

Case-marking of P and A in Lhaovo

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1 Case-markers of Lhaovo

Lhaovo (Maru) is a Burmish language mainly spoken in Kachin State of northern Burma (Myanmar). Lhaovo is a verb-final language, and has a set of postpositional case-markers.

| | | |
|------------------------------|----------------|--|
| <i>-φ</i> | NOM(INATIVE) | S/A; P |
| <i>-reF</i> | ACC(USATIVE) | P; time of event |
| <i>-meŋF</i> | LOC(ATIVE) | location of existence; location of event; point of application; time of event |
| <i>-meŋH</i> | ABL(ATIVE) | source of movement; location of emergence; reference point of measurement; beginning of period |
| <i>-khyoF</i> | ALL(ATIVE) | goal of movement |
| <i>-khyoH</i> | PER(LATIVE) | path; (inter)medium |
| <i>-TAyaŋF</i> ^{*1} | INS(TRUMENTAL) | cause; instrument; A; non-argument agent |
| <i>-hie?H</i> | COM(ITATIVE) | “other half” of S/A/P; concomitant of S; instrument/means |

In core arguments of transitive and intransitive verbs, S(= intransitive subject, following Comrie 1981) is solely marked with *-φ*, P(=object) is marked with *-φ* or *-reF*, and A(=transitive subject) is marked with *-φ* or *-TAyaŋF*.

Beside case-markers, Lhaovo has a set of (more or less grammaticalized) nouns which mark semantic role(s). Let us call them “case-nouns”. Most of them can be modified by an attributive clause.

| | | | |
|--------------|------------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>tho?H</i> | entity compared with: ‘than’ | <i>kaufFthaH</i> | substitute: ‘in place of’ |
| <i>yiH</i> | entity comparable to: ‘as much as’ | <i>yiH(-meŋH)</i> | beneficiary, purpose: ‘for’ |
| <i>ruL</i> | analogue: ‘like’ | <i>tauL(-meŋH)</i> | purpose: ‘for’ |

2 P marked with *-reF*

2.1 Factors involved

2.1.1 Non-adjacency to V

- a) P which precedes A is usually marked with *-reF*.
- b) P separated from the verb by other NP(s) than A or subordinate clause(s) is usually marked with *-reF*.

^{*1} TA = abstract element triggering tonal alternation *F→L*, *L→H*, *H→H* to the syllable immediately preceding it. TA functions as some grammatical markers, and also is a part of instrumental case-marker.

- (1) *yitH yoH-TA-phyo?H-TA-TA-raH šoL-rě-ñaF taŋFnoŋHmyiH yitH*
former get-&-break-RLS-ATTR-RA meat-ACC-TOP PN former
vinF-TA-suL-TA-naF-TA-kaH.
 carry-&-walk-&-stay-RLS-HEARSAY

‘As for **the meat (they) slaughtered first**, Tang Nong Myi was carrying (it).’

- (2) *phyitH-šoH-reL ayL-neŋL-kaukH-camF-reF yamF-?oF-khyoF*
 Grandma-PN-also **that-sesame-husk-PL-ACC** house-under-ALL
yě-TA-fe?H-TA-khyoH-TA-ke?H-TA-reF, ŋo?HkhyakH-myo?F-voŋF
 go-&-pour-&-drop-&-put.in-RLS-ACC pheasant-eye-enter
loH-TA-voŋF-TA-kaH.
 go_H-&-enter-RLS-HEARSAY

‘When Grandma Sho cast away **the sesame husks** below (her) house, (those) entered into a pheasant’s eyes.’

- ※ The ‘verb’ can be both a single lexical verb and a verb concatenation. Although **P** is semantically related to a non-initial element(s), not to the initial element, of the concatenation, **P** is taken to be adjacent to the ‘verb’. (See (6).)
- ※ Adverbial elements such as *kyayF* ‘very’, *phyatF* ‘fast, quickly’, *mye?F* ‘quickly, immediately’, numerals + *laŋH* ‘*n* times’ are exceptional in that, even if one of them intervenes between **P** and the verb, **P** can be marked with $-\phi$.

2.1.2 Animacy

A Human (also gods, spirits etc.) **P** is usually marked with *-reF*.

