka._ *nei ca'* *hta myin ya. te*
yesterday past sun eclipse NOM see *get* RLS
'I got to see the eclipse of the sun yesterday.'

(184) *htamin: sa: ya. la:*
    rice   eat get Q
    'Did you get to eat?'

(185) *htamin: sa: ya. pi*
    rice   eat *get* PUNC
    'I just got to eat now.' (after being prevented for some time)

(186) *di   nya.=nei lan: hyau' ya. me*
    this evening road walk *get* IRR
    'I must walk this evening.'

<u>Order and scope relations</u>   (a)   *ya.* follows the aspectuals *nei, thwa:, la, hta:*,

hke. and *lai'*.

(187) *thei=hca aun le=hma' cou   we hta: ya. te*
    certain PUR ticket in.advance buy *keep get* RLS
    'We had to buy the ticket in advance to have it (in hand) to make sure.'

(188) *thu. kou ta-nei. loun: lai'   hya   nei ya. te*
    3P OBJ one-day whole follow search *stay get* RLS
    'I had to go around searching for him the whole day.'

(189) *dou'hka.=the   twei kou ku=nyi lai' ya. te*
    suffering.person PLU OBJ help   *away get* RLS
    'We had to help the refugees.'

(b) *ya.* is generally incompatible with other modals, but occurs with the

desiderative *lou* .

(190) *dou'hka.   kin: ya. pa lou te*
    suffering free *get* POL *want* RLS
    'We want to have to be free from suffering.'

(c) Manner adverbials like *pyi', hte.* and *hca.* precede *ya.* .

(191) *pou:=kaun lei: twei kou hsei: ne. hpyan: pyi' ya. te*
    insect   small PLU OBJ medicine with spray *throw get* RLS
    'We had to spray the insects with insecticide.'

The time adverbial *hnin.* also precedes *ya.*.

(192) *thwa: hnin.   ya. ma-la:*
   go   in.advance *get* FUT-Q
   'Shall I go in advance?'

The frequency adverbs *pyan* and *hke:* follow *ya.*.

(193) *ma-thi.   lou. mei: ya. pyan pi*
   NEG-know as   ask *get return* PUNC
   '(I) have to ask (you) again as I don't know.'

(194) *di=lou   a-hpyi'   myou: ne.   coun   ya.   hke: te*
   this=way situation kind   with meet.with *get   rarely* RLS
   'One rarely gets to come across a situation of this kind.'

11. *hpyi'*   Vh: 'to become, happen, exist, occur'
         Vv: 'manage to Vh, take place as planned'

With past time reference, the Vv *hpyi'* indicates that an action 'took place as planned':

(195) *thu. kou   pai'=hsan pei: hpyi'   te*
   3P   OBJ money   give *happen* RLS
   'I managed to gave her money (as planned).'

In the future tense, *hpyi'* implies future planned action:

(196) *di   nya. to.   di   kei'sa. hyin: hpyi'   me*
   this night when this matter clear.up *happen* IRR
   '(We) will resolve this matter tonight (as planned).'

Future interrogatives question the likelihood of a 'planned' future event:

(197) *min: bama pyei   pyan hpyi'   ma-la:*
   you Burma country return *happen* FUT-Q
   'Will you return to Burma as planned?',

12. *hcin*   Vh: No synchronically relatable main verb, but occurs as part of the di-
            syllabic verb *lou=hcin* 'to want'
         Vv: 'want to Vh'

(198) *yangoun kou pyan   hcin te*
   Rangoon to   return want RLS
   'I want to return to Rangoon.'

<u>Order and scope relations</u>   (a)   *hcin* is permutable with the aspectuals *nei*,

thwa:, la, hke. .

(199)   *nei=ma-kaun: lou. ta-hcein loun: hpe: ei'   nei hcin te*
live=NEG-good as   one-time whole EMPH sleep *stay want* RLS
'He wants to be sleeping all the time as he is not feeling well.'

(200)   *min: kou twei. hcin nei hta   ca   pi*
you OBJ see   *want stay* NOM be.for.a.while PUNC
' I've been wanting to see you for some time now.'

> [*twei. hcin*] *nei*]
> [see   want] stay]
> 'wanting to see'

When *thwa:* and *la* precede *hcin* they retain their deictic semantic component but when they

follow *hcin* they assume a grammaticalized aspectual function:

(201)   *le'=hsaun lei: pei: thwa: hcin te*
gift   small give *go   want* RLS
'I want to give a small gift before leaving.'

(202)   *le'=hsaun lei: pei: hcin thwa: te*
gift   small give *want go*   RLS
'The desire to give a small gift arose in me.' ('I wanted to give a small gift.')

The spatial dislocation sense of *hke.* is prominent when it precedes *hcin*, but when it follows

hcin an abstract aspectual function becomes additionally prominent. In either order, *hcin* has

an invariant meaning.

(203)   *di   ywa   hma nei hke. hcin te*
this village LOC *stay distal want* RLS
'I want to remain behind in this village.'

(204)   *di   ywa   hma nei hcin hke. te*
this village LOC live *want distal* RLS
'I wanted to live in this village.'

(b) *hcin* follows a more lexical modal like *ta'*.

(205) pyinthi' zaga: pyo: ta'   *hcin te*   / *Vh *hcin ta'*
French speech speak *know.how.to want* RLS
'I want to know how to speak French.'

(c) *hcin* , like *ya.*, follows the manner adverbial *pyi'* .

(206) *hyou'*   *lun:*   *a:=ci: lou.*   *a-koun hyin:* *pyi'*   *hcin te*
be.untidy exceed strong because all   clear *throw want* RLS
'I want to tidy up everything because it's extremely untidy.'

hcin is permutable with *mi.* .

(207) *ta-hka=ta-lei yangoun ka.*   *ci:=ou: sa:* *hcin mi.*   *te*
sometimes   Rangoon from soup   eat *want inadvertent* RLS
'Sometimes, I inadvertently want to eat a (special) soup from Rangoon.'

(208) *thu ne. u:*   *hci' le'hpe'=yei hsain hma   hsoun mi.*   *hcin te*
3P with HON name tea=water   shop LOC meet *inadvertent want* RLS
'I want to run into him at the U Chit tea shop.'

hcin precedes the frequency adverb *pyan* :

(209) *pyi=thu=lu=htu. hsi   ka.*   *a-hkun twei kau'=hkan hcin pyan   pi*
citizen   LOC from tax   PLU collect   *want return* PUNC
'The government wants to collect taxes from the people again.'

13. *lou*   Vh: 'to need'   as in *pai'=hsan lou te* 'I need some money.'
Vv: 'want to Vh'

(210) *taun=ji: kou thwa: lou pa   te*
Taunggyi to   go   *want* POL RLS
'I want to go to Taunggyi.'

When *lou* takes a complement clause with the complementizer *hpou.*, it retains

its meaning of 'to need'.

(211) *taun=ji: kou thwa: hpou.   lou pa   te*
Taunggyi to   go   COMP   need POL RLS
'I need to go to Taunggyi.'

14. *ta'*   Vh: 'know how to, be skilful in'
                 Vv: 'knows how to Vh'

(212) *thu ka.* *reidiyou* *kou* *pyin* *ta'*   *te*
        he SUB radio   OBJ repair *know.how* RLS
        'He knows how to repair the radio.'

With Vh's describing human traits, *ta'* indicates customary or habitual action.

      thu ka. *hka'* *ti=ti* *ne.* *nya* *ta'*   *te*
      3P SUB quite serious with lie   know.how RLS
      'He typically lies with a straight face.'

15. *nain*   Vh: 'to overcome, win' as in *ameiyi.kan a-thin: nain te* 'The American
                                                          team won.'
              Vv: 'ability, permission'.

(213) *nau' hni'* *ca.=yin* *di* *sa=mei:=pwe:* *kou* *hpyei* *nain me*
        next year fall.when this exam   OBJ answer *can* IRR
        'I will be able to answer this exam next year.'

Analogous to the modals *ya.* and *hcin*, *nain* follows the 'impetuous' manner adverbials *pyi'*,

hte. and *hca.* .

(214) *thu. kou na aun*   *pyo* *pyi'* *nain te*
        3P OBJ hurt PUR speak *throw* *can* RLS
        'I can speak brusquely to hurt him./I can tell him off.'

Also analogous to *ya.* and *hcin*, *nain* precedes the frequency adverbs *hke:* and *pyan* .

(215) *di* *caun:=tha:* *kou* *caun:* *hma* *twei. nain hke:* *te*
        this student   OBJ school LOC see   *can* *rarely* RLS
        'One can rarely see this student in school.'

16. *kaun:*   Vh: 'be good'
               Vv: 'appropriate to Vh, be advisable, wise'

(216) *di* *a-caun:=a-ya hpoun:=ci:* *kou* *pyo: kaun:*   *pa te*
        this matter   monk   OBJ tell *appropriate* Pol RLS
        'It is appropriate to tell the monk about this matter.'

17. *a'*   Vh: possibly related to the di-syllabic *a'=sa'* 'be appropriate'
           Vv: 'be proper'; used in elevated, literary styles

(217) *hsaya=to   kou di lou   ma-hyau'   a'   hpu:*
     presiding.monk OBJ this manner NEG-inform *appropriate* NEG
     'It is not proper to inform the presiding monk in this manner.'

18. *htai'*   Vh: 'be worthy of'
              Vv: 'be worthy of/appropriate'

(218) *thu kou di   hsu pei: htai'   te*
     he OBJ this prize give *appropriate* RLS
     'It is appropriate to give him this award.'

19. *thin.*   Vh: 'be appropriate'
              Vv: 'advisable to/should'

(219) *ein   pyan thin.   pi*
     house return *advisable* PUNC
     'We should go home now.'

20. *kaun:*   Vh: 'be good'
              Vv: 'good to Vh, enjoyable to'

(220) *thu hce' la   te.   hin: to=to sa: kaun: te*
     he cook *come* R/REL curry quite eat *good* RLS
     'It was quite good to eat the curry that you cooked and brought.'

21. *lau'*   Vh: 'to be enough'
             Vv: 'enough to Vh.

(221) *hta-min: hta'   ma -hce'   ne.* \\ *hyi. hta   sa: lau'   te*
     rice   repeat NEG-cook IMP   be   NOM eat *enough* RLS
     'Don't cook more rice. What's there is enough to eat.'

22. *lwe*   Vh: 'to be easy'
            Vv: 'be easy to Vh'

(222) *yi:=sa: hpyi'   lwe yin pye'   lwe te*
     sweetheart happen   *easy* if destroy *easy* RLS
     'If it's easy to become sweethearts, it's easy to break up.'

23. *hke:*   Vh: Possibly related to the bound morpheme *hke:* in the di-syllabic verb

hke:=yin: 'be difficult';

           Vv: 'to Vh rarely'

(223)   *a-hpwa: ka. myei: twei kou hsu hke: te*
grandma SUB grandchild PLU OBJ scold rarely RLS
'Grandma rarely scolds the grandchildren.'

24. *pyan*   Vh: 'return'
           Vv: 'to repeat Vh, Vh again'.

(224)   *thu yei=hcou: pyan pi*
3P   bathe   again PUNC
'He bathes again.'

Order and scope relations. Frequency adverbs like *pyan* , as well as *hke:*, follow aspectuals and modals.

(225)   *ma-hsoun hcin hpe: ne. hsoun ya pyan pi*
NEG-meet want only with meet *get again* PUNC
'I again got to meet him without wanting to.'

25. *lu.*   Vh: no synchronically relatable lexical verb
         Vv: 'imminent, about to, almost'

(226)   *di a-hcein hsou thu pyan yau' lu. pi*
this time   say   he   return arrive imminent PUNC
'He's just about to get back at this moment.'

26. *hnin.*   Vh: no synchronically relatable lexical verb
         Vv: 'already/in advance'

(227)   *ca-no thwa: hnin. me*
I   go   *in.advance* IRR
'I will go in advance.'

27. *lun:*   Vh: possibly related to *lun* 'to go past/exceed'
         Vv: 'to excessively Vh'

(228)   *a-hpei ka. hkalei: twei kou yai' lun: te*
father SUB child   PLU OBJ beat *exceed* RLS
'Father beats the children excessively.'

In general, adverbs of degree/intensity follow aspectuals and modals.

(229) *pyi=thu=lu=htu. kou hpi.=hnei' hta: lun: te*
 citizens   OBJ oppress   *keep exceed* RLS
 'They oppress the people excessively.'

28. *hla.*   Vh: 'be pretty'
            Vv: 'repeatedly, much, greatly'

(230) *hsaya   ka.   thati.=pei: hla   pi*
 teacher SUB remind   greatly PUNC
 'The teacher has reminded him greatly/repeatedly.'

29. *pyi'*   Vh: 'to throw'
            Vv: 'impetuously, callously'

(231) *sei'-tou yin   ein   ka.   caun lei: twei kou kan pyi.   hta   hpe:*
 angry when house from cat   small PLU OBJ kick *impet* NOM   EMPH
 'When he loses his temper, he impetuously/callously kicks the little cats in the house.'

30. *hte.*   Vh: 'to put into'
            Vv: 'impetuously, quickly' (same as above)

31. *hca.*   Vh: 'to hit, to drop'
            Vv: 'to let go and Vh, to Vh at last after restraining oneself' (JO: 261)

(232) *pyo:-saya hyi. hta   pyo: hca. lai'   te*
 say-NOM be   NOM say   *drop away* RLS
 'I let go and said what needed to be said.'

32. *mi.*   Vh: 'to apprehend/catch'
            Vv: 'inadvertently'

(233) *pu lun: a:=ci: lou. hlu'   hca. mi.   te*
 hot exceed strong as   release drop *inadvertent* RLS
 'I inadvertently dropped (it) as it was exceedingly hot.'

33. *ye'*   Vh: possibly related to the di-syllabic compound verb *ye'=se'* 'to be cruel'
            VV: 'heartlessly'.

(234) *min: ka.   nga. hsi   ka.   hkou: ye'   te*
 you SUB 1P.G place from steal *heartless* RLS
 'You were heartless enough to steal from me.'

34. *ye:/wun.*   Vh: 'be valiant, courageous' seen in *ye:=wun.* having the same meaning
            Vv: 'brave enough to Vh'

(235) *thu. kou di a-caun: ma-pyo: wun./ye: hpu:*
      3P   OBJ this matter NEG-tell   *brave*   NEG
      '(I'm) not brave enough to tell her this matter.'

35. *a:*   Vh: 'be free, be at leisure'
            Vv: 'be free to, be at leisure to Vh'

(236) *mye' twei ma-hyin: a: thei: hpu:*
      grass PLU NEG-clear *free yet*   NEG
      'I am not yet free to clear the grass.'

36. *pei:*   Vh: 'give'
            Vv: 'do Vh for someone'

(237) *thu. kou ein   pyan pou. pei: te*
      she OBJ house return send *give* RLS
      'I took her back home (for her benefit).'

37. *pya.*   Vh: 'show'
            Vv: 'demonstrate Vh'

(238) *za'=lai'   min:=tha=mi: ka. tayou' tha-hcin: hsou pya. te*
      theater.follow princess   SUB Chinese song   sing *show* RLS
      'The actress performed a Chinese song.'

38. *sei*   Vh: 'to send on an errand' (archaic); occurs in *a-sei=hkan* 'servant'
                                                     (person sent on errand)
            Vv: 'cause Vh'

(239) *hpou:=tou' kou   ein   pyan sei   te*
      name   OBJ house return *cause* RLS
      'I made PhoToke go home.'

39. *hkain:*   Vh: 'order someone to do something'
            Vv: 'order someone to Vh'

(240) hpou:=tou' kou ein   pyan hkain: te
      name   OBJ house return order RLS
      'I ordered PhoToke to go home.'

40. *hya* Vh: no synchronically relatable lexical verb
Vv: 'to commiserate'

(241) *a-hpou:* c*i:* *to.* *mo:* *lun:* *lou. le: thwa: hya* *pi*
grandpa old CONT tired exceed as fall *go* *commiserate* PUNC
'*The poor* old man has fallen down because he is so tired.'

41. *ca.* Vh: no synchronically relatable lexical verb
Vv: occurs optionally to mark plurality

ca. occurs in variable position within the class of post-head versatile auxiliaries, following manner adverbials and aspectuals in general, but preceding the modal *ya.* 'get', the frequency adverbials *hke:* 'rarely' and *pyan* 'again' and the degree adverbials *lun:* 'extremely' and *hla.* 'pretty much'.

42. *san:* Vh: questionably related to the lexical *san:* 'touch/grope'
Vv: urgent/ (occurs only in imperatives)

Conclusion Versatile auxiliary verbs vary from those having only a grammatical function to those whose use range along a continuum from relatively lexical to relatively abstract. In a post-head multi-versatile concatenation, the more abstract and grammaticalized versatile verb occurs to the right of the more lexical and less grammaticalized versatile verb.

The meaning and grammatical function of a versatile auxiliary is determined not only by the type of main verb which it follows and modifies, but also by its order relative to other versatile verbs in a multi-versatile concatenation. The semantics of the main verb may either block or allow the versatile auxiliary to retain its lexical sense. Deictic versatile auxiliaries, as a group, are good examples of this type of semantic interaction. Depending on the type of head verb, deictic versatile auxiliaries like *la* 'come' or *thwa:* 'go', vary in their auxiliary use,

from retaining a relatively concrete sense of spatial dislocation to that of more abstract

aspectual auxiliaries. Additionally, such versatiles also evince variation in auxiliary function

depending on their order relative to other versatile verbs in a multi-versatile concatenation.

CHAPTER IX

CLAUSE STRUCTURE

In Burmese, the core arguments of the clause occur optionally in surface syntactic structure. Core arguments are usually omitted when their referents can be recovered from context. The presence of core arguments in surface syntactic structure may be accounted for in terms of ambiguity resolution when the linguistic or discourse context, or the system of logical entailments of the verb fail to indicate the correct referent(s). The classification of clause types is based on the semantic classification of verb types. The classification of a verb makes reference to the number and usually the type of participants involved in the state, process or action it describes.

Intransitive Clauses

Semantic types described by intransitive verbs are (a) mental state/trait and emotion, (b) physical sensation/corporeal, (c) physical state/property, (d) motion and rest, (e) location, (f) existence.

Mental State and Emotion

These verbs have a single participant, an animate, usually human subject; e.g., *pyo* 'happy', *ngo* 'cry', *yi* 'cry', *pyin:* 'lazy/bored'. Mental verbs such as *wun:=tha* 'happy' (belly

pleasant), *wun:=ne:* 'sad' (belly inadequate), *sei'=hsou:* 'angry' (mind bad), *sei'=tou* 'short-tempered' (mind short), *sei'=hyei* 'patient' (mind long), *sei'=pye* 'despondent' (mind broken), *sei'=hyou* 'confused' (mind muddled), *sei'=pu* 'be worried' (mind hot), *sei'=na* 'hurt' (mind hurt) derive from a body-part subject fusing with its predicate.

(1)　*nga wun:=tha te*
　　　1P glad　　　RLS
　　　'I am glad.'

Physical Sensation/Corporeal

Verbs such as　*na* 'hurt', *kai'* 'ache' (e.g. head, tooth, ear), *ya:* 'itch', *aun.* 'ache/hurt' (e.g. stomach), *taun./tin:* 'stiff' (e.g. limbs, muscles), *nyaun:* 'sore/tired' (e.g. limbs) take an animate body part or the whole body as subject. A specific body part tends to occur with a specific verb, fusing with the verb in the process; e.g., 'teeth', with 'aching' or 'hurting'. The sentences below are analogous to double-subject sentences in Mandarin Chinese:

(2)　*nga gaun: to=to kai' te*
　　　1P　head　quite　ache RLS
　　　'I have quite a headache.'

(3)　*thu le' nyaun: lou.　poun: ci: kou hca.　hke. te*
　　　3P hand tired　because box　big OBJ put-down *distal* RLS
　　　'(He) put down the big box because his hands were tired.'

Li and Thompson's (1981:93) definition of topic-comment sentences in Mandarin Chinese is applicable to (2 & 3) because of the part-whole semantic relationship between the animate entity and the body part. Li and Thompson observe that "the topic is the whole of which the subject is the part."

Physical States/Properties

Intransitive verbs in Burmese distinguish physical states and properties between permanent and temporary. This division is reflected in the type of auxiliaries that cooccur with each. A verb that describes a property or a quality that is construed as relatively permanent or intrinsic does not take the progressive/stative versatile auxiliary *nei* 'stay' to describe an intrinsic/permanent property. Verbs describing physical dimension, shape, color, weight, texture etc. belong to this type, e.g. *hyei* 'long', *tou* 'short', *htu* 'thick', *pa:* 'thin', *pein* 'slender', *cin:* 'narrow', *ce* 'wide', *wain:* 'circular', *loun:* 'spherical', *hcun* 'pointed', *ni* 'red', *wa* 'yellow', *lei:* 'heavy', *po.* 'light', *can:* 'rough', *hco:* 'smooth' etc.

(4) *di   lan: cin: te*
     this street narrow RLS
     'This street is narrow.'

(5) *hpin=htain=hkoun a-thi' ka.   myin. te*
     bottom=sit=bench   new   SUB high RLS
     'The new stool is high for him.'

However, *nei* may occur to indicate a temporary or provisional perspective when used with a verb which usually describes an intrinsic quality (see following section on transitive/intransitive verb pairs).

(6) *hpin=htain=hkoun a-thi' ka.   thu.   a-twe' myin. nei te*   (cf. 5)
     bottom=sit=bench   new   SUB 3P.G for   high *stay* RLS
     'The new stool is high for him.'

The presence of *nei* in (6) indicates that the new stool is high for the person in question; it does not imply that the stool is typically characterized as high.

Verbs describing temperature, taste, smell, auditory, visual and tactile properties etc. also do not take the auxiliary *nei*; e.g. *pu* 'hot', *ei:* 'cold', *hka:* 'bitter', *hcou* 'sweet', *hcin* 'sour',

sa' 'spicy hot', *hmwei:* 'fragrant', *nan* 'putrid/foul/bad smell', *ce* 'loud', *tou:* 'quiet', *tha* 'pleasant (cf. sound)', *ma* 'hard', *pyo.* 'soft', etc.

(7) *ka-la: hin: ḵa. sa'   te*
     Indian curry SUB spicy-hot RLS
     'The Indian curry is spicy hot.'

Verbs that describe processes resulting in states take the auxiliary *nei* to describe the state, and usually take the auxiliary *thwa:* 'go' to describe the process; e.g. *cou:* 'break/be broken' (hands, sticks), *kwe:* 'break/be broken (glass, porcelain, china).

(8) *thu le'   cou: thwa: ṯe*
     he hand break *go*   RLS
     'His hand broke.'

(9) *thu le'   cou: nei te*
     he hand break *stay* RLS
     'His hand is broken.'

Motion and Rest

Verbs of motion and rest imply a locus, relative to which motion or rest is described. Two types may be distinguished. In the first verb-type, locus is not an intrinsic part of the verb- meaning, the salient information being the manner of motion. A locus may optionally occur, marked by the allative *kou*, the ablative *ka.* or the locative *hma.* In the second verb-type, locus is intrinsic to the verb-meaning. Directional motion verbs sub-categorizing for a definite locus belong to this type.

