

みんなくりポジトリ

国立民族学博物館学術情報リポジトリ National Museum of Ethnology

On the Usages and Functions of Particles -kou_/-Ka. in Colloquial Burmese

| | |
|-------|--|
| メタデータ | 言語: eng 出版者: 公開日: 2009-04-28 キーワード (Ja): キーワード (En): 作成者: 澤田, 英夫 メールアドレス: 所属: |
| URL | https://doi.org/10.15021/00002995 |

On the Usages and Functions of Particles *-kou_-/-ka.* in Colloquial Burmese

Hideo SAWADA*

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this paper is to describe the usages of the particles *-kou_-/-ka.*, especially when attached to nominal complements of a verb.

In chapter 2, we observe, as it were, the 'core' case of usages of the two particles as case-markers indicating Goal and Source of a movement. Here we discuss that *-kou_* phrases expressing Goal do not have the same importance among all movements and actions causing a movement. The same thing is applied to the case of *-ka.* phrases expressing Source.

In chapter 3, we deal with *-ka.* phrases opposed to phrases with *-athi.*, not with *-kou_*, and examine what the difference between *-ka./-kou_* pairs and *-ka./-athi.* pairs is.

In chapter 4, we consider the case of *-kou_* attached to so-called 'Object' and *-ka.* attached to 'Subject'. Many earlier works treat these particles as case-markers for 'Object' and 'Subject', respectively, I will show that it is inappropriate, and propose the alternative functions for them.

In chapter 5, we have apparent correspondences: *-kou_* with Recipient and *-ka.* with Giver. We point out that the former is in fact the same as *-kou_* discussed in chapter 4, and the latter must be accompanied by a kind of location noun *shi_* "the place where the person is", which is unnecessary for former. Here we have the formal asymmetry between the realizations of the two related semantic concepts.

Abbreviations

| | | | |
|------|-----------------------------------|-----|-------------------------------------|
| ARLS | attributive clause marker, realis | POS | possessive marker |
| CLS | classifier | QST | yes-no question |
| DAM | disambiguation marker | RCP | reciprocal |
| EMP | emphasis | RDP | reduplication |
| IMP | sentence marker, imperative | RLS | sentence marker, realis |
| IRL | sentence marker, irrealis | RTR | sentence marker, real-time response |
| NEG | sentence marker, negative | SSB | selection marker for subject |
| NIRL | nominal clause marker, irrealis | SUP | superlative |

*Kyoto University

| | | | |
|------|-------------------------------|-----|--------------|
| NRLS | nominal clause marker, realis | TOP | topic marker |
| PLR | plurality of nominals | WHQ | wh question |
| POL | politeness | | |

1. PRECEDING DESCRIPTIONS

I review some descriptions on *-kou_/-ka.* from four works of Burmese grammatical studies and two dictionaries. I replaced all original Burmese writing and its transcription by my own, and omitted all the examples within them.

Cornyn (1944): noun particle

"84. *-ka.* denotes source or agency, past time:" (p. 18)

"128. Noun expression attributes plus *-ka.*(84) or *-ne.*(86) precede the head noun with open juncture:" (p. 24)

"85. *-kou_* denotes place or time to which, receiver of action, material:" (p. 19)

Stewart (1955): noun particle

"*-ka.* Source, agency, subject of sentence" (p. 11)

"*-kou_* Motion towards; object" (p. 11)

Okell (1969):

"*-ka.*

—subordinate marker, with nouns: 5.9

in complements: 6.3, 6.7, 6.12

and in attributes: 3.12, 3.13

—1. 'from (a place), by, near (a place)'

—2. 'past time, from (a time)'

—3. 'subject', in complements, and subject expressions in noun clauses" (pp. 315-6)

"*-ka.*

—sentence-medial postposition: 5.11, 9.4

—'topic, emphatic, as for'" (p.319)

"*-kou_*

—subordinate marker, with nouns: 5.9

in complements: 6.3, 6.9, 6.12, 6.17

—1. 'object' direct or indirect

—2. 'destination, towards, to'

—3. 'distributive, per, for'" (p.323)

"*-kou_*

—sentence-medial postposition: 5.11, 9.4

—1. 'emphatic, even, actually, at all, simply'

—2. 'as for, as regards', with less emphatic force, often before a pause for

thought in mid-sentence, especially with expressions of time” (pp. 325-326)

Ohno (1983) (originally in Japanese): case particle

“Usage (2) *-ka_*: it is often used as the nominative case, like

-ha_. *-ka_* has the function of emphasizing subjects. It corresponds to Japanese <-ga> or <-ha>.”¹⁾ (p. 167)

“Usage (10) *-ka_*: the particle indicating the source, corresponding to Japanese <-kara>.” (p. 173)

“Usage (5) *-kou_*: the particle indicating direct objects, corresponding to Japanese <-o>.” (p. 169)

“Usage (6) *-kou_*: the particle indicating indirect objects and the direction, corresponding to Japanese <-ni> and <-e>, respectively. It has the same form as the case of direct objects.” (p. 170)

Miǎn Hàn Cí Diǎn (A Burmese-Chinese Dictionary 1990; originally in Chinese):

“*-ka_* III (particle)

- (1) the particle put after nouns, pronouns, noun phrases and nominal clauses, indicating that they are subjects
- (2) (colloq.) indicating past tense
- (3) (colloq.) from
- (4) (colloq.) indicating that the origin or source of” (p. 1)

“*-kou_* II (particle)

- (1) the particle put after nouns, pronouns, noun phrases and nominal clauses, indicating that they are objects
- (2) (colloq.) indicating the direction
- (3) (colloq.) the particle put after a classifier, expressing the meaning corresponding to Chinese ‘mǎi’ (English ‘per’)
- (4) (colloq.) used for emphasizing
- (5) (colloq.) in (the time or the place)” (p. 23)

myan_ma_ abi.dan_ (A Burmese Dictionary 1991; originally in Burmese):

“*-ka.3* | particle—the word indicating the agent and what occurs;²⁾ same as *-txi_*.

-ka.4 | particle—(colloquial) indicating the source

-ka.5 | particle—indicating the place or the time in which someone acts, something occurs, or someone exists, corresponding to literary *-hnai*” (p. 1)

1) The formal resemblance of these particles between Burmese and Japanese is a mere coincidence.

2) “what occurs” is a translation of the Burmese word *phyi'-txu_*, a compound noun from a verb *phyi'*—“be, become, happen; occur” and a noun *txu_* “one who does something.” Thus, accurately the word is translated as “what is identified as something, becomes something, or occurs.”

-*kou*_1 | particle—indicating objects
 -*kou*_2 | particle—(colloq.)= literary -*txou*.
 -*kou*_3 | particle—(colloq.)= literary -*a*:
 -*kou*_5 | postposition—(colloq.) the word used for emphasizing some elements." (p. 12)

I summarize of the usages dealt with and grouped in earlier studies below. Usages assigned the same alphabet are grouped into one. Numbers are used to distinguish subcategories of each particle, if any.

| - <i>kou</i> _ | Cornyn | Stewart | Okell | Ohno | <i>MHCD</i> | <i>MMABD</i> |
|--------------------|--------|---------|-------|------|-------------|--------------|
| 1) goal/ direction | A | A | 1A | A | A | 1A |
| 2) receiver | B | | | | | |
| direct object | | B | 1B | B | B | 1B |
| indirect object | | B | 1B | A | | 1C |
| material | B | | | | | |
| 3) future time | C | | 2 | | C | |
| 4) distribution | | | 1C | | D | |
| 5) emphasis | | | 2 | | E | 2 |

Cornyn's "receiver of action" and Stewart's and Okell's "object" obviously contain both Recipient and Theme, as known by their examples. The adequacy of the term "object" in Burmese is discussed in chapter 3. The treatment in Ohno, which put Goal and Recipient together as "indirect object," is inappropriate, in the presence of the difference in behaviour between them. I show it in chapter 4.

It is doubtful that -*kou*_ has the usage of indicating the future point of time. We should subsume it in the usage of emphasizing, as Okell does.

In this paper, I only deal with 1) and 2). 5) [including 3)] is also found with the elements other than NPs. 4) is the usage as constituents within quantifier phrases.

| - <i>ka</i> . | Cornyn | Stewart | Okell | Ohno | <i>MHCD</i> | <i>MMABD</i> |
|---------------------|--------|---------|-------|------|-------------|--------------|
| 1) source | | | | | | |
| - of a movement | a | a | 1a | a | a | a |
| eye-position | | | | a | | |
| the beginning point | | | | a | | |
| of a period | | | | | | |
| 2) subject | b | b | 1b | b | b | b |
| 3) past time | c | | 1c | | c | c |
| 4) membership | | | | | | |
| or origin | d | | 1ac | | d | c |
| 5) emphasis | | | 2 | | | |

I divided the usages of source into subclasses to make clear what kind of source the writers deal with.

Cornyn's "agency" contains what is never considered as an Agent. Stewart uses both terms "agency" and "subject." But he does not make distinction between them clearly. Therefore, their "agency" can be subsumed in "subject."

In this paper, I deal with 1), 2) and 3). 5) is not the usage proper to NPs, and 4) is the usage for constituents within NPs.

