<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>部分</th>
<th>内容</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>题目</td>
<td>On the Usages and Functions of Particles [-kou] in Colloquial Burmese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>出版物</td>
<td>Senri Ethnological Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>卷</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>頁</td>
<td>153-187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>年</td>
<td>1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>URL</td>
<td><a href="http://doi.org/10.15021/00002995">http://doi.org/10.15021/00002995</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ARLS</td>
<td>attributive clause marker, reals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLS</td>
<td>classifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAM</td>
<td>disambiguation marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMP</td>
<td>emphasis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>sentence marker, imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRL</td>
<td>sentence marker, irrealis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>sentence marker, negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NIRL</td>
<td>nominal clause marker, irrealis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POS</td>
<td>possessive marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QST</td>
<td>yes-no question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RCP</td>
<td>reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RDP</td>
<td>reduplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RLS</td>
<td>sentence marker, realis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RTR</td>
<td>sentence marker, real-time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSB</td>
<td>selection marker for subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUP</td>
<td>superative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Kyoto University
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)


"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>.” (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)


"-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 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 correspon-
ding to Chinese ‘mēi’ (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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-kou_</th>
<th>Cornyn</th>
<th>Stewart</th>
<th>Okell</th>
<th>Ohno</th>
<th>MHCD</th>
<th>MMABD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) goal/ direction</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>1A</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>1A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) receiver</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>direct object</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
<td>1B</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>1B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indirect object</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
<td>1B</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td>1C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>material</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) future time</td>
<td>C</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>C</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) distribution</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1C</td>
<td></td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) emphasis</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>E</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

-kou.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Velar</td>
<td>k-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal</td>
<td>c-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alveolar</td>
<td>t-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dental</td>
<td>tx-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labial</td>
<td>p-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Glides: | -y-, - w- |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Single Vowels</th>
<th>Diphthongs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>Front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid-High</td>
<td>-ei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid-Low</td>
<td>-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Finals</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-n</td>
<td>nasализation of the preceding vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-'</td>
<td>glottal stop characterizing the tone 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tones</th>
<th>Boundaries and Punctuations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>tone 1 (low-level)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V:</td>
<td>tone 2 (high-level)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>tone 3 (creaky)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V'</td>
<td>tone 4 (abrupt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>atonic (only with -a)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| V.    | (space) phrase boundary    |
| V:    | corresponding to a comma   |
| V'    | 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 _xin: 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'-tei_ 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_ twee_ phei'-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) 
