

ʔǎ-prefixation on verbs and auxiliaries in Lhaovo (Maru) Language: non-derivational use

SAWADA Hideo

Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa

Tokyo University of Foreign Studies

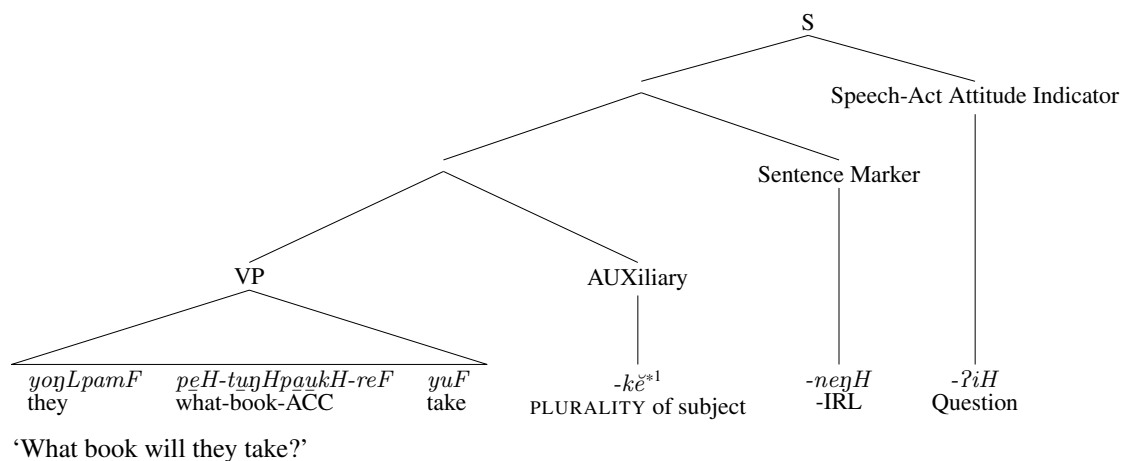
sawadah@aa.tufs.ac.jp

The phenomena

- (1) a. *tsoF tsoL-TA(-raH)* . (I/you/(s)he) ate a meal.
meal eat-RLS(-RA)
- b. *tsoF ʔǎ-tsoL-TA(-raH)* . (= a. in propositional meaning)(ʔǎ-V sentence)
- TA = an abstract element triggering tonal alternation: $F \rightarrow L$, $L \rightarrow H$, $H \rightarrow H$ (Sawada2005)
- (2) a. *ʔǎy-meŋF naF-šiL-TA(-raH)* . (I/you/(s)he) still stay(ed) there.
there-LOC stay-still-RLS(-RA)
- b. *ʔǎy-meŋF ʔǎ-naF-šiL-TA(-raH)* . (= a. in propositional meaning)(ʔǎ-V sentence)
- c. *ʔǎy-meŋF naF-TA ʔǎ-šiL-TA* . (= a. in propositional meaning)(ʔǎ-AUX sentence)

1 Structure of ordinary verb sentences

(3)



*1 An auxiliary is weakened before the overt Sentence Marker

(4) Paradigm of verb sentences:

		<i>t_aH</i> ‘to speak’	<i>naF</i> ‘to stay’	<i>tsoL</i> ‘to eat’	
Informative:	pos.	<i>t_aH</i> (- <i>raH</i>)	<i>naL</i> (- <i>raH</i>)	<i>tsoH</i> (- <i>raH</i>)	‘... V(s)/Ved’
ReaLiS	neg.	<i>mǎ-t_aH</i>	<i>mǎ-naF</i>	<i>mǎ-tsoL</i>	‘... do(es) not V/did not V’
Informative:	pos.	<i>t_aH</i> - <i>neŋH</i>	<i>naF</i> - <i>neŋH</i>	<i>tsoL</i> - <i>neŋH</i>	‘... will V’
IrReaLiS	neg.	<i>mǎ-t_aH</i> - <i>neŋH</i>	<i>mǎ-naF</i> - <i>neŋH</i>	<i>mǎ-tsoL</i> - <i>neŋH</i>	‘... will not V’
IMPerative:	pos.	<i>t_aH</i> (- <i>fiá?F</i>)	<i>naF</i> (- <i>fiá?F</i>)	<i>tsoL</i> (- <i>fiá?F</i>)	‘V!’
	neg.	<i>tǎ-t_aH</i>	<i>tǎ-naF</i>	<i>tǎ-tsoL</i>	‘Don’t V’
HORTative: ^{*2}	pos.	<i>t_aH</i> - <i>laŋL</i>	<i>naF</i> - <i>laŋL</i>	<i>tsoL</i> - <i>laŋL</i>	‘Let’s V’
OPTative:	pos.	<i>t_aH</i> - <i>šoŋL</i>	<i>naF</i> - <i>šoŋL</i>	<i>tsoL</i> - <i>šoŋL</i>	‘May ... V’
	neg.	<i>mǎ-t_aH</i> - <i>šoŋL</i>	<i>mǎ-naF</i> - <i>šoŋL</i>	<i>mǎ-tsoL</i> - <i>šoŋL</i>	‘May not ... V’