- ※ Also a (non-Human) Animate **P** which might be confused with **A** is marked with *-reF*.

- (3) *ŋaH-tsoL-ñeH, myiHtshømF tsoL-neŋH-TA yitH-meŋH noŋF-reF*
 my-son-VOCATIVE supper eat-IRL-ATTR front-ABL **you-ACC**
ŋaH-myih loŋH-TA-naF-TA.
 my-mother wait-&-stay-RLS

‘My son, I have been waiting for **you** in order to eat supper (together).’

- (4) *myitFkaunL-pyuFtshoŋFsuF-yeF-ñaF kyøFsoF-reF*
 earth-people-PL-TOP **god-ACC**
loF-TA-taH-TA-kyoL-koH-TA-kaH.
 come_H-&-speak-&-inform-PLS-RLS-HEARSAY

‘People in the earth came to **God** and informed (it).’

The effect of the factor can be cancelled by lexical/contextual information:

- (5) ^[1] *tsukL-lauLte?F-yeF-ñaF “niH šitH-tsoL šitH-yaukF-kømH ne?FmoH-paF*
 noble-adult-PL-TOP your two-son two-clf-both tomorrow-day
naHkaunF paLkaunF tauF-TA-reF, niH šitH-toŋF-yoŋL-TA thoŋF-meŋH
 daytime noon lift-RLS-ACC **your two-two-person-self-ATTR** behind-ABL
lauLte?F-yeF cuyL-yaŋL, liH-TA-loF-ke?F-φ” -ŋL
adult-PL lead-CONJ come-&-come_H-PLS-IMP -QUOT
taH-TA-ke?H-koH-TA-kaH.
 speak-&-put.in-PLS-RLS-HEARSAY

‘The noblemen said, “You two, bring **adults along with you** (respectively) till tomorrow noon!”’

[2] *thoŋF-paF-reF tsukL-nauH-fiaF tsukL-tsoL-tsoL-tsaŋF*
 behind-day-ACC noble-youth-TOP **noble-son-noble-adult**
khayF-TA-tsaŋL-TA-yeL-yaŋL, paLkaunF ma-tauF-si-phi-meŋH
 call-&-assemble-&-go-CONJ noon not-lift-still-NEG-ABL
yě-TA-loŋH-TA-naF-koH-TA-kaH.
 go-&-wait-&-stay-PLS-RLS-HEARSAY

‘Next day, the noble youth called and assembled **noble kids and adults**, then went and waited before noon.’

- The quoted part in the first sentence of (5) is an imperative sentence. Therefore, *niH sitH-tsoL* (your two-son) is obviously **A** and *lauLte?F-yeF* (adult-PL) can be construed only as **P**.
- In the second sentence of (5), that *tsukL-tsoL-tsoL-tsaŋF* noble-son-noble-adult is **P** is obvious from the meaning of the verb *tsaŋL* (assemble) and that another argument, *tsukL-nauH* (noble-son), is singular.

2.1.3 ‘Discourse-old’ness of **P**

■ Two notions of old/new information (Prince 1992)

Hearer-old/new

Information, ... may be old/new with respect to (the speaker’s beliefs about) the hearer’s beliefs. (p.301)

Discourse-old/new

... an entity may be old/new with respect to the discourse model, or ‘Discourse-old’/‘Discourse-new’. That is, an NP may refer to an entity that has already been evoked in the prior discourse-stretch, or it may evoke an entity which has not previously occurred in the prior discourse-stretch. (p.303)

A Specific and Discourse-old **P** tends to be marked with *-reF*.

※ The judgement of ‘Discourse-’status is made only on **Ps** with a specific reference. If a Non-specific **P** is not Human, it is usually marked with *-phi*. Even if **P** is Human, it is sometimes marked with *-phi*.