Motion/Rest Verbs without Intrinsic Locus

<u>Verbs describing manner of motion</u>   These verbs take only one participant,

the entity in motion. Locus is not intrinsic to the meaning of these verbs. As the salient

information described by such predicates is the manner of motion, locus only occurs

optionally; e.g. *pyei:* 'run', *hyau'* 'walk', *hkoun* 'jump', *ka.* 'dance', *le* 'rotate', *lein.* 'roll', *ku:*

'swim'. *ywei.* 'move', *hlou'* 'rock', *ku:* 'swim', *pyan* 'fly', *myo:* 'carried by current', *hso.*

'play'.

(10)   *maun hla.   pyei: nei te*
          HON name run   *stay* RLS
          'Maung Hla is running.'

(11)   *hcan   hte: hma tin tin hkoun nei te*
          garden in   LOC name jump   *stay* RLS
          'Tin Tin is jumping in the garden.'

(12)   *thida ei'=hkan   hte: hma ka.   nei te*
          name sleep=room in   LOC dance *stay* RLS
          'Thida is dancing in the bedroom.'

(13)   *min: ka.   taun   be' kou pyei:*
          2P   SUB south side to   run
          'You run to the south.'

<u>Verbs describing stance of resting</u>   *htain* 'sit', *hta.* 'stand (up)', *ya'* 'stand

(come to a standstill) ', *hle:* 'lie down' describe stance of resting with an optional locus

marked with the locative *hma*.

(14)   *hpei=hpei hle: nei te* \\   *zaga: tou:=tou: pyo*:
          father   lie *stay* RLS speech quietly   speak
          'Father is lying down (resting). Talk quietly.'

le: 'fall/lie' may describe involuntary movement or a stance of resting:

(15) *thu yei-hke: po hma le: nei te*
3P   ice   on LOC lie *stay* RLS
'She is lying on the ice (after falling down).'

(16) *hpyei:=hpyei: hyau'* \\ *le: lein.   me*
slowly   walk   fall AUX IRR
'Walk slowly. (You) might fall.'

Motion/Rest Verbs with Intrinsic Locus

Motion relative to a definite locus   These verbs sub-categorize for a definite

kou/ka.-marked locus. When locus is common knowledge or can be recovered from

context, it is usually omitted. E.g., *hsai'* 'arrive', *yau'* 'reach' describe trajectories which

focus on the terminal point, the default locus. They may consequently be classified as

sub-categorizing for a terminal locus. In (17 & 18), locus is common knowledge:

(17) *be   a-hcein ya-hta: hsai' ma-le:*
WH time   train   arrive IRR-Q
'What time will the train arrive?' (at the station)

(18) *e.=the twei yau' pi*
guest PLU reach PUNC
'The guests have arrived.' (at the he house)

When locus is mentioned, *kou* may optionally occur:

(19) *buda   ci: (kou) be a-hcein pyei   ya-hta: hsai' ma-le:*
station big   WH time   Prome train   arrive IRR-Q
'When will the Prome train arrive at the main station?'

(20) *yan-koun (kou)   yau' pi*
Rangoon   reach PUNC
'We have reached Rangoon.'

The verbs *win* 'enter', *hpya'* 'cross', *co* 'pass/step over' also have a terminal point intrinsic

to their meaning; moreover, the trajectory source may also be optionally mentioned.

(21) *thu tou. win pi*
3P PLU enter PUNC
'They have entered.' (When locus is common knowledge)

(22) *thu tou. gu hte: (kou) win thwa: pi*
3P PLU cave in   enter *go*   PUNC
'They have entered the cave.'

(23) *lan: ma. ci: (kou) hpya' te.   a-hka thei=thei=hca=hca ci.   hpya'*
road main big   cross REL time   carefully   look cross
'When you cross the main road, look carefully and cross.'

(24) *hmaun nei lou.   min: ein (kou) co pi: hma.*
dark   *stay* because your house   pass NF only

      pyan kwei. la   ya.   te
      return turn come *get*   RLS

'As it was dark, I had to turn and come back only after I went past your house.'

With source is mentioned, the predicate describes the full trajectory even when the terminal point is not explicitly mentioned:

(25) *di   hpe' ka. win*
this side from enter
'Enter from this side.'

(26) *lan: ma. ci: kou mi:=pwain. ka.   hpya'*
road main big OBJ light=point from cross
'Cross the main street from the traffic-light.'

The verbs *pyan* 'return', *thwa:* 'go', *la* 'come', *htwe'* 'exit/leave' have locative goal as the default locus, which is optionally marked with *kou*. But source is obligatorily marked with *ka.*, to override the default terminal locus. In (27), locus is common knowledge:

(27) *pyan lai'   pa   oun: me*
return *away* POL AUX IRR
'I'm leaving (going home).' (i.e. 'Good-bye.')

When destination is mentioned, *kou* occurs optionally:

(28) *pa-thein (kou) nau' la.   pyan   me*
Bassein   next month return IRR
'I'm returning to Bassein next month.'

(29) *tha-htoun (kou) nau' la.   thwa: me*
Thaton   next month go   IRR
'I'll go to Thaton next month.'

(30) *thu. ein (kou) ma-ne'=hpan e'=the twei a-mya:=ci: la   me   te.*
3P.G house   tomorrow   guest PLU plenty   come IRR QUOT
'(He said) a lot of guests will come to his house tomorrow.'

(31) *ja-pan (kou) htwe' pi: lu   su.   te*
Japan   exit   NF people gather RLS
'(He) went to Japan to gather people.'

(32) *ein   a-pyin (kou) htwe' lai'   oun: me*
house outside   exit   *away* ASP IRR
'I'm going outside the house.'

When source is mentioned, *ka.* occurs obligatorily to override the default goal meaning:

(33) *molamyain ka. pyan yin ba we la   pei: ma-le:*
Moulmein ABL return when WH buy *come give* IRR-Q
'What will you buy for me when you return from Moulmein?'

(34) *kalo: ka. thwa: yin lei: main lau. wei: te*
Kalaw ABL go   if four mile about be-distant RLS
'(It's) about four miles away if you go from Kalaw.'

(35) *do   loun: zei: ka. la   hta*
HON name market ABL come NOM
'Aunty Loun came from the market.'

(36) *mi.=tha:=su. bankau' ka. htwe' pi: pinan thwa: ya. te*
family   Bangkok ABL exit   NF Penang go   *get* RLS
'The family had to go to Penang after they left Bangkok.'

(37) *di a-pau' hte: ka. yei   htwe' te*
this hole   inside ABL water exit   RLS
'Water comes out of this hole.'

te' 'ascend' and *hsin:* 'descend' also have the trajectory-end as the default,

unmarked locus, marked optionally with *kou*. The intrinsic terminal point of *te'* is an

elevation higher than its trajectory-source; the intrinsic terminal point of *hsin:* is an

elevation lower than its trajectory-source.

(38) *eiwaya' taun (kou) te'   pi: ba taun   te'   saya can   thei: le:*
Everest mountain   climb NF WH mountain climb NOM remain *still* Q
'After climbing Mt. Everest, what mountain still remains to be climbed?'

(39) *hkoun po (kou) te'   pi: yu te*
bench on   climb NF take RLS
'(I) climbed on to the bench and took (it).'

(40) *au' (kou) hsin: lai' oun: me*
below   ascend *away* ASP IRR
'I will go downstairs. / I'm going down (below).'

(41) *hcan hte: (kou) hsin: lai'   oun: me*
garden in   ascend *away* ASP IRR
'(I) will go down into the garden.'

When trajectory-source occurs with *te'* and *hsin:*, it needs to be explicitly marked with the

ablative *ka.* as it is not intrinsic to the meaning of the verb. Goal, however, is always

implicit.

(42) *hkoun po ka.   te'   pi: yu te*
bench on ABL climb NF take RLS
'(I) climbed (up) from the bench and took (it).'

(43) *thi'=pin po ka.   hsin:*
tree   on ABL ascend
'Climb (down) from the tree.'

The verb *lu'* 'be free/released' sub-categorizes for source which is obligatorily marked

with *ka.*:

(44) *thu htaun ka. lu' pi: te.   nau' hpoun:=ci: wu' lai' te*
3P prison ABL free finish REL *back* monk   wear *away* RLS
'He became a monk after he was (set) free from prison.'

Location Verbs: *nei* vs. *hyi.*

The verb *nei* 'reside/stay' subcategorizes for a definite locus of rest.

(45) *man:dalei: hma nei   te*
Mandalay   LOC reside RLS
'(I) live in Mandalay.'

(46) *nei pu lou.   te: hte: hma nei me*
sun hot because hut inside LOC stay IRR
'(I) will stay inside the hut because it is hot.'

(47) *ein   hte: hma be: nei te*
house in   LOC only stay RLS
'(She) stays in the house only.'

Locus may be omitted when it can be recovered from context:

(48) *thu nei hke.   te*
3P   stay distal RLS
'He stayed behind.'

When *nei* describes a mode of being or living, it does not subcategorize for locus:

(49) *thati. ne. nei*
mind with live
'Live mindfully.'

(50) *pyo=pyo nei thei hke:*   (a proverb)
happily   live die hardly
'Live happily (and) never die.'

The verb *hyi.* 'to be located/to be present' also has a definite locus intrinsic to its

meaning. When locus is common knowledge or can be recovered from context, it is not

mentioned. In (51), *hyi.* means to be present or to exist:

(51) *mya.mya. hyi. la:*
name   be Q
'Is Mya Mya present/in?'

(52) *mya.mya. hyi. te*
name   be RLS
'Mya Mya is present/in.'

(53) *hou:=hyei:=hyei: toun: ka.   naga: ci: ta-kaun hyi. te*
long long   *time past* dragon bigone-CLF be RLS
'Long long ago, there was a big dragon.'

When *hyi.* describes location:

(54) *hyei. ta-main hma ba   hyi. le:*
front one-mile LOC WH be   Q
'What lies a mile ahead?'

(55) *hyei. ta-main hma hpa-ya: hyi. te*
front one-mile LOC pagoda be RLS
'A pagoda lies a mile ahead.'

When *hyi.* tells time, the implicit locus is the present moment. The punctative *pi*, which

indicates a point of realization, is used to locate or count the number of hours passed

relative to the present.

(56) *be   hna-nayi hyi. pi   le:*
how many-hour be PUNC Q
'How many hours is (it) now?'/'What's the time?'

(57) *lei: nayi hyi. pi*
four hour be PUNC
'It's 4 o' clock now.' (As of now, there are 4 hours.)

When *hyi.* describes possession:

(58) *ein   a-thi' hma ei'=hkan: nga: hkan: hyi. te*
house new LOC bedroom five CLF be RLS
'There are five bedrooms in the new house.'

(59) *thu. hma pai'hsan a-mya:=ci: hyi. te*
3P LOC money plenty   be RLS
'He has a lot of money.'

(60) *nga: ca' hyi. la:*
      five Kyat be Q
      'Do you have five kyats?'

The Copula *hpyi'*

In a simple copula sentence, *hpyi'* links the subject to a non-referential NP which

identifies or describes it.

(61) *thu.=hka. ka. na-me=co dayai'ta hpyi' te*
      name   SUB famous   director be RLS
      'Thuka is a famous director.'

The copula *hpyi'* is frequently omitted and cannot be negated.

(62) *thu.=hka. ka. na-me=co dayai'ta*
      name   SUB famous   director
      'id.'

      thu.=hka. ka. na-me=co dayai'ta ma-hpyi' hpu:
   * 'Thuka is not a famous director.'

But *hpyi'* is directly negatable when it means 'to be possible' as in:

(63) *da to. ma-hpyi'*   *hpu:*
      this CON NEG-possible NEG
      'This is not possible.'

To negate (61), the verb *hou'* 'be true/be the case' is used:

(64) *thu.=hka. ka. na-me=co dayai'ta ma-hou' hpu:*
      name   SUB famous   director NEG-true NEG
      'Thuka is not a famous director.'

When modal auxiliaries like *nain* 'can', *hcin* 'want' or an aspectual auxiliary like *thwa:*

occur, *hpyi'* is no longer semantically empty. The presence of the auxiliaries adds semantic

weight, so to speak, with *hpyi'* taking on the meaning of 'become'. Additionally,

hpyi' can be negated, i.e. the modal assertion with *hpyi'* can be negated.

(65) *thu tha-ma-ta. hpyi' nain te*
      she President be   can RLS
      'She can become President.'

      thu tha-ma-ta. ma-hpyi' nain hpu:
      'She cannot become President.'

(66) *thu wun-ci: hpyi' thwa: te*
      she Minister be   go   RLS
      'She became a Minister.'

      thu wun-ci: hpyi' ma-thwa: hpu:
      'She didn't become Minister.'

An irrealis statement with *hpyi'*, meaning 'become', may also be negated, in contrast to a

realis statement which may not be negated (cf. 62).

(67) *naun ba-wa. hma khwei: hpyi' me*
      next life   LOC dog be   IRR
      '(You) will be a dog in your next life.'

      naun ba-wa. hma khwei: ma-hpyi' hpu:
      '(You) will not be a dog in your next life.'

Additionally, *hpyi'* meaning 'happen/occur', takes abstract nouns to describe states/

state of affairs. Such nouns tend to become semantically fused with *hpyi'*, which allows

them to take an additional subject(s).

(68) *si' hpyi' te*
      war happen RLS
      'War broke out.'

(69) *i-ya' ne. ameiyi.kan si' hpyi' te*
      Iraq and America war happen RLS
      'War broke out between Iraq and America.'

(70) *thu tou. yan   hpyi' te*
      3P PLU enmity happen RLS
      'They quarreled.'

Transitive Clauses

The classification of transitive clauses is based on the idea that the syntactic properties of verb classes reflect their semantic structure. This idea is implicit in the earliest work of Fillmore (1968) on Case Grammar, Gruber (1965) and Anderson (1971) (in Delancey:1985, 1991a). The semantic structure of the verb is grounded in the semantic properties of its arguments, which are most frequently identified in terms such as Agent, Patient/Theme and Manip[1]. Any attempt to characterize such semantic properties must take into account DeLancey's (1991) observation that "concepts like Agent or transitive clause have the same sort of complex and sometimes fuzzy structure as other conceptual categories". One approach to defining agentivity may be seen in Lakoff (1977), who "presented a prototype analysis of the categories of transitivity and agentivity" (in DeLancey 1984).

A quick review of the literature reveals general agreement on the use of the terms Agent and Patient,[2] although the details may differ in their criterial descriptions. The criterial description of an Agent has two aspects to it: one describes what it is and the other describes what it does or does not do. The first aspect is typically associated with notions of animacy

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[1] The term Manip, following Dixon (1991), is useful as a cover term for instruments as well as body parts.

[2] Agent and Patient are 'deep' case roles in Case Grammar and theta roles in GB; Patient is often conflated with Theme (see Trask 1993). An example of these terms used in a functional approach can be found in Givon (1984).

and volitionality;[3] the second is usually described in terms of the Agent being the initiator

or ultimate cause of the transitive event. Deviations from the prototype allow inanimates to

be construed as Agent when they are seen as the ultimate cause of a transitive event (See

DeLancey 1984, Schlesinger 1989).

The prototypical concrete Patient, on the other hand, is typically seen to be physically

affected by the transitive event, and is usually described as undergoing a change in state or

location.[4] For the purpose of this classification, the term Patient is used, in its non-

controversial and general sense, to indicate a typically concrete NP that is physically affected

in some manner. That is to say, the term 'Patient' is appropriate at a level of analysis which

does not make reference to abstract or metaphorical changes of state or location. The term

'Theme',[5] on the other hand, is more appropriate when the NP is seen as undergo a more

metaphorical change in state or location.

The analysis of the argument structure of some verb types makes reference to

DeLancey's (date?) hypothesis that core arguments of the verb are assigned by a construal-

based understanding of the event schema as represented in the predicate. For example, the

verb 'kill' subcategorizes for an Agent and Patient only, although we know that in some sense

an instrument may be involved. However, the means by which the transitive act takes place

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[3] See DeLancey (1984) for a discussion on the problem of defining agentivity, related
to "semantically discrete criterial properties".

[4] The localist hypothesis assumes that every clause describes a locative relation
between a Theme, (i.e. Patient) and a Location, either literally or metaphorically
(Anderson 1971, Diehl 1975, DeLancey 1991).

[5] Croft (1990:102) defines Patient as transitive direct object and Theme as ditransitive
direct object, i.e. the NP that undergoes a literal or metaphorical change in location.

is not central to the event schema represented by 'kill'. That is to say, 'kill' only aims to communicate 'who did what to whom' and in no way specifies 'with what' or 'how'. Core arguments consequently differ from optional arguments in that their referents are central to the event schema represented by the predicate.

Monotransitive Clauses

The prototypical argument structure of monotransitive clauses may be described as having an Agent that causes a Patient/Theme to be affected in some manner by the verb action. This idea is seen in DeLancey (1984:196), who states that "the simple transitive clause codes prototypical direct causation, in which a volitionally acting agent acts upon a patient to cause a change of state". Prototypical Agents are humans and higher animates that typically perform transitive acts. We have seen above that inanimates may also occur as subject when they are seen as an ultimate cause, such inanimate agency being a deviation from the prototype human/animate Agent. However, it should be noted that the analysis below will make reference not only to Agents, but also (human) Experiencers and Recipients as transitive clause subjects. This ascension to subjecthood may be explained by functional notions such as Givon's (1984:139) topic hierarchy of major semantic case roles in which "dative/ benefactive arguments become subject in the absence of an Agent".[6]

Our knowledge about the world tells us that axes, lawn-mowers and guns are instruments and may be seen as a mediating cause (see DeLancey 1984:207). Although

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[6] Anderson (1982, also 1977) also refers to a "hierarchy of semantic functions in relation to probability for subjecthood...a partial hierarchy being agent, experiencer, recipient..."

instruments, in general, are ineligible for subject position (ibid. 186-7), it will be seen that some verb types in Burmese allow putative instruments as subject. Consequently, the analysis of transitive verb types will refer whenever appropriate to the instrument type involved in the verb action. Some monotransitive verbs have, as part of their meaning, an instrument or body part. For example, a verb like 'kick' has a body part, 'leg', as part of its lexical meaning. There are also verbs in Burmese which have a default body part *typically associated with it* but not intrinsic to it . This default body part is implicit but may be explicitly overridden. For example, the Burmese verb *tou* 'touch' has the default meaning of 'touching with the tip of fingers' unless stated otherwise.

The following monotransitive verbs are provisionally listed according to Manip type.

(a) 'Kick' *kan* type verbs having a specific body part Manip as part of their lexical meaning.

(b) 'Touch' *tou* type verbs having a default body part Manip typically associated it; the default may be explicitly overridden.

(c) 'Cut' *hpya'* type verbs are general enough in meaning to allow a range of 'cutting' instruments; the implied Manip is usually recoverable from context.

(d) 'Kill' *tha'* type verbs do not have a Manip intrinsic to their meaning.

Affect Verbs[7]

In this type, the subject is typically a human Agent, although higher animates are also possible. The object may be either an animate or inanimate Patient, physically affected by the verb action in some manner. A Manip is quite often involved, which, depending on the

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[7] Following Dixon (1991:102).

verb, may be a body part or an instrument.

(a) <u>Touch</u>   The verbs *tou.* 'touch gently with tip of (finger)' and *san:* 'to find out by touching with (hand)' describe an event-type in which an Agent uses a default body part to make surface contact with a Patient. In (1), there is an implicit body part:

(1) *thu. gaun: kou san: lai' to.   a-hpu. ci: thwa: twei. te*
     3P.G head OBJ feel *away* when bump big *go*   see RLS
     'When (I) felt his head (with my hand), I found a big bump.'

An explicit body part is mentioned in (2):

(2) *thu. le' nyi'=pa' ne. nga. kou la   tou. te*
     3P.G hand dirty   with 1P OBJ *come* touch RLS
     '(He) touched me with his dirty hands.'

An explicit instrument occurs in (3):

(3) *hyin la: thei la: thi. ya. aun mwei kou*
     live Q die Q know *get* PUR snake OBJ

     tou' ne. tou. ci. lai'
     stick *with* touch *see away*

'Try touching the snake with the stick to find out if it is dead or alive.'

When the verbs *tou.* and *san:* are used literally, they do not normally allow a body part subject as a volitional human Agent is typically assigned to subject position, in which case they occur as Manip (cf.2).

*   *thu. le' nyi'-pa' ka.   nga. kou la   tou. te*
     3P.G hand dirty   SUB 1P.G OBJ *come* touch RLS

The surface contact verb, *hti.*, differs from *tou.* and *san:* along the dimension of volitionality, and in some uses, with the degree of force involved. *hti.* has two senses, a stative meaning of 'touch' and a more transitive meaning of 'hit'. Used in its more stative

sense, it allows a body part subject.

(4) *thu. hcei=htau' ka.   nga. gaun: kou hti. nei te*
    3P.G leg   SUB 1P.G head OBJ touch *stay* RLS
    'His leg is touching my head.'

Note the presence of the versatile auxiliary *nei* in (4) which contributes a stative reading.

The putative Patient of *hti.* may be marked not only with *kou* but also with the comitative

ne.:

(5) *thu. hcei-htau' ka. nga. gaun: ne.   hti. nei te*
    'His leg is touching with my head.'

A still more intransitive or reciprocal reading occurs when the predicate *hti. nei* takes a

conjoined plural subject. Note that *ne.* is analyzed as a conjunction below:

(6) *thu. hcei-htau' ne.   nga.   gaun: (ne.) hti.   nei te*
    3P.G leg   and 1P.G head   touch *stay* RLS
    'His leg and my head are touching.'

However, with the pre-verb *la* 'come', the predicate has a more transitive reading,

compared specifically to (4):

(7) *thu. hcei-htau' ka. nga. gaun: kou la   hti. te*
    3P.G eg   SUB 1P.G head OBJ *come* touch RLS
    'His leg (come) touched my head.'

When *thu. hcei-htau'* 'his leg' is marked as Manip with *ne.*, (8) has an implicit volitional

human Agent:

(8) *thu. hcei-htau' ne.   nga. gaun: kou la   hti. te*
    3P.G leg   with 1P.G head   OBJ *come* touch RLS
    '(He) touched my head with his foot.'

The examples above show that the transitivity of a predicate varies along a continuum,

supporting DeLancey's (1991a) observation that the notion of a transitive clause "has the

sort of complex and sometimes fuzzy structure as other conceptual categories." Used in its

more transitive sense, *hti.* takes inanimate subjects such as 'bullets, rocks, balls, etc.', which

are construed as ultimate causes, hence Agent and not instrument.

(9) *taun   po ka.   ca. la   te. cau'-toun: ka.   thu. ka: thwa: hti. te*
     mountain on   from fall come REL rock   SUB 3P.G car *go*   hit RLS
     'The rock falling from the mountain (went and) hit his car.'

(10) *ma-ci.   hpe: ne. pyi. lai' hta   thu. hti. thwa: te*
      NEG-look only with shoot *away* NOM 3P.O hit *go* RLS
      'Shooting without looking, it (bullet) hit him.'

The semantics of *hti.* spans a transitional semantic category between 'touch' and 'hit', both

being surface contact verb types.

(b) <u>Hit</u>   True 'hit' type surface-contact verbs differ from 'touch' types in the

degree of force involved, which is still another property associated with prototypical

transitive events in view of the fact that any physical act implies exertion of force. 'Hit' verbs

such as *yai'* 'hit/beat', *htou:* 'punch/box', *kan* 'kick', *hkau'* 'knock (on hard surface)' describe

actions involving a volitional Agent using a Manip to make forceful surface contact with a

Patient. With these verbs, the default Manip is usually a specific body part unless stated

otherwise:

(11) *hka-lei: kou ma-yai' pa   ne.*
      child   OBJ NEG-hit POL IMP
      'Please don't hit the child (with your hands).'