```
I this-poster-DAM wall-to stick-RLS
```

(10) 
```
tree-DAM this-side-to fell-POL-IMP
```

(11) 
```
Soe Myint Thein parlor-to bookshelf move-RLS
```

(12) 
```
I PLR my-room-to TV set carry-RLS
```

(13) 
```
this-wall-from picture peel-POL-IMP
```

(14) 
```
I eldest son tree-from fruit-many pick-RLS
```

(15) 
```
I drawer-from pencil-case take out-RLS
```

(16) 
```
(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 be1 shei’kan:’ka.) bou thouaun shei’kan:’kou shai’te_ Kobe jetty - from
   b. hou txi’pin ci: (*chan the:’ka.) lan: ma:’po’kou le:’te_ || cf. (1)
   gardern - inside - from
   c. nan yan’ka. (*zawbe:’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
cwe’_pi_ || cf. (6)

Ib) e. sou:tin. nain_ yei zin’ka. yan goun’kou hywei te_ || cf. (3)
   Yezin - from
f. tin khain bazun taun’ka. txin: bo: - ne. dxanyin’kou ku:’te_ || cf. (4)
   Bazuntaung - from
g. cano_ di’-akhan:’ka. apyin’kou thwe’te_ || cf. (7)
   outside - to
di’-nan-yan’ka. (*zawbe:Apo-Akou-) da’poun khwa’te_ || cf. (13)
   desk - on - to
d. kou kou_ di’-txi’pin’ka. (*chin the:’kou_ txi’txi: - amya: ji: shu’te_ ||
   that - side - from
desk - on - to

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

(18)

Ia) a. cano_ di’-co nya za’kou_ (*zawbe:’po_ka.) nan yan’kou ka’te_ ||
   desk - on - from
di’kou_ (*hou_’phe’ka.) di’-phe’-kou_ hle:’pa’_ _ || cf. (9)
   that - side - from
txi’pin_ || cf. (10)
   desk - on - to

Ib) c. di’-nan yan’ka. (*zawbe:’po kou) da’poun khwa’p_ || 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)
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_tthaun_shei'kan: \(-hma_\) shai'-te- ||
    b. `hou--txi'pin--ci: lan:ma. `po--hma: le: `te_- ||
    c. *`sou:ti:na:n_ (yei_zin_ `ka.) yan_goun_-hma- hywei. `te_ ||
    d. *`tin_khain_ (bazun_taun_ `ka.) txin:bo:-ne. dxanyin_-hma_ 
       ku: `te_ ||
    e. *`cano_ (di--akhan: `ka.) apyin--hma_ thwe'-te_ ||
    f. *bagan--the: `ka. zabwe:khin_-po--hma_ laphe'yei--twei_ phei'-te_ ||

(20) a. `cano_ di--co_nya:za--`kou_ nan_yan_-hma_ ka'-te_ ||
    b. txi'pin--`kou_ di--phe'-hma_ hle:`pa--`phi_- ||
       hywei.`te_ ||
    d. *`cano_ tou. (txu.--akhan:`ka.) cano.-akhan:_hma_ ti_bi_se' 
       txe_`te_ ||
    e. *`cano_ (an_shwe: `ka.) zabwe:`po--hma_ kun_pa:bu: thou'-te_- ||
    f. *hnge`-`kou_ (hlaun_jain. `the: `ka.) 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)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{THEME} \\
O \\
\downarrow \\
O \\
\downarrow \\
O - O - \\
\text{GOAL POSITION}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{MOVEMENT EVENT} \\
\text{ITS RESULTANT STATE}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{--------} \\
\text{-------} \\
-kou_- \\
-hma_- \\
\end{array}
\]

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)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{THEME} \\
\uparrow \\
O \\
\uparrow \\
O \\
\downarrow \\
O - O - \\
\text{SOURCE POSITION}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{MOVEMENT EVENT} \\
\text{ITS RESULTANT STATE}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{--------} \\
\text{-------} \\
-ka. \\
\end{array}
\]

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
has no relative pronoun, with the element corresponding to the head noun within the clause as an obligatory gap. That is, Burmese relative clauses are of “gap-type” in Comrie (1981: p. 144). In Burmese the omission of elements due to discourse factors is not rare, so sometimes, only by their appearance, we cannot distinguish between the relativization of the Goal and that of the Source.

In some verbs of "two-point specification" type, the relativization of the Goal without retaining the Source within the relative clause is possible, but that of the Source without retaining the Goal within it is not possible.

(23) di._ta' chi_te'-te. myou. |  
this corps advance - ARLS city  
"the city to which this corps advanced"/
**"the city from which this corps advanced"

(24) hou._lu_ou'ci: ywei. te. nei_ya_ |  
that - big - mass move - ARLS place  
"the place to which that mass moved"/
**"the place from which that mass moved"

(25) maun_maun_ txi'ta_ hywei. te. akhan: |  
Mg. Mg. box move - ARLS room  
"the room into which Maung Maung moved the box"/
**"the room out of which Maung Maung moved the box"

(26) maun_maun_ txi'ta_ pou. te. nei_ya_ |  
Mg. Mg. box send - ARLS place  
"the place to which Maung Maung sent the box"/
**"the place from which Maung Maung sent the box"

In others, only the relativization of the Source is possible, while that of the Goal is not.

(27) maun_maun_ thwe'khwa_ te. bu_da_youn_ |  
Mg. Mg. leave - ARLS station  
**"the station Maung Maung left for"/"the station Maung Maung left"

(28) laphe'yei_ twoi_ pei'-te. bagan: |  
tea - PLR spill - ARLS cup  
**"the cup into which some tea spilt"/
"the cup from which some tea spilt"

(29) a. cano_ kun_pa_bu: thou'-te. an_shwe: |  
I pencil - case take out - ARLS drawer  
"the drawer out of which I took a pencil case"
b. *cano_ kun_pa_bu: thou'-te. can: byin_ |  
floor
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”

(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) gwin:pyaun_byaun__ ka. pan: jan_ -aphyi'-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:ʻte _||
    he man's life - from animal's life - to change-RLS
    “He changed from man to animal.”