2. *-kou_-/-ka*. AS CASE MARKERS: GOAL AND SOURCE OF MOVEMENT

Transcription: Sawada system of the transcription of Burmese, Level 1 (for phonetic transcription)

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------|------------|------------|-----------|-------------|------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| Initial | Consonants | Stop | Affricate | Fricative | Nasal | Lateral | Frap | Semivowel |
| Glottal | | | | <i>h-</i> | | | | |
| Velar | <i>k-</i> | <i>kh-</i> | <i>g-</i> | | <i>ng-</i> | <i>hng-</i> | | |
| Palatal | | | <i>c-</i> | <i>ch-</i> | <i>j-</i> | <i>hy-</i> | <i>ny-</i> | <i>hny-</i> |
| Alveolar | <i>t-</i> | <i>th-</i> | <i>d-</i> | | <i>n-</i> | <i>hn-</i> | | <i>l-</i> |
| Dental | <i>tx-</i> | <i>dx-</i> | | <i>s-</i> | <i>sh-</i> | <i>z-</i> | | <i>(r-)</i> |
| Labial | <i>p-</i> | <i>ph-</i> | <i>b-</i> | <i>(f-)</i> | <i>m-</i> | <i>hm-</i> | | <i>w-</i> |
| | | | | | | | | <i>hw-</i> |

Glides:

-y-, *-w-*

Single Vowels

| | | | | | |
|----------|------------|-----------|--------------------------------|------------|--------------------------|
| | Front | Central | Back | Diphthongs | |
| High | <i>-i</i> | | <i>-u</i> | | |
| Mid-High | <i>-ei</i> | | <i>-ou</i> (without finals) | <i>-ei</i> | <i>-ou</i> (with finals) |
| Mid | | | <i>-a</i> (without tone marks) | | |
| Mid-Low | | <i>-e</i> | <i>-o</i> | | |
| Low | | | <i>-a</i> (with tone marks) | <i>-ai</i> | <i>-au</i> |

Finals

- n* nasalization of the preceding vowel
- '* glottal stop characterizing the tone 4

Tones

- V_* tone 1 (low-level)
- V:* tone 2 (high-level)
- V.* tone 3 (creaky)
- V'* tone 4 (abrupt)
- a* atonic (only with *-a*)

Boundaries and Punctuations

- ˆ word boundary inducing the voicing of the following consonants
- word boundary not inducing the voicing
- (space) phrase boundary
- | corresponding to a comma
- || corresponding to a period

2.1 Goal and Source of Physical Movement

Case markers *-kou_/-ka.* can be considered to mark Goal/Source of physical movement originally. Moved entities bear either Theme or Agent roles in the movement events in question.

A. With intransitive verbs

By "intransitive verbs" I mean verbs which take either Theme or Agent as Subject. The verbs in the following examples denote the movement of the thing Subject denotes, and in these sentences *-kou_* phrases express the location to which Theme/Agent moves or approaches, and *-ka.* phrases express the location Theme/Agent leaves.

- (1) japan_txin: bo: bou_tathaun_shei'kan: ^kou_ shai'-te_ ||
Japan steamer Botataung jetty - to arrive - RLS
"A Japanese steamer arrived at Botataung jetty."
- (2) hou_-txi'pin_ ^ci: lan: ma. ^po_ ^kou_ le: ^te_ ||
that - tree - big street - on - to fall - RLS
"That big tree fell down to the street."
- (3) sou: tin. nain_ yan_goun_ ^kou_ hywei. ^te_ ||
Soe Tint Naing Yangon - to move - RLS
"Soe Tint Naing moved to Yangon."
- (4) tin_khain_ txin: bo: -ne. dxanyin_ ^kou_ ku: ^te_ ||
Tin Khaing steamer - by Syriam - to cross - RLS
"Tin Khaing crossed to Syriam by a steamer."
- (5) nan_yan_ ^ka. da'poun_ kwa_ ^te_ ||
wall - from picture peel - RLS
"A picture came off the wall."
- (6) aywe'-twei_ txi'pin_ ^po_ ^ka. akoun_loun: cwei_ ^pi_ ||
leaf - PLR tree - on - from all fall - RTR
"Leaves of the tree have all fallen."
- (7) cano_ di_-akhan: ^ka. thwe'-te_ ||
I this - room - from go out - RLS
"I went out of this room."
- (8) bagan_ ^the: ^ka. laphe'yei_ ^twei_ phej'-te_ ||
cup - inside - from tea - PLR spill - RLS
"Some tea spilt out of the cup."

B. With transitive verbs

By “transitive verbs” I mean verbs which take Agent as Subject and Theme as a non-Subject argument. The verbs in below examples denote the action which causes the movement of Theme, and in these sentences *-kou_* phrases express the places to which Theme moves or approaches, and *-ka*. phrases express the places Theme leaves.

- (9) cano_ di_-co_nya_za_ ^kou_ nan_yan_ ^kou_ ka'-te_ ||
 I this - poster - DAM wall - to stick - RLS
 “I stucked this poster on the wall.”
- (10) txi'pin_ ^kou_ di_ ^phe'-kou_ hle: ^pa_-φ ||
 tree - DAM this - side - to fell - POL - IMP
 “Please put the tree down to this side.”
- (11) sou: myin. txein_ ei. khan: ^kou_ sa_ou'sin_ hywei. ^te_ ||
 Soe Myint Thein parlor - to bookshelf move - RLS
 “Soe Myint Thein moved the bookshelf into the parlor.”
- (12) cano_ ^tou. cano. -akhan: ^kou_ ti_bwi_se' txe_ ^te_ ||
 I - PLR my - room - to TV set carry - RLS
 “We carried a TV set into my room.”
- (13) di_-nan_yan_ ^ka. da'poun_ khwa_ ^pa_-φ ||
 this - wall - from picture peel - POL - IMP
 “Please peel the picture from the wall”
- (14) txa: ji: di_-txi'pin_ ^ka. txi'txi: -amya: ji: shu'-te_ ||
 eldest son this - tree - from fruit - many pick - RLS
 “The eldest son picked many fruits from this tree.”
- (15) cano_ an_shwe: ^ka. kun_pa_bu: thou'-te_ ||
 I drawer - from pencil - case take out - RLS
 “I took the pencil case out of the drawer.”
- (16) hnge'-kou_ hlaun_jain. ^the: ^ka. hlu'-te_ ||
 bird - DAM birdcage - inside - from set free - RLS
 “(I) set the bird free from the birdcage.”

2.1.1 3-types of movements

Events of physical movement are bounded in time, and we recognize stages in which Theme/Agent remain stationary both before and after the movement. Hence all movements have their own Goal and Source, in effect. However, it does not mean that all verbs of movement and movement-causing action always require both Goal and Source expressions. It is still possible that some movements are

recognized and coded to have Goal, and others not to have Goal. In this subsection, let us consider the classification of verbs expressing movements and movement-causing actions in respect to the possibility of cooccurrence with *-kou_/-ka* phrases.

We can classify intransitive verbs of movement into two types in respect to the possibility of cooccurrence with *-kou_/-ka* phrases: I) the verbs which can cooccur either a *-kou_* phrase or with a *-ka* phrase, II) those which can cooccur with both phrases. Furthermore, the first type can be classified into two subtypes: a) the verbs which can cooccur a *-kou_* phrase, b) the verbs which can cooccur a *-ka* phrase.

(17)

- Ia) a. japan_txin: bo: (*kou_bei_shei'kan:ka.) bou_tathaun_shei'kan:kou_shai'te_ ||
Kobe jetty - from cf. (1)
- b. hou_txi'pin_ci: (*chan_the:ka.) lan: ma: po_kou_ le:te_ || cf. (2)
garden - inside - from
- Ib) c. nan_yan_ka. (*zabwe:po_kou_) da'poun_ kwa'te_ || cf. (5)
desk - on - to
- d. aywe'twei_ txi'pin_po_ka. akoun_loun: (*myei_ji:po_kou_) ||
ground - on - to
cwei_pi_ || cf. (6)
- II) e. sou:tin_nain_yei_zin_ka. yan_goun_kou_ hywei.te_ || cf. (3)
Yezin - from
- f. tin_khain_bazun_taan_ka. txin:bo:-ne. dxanyin_kou_ ku:te_ || cf. (4)
Bazuntaung - from
- g. cano_di_akan:ka. apyin_kou_ thwe'te_ || cf. (7)
outside - to
- h. bagan_the:ka. zabwe:khin_po_kou_ laphe'yei_twei_phei'te_ || cf. (8)
table cloth - on - to

We can also classify the transitive verbs of movement-causing action similarly.

(18)

- Ia) a. cano_di_co_nya_za_kou_ (*zabwe:po_ka.) nan_yan_kou_ ka'te_ ||
desk - on - from cf. (9)
- b. txi'pin_kou_ (*hou_phe'-ka.) di_phe'-kou_ hle:pa_φ || cf. (10)
that - side - from
- Ib) c. di_nan_yan_ka. (*zabwe:po_kou_) da'poun_ khwa_pa_φ || cf. (13)
desk - on - to
- d. kou_kou_ di_txi'pin_ka. (*chin_the:kou_ txi'txi:-amya:ji: shu'te_ ||
basket - inside - to) cf. (14)
- II) e. sou:myin.txein_sa_ci.gan:ka. ei.khan:kou_ sa_ou'sin_ hywei.te_ ||
library - from cf. (11)

- f. cano_ˆtou. txu.-akhan:ˆka. cano.-akhan:ˆkou_ ti_bi_se' txe_ˆte_ ||
his - room - from cf. (12)
- g. cano_ an_shwe:ˆka. zabwe:ˆpo_ˆkou_ kun_pa_bu: thou'-te_ || cf. (15)
desk - on - to
- h. hnge'-kou_ hlaun_jain.ˆthe:ˆka. apyin_ˆkou_ hlu'-te_ || cf. (16)
outside - to

There is a further difference between Ia) and II). In general, *-kou_* phrases with the verbs of type Ia) can alternate with locative *-hma_* phrases, but those with the verbs of type II) cannot.