- Assume $-\phi$ as the marker of negative Realis Informative sentence.^{*3}
- Assume $-\phi$ also as the marker of Imperative sentences.^{*4}
- Assume TA, an abstract element triggering tonal alternation: $F \rightarrow L$, $L \rightarrow H$, $H \rightarrow H$ ^{*5}

(5) Members of AUX class and their relative order

- <i>šiL</i> ‘still’	- <i>vaH</i> REALIZATION (only in Realis Informative)	- <i>koH</i> PLURALITY OF SUBJECT (in Realis Informative)
- <i>loL</i> ‘anymore’		- <i>ke?F</i> PLURALITY OF SUBJECT (in others)

(6)	‘still’	‘anymore’	PLURAL	‘still’+PLURAL
negative RLS	<i>mǎ-naF-šiL</i>	<i>mǎ-naF-loL</i>	<i>mǎ-naF-koH</i>	<i>mǎ-naF-šǎ-koH</i> ^{*6}
positive RLS	<i>naF-šiH(-raH)</i>	<i>naF-loH(-raH)</i>	<i>naF-koH(-raH)</i>	<i>naF-šǎ-koH(-raH)</i>

(7) Paradigm of verb sentences (generalized):^{*7}

	positive	negative
(Informative:) RLS	V(-AUX) -TA (- <i>raH</i>)	mǎ-V(-AUX) -ϕ
IRL	V(-AUX) - <i>neŋH</i>	<i>mǎ-V(-AUX) -neŋH</i>
IMP	V(-AUX) -ϕ (- <i>fiá?F</i>)	tǎ-V(-AUX) -ϕ
HORT	V(-AUX) - <i>laŋL</i>	—
OPT	V(-AUX) - <i>šoŋL</i>	<i>mǎ-V(-AUX) -šoŋL</i>

^{*2} There is no negative hortative sentence.

^{*3} *mǎ-* does not always mark negative sentences.

^{*4} *-fiá?F* is dispensable, though occurs very often.

^{*5} *-raH* also is dispensable, though it occurs very often.

^{*6} In a string of AUXs, all but the last one are weakened

^{*7} cf. Paradigm of verb sentences of modern literary Burmese

		positive	negative
Informative	Realis	V-သည့် /N-tiL/	ə-V- /mǎ-V- /
	Irrealis	V-မည့် /N-miL/	
Optative		V- /N- /	ə-V-န့် /mǎ-V-hniS/

2 Structural analysis of $\text{ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-V}/\text{ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-AUX}$ sentences

2.1 Correlation with sentence types (speech-act type and polarity)

(8) Sentence types which take $\text{ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-V}$:

	positive	negative
RLS	$\text{ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-naF -TA (-raH)}$	$*m\check{\text{a}}\text{-ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-naF -}\phi$ / $*\text{ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-m}\check{\text{a}}\text{-naF -}\phi$
IRL	$\text{ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-naF -ne}\eta\text{H}$	$*m\check{\text{a}}\text{-ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-naF -ne}\eta\text{H}$ / $*\text{ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-m}\check{\text{a}}\text{-naF -ne}\eta\text{H}$
IMP	$\text{ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-naF -}\phi\text{(-f}\check{\text{a}}\text{ʔF)}$	$*t\check{\text{a}}\text{-ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-naF -}\phi$ / $*\text{ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-t}\check{\text{a}}\text{-naF -}\phi$
HORT	$\text{ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-naF -la}\eta\text{L}$	—
OPT	$\text{ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-naF -}\check{\text{s}}\text{o}\eta\text{L}$	$*m\check{\text{a}}\text{-ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-naF -}\check{\text{s}}\text{o}\eta\text{L}$ / $*\text{ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-m}\check{\text{a}}\text{-naF -}\check{\text{s}}\text{o}\eta\text{L}$