(37) txe_-ta-myou:ʻka. 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:-aphyi'-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:ʻpi: thau'-me _||
    this-company-to money-2-millions invest-after support-IRL
    “I will invest 2 millions to this company, and support it.”
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:−te_ ||
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:−twei_ yan_dxu−yan−ka_ ka_gwe−nain−khe.−te_ ||
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 see
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.

\[\text{(48) awei: `ka. hlan: `myin: `ya. `kade: `ka. achei anei}
\text{distant place - from reach - see - can - time - from situation}
\text{ma-hla. `to.-hman: ma.ngwei_ma. txi. `te_ || (Mauntxaya: 77)}
\text{not - beautiful - anymore - fact Ma Ngwei Ma know - RLS}
\text{"Ma Ngwei Ma knew that the situation (of the area in front of her house) was not}
\text{beautiful anymore since (she) saw (it) from a distant place."}
\]

\[\text{(49) ho:di- `kalathain: `po- `ka. thain- ci. -nei- `ta_ || (Ohno: 125)}
\text{this - chair - on - from sit - look - stay - NRLS}
\text{"(I) was looking at it from here, sitting on the chair."}
\]

\[\text{(50) cau'saya- atxan_ji: `phe: `shou_ pi: tei`tei`khalei:}
\text{fearful thing big sound - EMP say - after secretly - little}
\text{thayan_bau`-ka. chaun: `ci. `to. || (Cornyn1957: 41)}
\text{hole on bamboo wall - from peep - look - when}
\text{"When (he) peeped from a hole on the bamboo wall, saying that a fearful sound is}
\text{audible..."}
\]

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.

\[\text{(51) txu_ pyi`te. bo:loun:-ha_ shwe:-tha: `te_ myin:jaun: `ka.}
\text{he throw - ARLS ball - TOP draw - put - ARLS line - from}
\text{hna-pei_-lau` lwe:-nei- `te_ ||}
\text{2 - feet - about miss - stay - RLS}
\text{"The ball he threw is about two feet off the drawn line."}
\]

\[\text{(52) bagou:myou_-ha_ man:dalei:myou. `ka. wei: `te_ ||}
\text{Pegu city - TOP Mandalay city - from be far - RLS}
\text{"Pegu is far from Mandalay."}
\]
What these sentences express are not the events of separating, but the situations where two things are distant. The use of –\textit{ka}. phrases implies that we identify the situation by the movement of the end-point of the “vector”. The use of the comitative –\textit{ne}. phrase in place of the –\textit{ka}. phrase does not have such an implication.

\begin{equation}
\text{txu}_-\text{pyi}'-\text{te}. \text{bo:}loun:-\text{ha}_-\text{shwe}:\tilde{\text{th}}e. \text{myin:}jaun:-\text{ne}. \text{with} \hna-\text{pei}_-\text{lau}' \text{lwe}:\text{nei}_-\tilde{\text{te}}. ||
\end{equation}

“The distance between the ball he threw and the drawn line is two feet.”

(54) bagou:myou.-\text{ne}. \text{man:dai}le:myou.-\text{ha}_-\text{wei}:\tilde{\text{te}}. ||

“Pegu and Mandalay are distant.”

Examples of corresponding –\textit{kou}. phrases are as follows.

\begin{equation}
\text{she.hni}'-\text{ba'saka}: \text{ta}-\text{phe}'-\text{kou}_-\text{saun}:-\text{nei}_-\tilde{\text{te}}. ||
\end{equation}

12 - bus 1 - side - to slant - stay - RLS

“The bodies of route 12 buses are slanted.”

(56) alan_\text{dain}_-\text{caun}:\tilde{\text{phe}}'-\text{kou}_-\text{yain}:\text{nei}_-\tilde{\text{te}}. ||

flagstaff school - side - to incline - stay - RLS

“The flagstaff is inclined to the side of the school.”

(57) hou.--\text{dada}:haun: \text{taun}:\tilde{\text{phe}}'-\text{ka}. \text{myau}'-\text{phe}'-\text{kou}_-\text{nyu}'-\text{te}. ||

that - old bridge south - side - from north - side - to hang down - RLS

“That old bridge hangs down from south to north.”