(12) *saya=ci: kou=tain than:htei: kou cein=loun: ne. yai' te*
      teacher-big himself   name   OBJ cane   with hit RLS
      'The Principal himself beat Than Htay with a cane.'

When used literally, 'hit' verbs do not allow a Manip subject, as they subcategorize for a

volitional Agent:

(13) *cein=loun: ka.   than:htei: kou yai' nain pa.   ma-la: (cf.12)
     cane   SUB name   OBJ hit can POL IRR-Q
     'Could the cane hit/beat Than Htay?'

Additional verbs that may be classified under 'hit' are *htaun:* 'pound', *htu.* 'hammer, pound', and *hsaun.* 'stamp' in that they take an Agent forcefully using a Manip on a Patient:

(14) *hcei hpa-naun. ne.   di neiya kou hsaun.*
      leg heel   with this place OBJ pound
      'Stamp here with the heel of your foot.'

(15) has an implied Manip:

(15) *nga-you'=thi: sein: kou nye'   aun htaun:*
      chili-pepper green OBJ be-pureed PUR pound
      'Pound the green chili peppers until they are pureed.'

   (c) <u>Sever</u>   Verbs such as *hli:* 'cut', *hkou'* 'chop', *hti'* 'cut off small pieces', *hpya'*

'cut off', *yei'* 'mow, shave', *hnya'* 'cut', and semantically related verbs like *htwin:* 'gouge (with chisel/ knife)' and **htou:** 'stab' typically involve non-body part instruments. The Manip may be explicit as in (16) below:

(16) *se'   ka'-ci: ne.   gaun: yei' pei: pa*
      machine scissors with head shave *give* POL
      'Please shave (my) head with the electric clippers.'

The Manip may be implicit as in (17):

(17) *ka: tai'   lou.   hcei=htau' hpya' lai'   ya. te*
      car smash because leg   cut   *away get* RLS
      '(His) leg had to be cut off because of a car accident.'

In (18), the predicate does not describe an actual event but rather a potential attribute of the putative instrument, allowing *hpya'* 'cut' to take an instrument as subject. Note the modal auxiliary *nain* 'ability':

(18) *mye'=yei'=se'*   *a-thi' ka.   mye' yain: <u>twei</u> <u>kou</u> hpya' nain <u>te</u>*
     grass=cut=machine new SUB grass wild PLU OBJ cut can RLS
     'The new lawn-mower can cut the wild grass.'

In (19), when the predicate depicts an actual event in the absence of *nain*, the 'lawn-mower' is incongruous as transitive subject. This is because it is typically seen as a mediating cause and not as Agent of a transitive event.

(19) **mye'=yei'=se' a-thi' ka.   mye' yain: <u>twei</u>   <u>kou</u> hpya' te*
     lawnmower   new SUB grass wild PLU OBJ cut   RLS

    (d) <u>Rub</u>   Verbs such as *pu'* 'rub/stroke', *thou'* 'brush or rub on/off', *hci'* 'scratch', *hle:* 'sweep', *hpi:* 'comb', *tai'* 'polish, rub, brush' also subcategorize for an Agent using a Manip to make repetitive surface contact with a Patient:

(20) *ci-htun: ka.   thu.   ya:=na <u>kou</u> le'   ne.   ta-hcein -loun: pu' nei <u>te</u>*
     name   SUB 3P.G rash   OBJ hand with one-time-whole rub *stay* RLS
     'Kyi Tun is rubbing his rash with (his) hand all the time.'

Additionally, *pu'*, *thou'* and *hci'* also allow a Manip to be coded as object. The promotion of the putative Manip to object,[8] together with the coding of the erstwhile Patient as a locative iconically reflects an event construal in which the Manip is seen to be the one affected by the verb action. In (21) and (22), it is the 'hand' or 'leg' coded as object which is seen to be more affected by the action:

(21) *thu. le'   kou nga. gaun: po pu' te*
     his hand OBJ 1P.G head   on rub RLS
     '(He) rubbed his hand on my head.'

(22) *hcei-htau' kou di   a-wu' po thou'*
     feet   OBJ this cloth on rub
     'Rub your feet on this cloth.'

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[8] I use the term 'promote' with reference to the topic hierarchy which governs access to objecthood; see Givon (1984:169).

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(e) <u>Cover</u>   Verbs such as *hpoun:* 'cover', *hcoun* 'wrap/cover usually with

blanket', *hlwa:* 'spread (blanket) over', *htou'* 'wrap to pack/bundle', *hsaun:* 'to put on

(hat/umbrella)', *mou:* 'roof, shield over', *ka* 'to put up (wall/fence)', *wu'* 'dress', *wain:*

'encircle', *(hcan-)hka'* 'to fence (yard/garden)', *pa'* 'put around', *yi'* 'wind' take an Agent

which uses a Manip to cover, protect or enfold a Patient. An interesting alternation occurs

when a 'cover' verb allows the thing used for covering, the putative Manip, to be marked with

kou, in which case the inanimate covered-object, the erstwhile Patient, is marked as a

locative.

The conventionalized use of *hpoun:,* 'cover' in some contexts allows the implied

Manip to be recovered.

(23) *ce'-tha: hin: ou: kou hpoun: lai'   pa*
      chicken curry pot OBJ cover   *away* POL
      'Please cover/put the lid on the pot of chicken curry.'

A verb like *hsaun:* 'put on', on the other hand, is typically associated with specific NP's like

'hats' and 'umbrellas'. NP's which typically associate with a specific verb tend to occur

immediately before it. Such conventionalized Manips are not marked with the comitative **ne.**

nor the object marker *kou.*

(24) *nga. gaun: kou mou: ma-sou aun hti: hsaun: pei: pa*
      my head OBJ rain NEG-wet PURP umbrella shield *give* POL
      'Please shield my head with the umbrella so (it) won't get wet.'

As morphosyntactic alternations may be accounted for by pragmatic intent or function,

hti: 'umbrella', when referentially specific, may occur in clause initial position and be

optionally marked with *ne.* to indicate contrastive focus or emphasis:

(25) hti: a-thi' (ne.)   thu.   gaun: kou mou: pei: pa
umbrella new   with 3P.G   head   OBJ roof   give POL
'With the new umbrella cover (shield over) her head .'

But hti:, when occurring clause initially, may also be marked with kou:

(26) hti: a-thi' kou thida. kou hsaun: pei: pa
umbrella new   OBJ name   OBJ cover   give POL
'(Use) the umbrella to cover Thida.'

In (26), marking the clause initial hti: with kou puts contrastive focus on it. When hti: is

not in cleft-focus position, kou- marking seems less acceptable.

(27) thida. kou hti: a-thi' (? kou) hsaun: pei: pa
'id.'

Exx. (25-7) consequently argue that the functional pressure bearing upon the Manip to

take on kou marking is the same pressure that makes it occur clause initially, namely, to

indicate contrastive focus or emphasis.

The verb wu' 'to dress/put on clothes' has the NP 'clothing' as part of its meaning:

(28) tha:=lei: kou baun:bi a-hyei (*ne.) wu' pei: te
son=DIM OBJ trouser   long   dress give RLS
'(I) put the long pants on little son.'

As items of clothing are not prototypical instruments to the extent that 'umbrellas' are,

they may not be marked with ne. . When 'trousers' are clause initial they may be

optionally coded with kou:

(29) baun:bi a-hyei kou tha:-lei: kou wu' pei: te
'id.'

With hcoun 'cover/wrap (with blanket)' too, clause initial position of the putative

Manip tends to occur with kou-marking:

(30) *gun: saun kou beibi=lei: kou hcoun hta: te*
cotton blanket OBJ baby-DIM OBJ cover *keep* RLS
'(With) the cotton blanket (I) covered the little baby.'

But when the putative Manip occurs immediately before the verb, *kou* marking is questionable:

(31) *beibi=lei: kou gun: saun (? kou) hcoun hta: te*
baby=DIM OBJ cotton blanket (OBJ) cover *keep* RLS
'id.'

On the other hand, when marked explicitly as Manip, *gun: saun ne.* may occur either in clause initial or medial position:

(32) *gun: saun ne. beibi-lei: kou hcoun hta: te*
'The baby is covered with the cotton blanket.'

beibi-lei: kou gun: saun ne. hcoun hta: te
'id.'

Ordinarily, when *hpoun:* marks 'the thing used for covering' as Manip, the thing-covered is marked as object:

(33) *motoka: kou tapolin ne. hpoun: hta: te*
motor-car OBJ tarpaulin with cover *keep* RLS
'The motor car has been covered with the tarpaulin.'

tapolin ne. motoka: kou hpoun: hta: te
'id.'

Up to this point in the classification, I have used the term Patient to indicate the NP seen to be physically affected in some manner by the transitive action. However, consider when the less than prototypical, putative Manip of *hpoun:* is marked with *kou*, which intuitively suggests that it is no longer construed as a Manip. Following DeLancey's (1991a) localist approach regarding argument structure, which states that the way in which an event is construed determines case-role assignment, 'tarpaulin' then is a Theme that undergoes a

change in location, such an analysis being supported by the syntactic coding of 'the car' as

a location:

(34) *tapolin kou motoka: po kou hpoun: hta: lai'*
tarpaulin OBJ motor-car on to cover *keep away*
'Cover the tarpaulin onto the car.' (the awkward translation aims to be faithful to
the Burmese original.)

(g) Shape

Verbs that change physical dimension or shape of an object are *hsan.* 'stretch',

hkwei 'coil', *hcou:* 'bend', *hkau'* 'fold (paper/cloth)', *lein* 'twist'. A body part is typically

intrinsic to the meaning of this verb-type:

(35) *sa=ywe' kou hkau' pa*
paper OBJ fold POL
'Please fold the paper.'

(36) *nainlun cou: a-thi' kou ma-nei. ka. hkwei hta: lai' te*
nylon rope new OBJ yesterday PAST coil *keep away* RLS
'(I) coiled the new nylon rope yesterday.'

Verbs like *hkwei, hkau'* and *lein* also function intransitively. But in their intransitive use,

these verbs require the progressive/stative auxiliary *nei*:

(37) *sa-ywe' twei ka. hkau' nei te*
paper PLU SUB fold *stay* RLS
'The papers are folded (not flat).'

(38) *cou: ka. lein nei te*
rope SUB twist *stay* RLS
'The rope is twisted (tangled).'

(39) *cau'=toun: au' hma mwei ta-kaun hkwei nei te*
rock under LOC snake one-CLF coil *stay* RLS
'A snake is (stays) coiled under the rock.'

(h) <u>Break</u>   Verbs such as *hcou:* 'break (stick, branch)', *hpye''* 'dismantle, destroy',

hpye: 'tear', *hkwe:* 'separate, break (glass)', *hpau^θ* 'open (box, can)' when used literally,

typically subcategorize for an Agent using a Manip upon a Patient. The Manip may be either

a body part or an instrument. A verb like *hpye''* 'destroy, dismantle, break' tells you something

about what happened to the Patient but nothing specifically about how it was effected, and

consequently, nothing about the Manip.

(40)   *thu kasa:-saya kou hpye' lai'   te*
        he   toy   OBJ break *away* RLS
        'He broke the toy.'

An instrument may occur as subject when the predicate describes an attribute and not an

event:

(41)   *hlwa. a-thi' ka.   di   thi'tha: kou hkwe: nain ma-la:*
        saw   new   SUB this wood OBJ separate can IRR-Q
        'Would the new saw be able to cut the wood.'

A less than prototypical instrument like 'liquor' may also occur as subject when it is seen

as ultimate cause:

(42)   *a-ye' ka.   lu   kou hpye'   te*
        liquor SUB man OBJ destroys RLS
        'Liquor destroys man.'

(i) <u>Build/create</u>   Verbs such as *hsau'* 'build', *hpou'* 'bake', *hce'* 'cook', *lou'* 'make'

create an object from some other material. As a rule, *kou*-marking does not occur on the

created object:

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[9] All these verbs have non-h intransitive counterparts (see following section on
transitive/intransitives).

(43) wa: hta-yan (*kou) lou' nei te
     bamboo wall   make stay RLS
     '(I) am making a bamboo fence.'

(44) min: ba (*kou) hce' nei tha-le:
     you WH   cook stay RLS-Q
     'What are you cooking/making?'

(45) we'=tha: hin: (*kou) hce' nei te
     pig.flesh curry   cook stay RLS
     '(I) am cooking pork curry.'

Created objects are not affected in the way prototypical Patients are. Created objects result from the verb-action; prototypical Patients, on the other hand, undergo the verb-action. This may account for why the created objects in exx. (43-45) do not take *kou* marking.

Consider ex. (44) again. The WH-word marked with *kou* becomes grammatical when it refers to the 'raw material' out of which 'the dish' is going to be made. The 'raw material' is a prototypical Patient in that it is acted upon and, consequently physically and visibly affected by the verb-action.

(46) min: ba kou hce' nei da   le: (cf. 44)
     you WH OBJ cook stay RLS/N Q
     'What (meat etc.) are you cooking?'

The answer allows the 'raw material' to be marked with *kou*:

(47) ma-nei. ka.   thei te. ce'   kou hce' nei hta
     yesterday PAST die REL chicken OBJ cook stay R/NOM
     '(I) am cooking the chicken that died yesterday.'

Wheatley (1982:73) classifies "verbs of shaping, forming and processing such as *lou'* 'make' and *hce'* 'cook' under 'complex-transitive' clauses", which he defines as "having an object and object complement." His examples are repeated below:

(48) *padein=hsaya hywei kou le'=kau' lou' te*
    goldsmith   gold OBJ bracelet make RLS
    'The goldsmith made a bracelet out of gold.'

(49) *hsa:=ngan=yei kou hsa: hce' nei te*
    saltwater   OBJ salt cook *stay* RLS
    '(They) are refining salt out of sea water.'

Wheatley's object is our 'raw material' which is routinely marked with *kou* and Wheatley's object complement is our created-thing, which tends to occur immediately before the verb position and which typically does not take *kou*. Things that are created tend to be incorporated into the verb. The Burmese translation equivalents of English words like 'sew', 'draw/paint' and 'cook' are 'compound verbs' that incorporate the created object. Incorporated objects in *inji hcou'* 'clothe sew', *pa-ji/poun hswe:* 'art/picture draw', *hta-min: hce'* 'rice cook' are non-referential. Of particular interest is the predicate *hta-min: hce'*, which is normally used not to indicate the cooking of 'rice' but of 'a meal' instead. The pattern of object incorporation seen with these verbs parallels that of 'umbrella' or 'cap' tending to occur immediately before the verb *hsaun:* 'to put on'. Holding an umbrella over one's head is a typical, hence conventionalized event. An object created by a verb is routinely associated with it, and when construed as being non-referential subsequently becomes incorporated into it. See the incorporated 'house' in ex. (50):

(50) *u: touni ein hsau' nei te*
    HON name house build *stay* RLS
    'Mr. Tony is building a house.'

A non-referential 'house' is incongruous in clause initial position:

(51) * *ein u: touni hsau' nei te*
    'id.'

But a referential, specific house is grammatical in clause initial position:

(52) *taun   po ka.   ein   kou u: touni hsau' nei hta*
mountain on from house OBJ HON name build *stay* NOM
'Mr. Tony is building the house on top of the mountain.'

'Raw material', on the other hand, is normally seen to be affected by the verb-action and predictably takes *kou*-marking. But the 'raw material' may also be marked with *ne.*, in which case it is construed as a means towards an end:

(53) *di   basmati hsan kou/ne.   dan-pau' hce' me*
this name   rice OBJ/with Biryani   cook IRR
'(I) will cook this Basmati rice (into) Biryani.'

Alternatively, 'With this Basmati rice (I) will cook Biryani' (an Indian rice dish).

The translations above intend to capture the original pragmatic intent, which is to emphasize or put contrastive focus on the Basmati rice. A related question is whether and how emphasis or contrastive focus may be put on the thing-created. Consider first the normal, unmarked expressions (54-55), where the created object predictably occurs immediately before the verb:

(54) *joun a-haun: kou paun=moun. hpou.*
flour old   OBJ bread   bake
'Bake the old flour into bread.'

(55) *joun a-haun: ne.   paun-moun. hpou.*
flour old   with bread   bake
'With the old flour bake bread.'

In order to put contrastive focus on the created object, the NP in question must be in clause initial position. The simultaneous marking of the 'raw material' with the instrumental *ne.* complements the focus on the created object. Note that in (56), 'bread' is not marked with *kou* as it is not a prototypical Patient:

(56) *paun=moun. joun a-haun: ne. hpou.*
'Bake bread with the old flour.'

Thus, the possibly only efficacious way to put contrastive focus on the 'bread' is for it to

occur in clause initial position and for the 'flour' to be marked with the instrumental *ne.*. This

exemplifies how grammatical devices available in a language are utilized to achieve the

intended pragmatic effect.

Object Location and Orientation

Transitive verbs which cause an object to change its location are *pyi"* 'throw', *hywei.*

'move', *hlein.* 'roll', *tun:* 'push', *hswe:* 'pull'. Verbs that change object orientation are *htaun*

'stand (upright)', *hle:* 'lay down', *hmyau'* 'raise', *hle.* 'rotate', *hlan* 'turn over', *kwei.* 'turn

(wheel/car)'. Other subtypes are verbs that only create movement in the object such as *hlou'*

'shake/rock', *hka* 'shake (off)'.

(57) *tin=maun ka.   than si=pain: ci: kou hlein. la   te*
     name   SUB metal barrel   big OBJ roll   *come* RLS
     'Tin Maung came rolling the metal barrel.'

(58) *min: di hke:=tan kou htaun nain tha-la:*
     you this pencil   OBJ stand can RLS-Q
     'Can you stand this pencil upright?'

A sub-type of location verbs such as *hta:* 'put, keep', *hcei'* 'hook (on)' and *hswe: hta:*

'suspend' place an object at a specific location. Wheatley (1982:69) gives them as exx. of

"mono-transitives with inner locative that require a locative to complete their meaning".

However, we shall see that these verbs differ in whether the location may be lexicalized, in

which case a locative argument is not necessary to complete the meaning of the verb.

(a) <u>Hook/hang</u>   The verb *hcei'* lexicalizes a location, the place to hook or hang

something, as part of its verbal meaning. In (59), a specific locus is not central to the

communicative purpose at hand:

(59)   *ou'=htou' kou hcei' hta: te*
        hat   OBJ hook *keep* RLS
        '(I) hooked the hat.'

Similarly, although *hlan:* 'hang/spread over to dry (clothes/food)' has intrinsic to its

meaning a place where clothes are hung to dry:

(60)   *ma-ne' ka.   hyo te. a-wu' twei hlan: hta: te*
        morning PAST wash REL clothe PLU hang *keep* RLS
        '(I) hung the clothes washed (this) morning.'

The predicate *hswe:=hta:* 'suspend', however, exemplify Wheatley's sense of "a mono-

transitive requiring a locative to complete its meaning". Put another way, *hswe:-hta:*

subcategorizes for specific locus:

(61)   *hnge' you' hkalei: kou a-mou: ka.   hswe:=hta: te*
        bird   toy small OBJ roof   From hang=keep RLS
        'A small toy bird is suspended from the roof.'

The locus may be omitted when it is recoverable:

(62)   *hnge' you' hkalei: hswe:=hta: te*
        bird   toy small   suspend   RLS
        'A small toy bird is suspended (from the roof).'

(b) <u>Put</u>   Verbs such as *hta:* 'put, keep', *tin* 'put onto higher place', *hca.* 'put

down', 'put in' also subcategorize for a locus:

(63)   *e:di hma hta: lai' te*
        there LOC put *away* RLS
        '(I) put (it) there.'

Like any other core argument, the locus may not occur in surface structure when it can be

recovered from context.

(64) *pyan hta: lai: te*
    '(I) put it back.'

(65) *za-bwe: po hma tin hta: te*
    table   on LOC put *keep* RLS
    '(I) put (it) on the table.'

(66) *tin hta: te*
    '(I) put it on (the table).'

DeLancey (1991a) states that "case roles are defined and assigned in terms of tightly-constrained event schemas". DeLancey defines three fundamental case roles of Agent, Theme and Location, and under his conception of a tightly-constrained event schema, the argument structure of a transitive verb is defined as an Agent causing a Theme to go to a Location. DeLancey makes an important distinction between the 'scenario' which the verb describes and the possibly different construals of it, and that "of the many possible construals only one of these at a time can be encoded in a clause."

Verbs like *tin* 'put onto' and *hte.* 'put in' are seen to support DeLancey's hypothesis in that under one event construal the Theme is assigned to the entity which changes Location but that under a different event construal it is assigned to the entity that undergoes a change in state.[10] In Burmese, object position is associated with *kou*-marking and its alternation seen with *tin* and *hte.* offers evidence in support of DeLancey's perspective on the relation holding between event construal and case role assignment.

Consider first the verb *tin* 'put onto'. In (67), the semantic role of Theme is assigned

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[10] In the vast literature (e.g., Diehl 1975, Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Langacker 1986) on localist case theory and the study of lexical metaphor, physical states as well as temporal locations are Locations (in DeLancey 1991a).

to *mye'*, which is construed as undergoing a change in location. It consequently takes object

position with *hle:* explicitly marked as Location:

(67) *mye'   kou   hle: po tin te*
     grass OBJ cart on put RLS
     '(I) put the grass on the cart.'

However, in (68a), the Theme is assigned to the entity which undergoes a change in state.

Hence *hle:*, which changes in state from being empty to being 'fully loaded'[11] with grass,

is Theme and consequently takes object position:

(68a) *hle: kou   mye' a-pyei.   tin   te*
      cart OBJ grass NOM-full put.on RLS
      '(They) fully loaded the cart with grass.'

Additional evidence is seen by the marking of *mye.* with the instrumental *ne.*:

(68b) *hle: kou   mye' ne.   a-pyei.   tin   te*
      cart OBJ grass with NOM-full put.on RLS
      '(They) fully loaded the cart with grass.'

Without the adverb *a-pyei.* 'fully', *mye'* cannot be marked with the instrumental *ne:*. That is

to say, the explicit marking of *mye'* as *an instrument of change* requires the adverb   *a-pyei*

'fully' to explicitly describe the change in state. Simply put, *a-pyei. tin* 'to fully put onto' is

analogous to the English 'load' but not *tin* 'put on' on its own:

(68c) **hle: kou mye' ne.   tin   te*
      cart OBJ grass with put.on RLS
      '(They) put on the cart with grass.'

Additionally, the predicate *a-pyei. tin* 'to fully put onto' also allows *hle:* to be marked as

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[11] Burmese does not have a verb that is the translational equivalent of 'load'.
Exx. (67-70) parallel the traditional hay/wagon examples described in DeLancey, (1991).
He loaded the hay on the wagon./He loaded the wagon with hay. See also Rappaport and Levin (1984).

Location. Consequently, *kou* which optionally follows the relational noun *po*, 'on', in

(68d) is to be analyzed as marking allative case and not object.

(68d) *hle: po (kou) mye' a-pyei. tin te*
cart on (to) grass NOM-full put.on RLS
'(They) put grass fully on (to) the cart.'

On its own, *tin* 'put onto' does not indicate that *hle:* 'the cart' has undergone a change in state.

It is the presence of the adverb *a-pyei'* which allows *hle:* to be seen as undergoing a change

in state. Consequently, the sentence is not grammatical when *hle:* is marked with *kou* in the

absence of *a-pyei.*:

(69) **hle: kou mye' tin te* (cp. 68a)

But when *hle:* is explicitly marked as location, (70) below is grammatical:

(70) *hle: po kou mye' tin te*
cart on to grass put RLS
'(I) put the grass onto the cart.'