(9) Sentence types which take $\text{ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-V}$ (with AUX(s)):

	positive	negative
RLS	$\text{ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-naF -}\check{\text{s}}\check{\text{i}}\text{L-TA (-raH)}$	$*m\check{\text{a}}\text{-ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-naF -}\check{\text{s}}\check{\text{i}}\text{L-}\phi$ / $*\text{ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-m}\check{\text{a}}\text{-naF -}\check{\text{s}}\check{\text{i}}\text{L-}\phi$
IRL	$\text{ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-naF -}\check{\text{s}}\check{\text{a}}\text{-ne}\eta\text{H}$	$*m\check{\text{a}}\text{-ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-naF -}\check{\text{s}}\check{\text{a}}\text{-ne}\eta\text{H}$ / $*\text{ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-m}\check{\text{a}}\text{-naF -}\check{\text{s}}\check{\text{a}}\text{-ne}\eta\text{H}$
IMP	$\text{ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-naF -}\check{\text{s}}\check{\text{i}}\text{L-}\phi\text{(-f}\check{\text{a}}\text{ʔF)}$	$*t\check{\text{a}}\text{-ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-naF -}\check{\text{s}}\check{\text{i}}\text{L-}\phi$ / $*\text{ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-t}\check{\text{a}}\text{-naF -}\check{\text{s}}\check{\text{i}}\text{L-}\phi$
HORT	$\text{ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-naF -}\check{\text{s}}\check{\text{a}}\text{-la}\eta\text{L}$	—
OPT	$\text{ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-naF -}\check{\text{s}}\check{\text{a}}\text{-}\check{\text{s}}\text{o}\eta\text{L}$	$*m\check{\text{a}}\text{-ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-naF -}\check{\text{s}}\check{\text{a}}\text{-}\check{\text{s}}\text{o}\eta\text{L}$ / $*\text{ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-m}\check{\text{a}}\text{-naF -}\check{\text{s}}\check{\text{a}}\text{-}\check{\text{s}}\text{o}\eta\text{L}$

- Negative sentences cannot take $\text{ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-V}$ with or without AUX.

(10) Sentence types which take $\text{ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-AUX}$:

	positive	negative
RLS	$naF\text{-TA } \text{ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-}\check{\text{s}}\check{\text{i}}\text{L-TA}$	$m\check{\text{a}}\text{-naF-TA } \text{ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-}\check{\text{s}}\check{\text{i}}\text{L-TA}$
IRL	$*naF\text{-TA } \text{ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-}\check{\text{s}}\check{\text{a}}\text{-ne}\eta\text{H}$	$*m\check{\text{a}}\text{-naF-TA } \text{ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-}\check{\text{s}}\check{\text{a}}\text{-ne}\eta\text{H}$
IMP	$*naF\text{-TA } \text{ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-}\check{\text{s}}\check{\text{i}}\text{L-}\phi\text{(-f}\check{\text{a}}\text{ʔF)}$	$*t\check{\text{a}}\text{-naF-TA } \text{ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-}\check{\text{s}}\check{\text{i}}\text{L-}\phi$
HORT	$*naF\text{-TA } \text{ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-}\check{\text{s}}\check{\text{a}}\text{-la}\eta\text{L}$	—
OPT	$*naF\text{-TA } \text{ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-}\check{\text{s}}\check{\text{a}}\text{-}\check{\text{s}}\text{o}\eta\text{L}$	$*m\check{\text{a}}\text{-naF-TA } \text{ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-}\check{\text{s}}\check{\text{a}}\text{-}\check{\text{s}}\text{o}\eta\text{L}$

- Only Realis Informative sentences have $\text{ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-AUX}$ counterparts.