(6) [1] *lauŋFpyitF-yitF-yeŋF-meŋF ŋoL choŋH-TA-yoF-TA-loH-TA-reF,*
 PN-water-vicinity-LOC **fish(Non-spec.)** accompany-&-search-&-go_H-RLS-ACC
phyitHtamL-meŋH-khoF no?F-TA-TA-raH yitFthamLkhukF ta-lamL-meŋF
 waist-ABL-approximately deep-RLS-ATTR-RA pond-inside one-CLF-LOC
ŋoL yě-TA-the?H-TA-myoŋF-koH-TA-kaH.
fish(Disc.new) go-&-INEVITABILITY-&-see-PLS-RLS-HEARSAY

‘When (they) went near Laung Pyit river in search of **fish**, (they) went to a pond of waist-deep, and saw **a fish**.’

[2] *?a-loŋH, lauLte?F ta-yaukF-fiaF yitFthamL-meŋH-TA ŋoL-reF*
 then adult one-CLF(Disc.new)-TOP **pond-ABL-ATTR** **fish(Disc.old)-ACC**
šeŋFtamH-TAyaŋF yaML-TA-ke?H-TA-reF, ŋoL-reF ma-tsoŋH-loL,
 sword-INS cut.at-&-put.in-RLS-ACC **fish(Disc.old)-ACC** not-touch-CONCOMITANT
yoŋL-TA moŋHkaunH-meŋF kukF-ŋL the?H-TA-yaML-TA-kaH.
 he-ATTR shin-LOC ONOM-QUOT INEVITABILITY-&-cut.at-RLS-HEARSAY

‘Then an adult cut at **the fish in the pond** with a sword, and it did not cut **the fish**, but had a gash in his shin.’

- (7) ^[1] *tă-neʔF-paF-reF, lăkhaL-fiaF kaukF thauŋL-TA-TA-raH*
 one-day-day-ACC dog(Disc.new)-TOP **paddy(Non-spec.)** pound-RLS-ATTR-RA
tshamF-meŋF voʔF-phauyL yoʔF-neŋH-ŋL kaH-TA-reF,
 mortar-LOC **pig-bran(Disc.new)** lick-IRL-QUOT make-RLS-ACC
tshamF-khuŋL-meŋF khyukF yeŋL-yaŋL, mǎ-kayF-TA-yoʔF-φ-kaH.
 mortar-hole-LOC horn(Disc.new) interfere-CONJ not-good-&-lick-NEG-HEARSAY
 ‘One day, a dog tried to lick **bran** in a mortar to pound **paddy**, (but he) could not do it because (his) horns prevented (him from putting his mouth) into the hole of the mortar.’

- ^[2] *ʔăy-muŋL, lăkhaL-fiaF yoŋL-TA khyukF-reF khyatH-TA-toL-yaŋL,*
 that-CONS dog(Disc.old)-TOP **he-ATTR** **horn(Disc.old)-ACC** take.off-&-put-CONJ
tshamF-khukF-meŋH-TA voʔF-phauyL-reF yoʔF-TA-naF-TA-reF,
mortar-inside-ABL-ATTR **pig-bran(Disc.old)-ACC** lick-&-stay-RLS-ACC
chatHpeʔF tă-tauL liH-muŋL,
 goat one-clf(Disc.new) come-CONS
lăkhaL khyatH-TA-toL-TA-TA-raH khyukF-reF
dog **take.off-&-put-RLS-ATTR-RA** **horn(Disc.old)-ACC**
kaukF-TA-tsauŋL-TA-phoŋF-TA-loH-TA-kaH.
 pick.up-&-attach-&-run-&-go-RLS-HEARSAY
 ‘So the dog took **his horns** off and licked **bran in the mortar**, then a goat came, picked **the horns the dog had taken off** and attached (them), and ran away.’

When a Discourse-old **P** recurs in a text, its non-first occurrences are sometimes not marked with *-reF*.

- (8) ^[1] *ʔayL-yitFthamL-khukF-meŋF sakH-keŋF-tă-keŋF yaukF-TA-coʔF-muŋL,*
 that-pond-inside-LOC tree-tree-one-clf grow.in-&-exist-CONS
pyǎ-ʔamF tă-ʔamF tsauyL-TA-tauyL-TA-loŋL-TA-coʔF-TA-TA ruF
bee-comb **one-clf(Disc.new)** bear-&-tie-&-suspend-&-exist-RLS-ATTR NMLZ
theʔH-TA-myoŋF-koH-TA-kaH.
 INEVITABILITY-&-see-PLS-RLS-HEARSAY
 ‘(They) saw a tree growing from inside the pond, and **a honeycomb** hanging down (from the tree).’