The verb *hte.* 'put in' also argues in favor of DeLancey's hypothesis. In (71), Theme is

assigned to *pa-lin:* 'bottle' as it is seen to undergo a change in state; note the predicate *a-pyei.*

hte. 'fully put in/fill' analogous to *a-pyei. tin* 'fully put on/load' seen above.

(71) *pa-lin: kou hsi a-pyei. hte. te*
bottle OBJ oil fully put.in RLS
'(I) filled the bottle with oil.'

On the other hand, in (72) Theme is assigned to *hsi* 'oil' as it is seen to undergo a change in

location. The absence of *a-pyei.* does not allow 'bottle' to be marked as object, the optional

kou marking it as an allative and not as object.

(72) *pa-lin: hte: (kou) hsi haun: twei kou hte. te*
bottle in to oil old PLU OBJ put RLS
'(I) put the old oil into the bottle.'

(c) <u>Take out/in</u>   The verb *htou'* 'take/bring out, expel' subcategorizes for a

locative source whereas *thwin:* 'put into' subcategorizes for a locative goal.

(73) *caun:-tha: twei kou htaun hte: ka.   htou'   la   te*
      student   PLU OBJ prison inside from bring.out *come* RLS
      'The students were brought out of the prison.'

Locus is omitted only when it can be recovered from context:

(74) *dola thoun: ya   htou'   la   hke.   te*
      dollar three   hundred take.out *come distal* RLS
      '(I) withdrew three hundred dollars (from the bank).'

(75) *nwa: twei kou hcan   hte: (kou) be   thu thwin: lai'   hta   le:*
      cow PLU OBJ garden in (to)   WH 3P   put.in *away* R/NOM Q
      'Who put the cows in (to) the garden?'

(d) <u>Send</u>   Verbs such as *hlu'₁* 'send someone to some place', *hlu'₂* 'release/set

free (from)' and *pou.* 'send someone/something to some place' also subcategorize for a locus

. When *hlu'* means 'send someone', it takes a locative Goal, which may optionally be marked

with the allative *kou* [12] :

(76) *ye:-htu' kou yan=koun (kou) hlu' lai'   te*
      name   OBJ Rangoon (to) send *away* RLS
      '(I) sent Ye Htut to Rangoon.'

In (77), the elided goal is recoverable by the addressee. Note that locative Source has to be

explicitly marked with the ablative *ka.*, in whose absence the locus takes on default allative

case.

(77) *ye:-htu' kou yan=koun ka.   hlu' lai' te*
      name   OBJ Rangoon from send *away* RLS
      'Ye Htut was sent (somewhere) from Rangoon.'

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[12] In literary Burmese, the locative goal may be optionally marked with the allative
thou. 'to'.

With the verb *hlu'*, meaning 'release/set free', the locative Source is lexicalized in the

verb-meaning, 'to be set free from a place of imprisonment'.

(78) *caun:=tha: twei kou hlu'   lai'   pi*
      student   PLU OBJ release *away* INC
      'The students have been released (from prison/detention).'

(79) *ma-nei.   ka.   hpan:=mi.   te.   hnge' hkalei: kou hlu'   lai' pi*
      yesterday PAST catch   REL bird   small   OBJ release *away* PUNC
      '(I) set free the little bird caught yesterday.'

When *hlu'* or *pou.* has a person as locative Goal, the person is marked with the location

noun *hsi*:

(80) *hla.-than: kou saya=ci: hsi¹³ (kou) pou' lai'   te*
      name   OBJ Principal LOC (to)   send *away* RLS
      '(I) sent Hla Than to the Principal.'

<h2 style="text-align:center">Cognition/Perception</h2>

Mental verbs deviate from the prototypical transitive verb in that the 'stimulus' which

causes an effect takes object position and the 'experiencer' who registers the effect takes

subject position. Such "mental experience verbs with thematic roles normally referred to as

experiencer and stimulus" are described by Croft (1991:169) as being the most marked in

that they invert affective causation. Mental verbs such as *coun* 'come across', *coun-twei.*

'experience', *twei.* 'meet', *myin* 'see', *ci.* 'look', *ca:* 'hear', *na:=htaun* 'listen', *twei:* 'think',

sin:sa: 'think (purposefully)' take the experiencer of the cognitive activity as subject and the

external or internal stimulus as object. The following exx. have discrete NP's as object.

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¹³ Cornyn (1968:260) classifies *hsi* as a noun meaning 'presence'...does not occur by
itself but is used with persons, generally in the meaning 'at (one's place)'.

(81) *min: ingalan hma ba twei coun=twei. hke. tha-le:*
     you England LOC WH PLU experience *distal* RLS-Q
     'What did you experience in England?'

(82) *bama tha-hcin: kou hpe: na:=htaun hcin te*
     Burma song   OBJ only listen   *distal* RLS
     '(I) want to listen to Burmese songs only.'

(83) *thu. a-caun: kou sin:sa: nei te*
     her matter OBJ think   *stay* RLS
     '(I) am thinking about her.'

Verbs of emotion such as *hci'* 'love', *cai'* 'like', *yun* 'detest', *moun:* 'hate', *cau'* 'be afraid of',

ha: 'to deride/laugh at' also take the experiencer as subject and the stimulus as object:

(84) *nge-nge toun: ka. a-hpei. kou to=to cau' te*
     small   while past father OBJ quite fear RLS
     '(I) was quite afraid of father when I was small.'

(85) *thu. kou ta-caun: loun: ka. ha: nei te*
     3P OBJ one-school whole SUB laugh.at *stay* RLS
     'The whole school is laughing at him.'

The verb *cau'* 'be afraid of' (cf. 84), has *hcau'* 'to frighten', as its 'transitive/causative'

counterpart; *hcau'* is closer to the prototypical transitive as it takes an Agent which causes

a mental state change in the Patient/Theme:

(86) *nga. kou ma-nei. ka. tha-ye: hcau'   te*
     I   OBJ yesterday past ghost frighten RLS
     '(A) ghost spooked me yesterday.'

<u>Psychological transitives</u>   Psychological transitive verbs differ from cognition/

perception verbs in that they are closer to the prototypical transitive. Verbs like *hsoun:=ma.*

'scold/set someone straight', *a:=pei:* 'encourage (strength give)', *tai'=tun:* 'persuade (rub

push)', *hle.=sa:* 'deceive (turn eat) take a volitional Agent who causes a psychological change

in the Patient.

(87) *mi.ba. twei ka. tha:=thami: twei kou a-mye: a:=pei: ca. te*
parent PLU SUB son=daughter PLU OBJ always encourage PLU RLS
'Parents always encourage (their) children.'

Ditransitive Clauses

<u>Transfer Verbs</u>

Transfer verbs subcategorize for an Agent, a Theme and a (human) Goal or Source.

In the transfer schema, the Theme undergoes a change in location, either literally or

metaphorically. It is of interest to note that a human Source is obligatorily marked with the

locative *hsi* prior to being marked with the ablative *ka.*. In contrast, human Goals are not

marked as a location, taking only the obligatory *kou* and/or induced creaky tone associated

with object.

Non-human Goals take *kou* marking more often than not:

(88) *hsei: caun: kou ngwei nga: than: hlu   me*
medicine school to   money five million donate IRR
'(I) will donate five million to medical school.'

The 'thing transferred', the Theme, on the other hand takes *kou* optionally.

(89) *tha: tou. kou hya   hke.   tha-hmya. (kou)   pei: hke.   me*
son PLU to   obtain *distal* all   (OBJ) give *distal* IRR
'(I) will give all (I have) acquired to (my) sons.'

(90) *hya   hke.   tha-hmya. (kou) be   thu.   pei: hke.   ya.   ma-le:*
obtain *distal* all   (OBJ) WH 3P.O give *distal get* IRR-Q
'To whom shall (I) give all (I've) acquired?'

Verbs that transfer permanent or temporary ownership of objects are *hlu* 'donate', *hnga:*

'lend/rent', *hci:* 'lend/borrow', *yaun:* 'sell', *we* 'buy':

(91) *tin-hpei. kou nga: ca'   hci: lai'   te*
name   to   five Kyat lend *away* RLS
'(I) lent Tin Pe five kyats.'

(92) *thuza. kou nga hywei le'=kau' yaun: lai'   te*
name   to I   gold   bangle   sell   *away*   RLS
'I sold Thuza the gold bangle.'

Note that human recipients of transfer verbs are not marked with the location noun *hsi* (cf.

91, 92). In contrast, the human Source of transfer verbs such as *hnga:* 'lend/rent', *hci:*

'lend/borrow' and *we* 'buy' are marked with *hsi* before being marked with the ablative *ka.*:

(93) *tinhpei nga. hsi.   ka.   pai'hsan hci: te*
name   I   LOC ABL money   borrow RLS
'Tin Pe borrowed money from me.'

(94) *thuza nga. hsi   ka.   hywei le'=kau'   we   te*
name   I   LOC ABL gold   bangle   buy RLS
'Thuza bought a gold bangle from me.'

When locative *hsi* is omitted, (95) is ungrammatical':

(95) **nga a-hpou: ka.   ji.-ka: we   te*
I   granddad (?) jeep   buy RLS
'I bought a jeep from granddad.'

As the recipient may be marked with *ka.* for contrastive subject (and with *ha* for continuing

subject), the Source marked with *hsi ka.* 'place from' functions to disambiguate:

(96) *tin-hpei ka.   nga. hsi.   ka. pai'hsan hci: te*
name   SUB 1P.G LOC ABL money   borrow RLS
'Tin Pe borrows money from me.'

(97) *tin-hpei ha   nga. hsi.   ka. hpe: pai'-hsan hci: te*
name   SUB 1P.G LOC ABL only money   borrow RLS
'Tin Pe borrows money only from me.'

tin-aun ka.   to.   ban ka.   hci: te
name   SUB CONT bank ABL   borrow RLS
'Tin Aung, (in contrast) borrows from the bank.'

Verbs that describe abstract transfer comprise utterance verbs such as *pyo:* 'tell', *hyin:*

(pya.) 'explain', *mei:* 'ask', *tin pya.* 'present, state', *thin* 'teach/learn'. The human recipient

is obligatorily marked with *kou* and/or an induced creaky tone:

(98) *min: kou thu. a-caun: pyo: pya. ya me*
    you OBJ 3P.G fact   tell *show get* RLS
    '(I) will have to tell you about her.'

(99) *nga. kou touhyi ka. ja-an zaga: thin pei: te*
    I   OBJ name SUB Japan speech teach *give* RLS
    'Toshi taught me Japanese.'

But *thin* has an inverted monotransitive use, meaning 'learn':

(100) *tin-sou: ka. u: hla. hsi ka. jaman zaga: thin nei te*
     name   SUB HON name LOC from German speech learn *stay* RLS
     'Tin Soe is learning German from U Hla.'

Complex Transitive Clauses[14]

Wheatley (1982:72) defines complex-transitive clauses as having an object and object

complement and states "that the relationship of object to complement is comparable to that

between the subject and subject complement (in copular sentences)." He gives, as examples,

verbs of 'naming', 'judging' and 'selecting'. The complement of verbs which 'appoint',

'prescribe', 'choose/elect' may optionally be marked with *a-hpyi'*, an *a*-nominalization of the

copular 'be':

(101) *thu. kou manneija (a-hpyi') hkan. te*   (Wheatley 1982:73)
     3P OBJ manager (N-be) appoint RLS
     '(They) appointed him manager.'

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[14] The use of this term follows Wheatley (1982:72).

(102) *thu. sa=ou' caun:=thoun: (a-hpyi') pya.=htan: te*   (Wheatley 1982:73)
    3P.G book school=use   prescribe RLS
    '(They) prescribed his book for use in schools.'   (originally in Okell 1969:147)

(103) *do su. kou gaun:=saun (a-hpyi') ywei:=hce te*
    HON name OBJ leader   choose   RLS
    '(They) chose Daw Su as leader.'

With *mwei:-sa:* 'adopt', however, *a-hpyi.* is obligatory:

(104) *u: nyun. maun hla. kou t ha: a-hpyi' mwei:=sa: te*
    HON name HON name OBJ son N-be adopt   RLS
    'U Nyunt adopted/raised Maung Hla as his son.'   (Wheatley 1982:73)

Cognition verbs like *htin* 'think' or *tha'=hma'* 'deem' differ from 'selecting' verbs in that

they optionally mark their object complement with the complementizer *lou.*:

(105) *thu. kou lu=hsou: (lou.) htin nei hta*
    3P.O OBJ person-bad   think *stay* R/NOM
    '(I) thought he was a bad person.'

(106) suggests a source construction for (105):

(106) *thu. kou lu=hsou: hpyi. te lou. htin nei hta*
    3P.O OBJ person-bad be   RLS COMP think *stay* R/NOM
    'id.'

With *tha'=hma'* 'deem', the complementizer *lou.* is more likely to occur than not:

(107) *hpou:tou' kou lu you'ma lou. tha'=hma' ca. te*
    name   OBJ person evil   COMP deem   PLU RLS
    'Pho Toke is deemed to be a evil/despicable person.'

Consider (108) in relation to (107):

(108) *hpou:tou' kou lu you'ma hpyi. te lou. tha'=hma' ca. te*
    name   OBJ person evil   be   RLS COMP deem   PLU RLS
    'id.'

(109) *nga. kou hpei=hpei (lou.) hko / dedi (lou.) ma-hko ne.*
I OBJ father   call daddyNEG-call IMP
'Call me father. Don't call me daddy.'

(110) *tha-mi: lei: kou hci' lun: lou.   hci.hci. lou.   hme' te*
daughter DIM OBJ love exceedingly because name   COMP   name RLS
'Because (they) loved their little daughter so much, (they) named her Chit Chit.'

Transitive/Intransitive Verb Pairs

This section discusses the syntax and semantics of transitive and intransitive verb

pairs in Burmese which alternate in the aspiration of the initial consonant of the verb root

(henceforth h/non-h). In these verb pairs, the transitive verb is aspirated whereas its

intransitive counterpart is not. The alternation is synchronically purely lexical and non-

productive. This section looks at the syntactic distribution of some representative exponents

of the transitive/intransitive paradigm and suggest cognitive principles for the semantic

organization underlying the syntactic distribution. Additionally, an attempt will be made to

explain the gaps in the semantic system underlying the paradigm.

Historical Development of Transitive/Intransitive Verb Pairs

Many Sino-Tibetan languages, including Old Chinese, Tibetan and Burmese, have

a number of simplex-causative verb pairs which differ in the aspiration or voicing of the

initial consonant of the verb root. The widespread and early attestation of this pattern makes

it appear ancient, though some alternations in some languages can be traced to secondary

developments involving the PST causative *s- or other prefixes (see Bodman 1980;

Thurgood 1981). With reference to the proto-TB sibilant prefix *s- (Wolfenden 1929;

Benededict 1972), Matisoff (1975) states that it "functioned along a broad spectrum in the causative domain as an intensifier, transitivizer, causativizer of the verbal idea." Thurgood (1981) also notes that "in early Tibeto-Burman, the *s- 'directive prefix' was directive, causative or intensive, the action or state mentioned in the verb being moved towards a state, or the action preceding from an agent to the object of the action."

Research on this phenomenon has for the most part been historical and morphological in orientation, exploring the historical status and development of the phenomenon (beginning with Conrady 1896). Thurgood (1981) states that in the simplex-causative pairs found throughout Lolo-Burmese, "the causative member typically descended from an *s- prefixed member, while the simplex member, if at all prefixed originally, typically descended from an *m- prefixed provenience". He adds that "at the proto-Burmese stage, the prefixal marking of verbs, which was only sporadic at the Lolo-Burmese level, became a more regular process. Most, if not all, proto-Burmese verbs were prefixed with either the causative *s- or the simplex *m-". Modern Burmese preserves well over 50 simplex-causative pairs of verbs (Okell 1969, 205-8),[1] which directly reflect this earlier prefixal pattern.

'Open' vs. 'Close' Type Verbs

There is evidence of a semantic pattern that underlies the occurrence of the h/non-h alternation with at least some types of verbs. 'Open' type verbs which have in common the notion of 'a gap, a break, an opening or separation' evince the h/non-h alternation. In

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[1]Thurgood (1981) provides an additional list of 37 more simplex-causative verb pairs, not all of which I can verify.

semantic opposition are 'close' type verbs which do not evince the h/non-h alternation. With

'close' type verbs, either a single exponent is used for both intransitive and transitive or a

single exponent indicates only one facet of transitivity with the other facet missing.

<u>Verbs in semantic opposition</u>   Note that there is a bi-directional one-to-many

opposition between particular 'open/gap' type verbs and particular 'close/connect' type

verbs. In the chart below, only core meanings of the verbs are given.[2]

Open/gap type verbs		Close/connect type verbs	
pwin./hpwin.	'be open'	*pei'*	'close'
pau'/hpau'	'be pierced'	*sei.*	'close slightly'
pye:/hpye:	'be torn'	*hpa*	'to patch'
pya'/hpya'	'be severed'	*hse'*	'join, connect'
pe./hpe.	'be chipped'	*ka'*	'stick, adhere'
cou:/hcou:	'be broken'	*ta'*	'to attach'
kwe:/hkwe:	'be separate'	*paun:*	'combine'
kwa/hkwa	'be separate'	*su.*	'gather, collect'
pyou'/hpyou'	'be detached'	*si:*	'put together'
cu'/hcu'	'come off'		
lu'/hlu'	'be released'	*hpan:*	'catch'

E.g.,   (1)   *pa-za' pwin. nei <u>te</u>*   and   *pa-za' hpwin. lai' te*
mouth open *stay* RLS   'He opened his mouth.'
' (His) mouth is open.'

have in semantic opposition,

(2)   *pa-za' pei' hta: <u>te</u>*   and   *pa-za' pei' lai' te*
mouth close *keep* RLS   'He closed his mouth.'
'He kept his mouth closed.'

Similarly,

(3)   *yei   poun: pau'   nei <u>te</u>*   and   *poun: hpau' lai' te*
water container be-pierced *stay RLS*   'He pierced the bucket.'
'The bucket is pierced.'

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[2]See Okell (1969:205-8) for a comprehensive list of h/non-h pairs.

have in semantic opposition,

(4)　*poun:　hpa　hta: te*　　　　　　　and　　*poun: hpa lai' te*
　　　container patch　*keep* RLS　　　　　　　'(I) patched the bucket.'
　　　'(I) have patched the bucket.'

Below are additional exx. with *pei'* and *sei.* to illustrate that a single form is used for the

intransitive as well as the causative, the interpretation being determined by the presence

of an auxiliary.

Predicates in semantic opposition

(5)　*daga: hpwin. hta: te*　　　　　　　*daga: sei. hta: te*　(Causative)
　　　door open　*keep* RLS　　　　　　　'I kept/left the door slightly ajar.'
　　　'(I) kept/left the door open.'

(6)　*daga: hpwin. lai' te*　　　　　　　*daga: sei. lai' te*　(Causative)
　　　'I opened the door.'　　　　　　　'I closed the door slightly.'

(7)　*daga: pwin. nei te*　　　　　　　*daga: sei. nei te*　(Intransitive)
　　　'The door is open.'　　　　　　　'The door is slightly closed/ajar.'

Now consider the transitive verbs *hpau'* and *hpwin.* when used to describe the 'opening'

of cans, boxes and containers:

(8)　*thu nou.-zi　bu: hpau'　nei te*
　　　he　milk-oil can open　*stay* RLS
　　　'He is opening (a) can of condensed milk.'

(9)　*thu ka'-pya:　poun: kou hpwin. nei te*
　　　he　cardboard box　OBJ open　*stay* RLS
　　　'He is opening the cardboard box.'

We say that someone is opening a box　*ka'-pya: poun: kou hpwin. nei te* and that a box is

open, *ka'-pya: poun: pwin. nei te.* We also say that someone closed a box *ka'-pya: poun: kou*

pei. te, but we do not say that a box is closed *ka'-pya: poun: pei. nei te* to indicate its normal,

unmarked, 'original' state. If we need to indicate the original, unmarked state of the box we

say that it has not yet been opened:

(10) *ma   hpau. ya. thei: bu:*
    NEG open *get* still NEG
    'The box hasn't been opened yet.'

What is salient about the original unmarked state of the box is not the fact that it is *closed*, which all original unmarked boxes are, but the fact that it is *unopened*.

Along similar lines, we can talk about someone tearing sarongs *loungyi hpye: nei te* and about a torn sarong *loungyi pye: nei te*. We can say that the sarong has been patched, *loungyi hpa hta: te* , but how do we indicate the original, unmarked state of a sarong? By saying that it is not torn or that it is new. Thus, we patch the longyi, using the transitive verb *hpa*, but after the longyi is patched it is not returned to its original, normal state but to a 'patched state'. The fact that a patch, i.e. patched state does not occur naturally but only results from the causative act of 'patching' may account for the missing 'intransitive' *pa* in the paradigm.

Consider too the semantics of *kwa/hkwa* 'be separate/to peel off, separate', *cu'/hcu'* 'come off/ to take off'. Humans typically separate, peel off or remove skins, husks, shells, hair, fur, etc, such activities correlating with the occurrence of the aspirated transitive forms *khwa* and *hcu'*. But humans typically do not put fur back on animals, hair back on heads or husks back on nuts, the lack of such activities correlating with the absence of the h/non-h alternation in verbs such as *ta'* 'attach' (cf. fur, hides, husks and hair) and *sai'* 'to insert/plant' (cf. strands of hair).

Lastly, consider *cu'/hcu'* 'come off/ to take off' with clothes and the characterization of opposing semantic notions with the verbs *wu'* 'wear/put on' and *si:* 'tie on/tie together',

which do not evince the h/non-h pattern predictably. Like *hpa* 'to patch', *si:* 'to tie together'

does not have an intransitive counterpart; instead, the resultative auxiliary *hta:* occurs with

it to indicate the state of being tied together.

(11) loungyi cu'   nei te
     sarong come.off *stay* RLS
     'The sarong is untied.'

(12) *loungyi si: hta: te*
     sarong   put-on *keep* RLS
     '(He) has a sarong tied on.'

(13) *loungyi hcu'   lai' te*
     sarong   take.off *away* RLS
     '(He) took off his sarong.'

(14) *loungyi si: lai' te*
     sarong   tie.on *away* RLS
     'She tied-on a sarong.'

(15) *loungyi hcu'   nei te*
     sarong   take.off *stay* RLS
     '(He) is taking off his sarong.'

(16) *loungyi wu'/si: nei te*
     sarong   put.on *stay* RLS
     'She is putting-on a sarong.'

(17) *loungyi cu'   thwa: te*
     sarong   come.off *go*   RLS
     'The sarong came off.'

But *loungyi si: thwa: te* can only mean 'He tied on a sarong and went (off).', exemplifying

that only one facet of transitivity, namely, the transitive is described by *si:*.

Versatile Auxiliaries and Transitivity

Intransitive verbs in Burmese, depending on whether they characterize inherent properties or not, differ in their semantic interaction with certain versatile auxiliaries. The presence of auxiliaries, in general, determines whether an intransitive verb describes a state or process. An intransitive verb like *pwin* 'open', when followed by the 'perfective' *thwa:*, is interpreted as a completed or perfected process. In contrast, a state is described when *pwin* is followed by the 'progressive' *nei* . Additionally, there is a general semantic constraint on the occurrence of some 'volitional' auxiliaries with purely stative or attributive intransitive verbs. With intransitive verbs which do not evince the h/non-h alternation, the presence of auxiliaries like *thwa:*, *nei* and *lai'* determines whether such verbs are interpreted transitively or intransitively.