2.2 With a verb concatenation/an AUX string

(11) $\text{ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-V}$ with a verb concatenation

- $m\check{\text{a}}\text{-la}\eta\eta\text{H-TA -pho}\eta\text{F-TA -yapF -}\phi$ ‘It is not the case that (we) always run and sleep.’
not-always-& -run -& -sleep -NEG
- $\text{ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-la}\eta\eta\text{H-TA -pho}\eta\text{F-TA -yapF -TA}$ ‘It is that (we) always run and sleep.’
- $*\text{la}\eta\eta\text{H-TA-}\text{ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-pho}\eta\text{F-TA -yapF -TA}$
- $*\text{la}\eta\eta\text{H-TA -pho}\eta\text{F-TA-}\text{ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-yapF -TA}$

- A verb concatenation can be analyzed as a coordination of verbs, and TA functions as the coordinator.
- $\text{ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\text{-}$ can be attached only to a whole verb concatenation, same as negative prefix $m\check{\text{a}}\text{-}$.

(12) ʔǎ-AUX with an AUX string

- a. naF -TA ʔǎ-šǎ - $vǎ$ - $kəH$ -TA ‘It is that (they) still stay’
 stay-? - still - REALIZATION - PLURAL-RLS
- b. $*naF$ -TA $šiL$ ʔǎ-vǎ - $kəH$ -TA
- c. $*naF$ -TA $šǎ$ - vaH ʔǎ-kəH -TA

- ʔǎ- can be attached only to a whole AUX string.

That is, ʔǎ- cannot ‘break’ neither a verb concatenation nor an AUX string.

2.3 The structure of ʔǎ-AUX sentence

2.3.1 TA immediately preceding ʔǎ-

It occurs whether the verb has negative prefix or not.

(13) Functional classification of TAs

- × Part of instrumental case marker-TA $yaŋF^{*8}$
- × Marker of positive Realis Informative sentence (7): TA in question also occurs in negative .
- × Coordinator of verbs (11)
- Marker of attributive element

	positive	negative
RLS	$naL(-raH)$ $pyuF$ ‘a person who stays/stayed’	$mǎ-naL(-raH)$ $pyuF$ ‘a person who does/did not stay’
IRL	$naF-neŋH$ $pyuF$ ‘a person who will stay’	$mǎ-naF-neŋH$ $pyuF$ ‘a person who will not stay’

(15) Paradigm of attributive clause (generalized):

	positive	negative
RLS	$V(-AUX)$ -TA -TA(-raH)	$mǎ-V(-AUX)$ - ϕ -TA(-raH)
IRL	$V(-AUX)$ -neŋH-TA	$mǎ-V(-AUX)$ -neŋH-TA

- An attributive clause can be analyzed as an Informative sentence with an attributive marker TA
- The effects of TAs cannot be accumulated.

Supporting evidences:

- (16) a. $chě-ruL$ $katH$ -TA- raH^{*9} (I) did like this.
 this-like do-RLS-RA
- b. $chě-ruL$ -TA $mukFsukHpaukH$ such a book
 this-like-ATTR book

^{*8} The notation shows that $yaŋF$ always triggers tonal alternation of the immediately preceding syllable.

- (17) a. *ʔǎfoʔH luFluF-tsaL ɲatF-TA* *A leaf is wide and thin*
 leaf wide&thinRDPL-only CPL-RLS
 b. *ʔǎfoʔH luFluF-tsaL-TA ruF*
 leaf wide&thinRDPL-only-ATTR thing
a wide and thin leaf (lit. a leaf, and what is wide and thin)

(18) *ʔǎ-* as a nominalizer prefix

ʔǎyiL < *yiL*, *ʔǎlauŋF* < *lauŋF*, *ʔǎmyoŋF* < *myoŋF* *ʔǎpinF* < *pinF*
 big one to be big heat to be hot height to be high end to end
ʔǎpuŋH < *puŋH*, *ʔǎŋɔ̂H* < *ŋɔ̂H*, *ʔǎtaŋL* < *taŋL*, *ʔǎsoL* < *soL*
 hole to hole lid to cover bunch to bunch mark to mark

ʔǎ-AUX sentences have **quasi-attributive structure**: a nominalized AUX with an attributive clause

2.3.2 *ʔǎ*-TA after AUX (clearly detected only in case AUX is *-šiL* 'still'/'-loL' 'anymore'. See (6))

Take it a special case of the marker of positive Realis Informative sentence.