- (19) a. japan_txin:bo: bou_tathaun_shei'kan: -hma_ shai'-te_ ||
b. hou_-txi'pin_ˆci: lan:ma.ˆpo_-hma_ le:ˆte_ ||
c. *sou:tin.nain_ (yei_zin_ˆka.) yan_goun_-hma_ hywei.ˆte_ ||
d. *tin_khain_ (bazun_taub_ˆka.) txin:bo:-ne. dxanyin_-hma_
ku:ˆte_ ||
e. *cano_ (di_-akhan:ˆka.) apyin_-hma_ thwe'-te_ ||
f. *bagan_ˆthe:ˆka. zabwe:khin_ˆpo_-hma_ laphe'yei_ˆtwei_ phei'-te_ ||
- (20) a. cano_ di_-co_nya_za_ˆkou_ nan_yan_-hma_ ka'-te_ ||
b. txi'pin_ˆkou_ di_ˆphe'-hma_ hle:ˆpa_-φ_ ||
c. *sou:myin.txein_ (sa_ci.gan:ˆka.) ei.khan:-hma_ sa_ou'sin_
hywei.ˆte_ ||
d. *cano_ˆtou. (txu.-akhan:ˆka.) cano.-akhan:-hma_ ti_bi_se'
txe_ˆte_ ||
e. *cano_ (an_shwe:ˆka.) zabwe:ˆpo_-hma_ kun_pa_bu: thou'-te_ ||
f. *hnge'-kou_ (hlaun_jain.ˆthe:ˆka.) apyin_-hma_ hlu'-te_ ||

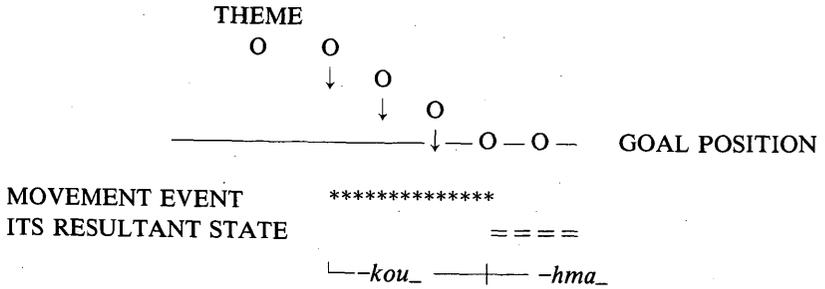
The presence or absence of *-ka*. phrases does not concern the acceptability of (19c-f) and (20c-f).

What distinguishes these types? Verbs of type II) can cooccur with both *-kou_* phrases and *-ka*. phrases. This shows that the events which these verbs denote are essentially recognized to be involved with movements between two end-points. On the other hand, verbs of type Ia,b) cannot take both phrases at once. That shows that the events which these verbs denote are essentially recognized to be involved with movements which are only seen from one-end point. Let us call the former type of event "two-points specified event" and the latter types "one-point specified events". Verbs of type Ia) denote the events of approaching and positioning on a domain of space, which are "Goal specified" events. Verbs of type Ib) denote the events of leaving from a domain of space, which are "Source specified" events.

The characteristic of the Goal specified events explains the possibility of *-kou_/-hma_* alternation. At the point of time when the event of this type finishes, the moved entity is in the domain of space in question. As soon as the event is completed, "Goal" becomes "Locative". We can say that the selection of

-kou_ identifies the event by movement itself, and the selection of *-hma_* identifies it by its resultant state.

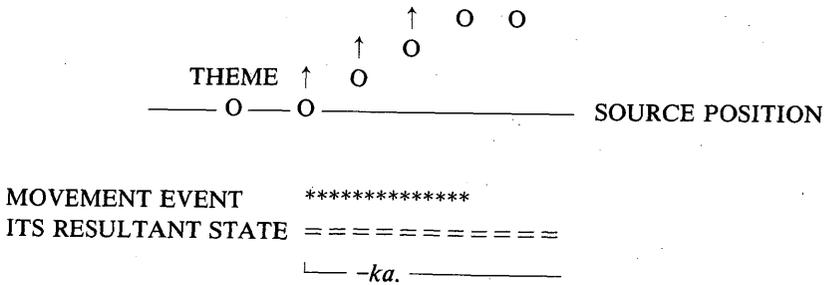
(21)



In two-point specified events, the moved entity is in Goal when the event finishes, too. However, the events are obviously recognized to be involved with movement between two end-points, i.e., Goal and Source. Since Goal is always regarded as itself, opposed to Source, *-kou_* cannot alternate with *-hma_*.

In Source specified events, which is another type of “one-point specification,” there is no distinction between movement-identification and stative-identification. The reason is as follows: in the event of positioning, the beginning point of movement and that of the state of “existing in Goal” are not simultaneous, at least in principle. On the other hand, in the event of leaving, the beginning point of movement and that of the state of “not existing in Source” are strictly simultaneous.

(22)



2.1.2 The possibility of relativizing *-kou_* phrases and *-ka_* phrases

In the preceding subsection, we characterized the verbs which can cooccur with both a *-kou_* phrase and a *-ka_* phrase as “two-points specification.” However, it does not seem that the importance of the Goal and that of the Source are constant in all these verbs. We can see it from the difference in the possibility of relativizing *-kou_* phrases and *-ka_* phrases with these verbs.

Relative clauses are marked by Attributive Clause Markers in Burmese, which

“the floor where I put a pencil case after taking it out.”

- (30) a. ein_hyin_ma. ein_hnga: ^twei_ ^kou_ hnin_ ^te. akhan: |
 landlady tenant - PLR - DAM drive out - ARLS room
 “the room out of which the landlady drove tenants”
 b. ein_hyin_ma. ein_hnga: ^twei_ ^kou_ hnin_ ^te. lan: |
 street
 *“the street where the landlady drove tenants out”

And there are also verbs for which both the relativization of the Goal and that of the Source are possible.

- (31) a. cano_ win_ ^te. akhan: |
 I enter - ARLS room “the room I entered”
 b. cano_ win_ ^te. daga: |
 door “the door through which I entered”³⁾
- (32) a. maun_maun_ thwe'pyei: ^te. to: |
 Mg. Mg. escape - ARLS forest
 “the forest where Maung Maung escaped”
 b. maun_maun_ thwe'pyei: ^te. thaun_ |
 jail
 “the jail from where Maung Maung escaped”
- (33) di_-txi'ta ^kou_ txe_ ^te. ein_ |
 this - box - DAM carry - ARLS house
 “the house where (I) carried this box”/
 “the house from where (I) carried this box”
- (34) a. maun_maun_ cau'-twei_ ^kou_ cha. ^te. myei_ ^ci: |
 Mg. Mg. stone - PLR - DAM drop - ARLS ground - big
 “the ground where Maung Maung dropped stones”
 b. maun_maun_ cau'-twei_ ^kou_ cha. ^te. taun_ |
 mountain
 “the mountain from where Maung Maung dropped stones”

Such a difference in the possibility of relativization of Goal and Source might relate to some grammatical status—for example, “argument-likeness”—of these roles with each verb. But further researches are needed before estimating the point.

3) At first glance, *-ka* phrase in (31b) appears to express Path. But note that we can focus only a part of a movement: It is also Source, assuming that the speaker of the sentence focussed the movement after reaching the door. Incidentally Burmese has no expression proper to Path.

2.2 The Events Recognized as Involved with Abstract Movements

2.2.1 The stages before/ after change of state

Events of change of state could be regarded as if they were movements: the entity undergoing a change is Theme, the stage before the change is Source, and the stage after the change is Goal. Also, we can deal with actions causing a change in this way. (cf. Gruber 1976) Indeed, Burmese has usages of *-ka* phrase and *-kou_* phrase of this kind.

A. Intransitive verbs: denoting a change of state.

- (35) gwɪn: pyaun_byaun_ka. pan: jan_aphy'-kou_ pyaun:-txwa:te_ ||
 wilderness - SSB park - status - to change - go - RLS
 "The wilderness has changed into the park."
- (36) txu_ lu_bawa.ka. tarei'shan_bawa.kou_ pyaun:le:te_ ||
 he man's life - from animal's life - to change - RLS
 "He changed from man to animal."
- (37) txe:-ta-myou:ka. sha'pya_ phyi'-te_ ||
 sand - 1 - kind - from soap be made - RLS
 "Soap is made from a kind of sand."

B. Transitive verbs: denoting actions which cause a change of state.

- (38) di_-tain:yin:dxa:-ha_ shei'nou.ka. dein_jin_ thou'-te_ ||
 this - race - TOP goat - milk - from yogurt make - RLS
 "People of this race makes yogurt from goat milk."
- (39) mi.ba. maun_maun.kou_ txa:-aphy'-ka. sun.te_ ||
 Parents Mg. Mg. - DAM son - status - from abandon - RLS
 "Maung Maung's parents disowned him."

2.2.2 Other abstract movements/ movement-causing actions

In addition to the verbs of change of state, there are some verbs denoting the events seen as abstract movements or actions causing an abstract movement, as illustrated below.

- (40) di_-koun_pani_kou_ ngwei_-hna-gadei. yin:pi: thau'-me_ ||
 this - company - to money - 2 - millions invest - after support - IRL
 "I will invest 2 millions to this company, and support it."

- (41) txu_ cun_bawa.ˆka. lu'myau'-te_ ||
 he slave's - life - from be liberated - RLS
 "He was liberated from the circumstances of slavery."
- (42) cano_ di_-alou'-ka. nou'thwe'-te_ ||
 I this - post - from resign - RLS
 "I resigned from this post."
- (43) a:gaza:dxama:ˆtwei_ˆthe:ˆka. le'ywei:zin_-she_-yau' ywei:ˆte_ ||
 athlete - PLR - inside - from representative - 10 - CLS choose - RLS
 "We chose 10 representatives from the athletes."
- (44) di_-ache'-kou_ maun_tin_-ye. sa_ou'-the:ˆka. kou:ga:ˆte_ || 4)
 this - matter - DAM Maung Tin - POS book - inside - from quote - RLS
 "(I) quoted this matter from Maung Tin's book."
- (45) myou.dxa:ˆtwei_ yan_dxu_-yan_-ka. myou.do_ˆkou_
 citizen - PLR enemy - danger - from capital - DAM
 ka_gwe_-nain_ˆkhe.ˆte_ || 5)
 defend can hither RLS
 "The citizens could defend their capital from the enemy's danger."
- (46) hnge'phya:pou:-ha_ yei_ain_ˆtwei_ˆthe:ˆka. phyi'pwa:ˆte_ ||
 malaria jerm - TOP pool - PLR - inside - from occur - RLS
 "Malaria jerms occur from pools."
- (47) myan_ma_lu_myou: di_-dei_txa.ˆka. shin:txe'-te_ ||
 Burmese this - district - from descend - RLS
 "Burmese people descended from this district."