- ^[2] *lauLteʔF-tă-yaukF šiH ... yitFthamL-khukF-khyoF yitF-voŋF*
 adult-one-clf ahead pond-inside-ALL water-enter
voŋF-loL-yaŋL, pyǎ-ʔamF-reF loH-TA-choŋH-TA-søʔH-TA-yoʔF-TA-kaH.
 enter-already-CONJ **bee-comb(Disc.old)-ACC** go-IRL-&-chase-&-grope-&-search-RLS-HEARSAY
 ‘At first, an adult ... entered into the pond and grabbed **the honeycomb**.’

- ^[3] *phyatF mǎ-yukH-yaŋL, yitF šaukH-TA-seL-TA-TA rǔ-fieʔH,*
 fast not-find-CONJ water drink-&-spit-RLS-ATTR NMLZ-COM
təuŋFkaŋF-khyoF tamF-TA-thukH-loF-TA-kaH.
 outside-ALL again-&-exit-come-IRL-RLS-HEARSAY
 ‘Because (he) could not find (it) fast and drank and spat water, (he) came out.’

- ^[4] *ʔăy-thoŋF tă-yaukF yitF-voŋF tamF-TA-voŋF-TA-loH-yaŋL,*
 that-behind one-clf water-enter again-&-enter-&-go-CONJ
loH-TA-choŋH-TA-søʔH-TA-yoʔF-TA-reF, pyǎ-ʔamF mǎ-yukH-yaŋL,
 go-IRL-&-chase-&-grope-&-search-RLS-ACC, **bee-comb(Disc.old!)** not-find-CONJ

təuŋFkauŋF-khyoF tamF-TA-thukH-loF-TA-kaH.
 outside-ALL again-&-exit-come_H-RLS-HEARSAY

‘Then another (adult) entered, but (he) could not find **the honeycomb** and came out.’

[5] *ʔäy-thoŋF tə-yaukF pinF tə-yaukF yitF-voŋF voŋF-yaŋL, pyõ-ʔamF*
 that-behind one-CLF finish one-CLF water-enter enter-CONJ **bee-comb(Disc.old!)**
loH-TA-choŋH-TA-søʔH-TA-yoF-koH-TA-kaH.
 go_H-&-chase-&-grope-&-search-PLS-RLS-HEARSAY

‘Thereafter (they) entered one by one and grabbed **the honeycomb**.’

※ ‘Hearer-’status seems irrelevant to the case-marking of **P** within the limited range of fragments of conversation in the narrative texts I used. To confirm the point, we need data from real conversations.

2.1.4 Length/Complexity of **P**

Long/complex **Ps** (e.g., enumeration, with attributive phrase(s)/clause(s), with post-head modifier(s)) are sometimes marked with *-reF*.

(9) *mukLmyitF-yäsoʔH-meŋF pamF pukFkaŋF loŋLkhaŋL coŋLteŋF*
 world-nature-LOC **mountain land valley field**
ʔälapH-reF phanH-TA-toL-vaH-TA.
 all-ACC create-&-put-RLZN-RLS

‘In the world, (the god) created **all of mountains, lands, valleys and fields**.’

(10) *ʔänaH-fiaF loŋFvoF-pyü-myuh-yeF naF-TA-kyoH-TA-loF-TA-TA-raH*
 now-TOP **Lhaovo-man-kind-PL stay-&-descend-&-come_H-RLS-ATTR-RA**
pyuF-yukF-kyauŋL-reF taH-TA-loH-neŋH ŋatL.
 man-flow-route-ACC speak-&-go_H-IRL COPULA

‘Now (I) will tell about **the route through which Lhaovo people migrated**.’

(11) *myiLtamH khaF-yaŋFyaŋF-reF katH-TA-chiF-yaŋL, myiLtamH*
torch rather-long^{x2}(Disc.new)-ACC make-&-take.up-CONJ torch(Disc.new)
thøml-TA-kyoH-TA-loF-TA.
 light-&-descend-&-come_H-RLS

(They) take **fairly long torches** up, light them and come down.