(58) hou--\text{txi}'kain: \text{taun}:\tilde{\text{phe}}'-\text{ka}. \text{myau}'-\text{phe}'-\text{kou}_-\text{kain}:\tilde{\text{te}}. ||

that - bough south - side - from north - side - to hang - down - RLS

“That bough hangs down from south to north.”

3. –\textit{ka}. PHRASES OPPOSED TO –\textit{athi}. PHRASES: THE “STANDARD POINT” OF A “SCALE”

Some usages of –\textit{ka}. phrases are paired to those of phrases marked by special complement noun\textsuperscript{6} –\textit{athi}., glossed with “till”, rather than those of –\textit{kou}. phrases. We can find some instances of –\textit{ka}.–\textit{athi}. correspondence with verbs of two-point specified movement.

---

\textsuperscript{6} I call the nouns used to mark some semantic role “special complement nouns”. This term is roughly equivalent to Okell (1969)’s “subordinate nouns”.

On the Usages and Functions of Particles –kou_––ka.

169

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

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

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.

---

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:ja u’–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) \textit{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:z-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. 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) \textit{di-tha-na-hma} shaya-u:yei-kou txoun-yau'-ka. \\
this - department - in teacher - number - DAM 3 - CLS - from \\
yhi'-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. 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-ppei-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.
3.4 A Semantic Shift—–ka. as the Past Point

(79) sanei_nei. ka. twee. te_ ||
Saturday - on meet - RLS
“(We) met on Saturday.” (Okell: 316)

(80) pi: to. dxi- ein_ shau’-toun: ka. 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_ twee_ su_. nei_ txei: te. achein_ ka. ne:ne:
man - PLR assemble - stay - still - ARLS 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_ ka. shou_ - yin_ txu_ ka.
war not - happen - before - in state - if he - SSB
ahni’-hneashe_ - 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: te_ ||
b. yan_ goun_ myi’-yei_ -ha_ pei_ - nga: ze_ ka. nga: ze_ nga: ‘kou_
myin. -la_ -te_ ||
c. txu_ pain_ te. le_ myei_ -ha_ hna- ei_ ka. ka lei: -ei_ ka. -athi.
ce_ -la_ -te_ ||
tou: te_ ||
e. txu_ pain_ myei_ -kou_ hna- ei_ ka. ka. lei: -ei_ ka. -athi. che. te_ ||
f. alan_ dain_ ‘kou_ she. nga: -pei_ ka. pei_ -hneashe_ -athi. hmyin. te_ ||
g. yadana_ pya. bwe: ‘kou_ au’ tou_ ba_ la. txoun_ -ye’-ka. chau’-ye’-athi.
shain: -tha: te_ ||
express the point of time when the event/state occurred. Significantly the point of time \(-\text{ka}\). phrase expresses must be in the past. In this respect, \(-\text{ka}\). 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 $\rightarrow$ The time of event in the past

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>period</th>
<th>event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the point</td>
<td>the point</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of speech act</td>
<td>of speech act</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A point still remains to be explained: \(-\text{ka}\). 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 \(-\text{khe}\)$. The verb modifier expresses the movement approaching the place of speech act.

(84) $\text{di}_-\text{kou}_-\text{la}_-\text{khe}_-\text{pa}_-\circ \parallel$

\text{here} - \text{to} \text{come} - \text{hither} - \text{POL} - \text{IMP} \text{ "Please come here."}

(85) $\text{ein}_-\text{ka}_-\text{sa}_-\text{ou}_-\text{yu}_-\text{khe}_-\text{te}_-\parallel$

\text{house} - \text{from} \text{book} \text{bring} - \text{hither} - \text{RLS}

\text{"(I) brought the book from my house."}

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

11) \(-\text{ka}\). 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 \(-\text{hma}\). phrases expressing the point of time in general.