<u>Intransitive verbs and the auxiliary *nei*</u>   The versatile auxiliary *nei* 'stay' typically adds the progressive aspect when used with transitive or process type verbs in Burmese. The progressive, as defined by Comrie (1976), and "typically applies to dynamic predicates and not to stative ones (in Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca: 1994)." However, the 'progressive' auxiliary *nei*, is seen to occur not only in 'dynamic' predicates but also with stative verbs in Burmese. In languages which have verbs and adjectives as distinct syntactic categories, prototypical verbs differ from prototypical adjectives, in that the former are processes whereas the latter are states.[3] In Burmese, however, processes as well as states are described by the syntactic class 'verb'.

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[3]See (Croft 1991:63) for a discussion of stativity, which he uses to define syntactic categories.

When an intransitive verb already describes a state or an attribute, how does the presence of *nei* affect its meaning? It will be shown that with intransitive verbs describing inherent properties, *nei* lends a 'provisional' or 'temporary' perspective to the description. However, with verbs which do not describe time-stable, inherent properties, *nei* merely indicates that a state exists.

<u>Intransitive verbs and the auxiliary *thwa:*</u>   The versatile auxiliary *thwa:* generally indicates the perfective aspect. However, when used with intransitive verbs it describes a change of state or the perfection of a process. It would not be accurate to label such a function as 'inchoative', as it does not merely indicate the beginning of a state but describes instead a total change from one state to another or the completion of a process. The exx. below include both time-stable and non time-stable intransitive verbs.

(18) *yei nau' thwa: te*
      water turbid *go* RLS
      'The water became turbid.'

(19) *lan: ce thwa: te*
      street wide *go* RLS
      '(The) street became wide (after it was widened)'

(20) *loungyi pye: thwa: te*
      sarong tear *go* RLS
      'The sarong tore.'

(21) *taga: pwin. thwa: te*
      door open *go* RLS
      'The door opened.'

(22) *wainya pya' thwa: te*
      wire   sever *go* RLS
      'The wire severed/broke'

(23) *dou' cou: thwa: te*
      stick break *go* RLS
      'The stick broke'

Time-Stable Intransitive Verbs

When verbs like *ce* 'wide',*myin.*'high', *nein.* 'low' are used without auxiliary

modification, they characterize time-stable inherent properties and are usually translated

by adjectives in languages like English.

(24) *di lan: ka. ce te*
      this street SUB wide RLS
      'This street is wide.'

(25) *a-ya' myin. te*
      height high RLS
      '(She) is tall.'

(26) *thu ka. nan. te*
      she SUB wanton RLS
      'She is wanton.'

(27) *di sa-pwe: ka. nein. te*
      this table   SUB low RLS
      'This table is low.'

(28) *htamin: na'   te*
      rice   well.cooked RLS
      'Rice is well cooked.'

(29) *yei nau' te*
      water turbid RLS
      'The water is turbid.'

In (29), the water is characterized as being inherently turbid. The presence of *nei*

characterizes a temporary state in (30).

(30) *yei nau. nei te*
      water turbid *stay* RLS
      'The water is *temporarily* turbid.' (It is turbid now but there
                     is no implication that it is inherently turbid.)

There are contextual constraints on the occurrence of *nei* with verbs like *ce* 'wide' or *myin.*

'high/tall'; (31) & (32) sound odd when they are used simply to assert an attribute or state *in*

isolation:

(31)   *di lan: ka ce nei te*
      this street SUB wide *stay* RLS
  ? 'This street is being wide.'

(32)   *a-ya' myin. nei te*
      height high *stay* RLS
  ? '(She) is being tall.'

Intransitives like *myin.* (32)   may be appropriately followed by *nei* when the attribute it

describes is understood to be *provisional and temporary*; one way to do this is by relating

it implicitly or explicitly to its *usual* permanent state:

(33)   *min: ci. ya. hta a-ya' myin. nei te*
      you look *get* NOM height high *stay* RLS
      'You look tall (taller than you usually do.)'

Similarly, *nei* is appropriate in (34) as the table is *provisionally* described as being low

for the purpose at hand:

(34)   *di sa-pwe: ka. nein. nei te*
      this table   SUB low *stay* RLS
      'This table is low (for the purpose at hand).'

Below are additional exx. of a *temporary perspective* being lent to the property, quality or

attribute being described. Note that in (35), the Subject may be characteristically tall but

the presence of *nei relates* that attribute to the present:

(35)   *a-ya' myin. nei lou.   mi:-ein ne. hsaun. mi.   hta*
      height high *stay* because lamp with bump *inadvertent* RLS
      'Being tall, she inadvertently bumped into the lamp.'

In (36), the hat is not characteristically wide; clearly it is a hat which usually fits its owner. Consequently, *nei* occurs to indicate a temporary property that has come into existence.

(36) *nga. ou'=htou' ka. ce nei ţe \ ba-thu wu' hta: hta le:*
my hat   SUB wide *stay* RLS   who   wear *keep* NOM Q
'My hat is (lit: *'is being'*) wide. Who wore it?'

(37) characterizes the street's width in relation to the car. The characterization of the street's width, *in relation to another*, is applicable only for the purpose at hand. There is no implication that the width of the street would usually be described as 'narrow'.

(37) *di lan: ka. cin: nei ţe \ ka: win lou. ma ya hpu:*
this street SUB narrow *stay* RLS   car enter COMP NEG *get* NEG
'This street is *being* narrow. (My) car cannot enter.'

Non-Time Stable Intransitive Verbs

Intransitive verbs such as *pwin.* 'be open/open', *pau'* 'be pierced/ burst', *pye:* 'be torn/ tear', *sou'* 'be torn/ tear', *pya'* 'be severed/sever', *cou:* 'be broken/break', *kwa* 'be separate/separate', *cu'* 'be released/come off' take the auxiliary *nei* to simply describe a literal state. When used on their own without auxiliary modification, they tend not to describe literal stative attributes.

(38) *loungyi pye: nei ţe*
sarong   tear   *stay* RLS
'The sarong is torn.'

(39) *taga: pwin. nei ţe*
door open   *stay* RLS
'The door is open.'

(40) *sa-ywe' sou' nei ţe*
paper   tear *stay* RLS
'The paper is torn'

(41)   *wainya pya'* *nei* *te*
     wire   sever *stay* RLS
     'The wire is severed'

(42)   *dou' cou: nei* *te*
     stick break *stay* RLS
     'The stick is broken.'

What is of interest here is whether such verbs, indicating non-inherent properties, occur on their own in the absence of aspectual auxiliaries. An informant found it difficult to provide a context for the sentence *taga: pwin. te* [door open RLS]. The informant instead offered the sentence *pan: pwin. te* [flower open RLS] 'Flower(s) bloom' as an example of the verb *pwin.* which may occur without any aspectual auxiliaries. The difference between flowers and doors is that flowers typically 'open' (i.e. bloom), whereas doors do not. Consequently, a semantic constraint on whether intransitive verbs occur naturally without auxiliary modification depends on whether the state is inherent or typical. This would explain why *pan: pwin.* occurs on its own, without the need for auxiliary modification.

Note, however, that when intransitive verbs describing non-stable processes/properties occur without auxiliary modification, a metaphorical shift in meaning usually takes place. As illustration see (43), where *pwin.* metaphorically shifts in meaning to describe a trait.

(43)   *thu* *ka.*   *to=to mye'hna* *pwin.* *te*
     3P SUB quite face   open RLS
     'S/he is quite popular.'

Consider (40) again; *sa-ywe' sou' te*, without *nei*, sounds odd as paper normally is not 'inherently' torn. But when *sou'* is used to describe an inherent or characteristic state, it can occur without *nei*. Note, however, the change in meaning:

(44) *di loungyi ka. sou' te*
      this sarong SUB tear RLS
      'This sarong is rag-like.'

In contrast, *di loungyi ka. sou' nei te* means that 'the longyi is torn.'

Similarly, *wainya pya' te* (cf. 41) sounds odd without *nei* but not when the

'process' sense is literally made clear with the adverb *hka-na. hka-na.* 'often':

(45) *di wainya cou: ka hka-na.=hka-na. pya' te*
      this wire rope SUB often   sever RLS
      'This wire often breaks.'

Note again the change in meaning from the literal to the figurative when *pya'* occurs

without auxiliary modification to describe a trait:

(46) *thu ka. pya' te*
      3P Sub sever RLS
      'He is decisive.'

In (47), *pya'* also describes a property:

(47) *jaman maun:=hca da: ka. to=to pya' hta hpe:*
      German lever=lower knife SUB quite sharp NOM EMP
      'This German pocket knife is very sharp indeed.'

Assuming that the core meaning of *pya'/hpya'* is to 'be severed/to sever', consider the

other senses in which *pya'* is used without auxiliary modification:

(48) *yei'hka pya' pi*
      provisions sever PUNC
      'We have run short of provisions.'

(49) *thu ne. a-hse'=a-thwe pya' hta ca pi*
      3P with connection sever NOM be.long PUNC
      '(I) have lost touch with him for some time now.'

From the discussion above, we may provisionally conclude that there is a subset of non-

aspirated intransitive verbs which does not describe literal states when used alone, but rather

figurative ones. With such verbs, *nei* simply indicates that a state now exists.

When a verb of this type is used without auxiliary modification, a forced interpretation of a process can occur in the historical present:

(50) *dou' cou: to. me \ cou: to. me \ cou: te hei.*
 stick break CUL IRR\ break CUL IRR \ break RLS Exclamation
 'The stick is about to break, about to break; hey! It breaks.'

A 'process' meaning also obtains when *cou:* occurs on its own in punctative sentences:

(51) *dou' cou: pi*
 stick break PUNC
 'The stick breaks (at last.)'

Consider *pwin.* again with *lan:* 'street'; *lan: pwin. pi* occurs naturally to indicate that 'The street opens finally/has opened.' But *lan: pwin. te* sounds odd when it is said out of context as streets are not normally described as characteristically or inherently open.

To recapitulate, intransitive verbs such as *ce* 'wide', *cin:* 'narrow', *myin.* 'high/tall', *nein.* 'low', *nan.* 'wanton' etc., which describe intrinsic qualities take the auxiliary *nei* to indicate a 'temporary' perspective. In contrast, intransitive verbs like *pwin.* 'open', *cou:* 'break', *pye:* 'tear', etc., which describe non-inherent properties or processes, take *nei* to simply indicate that a state now exists.

Conclusion   This section looked at 'opening' type predicates which evince the h/non-h alternation in opposition to 'closing' type predicates which do not. One example of the defective paradigm is the absence of an intransitive counterpart for the transitive verb *hpa.* To account for this, I have argued that since a 'patched' state results from the act of patching, original 'patches' do not occur naturally on their own. On the other hand, intransitive verbs like *ce* 'wide', *myin.* 'high', *nein.* 'low' describe inherent properties which

occur naturally. Naturally occurring states are perceptually salient on their own accord and not as a result of causation. The communicative need to describe such perceptually salient original states would have led to the development of appropriate lexical items, consequently accounting for the presence of non-aspirated intransitive verbs like *ce* , *nein.* , *myin.* etc in the paradigm. On the other hand, as the state of being patched does not naturally exist prior to the act of patching, this might account for the absence of a lexical item to indicate that state, namely, the missing unaspirated, intransitive *pa* .

CHAPTER X

COMPLEMENTATION

This chapter describes the syntax and semantics of clausal complements of verbs. Different types of complement clause are first described, followed by a classification of verb types and the type of clausal complement each takes. Clausal complements are "propositions functioning in the role of either subject or object argument of the verb, (and) since prototypical subjects and objects are nominal, it is only natural that sentential complements often display a nominalized form." (Givon 1990:515)

Following is an overview of argument/complement types with partial descriptions of the syntactic and semantic properties associated with each. The list begins with the most prototypical nouns describing concrete entities and ends with finite sentences describing specific events.

(a)   Prototypical NP's describing concrete objects/ entities:

thida. kou cai' te
name OBJ like RLS
'I like Thida.'

(b)   Nominalized bare verbs typically describing non-specific, non-referential activities

and processes:

a-ka.   cai' te
NOM-dance like RLS
'I like dance.'

(c)   NP's with the complementizer *lou.* which may be analyzed as reduced existential

clauses with the verb 'to be' *hpyi.* and final declarative clause particle elided:

thida lou.   htin te   (*<thida hpyi' te lou.*)
name COMP think RLS
'I think that is/ was Thida.'

(d)   Nominalized clauses without auxiliaries describing relatively non-finite propositions:

thu pa-lin po ka. a-hsin: kou saun. nei lai' me
3P throne on from NOM-descend OBJ wait *stay away* RLS
'(I'll) be waiting for him to descend from the throne.'

(e)   Nominalized complement clauses with auxiliaries describing relatively finite

propositions:

thu pa-lin po te'   hcin   hta kou nga thi.   te
3P throne on ascend want   NOM OBJ I   know RLS
'I know that he wants to ascend the throne.'

(f)   Finite sentential complements retaining their original syntax and meaning:

muya la   te   htin te
name come RLS think RLS
'I think that Muya came.'

Complement Clause Types

Broadly speaking, there are two types of complement clauses in Burmese: nominalized and sentential. Nominalized complement clauses are, as the term implies, complement clauses that have nominal-like characteristics. These are, for one, loss of finiteness in general although it will be seen that Burmese does make a realis/irrealis distinction in one type of clausal nominalization. Sentential complement clauses, on the other hand, retain the syntax of finite independent sentences; in other words, no structural

adjustments occur within the clause in its function as a complement.

The proposition coded by a nominalized clause may denote either an event or an abstract product. For example, 'speaking' is an event but 'speech' is an abstract product resulting from it. This chapter, in part, looks at the semantic interaction between nominalized complement clause, matrix verb and plural marking, which determines whether the nominalized clause should be interpreted as 'product' or event.

Nominalized Complement Clauses

Nominalizations with _hta/hma_

In the major, most finite type of nominalization, the final particle _te_, which marks realis declarative independent clauses is replaced by the realis nominalizing particle _hta_, and the final particle _me_, which marks irrealis declarative independent clauses, is replaced by the irrealis nominalizing particle _hma_ . In this type of nominalization, any and all versatile auxiliaries following the main verb of the nominalized clause are retained, the only syntactic difference between an independent finite declarative sentence and its nominalized counterpart being the replacement of _te/me_ with _hta/hma_.

(1) _thu a-lou'   lou' hcin te_
     3P NOM-work work want RLS
     'He wants to work.'

(2) _thu a-lou'   lou' hcin hta   kou a:=pei: pa_
     3P NOM-work work want NOM OBJ strength=give POL
     'Please encourage his wanting to work.'

(3) *thu ku=nyi pei: nain te*
3P help give can RLS
'He can help.'

(4) *thu ku=nyi pei: nain hta kou min: thi. la:*
3P help give can NOM OBJ you know Q
'Do you know that he can help?'

Clauses nominalized with *hta/hma* also occur as independent sentences. Nominalized

independent sentences allow particles marking tone to occur after them.

(5) *thu ku=nyi pei: hta hpe:*
3P help give R/NOM EMPH
'Indeed/Of course he helped.'

(6) *thu ku=nyi pei: hta kou:*
3P help give NOM EMPH
'Well indeed he helped.' (Surprised realization)

(7) *tin=hpei la hcin hma pa*
name come want I/NOM POL
'Tin Pe will want to come.'

A probable scenario for the origin of the realis nominalizer *hta* and the irrealis

nominalizer *hma* is the relative construction with the noun *ha* 'thing' as its head.

(8) *thu lou' te. ha ka. to-to hsou: te > thu lou' hta ka.*
he do R/REL thing SUB quite bad RLS 'What he did...'
'What he did/ the thing he did is quite bad.'

(9) *thu pyo: me. ha twei ka. a-tin: ci: hpe: >thu pyo: hma twei ka.*
he say I/REL thing PLU SUB gossip big EMPH 'Things he will say...'
'The things he will say are only gossip!'

Nominalizations with the Prefix *a-*

In contrast to *hta/hma* nominalization, only the bare complement verb may be nominalized with the *a-* prefix. Unlike *hta/hma* nominalized clauses, *a-*nominalized clauses have limited distribution as independent sentences, given the fact that they do not show any vestige of tense, aspect or modality. Compare the pair below, where (10) cannot occur as an independent sentence in contrast to (11), an emphatic construction, which does:

(10) **thu ma-nei. ka. a-sa:*
3P yesterday past NOM-eat

(11) *thu ma-nei. ka. a-sa: tha: hpe:*
3P yesterday past NOM-eat CONCESSION EMPH
'He did eat yesterday (contrary to expectation).'

The *a-* nominalization is relatively non-finite compared to *hta/hma:*

(12) *hpou:-pa-gyi: a-htwe' kou hmyo nei hta*
name   NOM-exit OBJ expect *stay* NOM
'I'm expecting Pho Pa Gyi to appear (on the stage).'

The realis *hta* nominalized clause cannot occur as the object of the irrealis modality verb *hmyo* 'to expect/look forward'. On the other hand *hma* does:

(13) *hpou:-pa-gyi: htwe' *hta/hma kou hmyo nei hta*
name   exit   I/NOM OBJ expect *stay* NOM
'I'm expecting that Pho Pa Gyi will appear (on the stage).'

The *a-*nominalization may denote either realis or irrealis propositions.

(14) *taun po ka. a-hsin: ha a-te' hte' sa yin*
mountain top from NOM-descend SUB NOM-ascend more compare if

to=to nyein. hta hpe:
quite cushy NOM EMPH

'Descending the mountain was quite cushy compared to ascending (it)'.

(or) 'The descent was quite cushy compared to the ascent.'

(15) *a-mei: hyi. hma. a-hpyei   hyi. me*
NOM-ask have only   NOM-answer have IRR
'Only if (you) ask, there will be an answer.'

a-nominalized clauses commonly function as adverbial clauses of time. Below, the construction is most appropriately translated into an English prepositional phrase:

(16) *tin-maun. kou caun: a-thwa: hma twei. hke.   te*
name.O   OBJ school NOM-go   LOC meet *distal* RLS
'(I) met Tin Maung on my way to school.'

Nominalized Complement Clauses and Denotation

In general, *a*- prefixation is relatively less finite than *hta/hma* suffixation in clausal nominalization. The type of nominalization together with the type of verb being nominalized determine the interpretation of nominalized complement clauses. When verbs like 'say', 'ask', 'do', 'think', 'hear', 'see', etc. are nominalized, the nominalized clause may either refer to the event in its entirety or to the resulting 'abstract product'. That is, the nominalized clause may refer either to the event of (someone) speaking or to what is said, asking or what is asked, doing (something) or what is done, thinking or what is thought, listening/hearing or what is heard and seeing or what is seen. Nominalized verbs like 'eat', also fall into this category, as it may refer either to 'eating' or to the 'thing eaten'. Context usually determines the interpretation of a nominalized verb which is ambiguous between event and abstract product/concrete object. Verbs which are not associated with abstract products or concrete objects, do not lend themselves to such ambiguity. These verbs are traditionally classified under intransitives, examples being 'come', 'walk', 'fly' etc. Following is a description of

these different verb types.

Verbs with a resulting abstract product

(17) *thu pyo: hta   kou ma-cai'   hpu:*
3P say NOM OBJ NEG-like NEG
'I don't like what he said.'
(Or) 'I don't like the fact that he said thus.'

In the absence of extra-linguistic contextual cues, (16) is ambiguous between a product-like

or event-like interpretation. The plural marker *twei* after the nominalized clause, however,

clearly determines a product-like interpretation:

(18) *thu pyo: hta   twei kou ma-cai'   hpu:*
3P say NOM PLU OBJ NEG-like NEG
'I don't like the things he said.'

If the speaker intends to denote an event, a clearly unambiguous construction is available:

(19) *thu pyo: te   hsou hta   kou ma-cai'   hpu:*
3P say RLS say   NOM OBJ NEG-like NEG
'I don't like the fact that he said thus.'

In (18), the complement clause retains its finite independent sentence marking with the

presence of the sentence final particle *te*. This finite sentence is the complement of the verb

hsou 'say', which is itself nominalized with *hta*, the construction as a whole occurring as the

complement of the matrix verb *cai'* 'like'. Wheatley (1982:280) refers to *hsou hta* as a

"nominalizing phrase", meaning "literally 'to say' but equivalent to the English ' the fact

that'."

Verbs with a resulting concrete object

The interpretation of the nominalized

verb *sa:* 'eat' below is ambiguous between event and concrete object:

(20) *thu sa: hta   kou ma-cai'   hpu:*
3P eat NOM OBJ NEG-like NEG
'I don't like what he ate/ the fact that he ate.'

In (20), the nominalized clause occurs in the WH question:

(21) *min: ba   sa: nei hta   le:*   / *min: sa: nei hta   ba   le:*
you WH eat *stay* NOM Q   you eat *stay* NOM WH Q
'What are you eating?'

The choice of matrix verb determines the appropriate interpretation:

(22) *thu sa: hta   kou ma-sa: hcin hpu:*
3P eat NOM OBJ NEG-eat *want* NEG
'I don't want to eat what he ate.'

Note that the presence of the stative/progressive versatile auxiliary *nei* does not, by itself,

weigh the interpretation to that of an event. In (22), the nominalized clause is interpreted as

a concrete object:

(23) *min: sa: nei hta   di   hpe pyi.   lai'   hsan: pa*
2P   eat *stay* NOM this side throw *away* urgent POL
'Please toss what you are eating to (my) side.'

Intransitive verbs   Nominalized intransitive verbs usually allow only a single

unambiguous interpretation.

(24) *mou: ywa hta   cai' te*
sky   fall NOM like RLS
'I like the fact that it rains.'

(25) *thu lu=pa:=wa.   hta   kou ci.   lou.   ma-ya.   hpu:*
3P person.smart.full NOM OBJ look COMP NEG-*get* NEG
'I am not able to stand (look at) his being insolent.'

However, the interpretation of a nominalized verb like *hso.* 'play' is again seen to be

determined by the choice of matrix verb and the pragmatics of the situation.

(26) *hka-lei: twei hso. nei hta kou lou=hcin te*
child PLU play *stay* NOM OBJ want RLS
'I want what the children are playing (with).'

(27) *hka-lei: twei hso. nei hta kou ci. hcin te*
child PLU play *stay* NOM OBJ see *want* RLS
'I want to see the children playing.'

(28) *hka-lei: twei hso. nei hta kou ci. ya hta kaun: te*
child PLU play *stay* NOM OBJ see *get* NOM good RLS
'It's good to be able see children playing.'

In (27), *hka-lei: twei hso. nei hta* 'children playing' is the object complement of *ci. ya* 'be able

to see', which is itself nominalized with *hta* to occur as the subject complement of the matrix

verb *kaun:* 'be good'.

To conclude, the interpretation of the nominalized complement clause as to whether

it denotes an abstract product, a concrete object or an event is determined by a number of

intersecting syntactic/semantic factors such as the type of verb which is nominalized, choice

of matrix verb and plural marking on the nominalized complement clause.

Sentential Complement Clauses

Sentential complement clauses retain the structure of independent finite sentences.

Finite sentences may be directly embedded as direct quote complements of utterance verbs.