2.3 Usages Concerning the Sense of Sight

2.3.1 -ka. phrases expressing eye-position

The sense of sight is brought about by the rays of light which reflect on the object and reach the eyes. Then, the existence of the line connecting the eyes and

4) *kou: ga:* -has another usage only taking a referred material as Theme.

maun_tin_-ye. sa_ou'-kou_ kou:ga:ˆte_ ||
 Maung Tin - POS book - DAM refer - RLS
 "I referred Maung Tin's book."

5) *ka_gwe_-* has another usage taking only the object of defending as Theme.

myou.dxa:ˆtwei_ yan_dxu_-yan_ˆkou_ ka_gwe_-nain_ˆkhe.ˆte_ ||
 citizen - PLR enemy - danger - DAM drive back - can - hither - RLS
 "The citizens could drive back the enemy's danger."

the object can often be used as the illustration of the state of seeing. When one sees an object far away, the distance between his/her eyes and the object becomes unignorable, making it important to mention the position of his/her eyes. In general, the selection of the object of seeing is under control of the seer. Then the vector from the eyes to the object is a more appropriate illustration than a mere line. By this reason, *-ka* phrases are used to express the eye-position which is distant from the object of seeing.

- (48) awei:ka. hlan:-myin_-ya.ka:ka. achei_anei_
distant place - from reach - see - can - time - from situation
ma-hla.to.-hman: ma.ngwei_ma. txi.te_ || (Mauntxaya: 77)
not - beautiful - anymore - fact Ma Ngwei Ma know - RLS
“Ma Ngwei Ma knew that the situation (of the area in front of her house) was not beautiful anymore since (she) saw (it) from a distant place.”
- (49) ho:di_-kalathain:po_ka. thain_-ci.-nei_ta_ || (Ohno: 125)
this - chair - on - from sit - look - stay - NRLS
“(I) was looking at it from here, sitting on the chair.”
- (50) cau'saya_ atxan_ji:phe: shou_pi: tei'tei'-khalei:
fearful thing big sound - EMP say - after secretly - little
thayan_bau'-ka. chaun:-ci.to. ... (Cornyn1957: 41)
hole on bamboo wall - from peep - look - when
“When (he) peeped from a hole on the bamboo wall, saying that a fearful sound is audible...”

Since the end-point of the vector is supposed to coincide with the object of seeing, there is no need to express it independently.

2.3.2 *-kou_-/-ka* phrases expressing Goal/ Source of “eye-movement”

The objects of seeing changes from one to another as you move your eyes. Using the metaphor of “vector” introduced in the last subsection, we can represent it as the movement of the end-point of the “vector”. See the following examples.

- (51) txu_ pyi'-te. bo:loun:-ha_ shwe:-tha:te. myin:jaun:ka.
he throw - ARSL ball - TOP draw - put - ARSL line - from
hna-pei_-lau' lwe:-nei_te_ ||
2 - feet - about miss - stay - RLS
“The ball he threw is about two feet off the drawn line.”
- (52) bagou:myou.-ha_ man:dalei:myou.ka. wei:te_ ||
Pegu city - TOP Mandalay city - from be far - RLS
“Pegu is far from Mandalay.”

- (59) a. cano_ yan_goun_ka. ban_gau'-kou_ yau'-te_ ||
 I Yangon - from Bangkok - to arrive - RLS
 "I went from Yangon to Bangkok."
 b. cano_ yan_goun_ka. ban_gau'-athi. yau'-te_ || "ibid."
 till

In 3.1-3.3., I present some usages of *-ka.* opposed to *-athi.*, and discuss the difference of them from the usages of *-ka.* opposed to *-kou_.* In 3.4., we observe another usage of *-ka.* not directly related to the usage in this chapter, and suggest that there occurred a certain semantic shift.

3.1 *-ka.* Phrases as the Beginning of a Period

-ka. phrases are used to express the beginning of a period during which an event or a state continues. Corresponding end points are expressed by *-athi.* phrases, never by *-kou_* phrases.

The possibility of the selection of a period is constrained by the kind of event/state in question. If it is an event which can be controlled by an implicit agent, the period can be in the past, in the future, or extend over both. In this case you can express the end point of the period by *-athi.* phrase freely.

- (60) manei.ga. mun:lwe:-ta-na_yi_ka. nya.nei_-nga:-na_yi_khwe:-athi.
 yesterday afternoon - 1 - hour - from evening - 5 - hour - half - till
 sa_ou' pha'-te_ ||
 book read - RLS
 "Yesterday (I) read a book from 1 to 5 p.m."
- (61) mane'phan_ mane'-she_-na_yi_ka. atan: hyi.te_ ||
 tomorrow morning - 10 - time - from class be - RLS
 "(We) have a class from 10 a.m. tomorrow."
- (62) manei.ga_ka. mane'phan_-athi. di_-sheiyoun_ pei'-te_ ||
 yesterday - from tomorrow - till this hospital close-RLS
 "This hospital is closed from yesterday till tomorrow."

But when events/states cannot be controlled by an agent, *-athi.* phrases cannot be used, and the end point must be the present. This entails that the beginning point is in the past.

- (63) nga_ aso:ci:the_ka. atxi.dxa:phe: || (Ohno: 218)
 I early time - big - inside - from understanding - EMP
 "I had long since known it."

- (64) so:zo:ˆka. dxi_-acan_ ma-ya.ˆta_ˆkou_ˆpe:
 early time - from this - idea not - get - NRLS - DAM - EMP
 sei'-the:ˆka. tanoun.noun. phyi'-nei_ˆte_ || (Mauntxaya: 103)
 mind - inside - EMP suffer interminably occur - stay - RLS
 "(He) is suffering from the thought that he has long since been unable to get this idea."
- (65) dxi_ˆkade:ˆka. phou:wa_ nyein_-txwa:ˆta_ || (Mauntxaya: 65)
 this - time - from Hpo Wa quiet - go - NRLS
 "Since then, Hpo Wa has become quiet."
- (66) akhu.-ou'katha_-ne. ne:ne:-hma. ma-te.ˆphu: ||
 now - president - with a little - even not - get along with - NEG
 khan.ˆkhade:ˆkou_ˆka. ma-te.ˆca.ˆta_ ||
 appoint - time - EMP - from not - get along with - RCP - NRLS
 "(They) don't get on at all with the present president. Not since (he) was first
 appointed." (Okell: 426)

In some sentences, the verb *sa.-* "begin" or its gerund form *asa.* is used adverbially, in accord with *-ka.* phrases of the beginning point.

- (67) di_-nei.ˆka. asa. caun:dxa:ˆtain: nya.jaun:
 this - day - from beginning pupil - every night school
 te'-ya.-me_ ||
 attend - must - IRL
 "As from today, all pupils must attend night-school." (Okell: 401)

In this example, the extended event⁷⁾ "to go to night school" begins today. But *sa.-/asa.* does not always appear with durative verbs.

- (68) japan_khi'-ka. sa.-po_ˆta_ ||
 Japanese - period - from begin - appear - NRLS
 "(It) first appeared during the Japanese occupation." (Okell: 400)

The verb *po_-* "appear" in (68) denote a punctual event. Since *sa.-* accords to *-ka.* phrase of the beginning point, the cooccurrence of *sa.-* with *po_-* shows that the event "appear" is thought as the beginning point of the other larger state of affair which is the state "exist" from the time of appearance till now. The same interpretation also holds with *sa.-* as a predicate.

- (69) you'hyin_ lei:-nai_yi_ˆka. sa.-me_ ||
 movie 4 - hour - from begin - IRL
 "The movie begins from 4 o'clock."

7) Extended events are characterized as the somewhat habitual repetition of events of the same kind. Then the extended event "to go to the night school" is made up from each instance of going to the night school.

In (69), *sa.-* is thought of as the beginning point of the event “to show a film,” and therefore can cooccur with *-ka.* phrase.⁸⁾

3.2 *-ka.* Phrases as the First thing in the Ordering

- (70) *twei.-ya_ myin_-ya_ txi'kain:jau'-ka. asa.*
 find - thing see - thing dry bough - from beginning
kau'-the.-la_ ^te_ || (Mauntxaya: 91)
 gather - put in - come - RLS
 “(He) gathered dry boughs at first, and other things he found, and put them in a bag and came.”

- (71) *a.txu.ba.kei'sa. koun_ ^ta_ khan: ^ta_ ^ka. asa. txu_*
 funeral work used up - NRLS used up - NRLS - from beginning he
ta_wun_ yu_ ^pa_ ^te_ ^te. || (Mauntxaya: 59)
 responsibility take - POL - RLS - hearsay
 “They say that (he) took responsibility for the expenses in the funeral and others.”

-ka. phrases in (70) and (71) accord to *asa.* like in (67). But these *-ka.* phrases do not express the beginning of a period. *txi'kain: chau'* in (70) is the first thing he gathered, and *a.txu.ba.kei'sa.* in (71) is the first thing to mention in the matter he took responsibility of. Then both are characterized as the first thing in a certain ordering. Correspondingly, the last thing is expressed by *-athi.* phrases.

To impose an ordering on elements is to form some kind of “scale” consisting of the elements. Notice that a period is the set of the points of time ordered uniquely by precedence relation. Then both the period and the ordering presuppose a “scale.” Hence we can conclude that the use of *-ka./-athi.* pair implies that we establish a “scale,” and we start from the “standard point,” go along the scale and reach a point. On the other hand, the use of *-ka./-kou_* pair has no such implication.