- (19) a. *ʔǎy-meyF naF-TA-TA ʔǎ-šiL-TA* . 'It is that (he) is/was still there.'
 there-LOC stay-RLS-ATTR PRF-still-RLS (reanalysis of (2c))
 b. *ʔǎy-meyF mə-naF-φ-TA ʔǎ-šiL-TA* . 'It is that he is/was not still there.'
 not-stay-NEG-ATTR

cf. *ʔǎy-meyF naF-šiL-TA-TA ruF ɲatF-TA(-raH)* . ('Truly attributive' version of (19))
 there-LOC stay-still-RLS-ATTR **thing** CPL-RLS(-RA)

2.3.3 Factors limiting sentences having *ʔǎ*-AUX counterpart to Realis Informative ones

- Morphological factor: an overt sentence marker is incompatible with nominalization by *ʔǎ-*,

- (20) **naF-TA-TA ʔǎ-neŋH* / **naF-TA-TA ʔǎ-laŋL* / **naF-TA-TA ʔǎ-šoŋL*
 stay-RLS-ATTR PRF-IRL PRF-HORT PRF-OPT

nor an AUX-sentence marker complex.

- Semantic factor: quasi-attributive structure does not fit the purpose of expressing such speech act as order, request, hortation, prayer etc.^{*10}

^{*9} *-raH* is a particle which occurs after Realis attributive clauses and positive Realis sentences. In an attributive clause, it functions as an overt linker between the clause and its head noun, supporting non-segmental marker *-TA*. In a positive Realis sentence, *-raH* indicates the high degree of formality. Its original function would be the former.

^{*10} However, the factors mentioned above cannot explain the ungrammaticality of the following sentence:

**naF-neŋH-TA ʔǎ-šiL-TA*
 stay-IRL-ATTR PRF-still-RLS

2.4 The structure of ʔǎ-V sentence

ʔǎ- in ʔǎ-V sentence does not have noninalizing function, as is evident from (1a,b) and (2a,b).

3 Semantic property of ʔǎ-V/ʔǎ-AUX sentences

3.1 Environments where ʔǎ-V/ʔǎ-AUX sentences tend to occur

(21) ‘(Not A) but B’ pair

a. *tsǎkhauŋL-khoŋFceL mǎ-liH-φ . lǎmauŋL-lømHkhoŋF ʔǎ-liH-TA .*
 PN-PN not-come-NEG PN-PN PRF-come-RLS

‘Mr. *Zakhaung Khao Je* did not come: it is *Lamaung Leim Khao* that came.’

b. *tsǎkhauŋL-moʔF mǎ-liH-køH-φ . lǎmauŋL-moʔF liH-TA-TA ʔǎ-køH-TA .*
 PN-family_member not-come-NEG PN-family come-RLS-ATTR PRF-PLURAL-RLS

‘*Zakhaung* family did not come: it is *Lamaung* family that came.’

(22) With particle *-tsaL* ‘only’...-*tsaL* usually comes before a verb

a. *voʔF-šoL-tsaL ʔǎ-tsoL-TA . ‘((s)he) only eats pork.’*
 pork-meat-only PRF-eat-RLS

b. *voʔF-šoL-tsaL tsoL-TA-TA ʔǎ-køH-TA . ‘They only eat pork.’*
 eat-RLS-ATTR PRF-PLURAL-RLS

3.2 Native speaker’s intuition on ʔǎ-V/ʔǎ-AUX sentences

(23) ‘Once upon a time there was a brave whose name was *Zakhaung Khao Mo Qae*. One day he crossed *Laung Byid (=Mali hka)* river to the east and came to *Yin Jin* village. There he met a widow and she asked him “Why did you come to our village, Sir? Where will you sleep at night?” *Khao Mo Qae* replied: “I will ask a villager for lodging. Why have you asked me so?” **So the widow said to *Khao Mo Qae*: ...’**

*ŋǎ-nauŋH mukL-meyF lõmoH šuF-yaŋL kyayF*11 kyaukF-TA kyayF*
 I-PLR region-LOC tiger roam-CONJUNCTION very fear-&*12 very

laH-muŋL ʔǎ-naF-TA-pamF-TA .

scared-CONSEQUITIVE PRF-stay-&-respectively-RLS

‘In our region, a tiger is roaming around, and we live very fearfully.’