They rarely occur as complements of cognition verbs,[1] and may do so only when the

cognition verb allows a spatio-temporal separation between the act of cognition and the event

coded by the complement. For example, they occur as complement of *htin* 'think', which

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[1]The following section on verb types will discuss cognition verbs that do not
allow finite sentences to be directly embedded as their complement.

expresses a conjecture, about the possibility of an event that actually happened or will happen. On the other hand, finite sentential complements do not occur with perception verbs like *myin* 'see', *ca:* 'hear' etc. where the act of perception and the event perceived have to be co-temporal (cf. Givon 1990:525-6). Additionally, alternations in the distribution of the complementizer *lou* may be related to "the strength of bond or degree of semantic integration construed between the propositions coded in the main and complement clauses" (Givon 1990:515).

Declarative Complement Clauses

Direct embedding

Finite declarative sentences may be directly embedded as the quotation complement of utterance verbs.

(29) *thu na:=le   te   pyo: te*
      3P   understand RLS say   RLS
      'She said that she understood.'

Finite sentences may also be directly embedded as the complement of a verb of conjecture like *htin* 'think'.

(30) *thu lou' hcin te   htin te*
      3P do *want* RLS think RLS
      'I think that she wants to do (it).'

Finite sentences, however, are followed by the complementizer *lou* when they occur as the complement of *yu=hsa* 'assume/consider', which is semantically close to *htin*. We will further look at the difference in syntax and semantics between these two verbs in the following section on verb-types.

(31) *thu lou' hcin* <u>*te*</u> *lou.* *yu=hsa.* <u>*te*</u>
3P do *want* RLS COMP consider RLS
'I consider/assume that she wants to do (it).'

Embedding with *hsou hta*.   Finite sentences may occur as the complement of

hsou hta 'say that/ the fact that', which is itself embedded as the complement of the matrix

verb.

(32) *thu na:=le*   *pa* <u>*te*</u> *hsou hta* *pyo: pyo: nei* <u>*te*</u>
3P understand POL RLS say NOM say say *stay* RLS
'She keeps saying that she understands.'

(33) *thu na:=le*   <u>*te*</u> *hsou hta* *youn* *la:*
3P understand RLS say NOM believe Q
'Do you believe that she understands?'

Embedding with the complementizer *lou*.   With some matrix verbs such as *pyo:*

'say' and *htin* 'think', the complementizer *lou.* may optionally occur. Optionality may be

defined as a lack of significant correlation between the presence or absence of a particular

form and semantic/pragmatic distinctions.

(34) *thu na:=le*   <u>*te*</u> *(lou.)* *pyo* <u>*te*</u>   (cf. 28)
3P understand RLS (COMP) say RLS
'She said that she understands.'

(35) *thu lou' hcin* <u>*te*</u> *(lou.)* *htin* <u>*te*</u>   (cf. 29)
3P do *want* RLS (COMP) think RLS
'I think that she wants to do it.'

Interrogative Complement Clauses

An interrogative sentence may be directly embedded as complement of the matrix

utterance verb *mei:* 'ask'.

(36) *tin sou: be   thwa: le:*
    name   WH go   Q
    'Where did Tin Soe go?'

(37) *tin sou: be   thwa: le: mei: te*
    name   WH go   Q   ask RLS
    '(She) asked where Tin Soe went?'

(38) *tin sou: be   thwa: le: mei: la:*
    name   WH go   Q   ask Q
    'Did (she) ask where Tin Soe went?'

Imperative Complement Clauses

When an imperative sentence occurs as complement of an utterance verb, it is more usual to see the complementizer *lou.* after the embedded sentence. This may be accounted for by the fact that an imperative construction ends with the bare verb. Without *lou.* , the imperative verb and the immediately following matrix resemble a concatenated string of verbs describing a co-temporal or consecutive sequence of events. To illustrate, following is an imperative sentence consisting of a single verb:

(39) *thwa:*
    'Go!'

When *thwa:* is immediately followed by the utterance verb *pyo:* 'say', the string is normally interpreted as describing consecutive events, which in this case, involve a single subject:

(40) *thwa: pyo: te*
    go   say RLS
    'I/he went and said (something).'

Consequently, imperative sentences usually require the complementizer *lou.* when they occur as quotation complements:

(41) *thwa: lou.   pyo: te*
go   COMP say RLS
'He told me to go.'

Consider the pair below also:

(42) *tin tin ka.   sou: sou: kou thwa: lou.   pyo: te*
name SUB name   OBJ go   COMP say RLS
'Tin Tin told Soe Soe to go.'

Without *lou.*, (42) is ambiguous between embedding and concatenation:

(43) *tin tin ka.   sou: sou: kou thwa: pyo: te*
name SUB name   OBJ go   say RLS
'Tin Tin went and told Soe Soe.'   (preferred interpretation)

However, a negative imperative may be directly embedded as the presence of the negative

imperative sentence final particle *ne.* clearly indicates an imperative even in the absence of

lou.:

(44) *di ein   hma ma-nei   ne.*
this house LOC NEG-stay IMP
'Don't stay in this house!'

(45) *a-mei ka. ca-no. kou di ein   hma me-nei   ne. (lou.) pyo: te*
mother SUB I   OBJ this house LOC NEG-stay IMP   say RLS
'Mother told me not to stay in this house.'

Complement-Taking Verbs

This section classifies and describes different types of complement-taking verbs. The syntax

and semantics of complementation is noted by Givon (1990:516) as follows:

> The stronger the semantic bond is between the two events, the more intimately
> is the syntactic integration of the two propositions into a single clause.

Following Givon, complement-taking verbs may be divided into three major semantic

classes, namely, modality ('want', begin', finish', 'try' etc.), manipulative ('make', 'order', 'tell', 'ask'etc.) and cognition-utterance ('know', 'think', 'say' etc.). Of these three classes, modality and manipulative verbs manifest the strongest semantic bond with their complements (Givon1990:517). Burmese predictably grammaticalizes modality verbs into pre- and post head versatile auxiliaries, and manipulative verbs, i.e. causatives like 'make' and 'order' into post-head versatile auxiliaries. On the other hand, cognition-utterance verbs, which manifest the weakest semantic integration with their complements, are the only verbs which are seen to take clausal complements.

Verbs of Remembering

Verbs of remembering are *tha-ti.=ya.* 'remember with longing/miss', *aun:=mei.* 'miss', *hma'=mi.* 'remember/recall' and *mei.* 'forget'.

<u>With NP object</u>   When verbs of remembering take an NP as object, it is the object NP *in itself*, with its attributes if any, which the human cogitator recalls or forgets.

(46) *a-mei.   kou tha-ti.=ya. te*
   mother OBJ miss   RLS
   'I miss mother.'

(47) *a-hpei. kou aun:=mei. te*
   father OBJ miss   RLS
   'I miss father.'

(48) *di   pou'sa   kou hma'=mi. te*
   this problem OBJ remember RLS
   'I remember this problem.'

(49) *thu. a-hpyei kou mei.   thwa: pi*
   his answer OBJ forget *go*   PUNC
   'I have forgotten his answer.'

<u>NP+ *lou./hsou hta* as complement</u>   On the other hand, when such verbs take

an <u>NP+ *lou./hsou hta*</u> as complement, it is not the specifics about the NP that the cogitator

remembers or forgets, but rather the fact that it is this NP and not some other that is/was at

issue.

(50) *di   pou'sa lou.   hma'=mi. nei   <u>hta</u>*
      this problem COMP remember *stay* NOM
      'I remember that it was this problem.'

(51) *di   pou'sa hsou <u>hta</u>   hma'=mi. nei <u>hta</u>*
      this problem say   NOM remember *stay* NOM
      'id.'

Similarly with the verb *mei.* 'to forget' :

(52) ?*di   pou'sa lou.   mei.   thwa: pi*
      this problem COMP forget *go*   PUNC
      'I've forgotten that it was this problem.'

Some native speakers may find (53) more acceptable than (52):

(53) *di   pou'sa lou.   hsou <u>hta</u>   mei.   thwa: pi*
      this problem COMP say   NOM forget *go*   PUNC
      'I've forgotten the fact that it was this problem.'

But the NP+ *hsou <u>hta</u>* construction is completely acceptable:

(54) *di   pou'sa hsou <u>hta</u>   mei.   thwa: pi*
      this problem say NOM forget *go*   PUNC
      'id.'

The <u>NP+ *lou/hsou hta*</u> construction may be analyzed as a reduced complement clause

with the existential verb *hpyi'* 'to be' and the clause final particle *te/me* (or *hta/hma*) elided.

Below are the probable source constructions:

(55) *di pou'sa hpyi. te   lou.   hma'=mi. nei <u>hta</u>*   (cf.49)
      this problem be   RLS COMP remember *stay* NOM
      'id.'

(56) *di pou'sa hpyi' te hsou* <u>*hta*</u> *hma'=mi. nei* <u>*hta*</u>　　　(cf.50)
this problem be　RLS say　NOM remember *stay* NOM
'id.'

Nominalized clausal complements　　　When verbs of remembering take a

nominalized complement, the nominalized complement may be ambiguous between an

event-like or product-like interpretation.

(57) *tin tin pyo:* <u>*hta*</u> *mei. thwa: pi*
name　say　NOM forget *go*　　PUNC
'I've forgotten what Tin Tin said.'
(Alternatively) 'I've forgotten that Tin Tin said (thus).'

But with the plural marker *twei*, a clearly product-like meaning is indicated:

(58) *hsaya pyo:* <u>*hta*</u> <u>*twei*</u> *mei. thwa: pi*
teacher say　NOM PLU　forget *go*　　PUNC
'I've forgotten the things the teacher said.'

Similarly, with *hma'=mi.* :

(59) *a-mei nga.* <u>*kou*</u> *a:=pei:* <u>*hke.*</u> <u>*hta*</u> <u>*kou*</u> *hma'=mi.* <u>*te*</u>
mother I　　OBJ encourage *distal* NOM　OBJ remember　RLS
'I remember mother encouraging me.'

Contrast with the presence of *twei*:

(60) *a-mei nga.* <u>*kou*</u> *a:=pei:*　　<u>*hke.*</u> <u>*hta*</u> <u>*twei*</u> <u>*kou*</u> *hma'=mi.* <u>*te*</u>
mother I　　OBJ encourage *distal* NOM PLU OBJ remember RLS
'I remember the encouragements mother gave me.'

Similarly, with *tha-ti. =ya.* 'remember':

(61) *ma-hni' ka. di mei=-*<u>*hkun:*</u> *ne. pa'the' lou.*
last-year past this question　　with concern COMP

hpyei <u>*hke.*</u> <u>*hta*</u> <u>*kou*</u> *tha-ti. ma-ya.* <u>*hpu:*</u>
answer *distal* NOM OBJ mind　NEG-get NEG

'I don't remember answering (regarding) this question last year.'

Contrast with the presence of *twei*:

(62) *ma-hni' ka. di mei:=hkun: ne. pa'the' lou.*
      last-year past this question   with concern COMP

      hpyei hke. hta twei kou tha-ti. ma-ya. hpu:
      answer *distal* NOM PLU OBJ mind NEG-get NEG
      'I don't remember the *answers* regarding this problem last year.'

Finite sentential complements   'Remember' verbs do not allow finite sentences

to be directly embedded as their complements. In the absence of an intervening

complementizer, the two clauses are interpreted as syntactically independent of each other.

(63) *a-mei min: kou a:-pei: hke. te   tha-ti.=ya. ye.   la:*
      mother you OBJ encourage *distal* RLS   remember AUX [2] Q
      'Mother encouraged you. Do you remember, honestly?'

A **Finite sentence+** *hsou hta* can occur as complement of *tha-ti.=ya.* :

(64) *a-mei min: kou a:=pei: hke. te   hsou hta tha-ti.=ya. ye.   la:*
      mother you OBJ encourage *distal* RLS say NOM remember AUX Q
      'Do you remember the fact that mother encouraged you?'

On the other hand, a **Finite sentence+** *lou.* may be acceptable with some native speakers but

not with others:

?   *a-mei min: kou a:-pei: hke. te lou. tha-ti.-ya. ye. la:*
     'id.'

Similarly, with *hma'=mi.* 'remember':

(65) *ma-hni' ka. di pou'sa hpyei hke. te   hsou hta ma-hma'=mi. hpu:*
      last-year past this problem answer *distal* RLS say   NOM NEG-remember NEG
      'I don't remember the fact that I answered this problem last year.'

?   *ma-hni'-ka. di pou'-sa hpyei khe. te lou. ma-hma'-mi. bu:*
     'id.'

---

[2] The versatile auxiliary *ye.* indicates that the speaker expects a negative answer (Okell 1969:460).

In the absence of an overt complementizer, (65) is usually interpreted as two clauses syntactically independent of each other:

(66) ma-hni' ka. di pou'sa hpyei _hke_. _te_ \\   ma-hma'=mi. _hpu:_
      'I answered this problem last year.'   'I don't remember.'

Verbs of Believing

Verbs of believing like _youn_ 'trust' and _youn=ci_ 'believe in' express a higher degree of commitment in the truth or certainty of the proposition than do verbs of conjecture, ie. a lower degree of belief such as _htin_ 'think/feel', _yu=hsa_ 'consider (lit: take+weigh)'. The syntactic reflex of this semantic difference may be seen in the fact that _youn_ 'trust' and _youn=ci_ 'believe in' take nominalized clauses which may be marked with the object marker _kou_ whereas _htin_ and _yu=hsa_ do not. But the semantic gradation and its syntactic correlate is even more subtle and may further be seen in the difference between _htin_ and _yu=hsa._, where _htin_ allows the direct embedding of a nominalized clause (without _kou_) in contrast to _yu=hsa_ which does not.

With NP as object   The verbs _youn_ 'trust' and _youn=ci_ 'believe in' take an NP as direct object. Note that _youn_ and _youn=ci_ do not express epistemic[3] certainty in the existence or participation of the NP in a specific event.

(67) _thu. kou youn te_
      3P OBJ trust RLS
      'I trust her.'

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[3] I use 'epistemic' in Givon's (1990:529) sense of "quantification of degree of certainty, strength of belief or reliability of evidence."

(68) *thu. kou youn=ci te*
      3P OBJ believe.in RLS
      'I believe in her.'

On the other hand, *htin* and *yu=hsa.* do not take an NP as direct object.

(69) **thu. kou yu=hsa. nei hta*
      3P OBJ consider *stay* NOM

(70) ?*thu. kou htin nei hta*
      3P OBJ think *stay* NOM
      'I thought it was her.'

Some native speakers may accept (69), in which case the underlying structure should be

analyzed as a reduced existential clause. Note that in this analysis the complementizer *lou.*

is preferable to the object marker *kou*.

(71) *thu hpyi' te   lou.   htin nei hta > thu (lou.)   htin nei hta*
      3P be   RLS COMP think *stay* NOM > 3P (COMP) think *stay* NOM
      'I had thought it was her.'

Analogously, *yu=hsa.* appropriately takes <u>NP+ *lou.*</u> (cf.68):

(72) *thu lou.   yu=hsa. nei hta*
      3P COMP consider *stay* NOM
      'I consider/assume it was him.'

When *youn* 'trust' or *youn=ci* 'believe in' takes an NP with the complementizers *lou.*

or *hsou hta*, they shift in meaning from 'trusting someone' or 'believing in someone' to that

of expressing epistemic certainty in the existence or participation of the NP in a specific

event.

(73) *mya.=maun lou   youn=ci te*
      name   COMP believe   RLS
      'I believe it was Mya Maung.'

(74) *mya.=maun hsou h̲ta   youn   t̲e*
     name   say   NOM believe RLS
     'I believe it was Mya Maung.'

<u>Nominalized clause as complement</u>   To the extent that *youn* and *youn=ci*

express belief in the intrinsic quality of an object NP, so too do they express belief in the

intrinsic quality of a nominalized clause which occurs as their direct object, optionally

marked with *kou*. Consequently, with a nominalized verb like *pyo:* 'say', the construction is

totally weighted towards a product-like interpretation.

(75) *tin maun pyo: h̲ta   (kou) youn   t̲e*
     name   say NOM OBJ believe RLS
     'I believe what Tin Maung said.'
     *'I believe that Tin Maung said thus.'

(76) *tin maun pyo: h̲ta   (kou) ma-youn=ci   h̲pu:*
     name   say NOM OBJ NEG-believe.in NEG
     'I don't believe in what Tin Maung said.'
     *'I don't believe in that Tin Maung said thus.'

The fact that nominalized complements of *youn* and *youn=ci* take *kou* object-marking

correlates with the fact that they take direct NP objects.

(77) *maun=maun la   pyo: h̲ta   kou youn   t̲e*
     name   come say NOM OBJ believe RLS
     'I believe what Maung Maung came and told me.'

(78) *maun=maun. kou youn   t̲e*
     name.G   OBJ believe RLS
     'I believe/trust Maung Maung.'

On the other hand, when the nominalized clause occurs as complement of *htin*

'think', a verb expressing a conjecture, it cannot be marked with *kou*:

(79) *maun=maun la   pyo: h̲ta   (*kou) htin   t̲e*
     name   come say NOM   think RLS
     'I think Maung Maung came and told me.'

Consider too a nominalized intransitive clause occurring as complement of *htin*:

(80)   *mou: ywa hta (*kou) htin te*
       sky   fall NOM   think RLS
       'I think that is the rain'

A nominalized complement of *htin* is weighted towards an event-like interpretation, correlating with the fact that it seems less likely to take a direct NP object:

?* *maun maun kou htin te*
    name.G   OBJ think RLS

The default interpretation of the complement clause in (81) is that of an event; moreover, *kou* may not occur after it:

(81)   *hla. maun pyo: hta (* kou) htin te*
       name   say NOM   think RLS
       'I think Hla Maung said thus.'

The presence of the plural marker *twei*, however, allows the complement to be interpreted as the "things" he said; however, *kou* may still not occur after it:

(82)   *hla. maun pyo: hta   twei (* kou) htin te*
       name   say NOM PLU   think RLS
       'I think these are what Hla Maung said.'

In contrast to *htin* 'think', *yu=hsa.* 'consider to be' may not even allow a directly embedded nominalized clause as object, precluding consequently the presence of the object marker *kou*:

(83) ? *mou: ywa hta   yu=hsa. te*
       sky   fall NOM consider RLS
       'I consider that's the rain'

(84) * *mou: ywa hta kou yu=hsa. te*
       sky   fall NOM OBJ consider RLS

However (83) becomes acceptable with the presence of the complementizer *lou.* :

(85)   *mou: ywa* <u>*hta*</u>   *lou.*   *yu=hsa.* <u>*te*</u>
sky fall   NOM COMP consider RLS
'I consider that to be the rain'

<u>Nominalized clause + *lou.* as complement</u>   To the extent that *htin* 'think' and

yu=hsa. 'consider' are weighted against taking an NP as direct object, *lou.* occurs after their

nominalized complements.

(86)   *tin=maun pyo:* <u>*hta*</u>   *lou.*   *htin/ yu=hsa.* <u>*te*</u>
name   say NOM COMP think/consider RLS
'I think/consider that Tin Maung said thus.'

<u>With finite sentential complements</u>   The more the complement clause retains

the syntax of a finite independent sentence, the less likely it is to be directly embedded as the

complement of verbs of believing like *youn* and *youn=ci* which express belief or confidence

in the intrinsic quality of a nominal entity. As intrinsic qualities pertain less to events than

to products, there is less likelihood of a finite sentence occurring as the directly embedded

complement of such verbs. In (87), the two clauses are normally understood to be

syntactically independent of each other.

(87)   *tin maun* *pyo:* <u>*te*</u>   *youn* /*youn=ci*   *te*
name   say RLS   believe/be confident RLS
'Tin Maung said so.   I believe/am confident thus.'

The insertion of *lou.* after the finite sentence brings out an additional but subtle semantic

difference between *youn* 'trust/believe' and *youn=ci* 'believe in/be confident in'.

(88) ?*tin maun pyo:* <u>*te*</u>   *lou.*   *youn* <u>*te*</u>
name   say RLS COMP believe RLS
'I believe that Tin Maung said thus.'

(89)   *tin maun pyo:* <u>*te*</u>   *lou.*   *youn=ci* <u>*te*</u>
name   say RLS COMP believe   RLS
'I am confident that Tin Maung said thus.'

The presence of *lou.* is questionable after the sentential complement of *youn* 'believe', the complement being more like a direct object which bears the full weight of the speaker's trust or belief. However, with *youn=ci*, the complement is not a direct object to the degree that *youn* is. Consequently, *youn* and its complement are more tightly integrated than *youn=ci* is with its complement. The fact that *lou.* seems relatively incompatible with *youn*, but is clearly acceptable with *youn=ci* , is the syntactic consequence of this semantic difference.

On the other hand, a finite sentence may be directly embedded as the complement of *htin* 'think'. The embedded sentence and the matrix clause are not seen as independent of one another. Additionally, *lou.* may optionally and appropriately occur after the embedded finite sentence.

(90)   *tin=maun pyo: te*   *(lou.)*   *htin te*
      name   say NOM (COMP) think RLS
      'I think that Tin Maung said thus.'

Consider next *yu=hsa.* 'consider/assume', which requires *lou.* after the sentential complement, in the absence of which the consecutive clauses are normally seen as independent of one another.

(91)   *tin=maun pyo: te*   *yu=hsa. te*
      name   say NOM   consider RLS
      'Tin Maung said thus. I assume.'

The embedded sentence requires *lou.* to function as the complement of *yu=hsa.*:

(92)   *tin=maun pyo: te*   *lou.*   *yu=hsa. te*
      name   say NOM COMP consider RLS
      'I consider/assume that Tin Maung said thus.'

The difference between *yu=hsa.* 'consider' and *htin* 'think' with regard to the alternation of *lou.* , may only be explained by appealing to the notion of the degree of semantic

between (sentential) complement and matrix verb. It appears that in Burmese, *yu=hsa.* and the proposition coded by its sentential complement are relatively less tightly bound than *htin* and the proposition coded by its sentential complement. More precisely, *yu=hsa.* expresses a relatively lesser degree of epistemic certainty than does *htin*, which appears contrary to the translation for *htin* (i.e. 'think') which I have been using all along. It is appropriate at this point to look at what the lexicographer says about *htin*. In the Burmese-English dictionary (1993), the related meanings of *htin* are 'be visible, appear to the mind, think, be of opinion.' Moreover, *htin* occurs in the compound *htin=myin* (be visible+see) 'visualize, see in mind's eye, discern mentally' (ibid.). The fact that 'be visible', 'see in mind's eye' are intrinsic to the meaning of *htin* argues that *htin* is in some sense more tightly bound to the proposition coded in the complement; in other words, *htin* expresses a higher degree of epistemic certainty than does *yu=hsa.* which is borne out by the difference in syntactic behavior.

Sense-Perception Verbs

Examples of sense-perception verbs are *na:=htaun* 'listen', *ca:* 'hear', *myin* 'see', *ci.* 'look', *lei.=la* 'study/observe' and *tha-ti.=hta:* 'notice'. The sense-impression of a sense-perception verb is coded by a nominalized clause. The optional presence of the object marker *kou* after the nominalized complement correlates with the distributional facts, namely, that sense-perception verbs take direct NP objects.

(93) *than: htun: ma-nei. ka. la hta (kou) myin lai' pa te*
      name   yesterday past come NOM (OBJ) see *away* POL RLS
      'I saw Than Tun come yesterday.'

(94) *thu ei'=ngai' nei ḫṯa (ḵou) tha-ti.=hta: mi. ṯe*
3P sleepy   *stay* NOM (OBJ) notice   AUX RLS
'I inadvertently noticed him being sleepy.'