3.3 *-ka.* as the Stage before a Change in Quantity

We can now explain the difference between (59a) and (59b). Both sentences express a two-point specified movement. But the latter has the implication that we establish a scale which has Yangon as its datum point and Bangkok as the reached point. The former has no such implication. Note also that the period and the

8) Such interpretation is not restricted to *sa.-*.

mane' so:zo: ^ka. ei'ya_ ^ka. tha. ^te_ ||
 morning early time - from bed - from stand - RLS
 “I got up early in the morning.”

ordering never allow “non-scalar” reading implied by *-kou_* phrases.⁹⁾

Other instances of *-ka./-athi.* correlation concern a change in quantity. *-ka.* phrases express the stage before a change, and *-athi.* phrases express the stage after the change.

A. Intransitive verbs: denote a change in quantity

- (72) di_ -tha_ na_ -hma shaya_ -u:yei_ txoun:-yau'-ka. hyi'-yau'-athi.
 this - department - in teacher - number 3 - CLS - from 8 - CLS - till
 tou: ^te_ ||
 increase - RLS
 “In this department the number of teachers increased from 3 to 8.”

- (73) yan_ goun_ myi'yei_ -ha_ pei_ -nga:ze_ ^ka. nga:ze_ nga:-athi.
 Yangon river's water - TOP feet - 50 - from 55 - till
 myin.-la_ ^te_ ||
 high - come - RLS
 “The water level of the Yangon river rose from 50 feet to 55 feet.”

- (74) txu_ pain_ ^te. le_ myei_ -ha_ hna-ei_ ka. ^ka. lei:-ei_ ka.-athi.
 he own - ARLS rice field - TOP 2 - acre - from 4 - acre - till
 ce_ -la_ ^te_ ||
 large - come - RLS
 “The rice field he owns increased from 2 acres to 4 acres.”

B. Transitive verbs: denote actions which cause a change in quantity.

- (75) di_ -tha_ na_ -hma_ shaya_ -u:yei_ ^kou_ txoun:-yau'-ka.
 this - department - in teacher - number - DAM 3 - CLS - from
 hyi'-yau'-athi. tou: ^te_ ||
 8 - CLS - till increase - RLS
 “This department increased the number of teachers from 3 to 8.”

- (76) txu_ pain_ myei_ ^kou_ hna-ei_ ka. ^ka. lei:-ei_ ka.-athi. che. ^te_ ||
 he his own land - DAM 2 - acre - from 4 - acre - till enlarge - RLS
 “He enlarged his land from 2 acres to 4 acres.”

- (77) alan_ dain_ ^kou_ she.nga:-pei_ ^ka. pei_ -hnashe_ -athi. hmyin. ^te_ ||
 flagstaff - DAM 15 - feet - from feet - 20 - till lengthen - RLS
 “(I) lengthened the flagstaff from 15 feet to 20 feet.”

9) *-ka.* phrases in (51) and (52), 1.3.2, might also be considered as instances of standard points.

- (78) yadana_pya.bwe:ˆkou_ au'tou_ba_la. txoun:-ye'-ka. chau'-ye'-athi.
 gem exhibition - DAM October 3 - CLS - from 6 - CLS - till
 shain:-tha:ˆte_ ||
 postpone - put - RLS
 "(They) postponed the gem exhibition from 3rd to 6th October."¹⁰⁾

3.4 A Semantic Shift—*-ka*. as the Past Point

- (79) sanei_nei.ˆka. twei.ˆte_ ||
 Saturday - on meet - RLS
 "(We) met on Saturday." (Okell: 316)
- (80) pi:ˆto. dxi_-ein_ shau'-toun:ˆka. phe'sa' shau'-ta_ ||
 and - then this - house build - time - in cooperatively build - NRLS
 "And when (we) built this house, (we) did it jointly." (Mauntxaya: 36)
- (81) lu_ˆtwei_ su.-nei_ˆtxei:ˆte. achein_ˆka. ne:ne:
 man - PLR assemble - stay - still - ARSL time - in a little
 hyau'-ci.-lai'-te_ || (Okell: 264)
 around - look - just - RLS
 "(I) had a quick look round while people were still assembling."
- (82) si' ma-phyi'-khin_ˆka. shou_-yin_ txu_ˆka.
 war not - happen - before - in state - if he - SSB
 ahni'-hnashe_-lau'-phe: hyi.-oun:-me_ || (Okell: 355)
 year - 20 - about - EMP be - further - IRL
 "Before the war, he would only have been about 20."

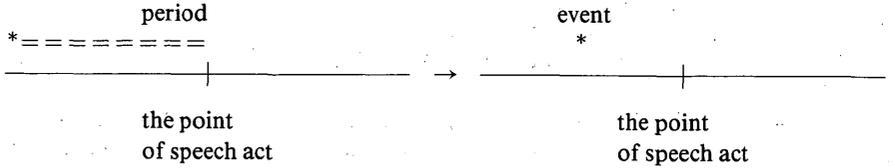
Verbs in the above examples denote neither durative events/states, nor punctual events characterizing the beginning of them. In these cases, *-ka*. phrases

10) The quantity after the change can also be indicated by *-kou_*, though somewhat marginally.

- a. di_-tha_na.-hma_ shaya_-u:yei_ txoun:-yau'-ka. hyi'-yau'-kou_
 to
 tou:ˆte_ ||
- b. yan_goun_myi'-yei_-ha_ pei_-nga:ze_ˆka. nga:ze_nga:ˆkou_
 myin.-la_ˆte_ ||
- c. txu_ pain_ˆte. le_myei_-ha_ hna-ei_ka.ˆka lei:-ei_ka.-athi.
 ce_-la_ˆte_ ||
- d. di_-tha_na.-hma_ shaya_-u:yei_ˆkou_ txoun:-yau'-ka. hyi'-yau'-athi.
 tou:ˆte_ ||
- e. txu_ pain_myei_ˆkou_ hna-ei_ka.ˆka. lei:-ei_ka.-athi. che.ˆte_ ||
- f. alan_dain_ˆkou_ she.nga:-pei_ˆka. pei_-hnashe_-athi. hmyin.ˆte_ ||
- g. yadana_pya.bwe:ˆkou_ au'tou_ba_la. txoun:-ye'-ka. chau'-ye'-athi.
 shain:-tha:ˆte_ ||

express the point of time when the event/state occurred.¹¹⁾ Significantly the point of time *-ka.* phrase expresses must be in the past. In this respect, *-ka.* phrases of the point of time are similar to those of the beginning of a period in the case of uncontrollable events/states. I suggest that the semantic shift from the latter to the former happened.

- (83) The past beginning point of a period → The time of event in the past



A point still remains to be explained: *-ka.* phrases of the latter usage can be used both with controllable and uncontrollable events/states, whereas those of the former usage cannot. We might get a clue to solve the problem by observing the usage of another particle, that is, a verb modifier *-khe.* The verb modifier expresses the movement approaching the place of speech act.

- (84) di_ˆkou_ la_ˆkhe.ˆpa_-ϕ ||
 here - to come - hither - POL - IMP "Please come here."
 (85) ein_ˆka. sa_ou' yu_ˆkhe.ˆte_ ||
 house - from book bring - hither - RLS
 "(I) brought the book from my house."

In addition, *-khe.* has the usage of expressing the duration from past to now. Note that in this case the temporal specification by *-khe.* forces *-ka.* phrase to be inter-

- 11) *-ka.* phrases of this kind always denote the past time, but the converse is not always the case. In examples below, the past point of time is expressed by *-hma_* phrases expressing the point of time in general.

e:di_ mwei:phwa:ˆte. achein_-hma_ tain:pyi_-hma_
 this be born - ARLS time - in country - in
 in_matan_-hma.ˆphe: cau'me'-phwe_ kaun:ˆte. atxanˆci:-ha_
 very - even - EMP fear - cause plenty - ARLS voice - big - TOP
 o_ˆte_ || (Cornyn1957: 50)
 shout RLS
 "When this baby was born, a very fearful cry rumbled in the country."

tathaun_kou:ya_lei:ze_hyi'-khu.-hni' ma-tain_ˆkhin_-hma_ˆka.
 1948 - CLS - year not - reach - before - in - EMP
 txei' ma-po_-la_ˆtxei:ˆphu:_ (Okell: 319)
 very not - emerge - come - yet - NEG
 "(It) was not much in evidence before 1948."

preted as expressing a past point of time, even if the verb denotes an event controllable by Agent.

- (86) bama_zaga: hou_ ^kade: ^ka. txin_ ^khe. ^ta_-la: ||
 Burmese that - time - from learn - hither - NRLS - QST
 "Did (you) learn Burmese back there (before coming here)?" (Okell: 276)

And the verb modifier is also used to express past events.

- (87) hou_ ^toun: ^ka. japan_sa_ txin_ ^khe. ^te_ ||
 that - time - in Japanese learn - hither - RLS
 "(I) learned Japanese in that time."

Then we can find the fairly neat correspondence between usages of *-khe*. and usages of *-ka*.

- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| (88) <i>-ka</i> . | <i>-khe</i> . |
| the source of a movement | the movement to the place of speech act |
| the beginning of duration | the duration from past to now |
| the past point of occurrence | the occurrence in the past |

This correspondence suggests that the two particles are subject to a similar semantic shift. And perhaps the usage of *-ka*. phrase expressing the past point of time became independent of the existence of *-khe*. after the semantic shift.

4. *-kou_* ATTACHED TO NON-SUBJECT THEMES AND *-ka*. ATTACHED TO SUBJECTS

In many earlier studies, *-kou_* is described as marking "Objects", and *-ka*. as marking "Subjects". To appreciate these descriptions, we should consider two problems: are there any grounds enough to establish such grammatical relations as "Object" and "Subject"? And, if there are, can we say that *-kou_/-ka*. really mark such grammatical relations? In 4.1. I answer the first question: "Subject" is all right, but "Object" is problematic in Burmese. In 4.2. I answer the second question: Neither *-kou_* nor *-ka*. in the usages marks such grammatical relations. And In 4.3. we seek for the function of the particles.