\begin{verbatim}
\text{e:di}_-\text{mwei:phwa}_-\text{te}_-\text{achein}_-\text{hma}_-\text{tain:pyi}_-\text{hma}_-
\text{this be born -ARLS time -in country} -\text{in}
\text{in:_matan}_-\text{hma}_-\text{phe}_-\text{cau’me}_-\text{phwe}_-\text{kaun}_-\text{te}_-\text{atxan}_-\text{ci}_-\text{ha}_-
\text{very -even -EMP fear -cause plenty -ARLS voice} -\text{big} -\text{TOP}
\text{o}_-\text{te}_-\parallel \text{ (Cornyn1957:50)}
\text{shout RLS}
"When this baby was born, a very fearful cry rumbled in the country."
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
\text{tathaun_kou:ya_lei:ze_hyi’}_-\text{khu}_-\text{hni’}_-\text{ma}_-\text{tain}_-\text{khin}_-\text{hma}_-\text{ka}_-
\text{1948} - \text{CLS} - \text{year} \text{not} - \text{reach} - \text{before} - \text{in} - \text{EMP}
\text{txei’}_-\text{ma-po}_-\text{la}_-\text{txei’}_-\text{phu}_-\parallel \text{ (Okell:319)}
\text{very} -\text{not} -\text{emerge} -\text{come} -\text{yet} -\text{NEG}
"(It) was not much in evidence before 1948."
\end{verbatim}
interpreted 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) -ka. -khe.
    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.\textsuperscript{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, \textsuperscript{13)} we find that some NPs have in common the following properties.

\begin{itemize}
  \item[i)] It can occur with no marking in free positions preceding the verbal predicate.
  \item[ii)] Topic marker \(-ha_\) can be attached to it.
  \item[iii)] In the environment of Causative with \(-sei_\), \(-kou_\) is attached to it.
  \item[iv)] It can be the antecedent for reflexive expressions.
  \item[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).
\end{itemize}

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.\textsuperscript{14)} Candidates of properties might be as

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{12)} See Tsunoda (1991).
\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{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.

\begin{verbatim}
maun-maun_ ayai` khan-_ya.\textsubscript{te}_ \parallel
Mg. Mg. beating suffer - must - RLS
“Maung Maung had to be beaten (by someone).”
\end{verbatim}

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

\begin{verbatim}
*di-_zabwe: ayai` khan-_ya.\textsubscript{te}_ \parallel
this - desk
\end{verbatim}

And the construction sometimes contains a gerund of intransitive verb.

\begin{verbatim}
txu_ anga` khan-_ya.\textsubscript{te}_ \parallel
he hunger suffer - must - RLS
“He suffered from hunger.”
\end{verbatim}

Therefore we cannot regard the construction as true Passive.
On the Usages and Functions of Particles \(-kou_-/-ka.\)

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 nbn-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_ ||
“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.”
(91a) ma san da di pyi si: yan goun kou pou te
"Ma San Da sent the thing to Yangon."

Ma San Da this thing Yangon to send RLS

b. di pyi si: ma san da yan goun kou pou te
"Ma San Da sent the thing to Yangon."

c. ma san da yan goun kou di pyi si: pou te
("Due to their identical propositional meaning with (91a), I gave no translation to
(91b-d)."

d. yan goun kou di pyi si: ma san da pou te

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 - 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.

(92a) maun maun di lu kou yai te
"Maung Maung beat this man."

Maung Maung this DAM beat RLS

b. maun maun di lu yai te
"This man, Maung Maung beat."

c. di lu kou maun maun yai te
"It is this man that Maung Maung beat."

d. di lu yai te maun maun
It is one person that Maung Maung killed.

Sugiyama (1989) argues that transitivity in the sense of Hopper & Thompson (1980) transitivity is one of the factors determining the selection between -kou_ and -.. 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 maun maun txa te
"It is one person that Maung Maung killed."
On the Usages and Functions of Particles -kou/-ka.

(93)a. maun_maun_ man:dalei: kou_ maun ba.\*-\(\phi\) hlu'\(\text{-te}\) ||
   Mg. Mg. Mandalay to Mg.Ba DAM send RLS
   "Maung Maung sent Maung Ba to Mandalay."