2.1.5 Contrast/Emphasis

There exist instances of *-reF* which we just have to interpret as marking **P** contrasted with other NP(s), or merely emphasized, by the speaker.

(12) *samF-tsinF-nuŋL-phyuF-loL khayL-měŋ-reL mǎ-theʔH-TA-yukH-yaŋL,*
three-year-cow-white-male(Non-spec.) where-LOC-also not-INEVITABILITY-&-find-CONJ
samF-tsinF-nuŋL-noʔF-loL tə-tauL-rě-tsaL
three-year-cow-black-male one-CLF(Disc.new)-ACC-only
yoH-TA-yukH-TA-ñəŋH-TA-toL-TA-kaH.
 get-&-find-&-arrange-&-put-RLS-HEARSAY

‘(She) could not find **a 3-year-old white ox** anywhere, but only **a 3-year-old black ox**.’

(13) ... *ŋəH-phaŋH-ʔukFtsoL-hoʔH ʔälapH-pamF ʔəyL-meŋF naF-TA.*
 my-eldest.maternal.uncle-relative-PL.RELATIVE all-PL there-LOC stay-RLS
yõthaŋH-reF phaukH-TA, khyeŋF-reF katH-TA.
rice.field(Disc.new)-ACC plow-RLS fence(Disc.new)-ACC make-RLS

‘All the relatives of my eldest maternal uncle lived there. (They) plowed **rice fields**, and made **fences**.’

2.2 Recipients

From the viewpoint of case-marking, Recipient is treated in the same manner as Theme.

- (14) *noŋ-reF samF-tsinF-nuŋL-phyuF-loL tǎ-tauL*
 you(Recipient)-ACC three-year-cow-white-male one-CLF(Theme)
thukH-pyitL-neŋH-fioH.
 exit-give-IRL-EXCLAMATION
 ‘(I) will offer **you (=the god of heaven) a 3-year-old white ox**.’
 Recipient: non-adjacent to V and Human / Theme: adjacent to V and Non-specific)
- (15) *yoŋL-myĭH myo?F cukH-yaŋL, yoŋL yoH-TA-taŋH-TA-TA-raH*
 PRF-mother eye blind-CONJ he get-&-catch-RLS-ATTR-RA
ŋoL-reF yoŋL-myĭH-reF mǎ-ke?H-pyitL-φ-kaH.
 fish(Theme)-ACC PRF-mother(Recipient)-ACC not-put.in-give-NEG-HEARSAY
 ‘His mother was blind, and he could not give **the fish (he) caught to her**.’
 (Theme: nonadjacent to V / Recipient: Human)

Recipients, which are typically Human, can be marked with $-\phi$ if lexical/contextual resources for the identification of **P** are available, just like Human Themes:

- (16) *myiHthoŋFtsoH-reF-še?F khinFcauŋF-fiaF ?ayL-yuyF-šoL-reF*
 afternoon-ACC-at.last priest-TOP that-spirit-meat-ACC
tamF-TA-yaŋF-TA-yuF-TA-raH.
 again-&-take.away-&-take-RLS-RA
 ‘Finally in the afternoon, the priest takes the meat for the spirits away (from the alter).’
- paŋHvoF ?ǎlapH myiHtshømf naHtsoŋL ne?Ftshel*
 guest all(Recipient, Disc.old.) supper lunch breakfast(Theme, Disc.new)
yaŋH-TA-tsoL-koH-TA-raH.
 cook-&-feed-PLS-RLS-RA
 ‘(The priest) cook supper, lunch and breakfast, and treat **all guests**.’

- It seems to be simply the semantic relation of the NP to the verb *yaŋH-TA-tsoL* (cook-&-feed) which ensures that *paŋHvoF ?ǎlapH* ‘all guests’ is Recipient. (It is quite unlikely that the guests cook and treat the host(s) where the guests are invited.)

As far as case-marking concerned, Lhaovo is neither a PO language nor a DO language (in the sense of Dryer1986).

3 A marked with -TAyaŋF

In (17), the presence of an auxiliary *-koH* indicating the plurality of subject confirms that the NP marked with *-yaŋF* is **A**.