4.1 Consideration on the Adequacy of "Subject" and "Object" in Burmese

In earlier descriptions, the concepts "Subject" and "Object" in Burmese have not been well-defined. We cannot say a priori that a language has such grammatical relation. We must examine whether it is the case or not for each language. Furthermore, the establishment of a certain grammatical relation must have enough grounds. Only if some NPs have certain grammatical properties in common, and

can be characterized neither by their semantic roles nor their discourse functions, we can say that the NPs bear a certain specific grammatical relation.¹²⁾

However, the earlier descriptions seem to pay no attention to these points above. Most of them use the term "Subject" and "Object" a priori, and no reference is made to phenomena characteristic of them. Some descriptions confuse grammatical relations with semantic roles or discourse functions.

First, let us examine "Subject." In Burmese, at least in verb sentences,¹³⁾ we find that some NPs have in common the following properties.

- i) It can occur with no marking in free positions preceding the verbal predicate.
- ii) Topic marker *-ha_* can be attached to it.
- iii) In the environment of Causative with *-sei_*, *-kou_* is attached to it.
- iv) It can be the antecedent for reflexive expressions.
- v) Some verb modifiers are used to add further information about nothing but them: e.g. *-nain_* (the possibility for them) "may, can," *-chin_* (their desire) "want to", *-ya_* (the inevitability for them) "must, can," *-hya_* (their pitifulness).

This class of NPs cannot be defined by semantic roles or discourse functions. Therefore there is good reason for assigning the grammatical relation "Subject" to these NPs.

How about "Object"? Unfortunately, Burmese does not have a Passive voice, which presents a way of identifying Objects.¹⁴⁾ Candidates of properties might be as

12) See Tsunoda (1991).

13) Verb sentences are the sentences with verbal predicates, consisting of a main verb and verb modifiers attached to the main verb, in sentence final positions.

14) Burmese has a special construction expressing the meaning of suffering. The construction consists of a deverbal nominal with prefix *a-* and a verb *khan_* - "suffer" with verb modifier *-ya_* expressing inevitability. Here is an example.

maun_maun_ ayai' khan_-ya.^te_ ||
 Mg. Mg. beating suffer - must - RLS
 "Maung Maung had to be beaten (by someone)."

But the subjects of this construction are restricted to human NPs.

*di_-zabwe: ayai' khan_-ya.^te_ ||
 this - desk

And the construction sometimes contains a gerund of intransitive verb.

txu_ anga' khan_-ya.^te_ ||
 he hunger suffer - must - RLS
 "He suffered from hunger."

Therefore we cannot regard the construction as true Passive.

follows.

- i) It can occur with or without *-kou_*.
- ii) It can be raised from within a complement sentence headed by *-phou*. to the subject of root sentence.
- iii) In a headless relative, an obligatory gap corresponding to it occurs.

i) holds in the case of non-Subject Theme NPs and Goal NPs. ii) is satisfied not only by Theme NPs, but also by Subject NPs irrespective of their semantic role. iii) covers inanimate Theme NPs, whether Subjects or non-Subjects, but not animate. Moreover, iii) covers some Instrument NPs. Only non-Subject inanimate Theme NPs show all the three properties. i) and ii) jointly cover all and only non-Subject Theme NPs, but they alone are too weak to establish "Object" in Burmese. At the present stage of study, we should not introduce "Object" into Burmese grammar.

4.2 "X Can Be Attached to Y" and "Y Is Marked by X"

In the preceding section, we concluded that "Subject" is unproblematic, but "Object" is not in Burmese. Then at present, we can admit that "*-ka*. is a particle attachable to Subject NPs" and "*-kou_* is a particle attachable to non-Subject Theme NPs." Before looking more closely at the relationship between the particles and the grammatical or semantic roles, there is a non-trivial issue we must clarify. Can we rephrase the expression "X can be attached to Y" with "Y is marked by X"?

The ideal case in which we can regard a function F to be mark by a form A is when the set of NPs having F is equal to the set of NPs with A. The case of Source *-ka*. is almost ideal, and so are the cases of Instrument *-ne*. and of various special complement nouns, such as *-atwe'* "for," *-asa*: "in place of," *-aphyi'* "as the status of."

The case of Goal *-kou_* is not ideal, however, because some Goal phrases occur without *-kou_*.

- (89) u:txein:han_ tayou'tan: ^kou_/-φ txwa: ^te_ ||
 U Thein Han Chinatown - to go - RLS
 "U Thein Han went to Chinatown."

But the Goal phrase without *-kou_* become less acceptable if Subject or other phrases intervene between it and the verb.

- (90)a. u:txein:han_ tayou'tan: ^kou_/?-φ hyi'-ka:-ne. txwa: ^te_ ||
 8 - car - by
 "U Thein Han went to Chinatown by route 8 bus."
 (90)b. tayou'tan: ^kou_/?-φ u:txein:han_ txwa: ^te_ ||
 "To china town, U Thein Han went."

- (91)a. ma.san_da_ di_-pyi'si: yan_goun_ ^kou_ /-φ pou.^te_ ||
 Ma San Da this - thing Yangon - to send - RLS
 "Ma San Da sent the thing to Yangon."
 b. di_-pyi'si: ma.san_da_ yan_goun_ ^kou_ /-φ pou.^te_ ||
 c. ma.san_da_ yan_goun_ ^kou_ /*-φ di_-pyi'si: pou.^te_ ||
 d. yan_goun_ ^kou_ /*-φ ma.san_da_ di_-pyi'si: pou.^te_ ||
 (Due to their identical propositional meaning with (91a), I gave no translation to (91b-d).)

Goal phrases without *-kou_* are perfectly acceptable only in the position immediately preceding the verb. Then we shall take the form with *-kou_* as basic, and assume that the omission of *-kou_* can be allowed in the pre-verbal position. Given the above proviso, we can regard *-kou_* as the marker of Goal.

Turn to the particles we are concerned with in this chapter. The case of *-ka* attached to Subjects is unproblematically negative. As is obvious from a lot of examples in this paper, the presence of *-ka* is not essential, and Subjects with no marking are common. Then we should regard *-φ* as the marker of Subject, and that *-ka* attached to Subjects has different function.

Next consider *-kou_* attached to non-Subject Themes. Animate (if not, at least human) Theme NPs without *-kou_* are totally unacceptable, wherever they occur in sentences.

- (92)a. maun_maun_ di_-lu_ ^kou_ yai'-te_ ||
 Mg. Mg. this - man - DAM beat - RLS
 "Maung Maung beat this man."
 b. *maun_maun_ di_-lu_-φ yai'-te_ ||
 c. di_-lu_ ^kou_ maun_maun_ yai'-te_ ||
 "This man, Maung Maung beat."
 "It is this man that Maung Maung beat."¹⁵⁾
 d. *di_-lu_-φ maun_maun_ yai'-te_ ||¹⁶⁾

15) Non-Subject Theme NP preceding Subject is sometimes interpreted as Topic, and sometimes as Focus. Which interpretation is intended might depend on whether the NP bears the stress or not.

16) If Theme is non-specific, the acceptability of the sentence improves.

maun_maun_ lu_-ta-yau'-kou_ /?-φ txa'-te_ ||
 Mg. Mg. man - 1 - CLS - DAM kill - RLS
 "Maung Maung killed a man."

Sugiyama (1989) argues that transitivity in the sense of Hopper & Thompson (1980) transitivity is one of the factors determining the selection between *-kou_* and *-φ*. In the presence of the above example, his argument seems to be of considerable adequacy. Yet, *-kou_* is still indispensable in the positions preceding Subject.

lu_-ta-yau'-kou_ /*-φ maun_maun_ txa'-te_ ||
 "It is one person that Maung Maung killed."

- (93)a. maun_maun_ man:dalei:ˆkou_ maun_ba.ˆkou_/*-φ hlu'-te_ ||
 Mg. Mg. Mandalay - to Mg.Ba - DAM send - RLS
 "Maung Maung sent Maung Ba to Mandalay."
 b. man:dalei:ˆkou_ maun_maun_ maun_ba.ˆkou_/*-φ hlu'-te_ ||
 c. maun_maun_ maun_ba.ˆkou_/*-φ man:dalei:ˆkou_ hlu'-te_ ||
 d. maun_ba.ˆkou_/*-φ maun_maun_ man:dalei:ˆkou_ hlu'-te_ ||

But with an inanimate Theme, *-kou_* is optional.

- (94)a. maun_maun_ di_-sa_ou'-kou_/-φ pha'-te_ ||
 Mg. Mg. this - book - DAM read - RLS
 "Maung Maung read this book."
 b. di_-sa_ou'-kou_/-φ maun_maun_ pha'-te_ ||
 "This book, Maung Maung read."
 (95)a. ma.san_da_ yan_goun_ˆkou_ di_-pyi'si:ˆkou_/-φ pou.ˆte_ ||
 Ma San Da Yangon - to this - thing - DAM send - RLS
 "Ma San Da sent the thing to Yangon."
 b. yan_goun_ˆkou_ ma.san_da_ di_-pyi'si:ˆkou_/-φ pou.ˆte_ ||
 c. ma.san_da_ di_-pyi'si:ˆkou_/-φ yan_goun_ˆkou_ pou.ˆte_ ||
 d. di_-pyi'si:ˆkou_/-φ ma.san_da_ yan_goun_ˆkou_ pou.ˆte_ ||

Then we cannot say that *-kou_* marks non-Subject Theme, either. Again, the marker for it is *-φ*, and the particle attached to these NPs must have a function other than marking the semantic role.

4.3 The Functions of *-kou_* Attached to Non-Subject Theme NPs and *-ka*. Attached to Subjects

Then how can we characterize the functions of the particles in question?

First consider the function of *-kou_*. The verbs taking a Theme which is not Subject also take an Agent as Subject. Since Agents are typically human, the verbs requiring a human non-Subject Theme take two human NPs. Since Burmese is a so-called "free word-order language", when both Subject NP and non-Subject Theme NP occur with no overt marker, we cannot tell Subject from non-Subject Theme by their shapes, unless some element is introduced to discriminate them. And *-kou_* is the very element.