   (93)b. maun maun_ maun\_maun_ maun ba.\*-\(\phi\) hlu'\(\text{-te}\) ||
   t1

   (93)c. maun maun_ maun ba.\*-\(\phi\) maun maun_ maun_dalei: kou_ hlu'\(\text{-te}\) ||
   d. maun ba.\*-\(\phi\) maun maun_ maun_dalei: kou_ hlu'\(\text{-te}\) ||

But with an inanimate Theme, -kou_ is optional.

(94)a. maun maun_ di--sa-ou'-kou_/-\(\phi\) pha'\(\text{-te}\) ||
   Mg. Mg. this book DAM read RLS
   "Maung Maung read this book."

   (94)b. di--sa-ou'-kou_/-\(\phi\) maun maun_ pha'\(\text{-te}\) ||
   "This book, Maung Maung read."

(95)a. ma san_da yan_goun_\* kou_ di--pyi'si:Akou-/-\(\phi\) pou.\(\text{-te}\) ||
   Ma San Da Yangon to this thing DAM send RLS
   "Ma San Da sent the thing to Yangon."

   (95)b. yan_goun_\* kou_ ma san_da\_ di--pyi'si:Akou-/-\(\phi\) pou.\(\text{-te}\) ||
   c. ma san_da\_ di--pyi'si:Akou-/-\(\phi\) yan_goun_\* kou_ pou.\(\text{-te}\) ||
   d. di--pyi'si:Akou-/-\(\phi\) ma san_da\_ yan_goun_\* kou_ pou.\(\text{-te}\) ||

Then we cannot say that -kou_ marks non-Subject Theme, either. Again, the
marker for it is -\(\phi\), 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.\^-kou\_/\-\#  yai\'-te\_ ||
    Mg. Mg.      him - DAM  beat - RLS
    "Maung Maung beat him."

b. txu.\^-kou\_/\-\#  maun\_maun\_ yai\'-te\_ ||
   "As for him, Maung Maung beat him."

(97)a. maun\_maun\_ man:dalei:\^-kou\_ maun\_nyou.\^-kou\_/\-\#  hlu\'-te\_ ||
    Mg. Mg. Mandalay - to  Mg.Nyo - DAM  send - RLS
    "Maung Maung sent Maung Nyo to Mandalay."

b. man:dalei:\^-kou\_ maun\_maun\_ maun\_nyou.\^-kou\_/\-\#  hlu\'-te\_ ||

c. maun\_maun\_ maun\_nyou.\^-kou\_/\-\#  man:dalei:\^-kou\_ 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\_\^-ka\.  kou\_win\: phe\_te\. ||
    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.
On the Usages and Functions of Particles –kou_/–ka.

(99) e:di_–ni:–ka. [caun:dx:-lei:–twei_ 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
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 respectfully 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.


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_.
(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.\(^{18}\)

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?

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.
On the Usages and Functions of Particles -kou_/-ka.

(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:~_ ||
    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 \(-\text{kou}\) 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. \textit{maun} \textit{ba}.)

(111)a. \textit{maun} \textit{maun}. \textit{di} \textit{-sa} \textit{ou}\textit{' maun} \textit{ba}. \textit{kou} \textit{/-*-ϕ pei:te} ||
Mg. Mg. this book Mg.Ba -to? give RLS
"Maung Maung gave this book to Maung Ba."

b. \textit{di} \textit{-sa} \textit{ou}' \textit{maun} \textit{maun} \textit{maun} \textit{ba}. \textit{kou} \textit{/-*-ϕ pei:te} ||
c. \textit{maun} \textit{maun} \textit{maun} \textit{ba}. \textit{kou} \textit{/-*-ϕ di} \textit{-sa} \textit{ou}' pei:te ||
d. \textit{maun} \textit{ba}. \textit{kou} \textit{/-*-ϕ maun} \textit{maun} \textit{di} \textit{-sa} \textit{ou}' pei:te ||

The human NP with distinct Oblique form: (ex. \textit{maun} \textit{nyou}/\textit{maun} \textit{nyou}.)

(112)a. \textit{maun} \textit{maun}. \textit{di} \textit{-sa} \textit{ou}' \textit{maun} \textit{nyou}. \textit{kou} \textit{/-*-ϕ pei:te} ||
Mg.Nyo
"Maung Maung gave this book to Maung Nyo."