*kukHñukH-ʔǎlapH peʔF-tsoL-TA-thoŋH*13-TA-loH*14-TA-naF-vaH-TA ...*

animal-all beat-eat-&-end-&-goH-&-stay-REALIZATION-RLS

‘(The tiger) kills and eats up all animals.’

*11 *kyayF* is not a verb because it cannot enter into a verb concatenation.

*12 Because *kyaukF* ‘to fear’ is juxtaposed to *laH* ‘to be scared’, the *-TA* cannot be the marker of Realis sentence. & usually comes immediately before a verb, and the example is somewhat exceptional.

pyuF-rě-reL peʔF-tsoL-TA-cøH-TA-loF-vaH-TA ...
 man-ACC-also beat-eat-&-reach-&-come_H-REALIZATION-RLS
 ‘(The tiger) even kills and eats up men.’

ʔăy-muŋL ɲă-nauŋH-fiaF myiHthoŋF-loŋH sakHkeŋF-phyoL-meŋF
 it-CONSECUTIVE I-PLR-TOP evening-time tree-top-LOC
*katH-TA-toL-TA-TA-raH kyeyH-meŋF-tsaL ʔă-laŋH^{*15}-TA-phoŋF-TA-yapF-TA*
 make-&-put-RLS-ATTR-RA resting_place-LOC-only PRF-always-&-run-&-sleep-RLS
 ‘So it is that we always run up to the resting-place and sleep in the evening.’

- That the first and the last sentences of the paragraph are ʔă-V sentences shows that the speaker explains the situation patiently.
- If these sentences were not ʔă-V sentences nor ʔă-AUX sentences, the nuance of explanation would not be so clear.

(24) *yoŋL-pamF-fiaF myiHthoŋF-loŋH sakHkeŋF-phyoL-meŋF katH-TA-toL-TA-TA-raH*
 he-PLR-TOP
kyeyH-meŋF-tsaL laŋH-TA-phoŋF-TA-yapF-TA-TA ʔă-koŋH-TA .
 always-&-run-&-sleep-RLS-ATTR PRF-PLURAL-RLS
 ‘It is that they always run up to the resting-place and sleep in the evening.’

3.3 Comparing ʔă-AUX sentences with Japanese *noda* sentences

Lhaovo ʔă-AUX sentence	-RLS/NEG-ATTR	+ ʔă-AUX	+	-RLS
its ‘truly attributive’ version	-RLS/NEG-ATTR	+ <i>ruF</i> ‘thing’	+ <i>ɲatF</i> ‘COPULA’	-RLS
Japanese <i>noda</i> sentence	-PRES/PAST(ATTR) ^{*16}	+ <i>no</i> ‘NOMINALIZER’	+ <i>da</i> ‘COPULA’	-PRES

3.3.1 Core and derivative functions of *noda* (Ishiguro2003)

1. Core function: to indicate that insufficient recognition (of situation) preexisting in either the speaker or the addressee has now become sufficient (underline by SH)
2. Derivative functions (i.e. functions derived from Core function):
 - *suppletion*: to indicate that the deficiency of the speaker’s/addressee’s recognition is filled up
 - *correction*: to indicate that the speaker’s/addressee’s erroneous conception is corrected
 - *sharing*: to indicate that the recognition originally possessed only by either the speaker or by the addressee is shared by both
 - *presupposition*: to indicate that the sentence is set as the presupposition of the following sentences

^{*13} We shall call verbs which follow and modify the main verb ‘modifier verbs’. *thoŋH* conveys the meaning ‘... up’ as a modifier verb.

^{*14} *loH* indicate the completion of a change as a modifier verb. Incidentally, _H in gloss means that the goal of deictic movement is *home position* (in its extended sense) for its theme of movement. (Sawada2003)

^{*15} We shall call verbs which precede and modify the main verb ‘pre-modifier verbs’. Though *laŋH* ‘always’ does not function as a main verb, we certify it as a member of verb class, because it can take prefix *mă-* and *ʔă-*.

^{*16} Except copula *da*, Japanese tense endings also function as attributive endings.

The four derivative functions are not mutually exclusive.

3.3.2 Applying Ishiguro(2003)'s explanation of *noda* to ?ǎ-AUX sentences (and also to ?ǎ-V sentences)

The first sentence of (23): *suppletion + presupposition*

- The sentence is set as the starting point of an explanation, not merely a fact unknown to the addressee.