The analysis is supported by the behavior of some NPs with personal referents, including personal pronouns (e.g. *nga_* "I", *txu_* "he, she"), some kinship terms (e.g. *aphei_* "father", *amei_* "mother"), and some proper names (e.g. *maun_nyou_* "Maung Nyo", *u: sein_* "U Sein"). When such an NP is used as a non-Subject argument, the tone of its last syllable changes into a falling tone,¹⁷⁾ that is, it has the "Oblique" form distinct from its "Subject" form. With such Oblique

17) Okell(1969: 18) calls it "induced creaky tone."

forms of these NPs, *-kou_* is optional.

- (96)a. maun_maun_ txu.ˆkou_/-φ yai'-te_ ||
 Mg. Mg. him - DAM beat - RLS
 "Maung Maung beat him."
 b. txu.ˆkou_/?-φ maun_maun_ yai'-te_ ||
 "As for him, Maung Maung beat him."
- (97)a. maun_maun_ man:dalei:ˆkou_ maun_nyou.ˆkou_/-φ hlu'-te_ ||
 Mg. Mg. Mandalay - to Mg.Nyo - DAM send - RLS
 "Maung Maung sent Maung Nyo to Mandalay."
 b. man:dalei:ˆkou_ maun_maun_ maun_nyou.ˆkou_/-φ hlu'-te_ ||
 c. maun_maun_ maun_nyou.ˆkou_/?-φ man:dalei:ˆkou_ hlu'-te_ ||
 d. maun_nyou.ˆkou_/?-φ maun_maun_ man:dalei:ˆkou_ hlu'-te_ ||

Therefore, we can conclude that the function of *-kou_* attached to animate non-Subject Theme NPs is the disambiguation of those NPs from Subjects. The case of inanimate non-Subject Themes remains unsolved, however. For the time being, following the intuition of native speakers, let us assume that *-kou_* in this case expresses some kind of emphasis.

Next, consider the function of *-ka*. attached to Subjects. Okell (1969) describes environments in which the particle is most often found.

- "(a) in noun clauses;
 (b) in complex sentences containing many expressions;
 (c) where there is a possibility of ambiguity between subject and object, often in conjunction with subordinate marker *-kou_* 'object';
 (d) when a subject in one clause is contrasted with that in another—'on the one hand ... on the other'" (p. 317)

One of the examples of (a) Okell cites is the following sentence.

- (98) txu.-nan_me_ˆka. kou_win: phei_ˆte. ||
 his - name - SSB Ko Win Pe - hearsay
 "His name is Ko Win Pe." (p. 317)

Burmese equational sentences consist of two nominal elements, having no copula. In the above example *-ka*. is used to delimit Subject and a nominal predicate. In some sense the function of *-ka*. is also that of disambiguation. But the importance of the function is relatively low, compared with that of *-kou_*: without *-kou_*, there is no way to discriminate Subjects and animate non-Subject Themes in most cases. On the other hand, the absence of *-ka*. seldom affects the parsing of sentences.

As examples of (b), Okell cites the following sentences.

- (99) e:di_-ni:ka. [caun:dxa:-lei:twai_ alwe_ shoun:
 that - method - SSB school - child - little - PLR easily - SUP
 na: le_-aun_] pya.te. ni:phe:_ ||
 ear round - so that show - ARLS method - EMP
 "That method is one used for demonstrating to little schoolchildren so that they can most easily understand." (p. 317)
- (100) thwe'-la_ te. hai'darou_jin_da'ngwei.ka. [lei_ the'
 go out - come - ARLS hydrogen gas - SSB air - than
 po.ta_-ne.] hlan_-tha:te. da'su.phan_dain_ the:
 light - NRLS - with invert - put - ARLS test tube - inside
 te'te'-txwa:te_ ||
 go up (RDP) - go - RLS
 "The hydrogen gas that is given off, being lighter than air, keeps going up into the inverted test tube." (p. 317)

In both examples, Subjects with *-ka.* are fairly distant from their predicates. At least, it is reasonable to say that *-ka.* tends to appear in such circumstances. Here are more examples.

- (101) nga_ka. [nyin: pin_ban:-hma_ sou:-lou.] pyo:ta_ pa_ ||
 I - SSB you tired - NIRL anxious - because speak - NRLS - POL
 "I said so because I was anxious that you would be tired." (Ohno: 146)
- (102) kou_do_ji:ka. [cun_ma. kou_dain_ pyin_pi: she'-hma.]
 reverend - SSB I(female) by oneself prepare - after offer - only if
 cei_na'-ta_ || (Cornyn: 1957: 132)
 satisfied - NRLS
 "He is satisfied only if I prepare and offer respectably by myself."

Here *-ka.* bears the function of disambiguation between the root and the embedded subjects. But again the function is not of great importance, because we can know which Subject corresponds to which predicate by word order, even though two Subjects are adjacent.

- (103) Root Subj. [Embedded Subj. Embedded pred.] Root pred.

The root Subject can never immediately follows the embedded Subject. Hence, if the two Subjects are adjacent, the root subject always precedes the embedded one.

Next consider (c). Indeed *-ka.* very often cooccurs with *-kou_.* But we could say that in this case only *-kou_* bears the function of disambiguation. The evidence for it is the ungrammaticality of the sentences containing two animate NPs, one is Subject with *-ka.* and the other is non-Subject Theme without *-kou_.*

- (104)a. *maun_maun_ka. di_lu_kou_ yai'te_ ||*
 Mg. Mg. - SSB this - man - DAM beat - RLS
 "Maung Maung beat this man."
 b. **maun_maun_ka. di_lu_φ yai'te_ ||*
 c. *di_lu_kou_ maun_maun_ka. yai'te_ ||*
 "As for this man, Maung Maung beat him."
 d. **di_lu_φ maun_maun_ka. yai'te_ ||*

(104a) has the implication that it is not this man that beat Maung Maung, but Maung Maung beat him. (96a) similar to (104a) except without *-ka.* refers to the mere event that Maung Maung beat him, and has no such implication. In other words, *-ka.* does not participate in the disambiguation of two elements in a sentence, but in the selection of an Agent-Theme pair among a set of such pairs.

In Okell's citation, (d) is the most suggestive in investigating the function of *-ka.* One example he cited is as follows.¹⁸⁾

- (105) *kou_txa_bei_ka. nge_te_ || kou_tou'phyou_ka. ci_te_ ||*
 Ko Tha Bay - SSB young - RLS Ko Toke Hpyo - SSB big RLS
 "Ko Tha Bay was the younger, and Ko Toke Hpyo was the older." (p. 318)

Okell's translation is misleading here, because this sentence is not of comparative construction. This sentence has the interpretation of contrasting the ages of two persons, and the comparative reading is a mere implication.

Can it be extended to the case in which only one Subject is concerned?

- (106) *myan_ma_hin:-ne. japan_hin: be_-ha_ sa'-txa-le:*
 Burmese dishes - and Japanese dishes which - thing hot - RLS - WHQ
 —*myan_ma_hin:ka. sa'-te_ ||*
 "Which are the hot one, Burmese dishes or Japanese dishes?—Burmese dishes are."

The first sentence of (106) is asking which cuisine of the two is a member of the category "hot foods," not asking which is hotter.¹⁹⁾ *-ka.* in the second sentence is essential in this case. Then we can say that *-ka.* is required when selecting as Subject some member (s) in a previously established domain. If we take contrasting two elements as selecting one of them twice, the contrastive reading in

18) In fact, the examples of (d) Okell cited contain the ones without two contrasted subjects.

19) When discussing the relative degree of hotness, adverbial verbs *pou_-*, *txa_-* are used.

- myan_ma_hin:-ne. you_daya_hin: be_-ha_ pou_-sa'-txa-le: _*
 Burmese dish - with Thai - dish which - thing more - hot - RLS - WHQ
 —*myan_ma_hin:ka. pou_-sa'-te_ ||*
 "Which are hotter, Burmese dishes or Thai dishes?
 —Burmese dishes are."

(105) can be reduced to this case. Furthermore, the idea might be also applied to (c), if both *-ka*. and *-kou_* are involved in the selection of an Agent-Theme pair, and *-kou_* acquires the function of selection in collocation with *-ka*. beside its original function of disambiguation.

In this chapter, we argued that *-kou_* with non-Subject Theme has the function of disambiguation and that of emphasis, and that *-ka*. with Subject has the function of (somewhat weak) disambiguation and that of selection. The origin of the usage somehow could be related to the concept of Source and Goal. But in the grammatical system of Modern Burmese, their functions cannot any longer form a pair, such as a Source/Goal pair.

5. THE ASYMMETRY IN THE FORMAL REALIZATION OF RECIPIENT AND GIVER

The last type of Goal/Source we discuss is that of Recipient and Giver: The giving/receiving can be recognized as a kind of action causing a movement between two persons. Here we again meet with an apparent opposition of *-kou_* and *-ka*.. But a more careful observation reveals that it is an illusion. In fact, there is a remarkable asymmetry in the formal realization of Recipient and Giver.

5.1 *-kou_* Attached to Recipient: Disambiguation Marker

- (107) nga. [^]kou_ laphe'yei_ -ta-khwe' hlan:-lai'-san:- ϕ _ ||
 me - to? tea - 1 - CLS bring - just - try - IMP
 "Please bring me a cup of tea."
- (108) txu_ ei:ei:khin_ [^]kou_ abi.dan_ -ta-ou' pei: [^]te_ ||
 he Aye Aye Khin - to? dictionary - 1 - CLS give - RLS
 "He gave a dictionary to Aye Aye Khin."
- (109) u:lei: txu. [^]kou_ ti_bwi_ yaun: [^]te_ ||
 uncle him - to? TV set sell - RLS
 "My uncle sell a TV set for him."
- (110) do_hla.hla.txan: txu. [^]kou_ da'pya:-ta-cha' hnga: [^]te_ ||
 Daw Hla Hla Than him - to? disk - 1 - CLS lend - RLS
 "Daw Hla Hla Than lent a disk to him."