(95) *thu tha-hcin: hsou hta   (ḵou) na:=htaun nei ṯe*
3P song   say NOM (OBJ) listen   *stay* RLS
'I'm listening to him singing.'

As sights and sounds are usually associated with verbs of seeing and hearing, the

nominalized complement clause may indicate a sight or a sound.

(96) *thu lou' ḫṯa   ci.   pa   oun:*
3P do   NOM look POL CUM
'Look at what he's doing.'

(97) *hsa-ya pyo: ḫṯa   ca: lai'   la:*
teacher say NOM hear *away* Q
'Did you hear what the teacher said?'

In contrast, the interpretation of the nominalized complement clause in (98) is weighted

towards that of an event because of the emphasis on the particulars of the verb-action:

(98) *hsa-ya ta-yau'   hte: tou:=tou:=lei: pyo: nei ḫṯa   ca: la:*
teacher one-CLF only quietly   talk *stay* NOM hear Q
'Do you hear the teacher quietly talking to himself?'

Sentiment Verbs

Examples of sentiment verbs are *pyo* 'be happy', *wun:=tha* 'be happy', *wun:=ne:* 'be

sad', *le'=hkan* 'to accept', *pyi.=pe* 'to reject', *hyoun.=hca.* 'to condemn', *cai'* 'like', *cou=hsou*

'welcome', *goun=yu* 'to take pride', *cei:=zu:=tin* 'to be grateful'. Sentiment verbs take

nominalized clauses as complement, with the optional occurrence of the object marker *kou*.

(99) *min: pai'hsan ṯwei   a-mya:= ci: hsoun:=hyoun: ḫṯa   ḵou wun:=ne: pa ṯe*
you money PLU a.lot   lose   NOM OBJ sad   POL RLS
'I'm sorry that you lost a lot of money.'

(100) *min: di a-lou. ka.   htwe' ya. hma kou le'=hkan pei=me. wun:=ne: te*
3P   this work from leave *get* NOM OBJ accept   although sad   RLS
'Although I accept that you will have to resign from this job, I'm sad.'

Verbs of Knowing

The verbs *thi.* 'know', *na:=le* 'understand', *sei'=ku:* 'imagine' and *sin:=sa:* 'think' take

a nominalized clause as complement, with the object marker *kou* occurring optionally after

the complement.

(101) *wei=lin: lou' thwa: hta nga thi.   pa te*
name   do *go* NOM I   know POL RLS
'I know Wai Lin did thus.'

(102) *wei=lin: lou' thwa: hta   kou nga na:=me-le   nain hpu:*
name   do *go* NOM OBJ I   ear=NEG-revolve *can* NEG
'I cannot understand Wai Lin doing thus.'

(103) *wei=lin: lou' thwa: hta   kou nga sin:=sa: ci.   te*
name   do *go* NOM OBJ I   think   *look* RLS
'I try to think of Wai Lin doing thus.'

Verbs of Anticipation

A verb of positive anticipation is *hmyo=lin.* 'expect'. Verbs of negative expectation

are *cau'* 'fear', *sou:* 'fear', *sou:=yein* 'be anxious' and *sei'=pu* 'worry'. Irrealis nominalized

clauses typically occur as direct object with the optional presence of *kou*.

(104) *phei=phei a-meiyi.kan ka.   pyan la   hma   kou hpe: hmyo=lin. nei te*
father   America   ABL return come I/NOM OBJ only expect   *stay* RLS
'We are only looking forward to father coming back from America.'

(105) *thu pyan ma-la*   *hma*   *sou:=yein te*
3P return NEG-come I/NOM worry   RLS
'I worry that he might not come back.'

Verbs of Evaluation

Verbs of evaluation are *kaun:* 'good', *nyan.* 'be poor', *hman* 'be right', *hma:* 'be wrong',

hou' 'be true', *hsou:* 'be poor/bad', *hpyi. =nain* 'be possible', *thei=hca* 'be sure'. Ease of

performance verbs like *lwe* 'be easy' and *hke'* 'be difficult' also belong to this category. These

verbs take a nominalized complement clause as subject with the optional occurrence of the

subject marker *ka.* .

(106) *yei=hcou: ya. hta   kaun: te*
bathe   *get* NOM good RLS
'It's good having to bathe.'

(107) *thu yei: hta   to=to nyan. te*
3P write NOM quite poor RLS
'What he wrote is quite poor.'

(108) *bou=jou. pyo: hta   twei ka. hou' te*
General say NOM PLU SUB true RLS
'What the General said is true.'

Utterance Verbs

Examples of utterance verbs are *pyo:* 'say/tell', *hsou* 'say', *mei:* 'ask', *nya* 'lie',

wun=hkan 'admit', *hyin:=pya.* 'explain', *cei=nya* 'announce', *tin=pya.* 'present' etc. Utterance

verbs in general require *lou.* after the quotation complement, except in the case of *pyo:* 'say'

and *mei:* 'ask':

(109) maun=hpyu ka. thu na:=le te (lou.) pyo: te
      name   SUB he understand RLS (COMP) say RLS
      'Maung Phyu said that he understood.'

(110) ba lou' ya. ma-le: (lou.) mei: te
      WH do get IRR-Q (COMP) ask RLS
      'He asked what he must do?'

With all other utterance verbs, lou. is required after the finite complement clause:

(111) maun hpyu ka thu na:=le te lou. nya te
      name   SUB he understand RLS COMP lie RLS
      'Maung Phyu lied that he understood.'

Without lou., the putative complement and matrix clauses are more likely to be

interpreted as being syntactically independent of each other.

(112) ca-no tou. lou' hta twei hma: pa te cei=nya te
      1P   PLU do NOM PLU wrong POL RLS announce RLS
      'What we did was wrong.   (They) announced.'

Consequently, lou. is usually seen to occur after the finite quotation complement:

(113) a-sou:=ya. ka. thu tou. lou' hta twei hma: pa te
      government SUB 3P PLU do   NOM PLU wrong POL RLS

      lou. wun=hkan cei=nya te
      COMP admit   announce RLS

      'The government admitted and announced that what they did was wrong.'

The reported speech also occurs as complement of hsou hta 'the fact that/say that', which

itself is the complement of the matrix utterance verb:

(114) le'=hyi. a-hcei=a-nei ne. a-mya: pyi=thu=lu=htu. a-po
      present circumstance and many people   on

      be lou a-cou: the'=yau' hmu. twei hyi. la   ma-le: hsou hta   kou
      WH way effect   affect   matter PLU be come IRR-Q say NOM OBJ

u: tin=u: ka.   hyin:=pya. hke.   pa   te [4]
HON   name   SUB explain   *distal* POL RLS

'U Tin Oo explained the present circumstances and what sort of consequences will befall on the people at large.'

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[4] BBC interview of U Tin Oo. Voice of Burma. October 4, 1998.

CHAPTER XI

SUBORDINATION AND CONJUNCTION

Complex sentences have a main clause and at least one, or more subordinate clauses. Adverbial subordinate clauses in Burmese are realized by a number of different syntactic constructions, namely, subordinate clauses proper, nominalized clauses and relative clauses. Previously, in the chapter on Complementation, we have looked at nominalized clauses that are seen to be 'tightly bound' or embedded into the structure of the main clause, by virtue of occurring as the subject or object argument of the main verb (Givon 1990:825). Furthermore, we have already seen how relative clauses occur within the noun phrase to modify the head noun (see chapter on the Noun Phrase.) In this chapter, we shall look at how nominalized and relative clauses assume such adverbial functions as time, manner, reason, addition and substitution.

Subordinate clauses proper are not structurally marked for tense but only for polarity (see the chapter on the Verb Phrase), are suffixed with a subordinating particle, and may additionally be divided into two general categories: realis and irrealis, which in some cases, bear upon the choice of subordinating particle. Realis subordinate clauses describe realized events. Irrealis subordinate clauses, on the other hand, describe hypothetical or unrealized events. It can be said that, in general, time reference for the subordinate clause is dependent on the main clause event. Furthermore, we shall see that in some cases, the synchronic

function of a subordinating particle is determined by the semantic relation holding between

the propositions coded by the main and subordinate clauses.

TABLE 11. Subordinating Particles

	VP	Subordinating particle	Postposition
Condition	VP	*yin* 'if'	*le:* 'also'
	VP	*hma.* 'only if'	*hpe:* 'only/emphatic'
	VP	*le:* '(if) also'	*tha* 'only/concession'
			to. 'contrast/adversative'
Benefactive	VP	*hpou.* 'for'	*taun* 'even'
			ko: 'addition/query'
Purpose/Cause	VP	*aun* 'in order to cause'	
Temporal	VP	*toun:* 'while'	
	VP	*yin:* 'while'	
	VP	*tain:* 'whenever'	
	VP	*pi: (to.)* 'after'	
	VP	*to.* 'when'	
	VP	*ga-hte: ka.* 'since'	
	VP VP	*hcin:* 'as soon as'	
	Neg V Neg	*hcin:* 'until V'	
	Neg VP	*hkin* 'before'	
Reason	VP	*lou.* 'because'	
Concession	VP	*pei me.* 'although'	
		le: 'although'	
'Even'	VP	*taun* 'even'	
Manner	VP	*tha-lou* 'in the manner of'	
Measure	VP	*the-lau'* 'as much as'	
Exclusion	Neg VP	*hpe: (ne.)* 'without'	
Addition	VP	*youn din/tha ma-ka. (hpu:)* 'not only'	
Hypothetical	Sentence	*hsou yin/ hsou lou. hyi. yin* 'suppose that'	

Note.   When *le:*, *hpe:*, *to.* and *taun* occur immediately after the VP they

function as subordinating particles. On the other hand, they may also occur after some

subordinating particles to add still another functional/semantic value to the subordinate

adverbial clause.

Adverbial Subordinate Clauses

Condition   The conditional *yin* 'if' describes a condition which is yet to be

realized; as Givon (1990:829) notes, irrealis conditional clauses have an implied futurity.

(1)   *thu   aun=myin yin nga wun:=tha te*
      3P   succeed   if I   happy   RLS
      'I'm happy if he succeeds.'

      thu   aun=myin yin nga wun:=tha me
      'I'll be happy if he succeeds.'

An alternate construction is *lou. hyi. yin*

(2)   *min: aun=myin lou.   hyi. yin nga wun:=tha pa   te*
      you succeed   COMP be   if I   happy   POL RLS
      'I'm happy if you succeed.'

In this construction, *aun=myin* is the complement of *hyi.* 'to be', followed by the

subordinator *yin* 'if', meaning 'If (it) be that you succeed, ...'

Counter-fact conditionals are indicated by the presence of the versatile auxiliary *hke.*

'distal/past' in the subordinate clause. The counter-fact conditional requires an irrelis main

clause; we have seen previously (Chpt. VI: The Verb Phrase) that the irrealis *me* is used to

express estimations about the past. Consequently, *me* (and not *te*) occurs appropriately in (3):

(3)   *thu   aun=myin hke.   yin nga wun:=tha me*
      3P   succeed   *distal* if I   happy   IRR
      'I would have been happy if he had succeeded.'

In (3), the versatile auxiliary *hke..*[1] has a perfective aspect, albeit unrealized or

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[1] See discussion on *hke.* in the chapter on Post-Head Versatile Verbs.

counterfactual, because of the irrealis main clause. In (4), *hke.* is interpreted as possibly

denoting a location as well as the perfective aspect because of the realis main clause.

Consequently, *thu aun=myin hke. yin* is not a counter-fact conditional, but expresses instead

the possiblity of a realized event *elsewhere*.

(4) *thu aun=myin hke. yin nga wun:=tha te*
3P succeed *distal* if I happy RLS
'I am happy if he succeeded (elsewhere).'

On the other hand, the conditional *hma.* 'if only' indicates unrealized as well as realized

conditions.

(5) *thu aun=myin hma. nga wun:=tha thwa: te*
3P succeed if.only I happy *go* RLS
'I became happy only when he succeeded.' (Realized condition)

Note the inceptive as well as the perfective sense of the versatile auxiliary *thwa:* 'go', which

typically occurs in the main clause, indicating that the inception and fulfilment of the main

clause event did occur because of the realized conditional.

(6) *tha: pyan la hma. a-mei sei' ei: thwa: te*
son return *come* only.when mother mind cool *go* RLS
'Mother became relieved only when the son came back.'

When *hma.* indicates an irrealis condition, i.e. "whose truth value is pending"

(Givon:ibid.), an extra element of necessity is associated with the condition.

(7) *min: aun=myin hma. nga wun:=tha me*
you succeed only.if I happy IRR
'I'll be happy only when you succeed/if and only if you succeed.'

When the subordinate clause and the main clause share the same verb and subject, the

sentence describes a unitary event and the subordinate clause has a modal function,

adding a deontic sense to the main verb event.

(8) *nga ma-ne'=hpan   caun: thwa: hcin hma. thwa: me*
     I   tomorrow   school go   *want* only-if go   IRR
     'I'll go to school tomorrow only if I want to.'/'I may go to school tomorrow.'

(9) *nga ma-ne'=hpan caun: thwa: yin thwa: me*
     I   tomorrow   school go   if go   IRR
     'I may go to school tomorrow.'

The subordinators *yin* and *hma.* may be additionally followed by *taun* 'even' and *hpe:*

'only'.[2]

(10) *thu gati.   pei: yin taun   nga le' ma -hkan   nain hpu:*
     he promise give if even   I   hand NEG-accept *can* NEG
     'I cannot accept even if he makes a promise.'

The postposition *hpe:* frequently occurs after *hma.* for even more emphasis:

(11) *thu hyin: hma. hpe: na:=le   thwa: te*
     she explain even only understand *go*   RLS
     'I came to understand *only* when she explained.'

When *hpe:* follows *yin*, the subordinate clause implies the minimum and necessary condition

required for the realization of the main clause event.

(12) *thu la   yin hpe: nga to=to pyo   me*
     he come if only I   quite happy IRR
     'I'll be quite happy if the least he does is come.' /'if only he comes'

(13) *thu sa: yin hpe: to   thei: te*
     she eat if only be.fitting still RLS
     'It is satisfactory if the least she does is eat.'

The covert conditional   The subordinator *le:* 'also' may be analyzed as a covert

conditional, with an elided *yin* 'if'.

(14) *min: tha-bo:=tu le: pou kaun: hta   po.*
     2P   agree   also more good NOM TONE
     'It's better if you agree too.'

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[2]These also occur after the NP; see Chapter IV on Post-Nominal Function Words.

Moreover, when the main clause is negated, the *le:* subordinate clause may have a concessive

function, which indicates that in Burmese, the meaning of a subordinate clause together with

the function of the subordinating particle is, in some cases, determined by the semantic

relation between the propositions in the main and subordinate clauses.

> *min: tha-bo:=tu le: nga to.*   *hkwin.*   *ma-pei: nain hpu:*
> 2P   agree   also 1P   CONT permission NEG-give *can*   NEG
> '(As for me), I cannot give permission even if/even though you agree.'

Benefactive   The benefactive subordinator also occurs as a postposition having

the same meaning, e.g. *thu. hpou.* 'for him'.

  (15)   *min: sa: hpou. nga hce' pei: me*
           you eat for   I   cook *give* IRR
           'I'll cook for you to eat.'

The emphatic *hpe:*, the benefactive *a-twe'*, the 'identity' *hman:*, the 'comparison' *hte'* may

additionally follow the subordinator *hpou.*:

  (16)   *min: sa: hpou. (a-twe') nga hce'*   *pei: me*
           you eat for   BEN   I   cook *give*   IRR
           'I'll cook for you to eat.'

  (17)   *min: sa: hpou. hman: nga ma-thi.*   *hpu:*
           you eat for   *identity*   I   NEG-know NEG
           'I didn't know it was for you to eat.'

  (18)   *min: sa: hpou. hpe: hce' nei hta*
           you eat for   only cook *stay* NOM
           '(I) am cooking for you only to eat.'

  (19)   *min: sa: hpou. hte'*   *nga sa: hpou. ka pou a-yei:=ci: te*
           you eat for   *comparison* I   eat   for   SUB more important RLS
           'It is more important for me to eat than for you to eat.'

Note that the subject marker *ka.*, like other propositional semantic role markers, may occur

after a *hpou.* subordinate clause.

Purpose/Cause

(20) *thu sa: aun   nga hce' pei: me*
3P eat PUR I   cook *give* IRR
'I'll cook in order to make him eat.'

(21) *thu cou:=sa: aun   a-myou:=myou: lou' ya. te*
3P work.hard PUR variously   do *get* RLS
'We had to try various ways to make him work hard.'

Temporal   Simultaneity is marked by two subordinators in Burmese, *toun:* and

yin: .When the subordinate and main clause subjects are different, *toun:* 'while' is seen to

occur; *toun:* occurs after NP's in past time expressions.

(22) *hyei: toun: ka.* 'in the olden days'
ma-nei. toun: ka. 'yesterday'

When followed by the ablative *ka.*, the *toun:*-subordinate clause has past time reference

only.

(23) *thu ei'   nei toun: ka. nga htamin: hce' nei te*
he sleep *stay* while past I   rice   cook *stay* RLS
'I was cooking while he slept.'

Moreover, the locative postposition *hma* may also follow *toun:* :

(24) *sa=hpa' nei toun: (hma) mi: pye'   thwa: te*
read   *stay* while at   light destroy *go*   RLS
'The lights went out while I was reading.'

When the subordinate clause subject is different from the main clause subject, *toun:* may not

occur:

(25) *thu yei=hcou: toun:/*yin: ca-no a-myan thwa: tai' lai' te*
3P bathe   while   I   quickly   teeth brush *go* RLS
'I quickly brushed my teeth while he was bathing.'

On the other hand, the subordinator *yin:* 'while' occurs when the subordinate and main clauses have the same subject.

(26) *sa=hpa' yin:* *tha-hcin: na:=htaun nei te*
read　while song　listen　*stay* RLS
'(He) was listening to music while reading.'

'Whenever' is indicated by a single subordinator *tain::*

(27) *thu nya tain:*　*min: youn te*
he lie whenever you　believe RLS
'You believe (him) whenever he lies.'

Subsequence is indicated by *pi:,* which is synchronically related to the verb *pi:* 'to finish', and may be additionally followed by the postposition/aspectual particle *to.* which indicates contrast.

(28) *htamin: sa: pi:*　*(to.)*　*yei=hcou: te*
rice　eat *finish* (CONT)　bathe　RLS
'I bathed after I ate.'

As a subordinator following a bare verb, *to.* indicates past time reference:

(29) *hsaya hyin:=pya. to.*　*na:=le*　*thwa: te*
teacher clear.show　when understand *go*　RLS
'I understood when the teacher explained.'

The subordinator *to.* may be additionally followed by postpositions:

(30) *thu pyo: to.*　*hma. na:=le*　*thwa: te*
he say when only　understand *go*　RLS
'Only when he said (that), I understood.'

Initial boundary is marked by *ga=hte:=ka.*'since/ever since':

(31) *thu myou. ka.*　*pyan la*　*ga.=hte:=ka. ba hma. ma-lou. hcin hpu:*
3P town　from return　come since　　WH only　NEG-do *want* NEG
'He doesn't want to do anything since he came back from the city.'

Point coincidence is also indicated by a reduplicated verb followed by *hcin:* :

(32) *e'-the yau' yau' hcin: le'hpe'=yei hpyo tai' lai' te*
visitor reach reach *hcin:* tea.water   mix   feed *away* RLS
'They made tea and offered it to the visitor the moment he arrived.'

Negative initial boundary is indicated by the construction <u>Neg V Neg *hcin:*</u> :

(33) *thu ma la   ma hcin: nga ma   sa.   hpu:*
he NEG come NEG *hcin:* I   NEG begin NEG
'I won't start until he comes.'/ 'I won't start as long as he doesn't come.'

Precedence is indicated by <u>Neg V *hkin*</u> :

(34) *hsaya ma la   hkin di   pou'-sa pyi: aun lou' hta: me*
teacher NEG come *hkin* this problem finish PUR do   *keep* RLS
'I will work to complete this problem before the teacher comes.'

<u>Reason</u>

(35) *tha: lei: pyan la   lou.   a-mei sei' ei: thwa: te*
son small return come because mother mind.cool *go*   RLS
'Mother became relieved because her son came back.'

<u>Concession</u>   "Concessive clauses involve a pre-supposed contrast or counter-expectancy, with the adverbial clause supplying the grounds for the counter-expectation, and the main clause supplying the unexpected or less-likely state or event." (Givon 1990:835).

(36) *sa: pei=me. (lou.) ma -wa. hpu:*
eat although   NEG-fat NEG
'Although I eat, I'm not fat/ satisfied.'

The concessive function of *le:* is derived from its core meaning of 'too':

(37) *thei-na' ne. a-ceim=ceim pyi.   le: ma-thei nain hpu:*
gun   with many.times   shoot too NEG-die *can* NEG
'Although I shot(him)with a gun many times, he would not die.'
(Literally, 'I shot him with a gun many times too; he would not die.')

However, when the main clause is in the affirmative, *le:* functions like a conditional:

(38) *thu aun=myin le: wun:=tha ya hma po.*
he succeed too happy get NOM TONE
'(Well!) I'll be happy if he succeeds.'

Even The subordinate clause marked with *taun* 'even' describes a condition which is presupposed to contrast or be counter to the expectation expressed in the main clause. It consequently comprises the rhetorical/semantic notion of counter-expectancy and that of condition. The covert conditional *yin* may optionally occur in the subordinate clause.

(39) *thu mei: taun nga to. ma-hpyei hpu:*
3P ask even 1P CONT Neg-answer Neg
'I won't answer even if he asks.'

(40) *a-mei hsu taun thwa: hma hpe:*
mother scold even go I/NOM EMPH
'I will go even if mother scolds me.'

Manner The etymology of the subordinator *tha-lou* indicates that it may have derived historically from the 'older' written Burmese realis sentence final marker *thi,* reduced and combined with the lexical *lou* 'like/manner', which, as a postpostion, also follows NP's (see Chapter on Post-Nominal Function Words).

(41) *nga pyo: tha-lou lou'\\ nga lou' tha-lou ma-lou' ne.*
I say like do \\ I do like NEG-do IMP
'Do like I say. Don't do like I do.'

Measure A syntactically similar subordinator is *tha-lau'* 'measure'. As a lexical verb *lau* means 'to be sufficient'; *lau* is also a postposition (see Chapter IV)

(42) *thu pei: tha-lau' yu*
3P give *measure* take
'Take as much as he give.'

<u>Exclusion</u>   Exclusion is indicated by the combination of three morphemes: the negative *ma-* before the subordinate verb, together with the particle *hpe:* 'only' and the postposition *ne.* 'with'.

(43) *hpou:tou' ka.   thei'   ma-sa: hpe: ne. wa. nei te*
      name   SUB quite NEG-eat only   with fat *stay* RLS
      'Hpou Toke is fat without eating much.'

<u>Addition</u>   Addition is indicated with the subordinating particle *youn* 'just' followed by the clause *ma ka. hpu:* 'be not less than' as in *di lau ' ma ka. hpu:* 'Not less than this.' (this+measure+not less than).

(44) *maun maun goun=htu: ya. youn ma-ka.   hpu: thida pa   ya. hta*
      name   distinction get just NEG-less NEG name also get NOM
      'Not only Maung Maung gained distinction, Mya Mya too.'

<u>Hypothetical</u>   The hypothetical is expressed with the subordinating construction *hsou yin* 'say if', which itself is a combination of the utterance verb followed by the subordinator *yin.* An alternate construction which functions as a subordinator is *hsou lou. hyi. yin,* where we see that *hsou lou.* (say + COMP) is the complement of *hyi.* 'to have', which is followed by *yin.* A finite clause, which may be additionally followed by the complementizer *lou.,* has to precede this subordinating construction.