The final sentence of (23): *sharing + suppletion + correction*

- The addressee(=*Zakhaung Khao Mo Qae*)'s recognition : Naturally someone will put him up tonight.
- The speaker(=widow)'s recognition: A tiger is roaming around the village. It kills and eats animals and villagers. Villagers escape from the village in the night. (So, no one will put him up tonight.)

'Not A but B' (21): *sharing + suppletion*

- At the time that only negative statement ('not A') is supplied, the addressee's recognition is still insufficient.

With *-tsaL* 'only' (22): Its occurrence might be independent of ?ǎ-V/?ǎ-AUX

- *-tsaL* might simply show the focusing element in the information presented by the speaker.

3.3.3 ?ǎ-V in non-Realis sentences

(25) *mɔŋL-taŋL-khukF-meŋF* *ŋoF poF-TA-leH* . *tsoH-meŋH ?ǎ-khyoH-ke?H^{*17}-φ-fia?F* .
 firewood-bundle-inside-LOC I be-RLS-APPEAL slow-ABL **PRF-let_drop-put in-IMP-DIRECTION**
 'Hey! I am in the bundle of firewood. Don't fail to let me drop slowly.'

A case of *suppletion* (Speaker's recognition: Naturally the addressee should let the speaker drop slowly.)

cf. *yukkuri oros-u* *n(o)* *da-zo* .
 slowly **let_drop-PRS(ATTR)** **NOMINALIZER** **CPL-ASSERTION**
 (Japanese counterpart of the latter half of (25))*¹⁸

Summary

	Quasi-attributive structure	Semantic property similar to Japanese <i>noda</i> sentence
?ǎ-AUX	yes (2.3)	yes (3.3.2)
?ǎ-V	no (2.4)	yes (3.3.2)

- A structural change occurred only in ?ǎ-V (not in ?ǎ-AUX),
 $[_N ?ǎ-[_V V]] \rightarrow [_V ?ǎ-V]$
 which enabled ?ǎ-V to occur in sentences other than Realis Informative.

^{*17} *ke?H* 'to put in' as a modifier verb indicates that the event denoted by the main verb has an effect on the situation behind the event.

^{*18} Note that Japanese has no imperative *noda* sentence, because *noda* has no imperative form.

Phonology (Sawada1999, slightly modified)

Syllable Structure: $C(C)V(C)/QT$

C =Consonant: / m^* , n^* , \tilde{n} , η^* ; p^* , ph , t^* , th , k^* , kh , \int^* ; ts , tsh , c , ch ; f , v , s , \check{s} , x , γ , fi ; l , r , y^{**} /

(* stands as initial/final. ** stands as initial/medial/final.)

V =Vowel: / a , au , o , \emptyset , e , u , i / (/au/ is counted as a single phoneme.)

Q =Voice Quality Feature: [\pm creaky] ([+creaky] does not cooccur with / ph , th , kh , tsh , ch , s , \check{s} , f , fi , \int , /)

T =Tone: Falling(F)21, Low(L)22–33, High(H)44.

Syllable Weakening: ‘Weak’ syllables without inherent tone are either inherently weak ones or those ‘weakened’ by syllable weakening. ‘Weakened’ syllables are often found in noun compounding.

Abbreviations

&	Coordinator of verbs	NEG	Sentence marker: Negative Realis Informative
ABL	Case marker: Ablative		
ACC	Case marker: Accusative	PRF	Prefix
ALL	Case marker: Allative	OPT	Sentence marker: Optative
ATTR	Marker of Attributive element	PER	Case marker: Perlative
CLFR	Classifier noun	PLR	Indicator of Plurality of noun
COM	Case marker: Comitative	QUOT	Quotation marker
CPL	Copulative verb	RA	Indicator of high degree of formality(in positive Realis Informative sentence); Linker(in attributive elements)
H	with the feature [+Home position]		
HORT	Sentence marker: Hortative		
IMP	Sentence marker: Imperative	RDPL	Reduplication
INST	Case marker: Instrumental	RLS	Sentence marker: Positive Realis Informative
IRL	Sentence marker: Irrealis Informative		
LOC	Case marker: Locative	TOP	Topic Indicator

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