b. \textit{di} \textit{-sa} \textit{ou}' \textit{maun} \textit{maun} \textit{maun} \textit{nyou}. \textit{kou} \textit{/-*-ϕ pei:te} ||
c. \textit{maun} \textit{maun} \textit{maun} \textit{nyou}. \textit{kou} \textit{/-*-ϕ di} \textit{-sa} \textit{ou}' pei:te ||
d. \textit{maun} \textit{nyou}. \textit{kou} \textit{/-*-ϕ maun} \textit{maun} \textit{di} \textit{-sa} \textit{ou}' pei:te ||

Some readers might want to consider that \(-\text{kou}\) 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, \(-\text{kou}\) would not be permitted except in pre-verbal position, even with distinct Oblique forms: Since the case-marker of Goal \(-\text{kou}\) must appear with a location NP, which is distinct from Subject in its semantic feature, also the putative case-marker of Recipient \(-\text{kou}\) 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 \(-\text{kou}\) 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 \(-\phi\).

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

(113) \textit{shaya} \textit{txu.} \textit{\textasciitilde{kou}} \textit{moun. cwei:te} ||
teacher him -DAM cake feed -RLS
"My teacher treated him to cakes."

(114) \textit{ci ci_win: cano.} \textit{\textasciitilde{kou}} \textit{le'pa'na_yi_atxi'} \textit{pya.} \textit{te} ||
Kyi Kyi Win me -DAM new watch show -RLS
"Kyi Kyi Win showed me a new watch."

(115) \textit{txami:} \textit{aphei.} \textit{\textasciitilde{kou}} \textit{foun:-ne. di} \textit{-dxadin: pyo:te} ||
daughter father -to telephone -by this -news speak -RLS
"The daughter told her father this news by telephone."
On the Usages and Functions of Particles \(-kou/-ka\).

5.2 \(-ka\). as Giver: Obligatoriness of a Location Noun shi_

(117) asou:ya. txu.-shi_\^\text{\textasciitilde}ka. myei_ txei:\^\text{\textasciitilde}te_ \[ 20 \]
government his - place - from land forfeit - RLS
“The government forfeited the land from him.”

(118) ei:ei:khin_ txu.-shi_\^\text{\textasciitilde}ka. abi dan._\text{-ta-ou’} ya.\^\text{\textasciitilde}te_ \[ 21 \]
Aye Aye Khin his - place - from dictionary - 1 - CLS get - RLS
“Aye Aye Khin got a dictionary from him.”

(119) txu_ u:lei:-shi_\^\text{\textasciitilde}ka. ti_bwi_ we_\^\text{\textasciitilde}te_ \]
he uncle's - place - from TV set buy - RLS
“He bought a TV set from his uncle.”

(120) txu_ do_hla_hla.txan:-shi_\^\text{\textasciitilde}ka. da’pya:-ta-cha’ hnga:\^\text{\textasciitilde}te_ \[ 22 \]
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_\^\text{\textasciitilde}ka. foun:-ne. di_\text{-dxadin:}kou_ ca:\^\text{\textasciitilde}te_ \]
father daughter’s - place - from phone - by this - news - DAM hear RLS
“The father heard the news from his daughter by telephone.”

20) txei: --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._\text{-ta-ou’} ya.\^\text{\textasciitilde}te_ \]
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 yau:-- 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:-twei_ di_-japan_shayama.-shi_`ka.
    student - PLR this - Japanese female teacher's - place - from
    japan_sa_ txin_- nei_-`te_ ||
    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_ `ka. 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. `ka. 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: `txi_ i_-japan_shayama.-than_-hma.
    student - PLR - TOP this - Japanese female teacher's - place - from
    japan_sa_ txin_- nei_-`txi_ ||
    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.
On the Usages and Functions of Particles \(-kou_-/-ka\).

Others are in References.

REFERENCES

Burmese department, Faculty of oriental languages and literature, Beijing University (ed.).

Comrie, B.

Cornyn, W.S.
1944 Outline of Burmese Grammar. Language Dissertation No. 38 (Vol. 20, No. 4, Supplement.)

Gruber, J.S.

Myanmar Language Commission, Ministry of Education, Union of Myanmar (ed.).

Ohno, T.

Okell, J.

Stewart, J.A.

Sugiyma, K.

Tsunoda, T.