(45) *min: ga-ti.   pe: me (lou.)   hsou yin*
      you promise give IRR (COMP) say   if

      nga ma-youn=ci   nain sa-ya   a-caun: ma-hyi.   hpu:
      I   NEG-believe   *can* NOM fact   NEG-have NEG

      'Suppose that/ Say that/ If/ you promise, there's no reason for me not to trust (you).'

Adverbial Relative Clauses

Relative clauses in Burmese express inter-clausal logical/semantic relations. In such constructions, the relativized head indicates a logical relation of some sort between the adverbial subordinate clause and the main clause.

Temporal   The relative head *a-hka* 'time' may be additionally followed by the locative postposition *hma* to denote a point in time (a temporal location).

(46) *hsaya win la   te.   a-hka hma caun:=tha: twei nyein thwa: te*
      teacher enter *come* REL time at   student   PLU quiet *go*   RLS
      'The students became quiet when the teacher entered.'

Terminal boundary   Terminal temporal boundary is indicated by the relative head *a-hti.* 'until'; note that the de-verbal *a-hti.* is synchronically related to the verb *hti.* 'touch'.

(47) *thu la   te.   a-hti.   hpe: nga lou' nain me*
      3P come REL until   only I   work *can* IRR
      'I'll be able to work only till he comes.'

Addition   The relative head *a-pyin* 'outside', indicates that the subordinate clause event has, in addition to it, a parallel and typically related event which is coded by the main clause.

(48) *do   loun: ka. a-wu' hyo te.   a-pyin hta-min: le: hce' te*
      HON name SUB clothes wash REL outside rice   also cook RLS
      'In addition to washing clothes, Daw Loun also cooks.'

Note that as a postposition, *a-pyin* has the same meaning, e.g. *thu. a-pyin* 'in addition to him'; moreover, also *a-pyin* also occurs as a Relator Noun (see Section on Relator Nouns in Chapter IV on Post-Nominal Function Words).

<u>Reason</u>   The relative head *a-twe'* 'because of', may be additionally followed

by the postposition *jaun.* 'because of'.

(49) *maun ba.   <u>ka</u>. you: te.   a-twe'   (jaun.) a-lein   hkan   ya. <u>te</u>*
      HON name SUB simple REL because   NOM-cheat suffer *get* RLS
      'Maung Ba was cheated because he was simple.'

Analogous to *a-pyin* 'in addition', *a-twe* ' also functions as a postposition having either the

same meaning of 'reason' or a related meaning of 'purpose' which is determined y the main

clause verb.

(49a) *thu. a-twe ' pyo: pei: me*
       3P for   say *give* IRR
       'I will put in a word for him.'

(49b) *thu. a-twe'   sei' ma-kaun: hpyi'   nei la:*
       3P   because of mind NEG-good happen *stay* Q
       'Are you feeling bad/unhappy because of him?'

<u>Manner</u>   The relative head *a-tain:* 'according to' also occurs as a manner
postposition.

(50) *thu pyo: te.   a-tain: lou' te*
      he say REL MANNER do RLS
      'I did (that) according to his instructions.'

<u>Substitution</u>   Relative head *a-sa:* 'instead of' also occurs as a postposition

having the same meaning.   .

(51) *sa   hpa' me.   a-sa: ba lou' nei le:*
      letter read I/REL instead.of WH do *stay* Q
      'What are you doing instead of studying?'

Adverbial Nominalized Clauses

<u>Temporal: Simultaneity</u>   The *hta* nominalized clause, followed by *ne.* 'with',

functions as an adverbial subordinate clause describing 'point coincidence'.

(52) *hsaya win la hta ne. a-tan: kou nyein thwa: hta hpe:*
teacher enter *come* NOM with class EMPH quiet *go* NOM EMPH
'The class became quiet when the teacher entered.'/
'The class became quiet with the teacher's entrance .'

<u>Reason</u>   We have seen earlier in the section on adverbial relative clauses that

the postposition *jaun.* 'reason' may additionally follow the relative head *a-twe* ' 'reason'. Not

surprisingly, we also see that *jaun.* follows a nominalized clause to indicate 'reason'.

(53) *maun-ba. ka. you: hta jaun. a-lein hkan ya. te* (cf. 49)
name   SUB simple NOM because NOM-cheat suffer get RLS
'Maung Ba was cheated because he was simple.'

<u>Concession</u>   We have seen earlier that *taun* 'even' may follow

subordinating particles and have noted that it also occurs as a postposition (Chpt. IV: Post-

Nominal Function Words). Not surprisingly, we also see that it follows nominalized clauses

to indicate concession.

(54) *di lau' yai' hta taun ma-cau' hpu:*
this much hit R/NOM even.though NEG frightened NEG
'Even though (I) hit him a lot, he is not frightened.'

(55) *pa-lei' ka yai' hma taun ma-cau' hpu:*
police SUB hit I/NOM even.though NEG frightened NEG
'Even though the police were going to beat him up, he wasn't frightened.'

<u>Sentence Conjunction</u>

This section examines the coherence of consecutive clauses that are syntactically independent of each other. The coherence seen between syntactically independent clauses is in some respects functionally analogous to that seen between subordinate adverbial clauses and the main clause. For example, there are conjunctions in Burmese which indicate the same inter-clausal functional relations as those seen between subordinate and main clauses, namely, temporal succession, result/consequence and concession. Conjunctions occur sentence initially in the second of two consecutive independent clauses.

<u>Temporal Succession</u>

The conjunction *nau'* 'next, afterwards', synchronically related to *nau'* 'back of the body'. Note that *nau'* also occurs as a relator noun meaning 'behind/at the back'.

(1) *yei=hcou: te* \\ *nau' thanahka: lein: te*
      bathe   RLS\\ next thanakha.paste put.on RLS
      'She bathed; afterwards she put on thanakha. (Ground-up bark of the tree of the
                                                              same name.)

(2) *nau' thu ba   lou' le:*
      next she WH do   Q
      'What did she do next?'

Analogous to the order seen with post-nominal elements, *nau'* may be additionally followed by the postposition *tau.*, indicating contrast. The conjunction *nau'=to.* 'later' differs from *nau'* in that a relatively greater temporal separation is seen to exist between consecutive events.

(3) *thu nge=nge toun: ḳa.   to=to hsou: ṭe* \\ *nau'=to. lein=ma   thwa: ṭe*
   3P small   while PAST quite naughty RLS\\ later   well.behaved *go*   RLS
   'He was naughty as a young boy. Later he became a good, well behaved boy.'

(4) *nau'=to. ba   hpyi' thei: le:*
   later   WH be   CUM Q
   'Later, what happened additionally?'

Note that *nau'=to.* is not appropriate with two temporally contiguous events.

(5) ? *yei-hcou: te* \\ *nau'-to. thanahka: lein: te*   (cf. 1)
   She bathed. RLS Later she put on thanakha paste.'

But in most contexts, *nau'=to.* and *nau'* are interchangeable:

(6) *nau' ba   hpyi. thei: le:*   (cf. 4)
   later WH   be   CUM Q
   'What happened next additionally?'

The construction *nau'=ca. =yin* (next + to fall + when) indicates future temporal succession,

literally, 'later when the (following) event falls (comes about in future time).' The same

construction is seen in time expressions like *nau ' =hni '=ca. =yin* 'next year' from the literal

'when next year falls'.

(7) *a-hḳu. to.   thu tou. ci.   ya. ht̲a   a-hsin=pyei ṭe* \\
   now   CONT 3P PLU look *get* NOM ok   RLS\\
   'As for now, they seem ok.'

   nau'=ca. =yin ba   hpyi' ma-le: ma-thi.   hp̲u:
   later   WH be   IRR-Q NEG-know NEG
   '(I) don't know what will happen (later) in the future.'

In the previous chapter, we saw that *pi:=to.* occurred as a subordinator after the VP,

thereby deriving a dependent clause. *pyi:=to.* also occurs as a   conjunction and is

interchangeable with   *nau'*. Variants having the same meaning and occurring in the same

position are *nau'=pi:* and *nau'=pi:=t̲o.*.

(8) *yei=hcou: te* \\ *pi:=to. thanahka: lein: te*
bathe   RLS\\ next   thanakha paste put.on RLS
'She bathed; afterwards she put on thanakha.'

Result/Consequence

The postpositional phrase *da =jaun.* (this + because of) functions as a conjunction

to indicate result/consequence. In its function as part of the conjunctive phrase, the anaphoric

pronominal, *da* 'this', has as its antecedent the previous sentence.

(10) *thu wiri.ya. hyi. te* \\ *da =jaun. aun=myin hta*
3P diligent be RLS\\ therefore succeed NOM
'He is diligent. That's why he succeeds.'

Concession

An analogous construction is *da pei=me.* 'however', where *da* 'this' is followed by

the concessive particle *pei=me.* which also functions as a subordinator.

(11) *thu cou: sa: te* \\ *da pei=me. m- aun=myin bu:*
he try-hard RLS \\ this despite NEG succeed NEG
'He tried hard. However, he did not succeed.'

Alternate

Alternate (either-or) relations are expressed by semantically and syntactically parallel

independent clauses. This construction is derived from the subordination of 'V + *yin'* to the

main clause verb, which in this case is the same verb:

(12) *ca-no di hme nei yin nei me* \\ *ein pyan yin pyan me*
I   here LOC stay if stay IRR\\ home return if   return IRR
'I may stay here; (or) I may return home.'
Lit: 'If I stay, I will stay; If I return, I will return.'

In order to express an <u>either-or</u> relation with a single verb event, a bi-polar construction is

used with one clause expressing a negative and the other a positive proposition.

(13) *ca-no lou' yin lou' me* \\ *ma-lou' yin ma-lou' hpu:*
I   do   if   do   IRR \\ NEG-do if   NEG-do NEG
'I might or might not do (that).'
Lit: 'If I do (that), I will. If I don't, I won't.'

(14) *thwa: yin thwa:* \\ *ma-thwa: yin ma-thwa: ne.*
go   if   go   \\ NEG-go   If   NEG-go   IMP
'Go if you want to' / 'You may or may not go.'
Lit: 'If you go, go. If you don't go, don't.'

Alternately, and more typically:

(15) *thwa: yin thwa:* \\ *ma-thwa: yin nei*
go   if   go   \\ NEG-go   if   stay
'Go if you want to.'
Lit: 'If you go, go. If you don't go, stay.'

Addition

Parallel sentences with *le:* occur to coordinate two events without suggesting a specific temporal relation. That is, the construction does not indicate whether the two events are simultaneous or consecutive. The speaker is simply coordinating two propositions, leaving the temporal relation to be derived from the pragmatics of the situation.

(16) *mun=mun ka.   ma-nei.=ka.   hsou le: hsou te* \\ *ka.   le: ka.   te*
name   SUB yesterday   sing also sing RLS\\ dance also dance RLS
'Mon Mon sang as well as danced yesterday.'

In single subject parallel transitive clauses, *le:* follows the object NP in each of the clauses.

(17) *mya.=mya. ka. pe: hin:=chou le: hce' te* \\ *nga=pi.   le: co te*
name   SUB lentil soup   also cook RLS\\preserved=fish also   fry RLS
'Mya Mya made lentil soup and fried ngapi as well.'

APPENDIX A

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABL	ablative
ALL	allative
ASP	aspectual
AUX	auxiliary
CLF	classifier
CUL	culminative
CUM	cumulative
COMP	complementizer
CONT	contrastive
DIM	diminutive
EMPH	emphatic
EXP	experiential
HON	honorific
INGRESS	ingressive
HORT	hortative
I/NOM	irrealis nominalizer
I/REL	irrealis relativizer
IRR	irrealis
LOC	locative
NOM	nominalizer
NF	non-final marker
OBJ	object
PERF	perfective
POL	polite
PLU	plural
PROG	progressive
PUNC	punctative
QUOT	quotative
REL	relativizer
RLS	realis
R/REL	realis relativizer
R/NOM	realis nominalizer
SUB	subject

APPENDIX B

SAMPLE TEXT

This is a Burmese comic with original English translations provided for the direct quotes as well as for the narrative captions. Only the narrative captions have been transcribed below; the original translations have been edited wherever appropriate. The direct quotes in Burmese have not been transcribed, although the original translations (in italics) have been included to give a sense of continuity to the story.

(1) *lu   pyin: lei: hpou:tei ta-yau'*   *a-lou' inmatan lou' te.   pya: lo:ka. kou*
person lazy small Po Tay one-CLF   work much   do REL bee world to
the lazy little guy Po Tay   the world of bee(s) who work very hard

yau' nei hta   ka.   to.   *inmatan hpe: an.=o:-saya   pa   hpe: lei*
reach *stay* NOM SUB CONT   very   only surprise-NOM POL EMPH TONE
reach   indeed very surprising

'It is indeed very surprising that Lazy Po Tay is in the world of bees who work very hard.'

(2) *be   lau   pyin: tha-le: hsou yin*   *mi.ba.   ka.   ma-hnou: hpe: ne.*
how much lazy   RLS-Q   say   if   parents SUB NEG-wake only with
considering how lazy (he) is   without parents waking (him)

be=to.=hma. ei'ya ka.   ma- hta.   hpu:
never   bed from NEG-get.up NEG
(he) never gets up from bed

'Consider how lazy he is, he would never get up before his parents woke him. '

"Hey! Po Tay, aren't you awake yet? Get up."

"Have to wake me while I have good sleep. Problem."

"Where's the tin to get water to wash my face. Well I can dip my hands in the pot."

(3) *kohpi thau' pyan yin le:*   *pyin: lun: lou.*
     coffee drink again when also   lazy very as
     when (he) drinks coffee too   as (he) was very lazy

     tha-ca: nou. =hsi ne. kohpi hmoun. kou   *ba-za' hte: hte. pi:*
     sugar milk.oil and coffee powder OBJ   mouth in   put NF
     sugar, condensed milk and coffee   put in mouth and

     hku. lou   yei   nwei: kou ba-za' hte: laun: hte. pyan te
     now like   water warm OBJ mouth in   pour put again RLS
     like this   again pour hot water into mouth

'When he drinks coffee too, as he was too lazy he would put sugar, condensed milk and coffee into his mouth and then pour hot water into his mouth like this .'

"Oh, mother! Hot water's burning me. I'll die!"

"If you drink coffee like that it's just as well the hot water burns you."

(4) *pan: pin laun: hkain: yin le:*   *a-pyin:=htu pi:*
     flower plant water ask   when also   lazy   NF
     also when (he) was asked to water the flowers   lazy and

     hku. lou   lou' ta'   thei: te lei
     now like   do know.how still   RLS TONE
     like this   (he) still usually do

'When he was asked to water the flowers, he was lazy and would habitually do like this. '

"Oh! What!"

"You lazy-bones! Don't you see one whole person?"

"Hah! It's Daw Lay!"

"Oh, mother! So lazy working. I'll take rest under the tree."

(5)　*ei'ya ka.　nou: lou.　　ci. lai.　　to.　　　thu ha*
　　　bed　from wake as　　look *away* CONT　he SUB
　　　as (he) woke up　　　when (he) looked　he

　　pya: lei:　bawa.　　pyaun: nei hta　twei. ya. lou.　an.o:　thwa: te
　　bee small existence change *stay* NOM　find *get* as　　surprise *go*　RLS
　　changing into the life of a bee　　　as he found　　(he) was surprised

'When he looked as he woke up, he was surprised to see that he had been transformed into a bee.'

"Hah! I've become a bee."

"Hello! Hello! food station. Flowers are fragrant. Get ready to stock food stuff."

(6)　*pya: hpou:tei ne.　pya: lei:　mya: ha　　yei'hka　su. =hsaun: hpou.*
　　　bee　Po Tay and bee　small PLU　SUB　　provisions collect　　COMP
　　　bee Po Tay and the small bees　　　　　to collect provisions

　　pyi'si:　　mya: htou'　yu　ca.　pa te
　　equipment PLU　take.out take PLU POL RLS
　　took out the equipment

'Bee Po Tay and companions took out equipment to collect nectar.'

"Draw the tubes to suck the nectar., and get it in allotted proportion. Can't be lazy."

(7)　*pya: hpou:tei tou. pya: ta-thai'　ha　　pan: =wu'=yi su=hsaun: hpou.*
　　　bee　Po Tay PLU bee one-swarm SUB　　nectar　　　collect　COMP
　　　bee Po Tay and the swarm of bees　　　　to collect nectar

　　hkayi: sa. =tin htwe. hke.　ca　pa te
　　journey start　exit　*distal* PLU POL RLS
　　began their journey

'Bee Po Tay and the swarm of bees set out to gather nectar.'

(8)　*pya: lei:　mya: ha　pya: i.　　ban=tai' a-loun=a-lau' pyei. =wa. sei　hpou.*
　　　bee small PLU　SUB　bee GEN bank　adequately　fill　　Caus. COMP
　　　the little bees　　　in order to fill the bee bank adequately

a-hcein ca=myin. swa wu.=yi su.=hsaun: ca pa te
time   lenghty ADV nectar collect   PLU POL RLS
collected necter for a long time

'In order to fill the food bank, they gathered nectar for a long time.'

(9) pya: hpou:tei ha pan:=wu.=yi kou hku. lou a:=pa:=ta-ya sou. yu pi:
bee Po Tay SUB nectar   OBJ now like heavily   suck take NF
Bee Po Tay drew the necter heavily like this and

yei'hka   htana. ma-a'   hpe: a-wa.   thau pyi' lai' te
provision base   NEG-deposit only   NOM-satiate drink throw away RLS
without depositing it at the food bank   drank (it) to (his) satisfaction.

'Pya Po Tay drew heavily on the nectar and drank it to his satisfaction without
putting it in the food bank.'

(10) e:di nau' pya: hpou:tei ha   pya: twei nau dayagyan: lai'   ya. te
this next bee   Po Tay SUB   bee PLU back hastily   follow get RLS
Later Bee Po Tay   had to hastily follow the bees.

(11) di lou ne. pya: lei: twei ha pan:=wu'=yi kou the=yu la   pi:
this way with bee small PLU SUB nectar   OBJ carry   come NF
In this way, the little bees brought back the nectar and

yei'hka   htana. kou pei: bou.   pyan la hke. ca te
provision base   OBJ give COMP   return come dis PLU RLS
in order to give to the food bank   came back.

'The little bees brought back the nectar in this way and came back to give it to
the food bank.'

(12) pya: lei: twei ha   thu tou. the=hsaun la   te.   pan:=wu'=yi kou
bee small PLU SUB   3P PLU carry   come REL nectar   OBJ
The little bees   the nectar that they brought back

palin: twei hte: kou   a-thi:=thi: hte. pei: ca te
bottle PLU in OBJ   one-each put give PLU RLS
into the bottles   each put.

'Each of the little bees put the nectar they brought back into the bottles.'

"What others sucked is plenty. Mine is litle . Problem!"

"Look at that! You sucked all morning and got only this much?   Too little."

"You drank it on the way? In bee world, there is system, discipline. No shirking, You're unfit."

"Go, suck in proportion to others. If you can't, go away. Don't want a shirker like you. Go!"

(13) *pya: hpou:tei ha   pan:wu'=yi sou' hpou.   hkayi: htwe. hke. pei=me.*
      bee Po Tay   SUB nectar   suck COMP   journey leave AUX although
      bee Po Tay   to suck the nectar   although he set out

      lan: ma-thi.   hta   ne.   *ta-we= le=le hpyi. nei   hya te*
      road NEG-know NOM with   in-circles   be   stay pity RLS
      as (he) didn't know the way   (poor guy) going round in circles.

`Although Bee Po Tay set out to gather nectar, he wandered around, not knowing the way. `

"Where am I to look for the flowers?"

(14) *di ca: hte:*   *pya: hsou:=pei ci: ne.   twei. lou.*
      this midst in   bee rogue   big with meet as
      on top of everything   as (he) met with a huge rogue bee

      a-tin: htwe. pyei: hke. ya. thei: te
      forceful leave run   distal get still RLS
      had to run away hastily.

`On top of everything, he had to scamper as he met with the big bad bee.'

"Hey! You! Dont' run away!"

"I'm wrong. If I did it correctly like other bees, I wouldn't be in such trouble."

(15) *e:di a-hcein hma*   *lei   ci: mou: ci: ca.   la   lou.*
      that time   LOC   wind big rain   big fall   come as
      at that time   as a big storm came down

      hpou:tei dou'hka..pou yau.   nei te
      Po Tay   trouble   more reach stay RLS
      Po Tay got into more difficulties.

'A heavy storm came at that moment and Po Tay was in more trouble.'

"I'm wrong. Because I'm lazy and selfish, I landed in such trouble. I'll never do such things again."

(16) *hpou:tei ha   lei   hte: mou: hte: hma   hkayi: htwe. la   yin:*
Po Tay SUB wind in   rain   in   LOC journey leave *come* while
As Po Tay set off in the wind and rain

nau.=hsoun: *hma mo:=pan: pi:*	*mei. ca. thwa: to. te*
finally LOC exhaust NF	faint fall *go* CONT RLS
finally (he) was exhausted and	fainted and collapsed.

'As Po Tay set out in the wind and rain, he finally became exhausted. fainted and collapsed.'

"Hah! I was dreaming. I thought it was real.

"I'm a shirker! Lazybones! No good! From now on, I'll save pocket money like the bees. Without using it, I'll earn money and save it too."

(17) *e:di nau.=pain: hma do.   hpou:tei ha   a-pyin: ma-htu   to.   hpe:*
that after   LOC CONT Po Tay SUB   lazy   NEG-thick CONT only
after that   Po Tay,   without being lazy any longer

hcan hte: hma	*hin:=ywe' a-thi:=a-hnan mya: sai. pi:*
garden in LOC	vegetable fruit PLU plant NF
in the garden	planted fruits, vegetables and

'From then on, Po Tay was no longer lazy. planting vegetables. fruits in the garden and'

hcan   hte: ka.   htwe.   te'   a-thi:-a-hnan hin:=thi:=hin:=ywe' mya: kou
garden in from produce REL fruit   vegetable   PLU OBJ
the fruits, vegetables that came from the garden

caun: a: te. a-hcein hma	*zei: thwa: yaun: te*
school free REL time LOC	market go sell RLS
when school was closed	went and sold in the market.

'went and sold the fruits and vegetables from the garden in the market when school was closed.'

(18) *thei. ma-ca   te.   a-hcein hma   hpou:tei   ha   thu pain ngwei ne.*
      quite NEG-long REL time   LOC   Po Tay   SUB   he   own   money with
      before long   Po Tay   with money he owns

      hla.=pa. te.   se'=bein: ta-si: kou   we nain hke. pa   te
      pretty   REL cycle   one-CLF OBJ   buy *can distal* POL RLS
      a bicycle which is pretty   was able to buy.

'Before long, Po Tay was able to buy a pretty bike with his own money.'

"I bought this bike with my own money and I value it greatly."

(19) *hman pa te*   *lu   pyin: lei: hpou:tei   ta-yau'*
      true   POL RLS   person lazy small Po Tay   one CLF
      True indeed.   The lazy little fella Po Tay

      lu   pyin: bawa.   ka.   *cu'   thwa: hke. pi   hpyi'   pa   thi*
      person lazy existence from   release *go*   *distal* PUNC happen POL RLS
      from a lazy person's life   has been released

'That's right. The lazy little fella Po Tay is finally released from a lazy person's existence.'

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