In each sentence, Theme comes into the possession of Recipient, either temporally or constantly, after the action is completed. And Giver is Agent as well as Source in these sentences. It is seen from the fact that these sentences cannot have independent *-ka*. phrases of Source.

I have given the gloss "to?" to *-kou_* phrases in the above examples. It is still controversial whether *-kou_* of this kind is a case-marker or not. From the

semantic point of view, Recipient is indeed some kind of Goal, and it is expected that *-kou_* of this kind is a case-marker of Recipient. But it rather behaves like the one for a non-Subject Theme.

The human NP without distinct Oblique form: (ex. *maun_ba.*)

- (111)a. *maun_maun_ di_-sa_ou' maun_ba. ^kou_/*-φ pei: ^te_ ||*
 Mg. Mg. this - book Mg. Ba - to? give RLS
 "Maung Maung gave this book to Maung Ba."
 b. *di_-sa_ou' maun_maun_ maun_ba. ^kou_/*-φ pei: ^te_ ||*
 c. *maun_maun_ maun_ba. ^kou_/*-φ di_-sa_ou' pei: ^te_ ||*
 d. *maun_ba. ^kou_/*-φ maun_maun_ di_-sa_ou' pei: ^te_ ||*

The human NP with distinct Oblique form: (ex. *maun_nyou_/maun_nyou.*)

- (112)a. *maun_maun_ di_-sa_ou' maun_nyou. ^kou_/-φ pei: ^te_ ||*
 Mg. Nyo
 "Maung Maung gave this book to Maung Nyo."
 b. *di_-sa_ou' maun_maun_ maun_nyou. ^kou_/-φ pei: ^te_ ||*
 c. *maun_maun_ maun_nyou. ^kou_/-φ di_-sa_ou' pei: ^te_ ||*
 d. *maun_nyou. ^kou_/-φ maun_maun_ di_-sa_ou' pei: ^te_ ||*

Some readers might want to consider that *-kou_* is a true case-marker of Recipient. And it plays a role of disambiguation by the existence of itself automatically. But if it were true, *-kou_* would not be permitted except in preverbal position, even with distinct Oblique forms: Since the case-marker of Goal *-kou_* must appear with a location NP, which is distinct from Subject in its semantic feature, also the putative case-marker of Recipient *-kou_* would have to appear with an animate NP in Oblique form, which is distinct from Subject in its form. But it is not the case. Therefore we can conclude that *-kou_* attached to Recipient is in fact a disambiguation marker like that attached to non-Subject Theme. Then it follows that the marker for Recipient is *-φ*.

Like physical movements, the actions of giving have its abstract counterpart.

- (113) *shaya_ txu. ^kou_ moun. cwei: ^te_ ||*
 teacher him - DAM cake feed - RLS
 "My teacher treated him to cakes."
 (114) *ci_ci_win: cano. ^kou_ le'pa'na_yi_atxi' pya. ^te_ ||*
 Kyi Kyi Win me - DAM new watch show - RLS
 "Kyi Kyi Win showed me a new watch."
 (115) *txami: aphei. ^kou_ foun:-ne. di_-dxadin: pyo: ^te_ ||*
 daughter father - to telephone - by this - news speak - RLS
 "The daughter told her father this news by telephone."

- (116) *di_-japan_shayama. caun:dxa:ˆtwei_ˆkou_ japan_sa_*
 this - Japanese female teacher student - PLR - to Japanese
txin_-nei_ˆte_ ||
 teach - stay - RLS
 "This Japanese female teacher teaches Japanese to students."

5.2 *-ka*. as Giver: Obligatoriness of a Location Noun *shi_*

- (117) *asou:ya. txu.-shi_ˆka. myei_ txein:ˆte_ ||* ²⁰⁾
 government his - place - from land forfeit - RLS
 "The government forfeited the land from him."
- (118) *ei:ei:khin_ txu.-shi_ˆka. abi.dan_-ta-ou' ya.ˆte_ ||* ²¹⁾
 Aye Aye Khin his - place - from dictionary - 1 - CLS get - RLS
 "Aye Aye Khin got a dictionary from him."
- (119) *txu_ u:lei:-shi_ˆka. ti_bwi_ we_ˆte_ ||*
 he uncle's - place - from TV set buy - RLS
 "He bought a TV set from his uncle."
- (120) *txu_ do_hla.hla.txan:-shi_ˆka. da'pya:-ta-cha' hnga:ˆte_ ||* ²²⁾
 he Daw Hla Hla Than's - place - from disk - 1 - CLS borrow - RLS
 "He borrowed a disk form Daw Hla Hla Than."

In each sentence, Theme comes into the possession of Recipient, which is at the same time Agent, after the action is completed. The verbs cannot take Recipient independent of Agent.

Here are some examples of corresponding abstract actions.

- (121) *aphei_ txami:-shi_ˆka. foun:-ne. di_-dxadin:ˆkou_ ca:ˆte_ ||*
 father daughter's - place - from phone - by this - news - DAM hear RLS
 "The father heard the news from his daughter by telephone."

20) *txein:* - is also used as the transitive verb "gather in, collect", taking Goal or Locative in addition to Agent and Theme.

21) *ya-* is often used without Giver.

- ei:ei:khin_ abi.dan_-ta-ou' ya.ˆte_ ||*
 Aye Aye Khin dictionary - 1 - CLS get - RLS
 "Aye Aye Khin got a dictionary."

ya- in (118) and *pei:-* in (108) denote the same event, except that Recipient is selected for Subject in the former, whereas Giver is selected for Subject in the latter. The same thing applies to *we_-* in (119) and *yaun:-* in (109).

22) The verb *hnga:-* takes Recipient in (110), and takes Giver in (120). Here the event of the temporary change in possession is denoted by a verb, regardless of the selection of Subject. The same thing applies also to *chi:-* "lend, borrow (not returning the borrowed thing, but its equivalent of the same kind)," and *txin_-* "teach, learn" in (116) (122).

- (122) caun:dxa:ˆtwei_ di_-japan_shayama.-shi_ˆka.
 student - PLR this - Japanese female teacher's - place - from
 japan_sa_ txin_-nei_ˆte_ ||
 Japanese learn - stay - RLS
 "Students are learning Japanese from this Japanese teacher."

Notice that a Giver NP is always accompanied by a locational noun *shi_*. *shi_* "place" is a kind of noun denoting some domain of space relative to the entity which is denoted by the NP modifying it, like (a)po_ "the upper" (a)the: "inside," etc. *X-shi_* ordinarily means "the place where X is". However, obviously *di_-japan_shayama.-shi_ˆka.* in (122) cannot have the meaning "from the place where this Japanese teacher is." It might be argued that *shi_* is inserted for avoiding the confusion, because the form without *shi_*, that is, *di_-japan_shayama.ˆka.* is interpreted as expressing Subject, never as Giver. But this not appropriate, because even in the literary style, which has two distinct markers for Subject (*-txi_*) and Source (*-hma.*), having no possibility of confusing, the expression of Giver must be accompanied by *than_*, the literary counterpart of *shi_*.

- (123) caun:dxa:-mya:ˆtxi_ i_-japan_shayama.-than_-hma.
 student - PLR - TOP this - Japanese female teacher's - place - from
 japan_sa_ txin_-nei_ˆtxi_ ||
 Japanese learn - stay - RLS
 (the translation of (122) into literary style.)

This implies that non-Subject Giver is treated as a quasi-location in Burmese.

What does the markedness of realization of Giver, opposed to Recipient, show? It might mean that human NPs are too high in animacy to combine with the concept of Source, and the 'localization' by *shi_* has the function of lowering their high animacy. Or it might be due to the disagreement of the direction of the action of Agent and that of the movement of Theme. Anyway, it is interesting that these two semantic roles have such different realizations from each other.

[Acknowledgements]

I am indebted to U Aung Win Naing, U Zaw Lwin Tun, and Ma Aye Thin Hlaing for all the examples with no indication of the source. They are all Burmese native speakers in their thirties. I also thank to Yoshiharu Takahashi, Shen Li and other student colleagues in the Linguistic Department of Kyoto University, for their comments and suggestions.

MATERIALS

Maung Thar Ya.

ngayou' hman_hlyin sa'ya. lein. mi_ (If it is a true red pepper, it may be hot.)

Cornyn, W.S.

1957 *Burmese Chrestomathy*. Washington, D.C.: American Council of Learned Societies, Program in Oriental Languages, publ. ser. A., texts, 4.

Others are in References.

REFERENCES

- Burmese department, Faculty of oriental languages and literature, Beijing University (ed.).
1990 *Miǎn Hàn Cì Diǎn* [A Burmese-Chinese Dictionary]. Beijing: Shāngwùyīn Shūguǎn.
- Comrie, B.
1981 *Language Universals and Linguistic Typology, Syntax and Morphology*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Cornyn, W.S.
1944 *Outline of Burmese Grammar*. Language Dissertation No. 38 (Vol. 20, No. 4, Supplement.)
- Gruber, J.S.
1976 *Lexical Structures in Syntax and Semantics*. Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company.
- Myanmar Language Commission, Ministry of Education, Union of Myanmar(ed.).
1991 *myan_ma_abi.dan* [A Burmese-Burmese Dictionary]. Yangon.
- Ohno, T.
1983 *Gendai Birumago Nyūmon* [Introduction to Modern Burmese]. Tokyo: Tairyūsha.
- Okell, J.
1969 *A Reference Grammar of Colloquial Burmese*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Stewart, J.A.
1955 *Manual of Colloquial Burmese*. London: Luzac.
- Sugiyama, K.
1989 *Gendai Birumago ni okeru Kakuhyōshiki no Bunpu to Kinō* [On the Distribution and the Function of Case-markers in Modern Burmese]. B.A. Thesis, Kyoto University.
- Tsunoda, T.
1991 *Sekai no Gengo to Nihongo* [World's languages and Japanese]. Tokyo: Kuroshio Publishing.