- (17) *tsukL-lauLte?F ?ǎlapH-TAyaŋF chukHtsoL-nauH-reF šöchitH*
 noble-adult all-INS orphan-youth-ACC deer
tamF-TA-pyitL-TA-ke?H-koH-TA-kaH.
 again-&-give-&-put.in-PLS-RLS-HEARSAY
 ‘All the noblemen returned the deer to the orphan.’

Native speakers say that the sentences (18a),(19a) have ‘passive-like’ meaning which (18b),(19b) never have.

- (18) a. *moŋLnukH-TAyaŋF mauŋFnoŋH-reF peʔF-TA-raH.*
 PN-INS PN-ACC hit-RLS-RA
 ‘Maung Nong was hit by Mong Nuk.’ (not literal translation)
- b. *moŋLnukH mauŋFnoŋH-reF peʔF-TA-raH.*
 PN PN-ACC hit-RLS-RA
 ‘Mong Nuk hit Maung Nong.’
- (19) a. *moŋLnukH-TAyaŋF mauŋFnoŋH-reF chě-ruL moF-TA-raH.*
 PN-INS PN-ACC this-like tell-RLS-RA
 ‘Maung Nong was told so by Mong Nuk.’ (not literal translation)
- b. *moŋLnukH mauŋFnoŋH-reF chě-ruL moF-TA-raH.*
 PN PN-ACC this-like tell-RLS-RA
 ‘Mong Nuk told Maung Nong so.’

However, there is no change in grammatical relation between (a) and (b) of each pair. No additional morphology changing valency occurs in the former, and the status of **P** remains unchanged.

Native speakers’ intuition that (18a),(19a) have ‘passive-like’ meaning seems to reflect that **A** marked with *-TAyaŋF* cannot be the topic of the sentence, unlike **A** marked with $-\phi$.

A marked with *-TAyaŋF* usually cooccurs with a Human or Animate **P**. When it cooccurs with an Inanimate **P**, another Human or Animate topic NP is in the preceding clause(s), and its topicality is still maintained in the clause containing **A** marked with *-TAyaŋF*.

- (20)^[1] *ʔăy-muŋL, pyuF-camF-fiaF lăhauŋLlăpoŋL-nauH-toŋF-hoʔH-reF*
 that-CONS man-PL-TOP RACE.NAME-youth-two.person-PL.RELATIVE-ACC
pamF-khyoF cuyL-TA-toʔF-loH-muŋL, lăsoʔH-keŋF-TAyaŋF
 mountain-ALL lead-&-ascend-g_{CH}-CONS PLANT.NAME-tree-INS
thauF-TA-khyaŋL-TA-peʔF-TA-seʔH-neŋH sòmH-kòH-TA-kaH.
 cut.down-&-cut-&-hit-&-kill-IRL try-PLS-RLS-HEARSAY
 ‘So the people tried to take brothers of Lahaung-Lapong (an imaginary race who introduces confusion into the universe) to a mountain, cut a *lasok* tree and beat them to death.’

- ^[2] *lăhauŋLlăpoŋL-nauH-yeF naF-TA-raH-meŋF lăsoʔH-keŋF*
 RACE.NAME-youth-PL stay-RLS-RA-LOC PLANT.NAME-tree
thauF-TA-khyaŋL-TA-keʔH-TA-reF, lăhauŋLlăpoŋL-nauH-yeF-TAyaŋF
 cut.down-&-cut-&-put.in-RLS-ACC RACE.NAME-youth-PL-INS
tshøH-tsaL lamF-TA-voʔF-TA-pyeʔH-kòH-TA-kaH.
 easy-only from.afar-&-fold-&-throw.away-PLS-RLS-HEARSAY
 ‘(They) cut a *lasok* tree where Lahaung-Lapong brothers are, but it was easily folded and thrown away **by the brothers**.’

- ^[3] *ʔăy-meŋH tă-laŋF ñamL-khyoF kyoH-loH-muŋL, coŋF-keŋF-TAyaŋF*
 there-ABL one-time lowland-ALL descend-g_{CH}-CONS PLANT.NAME-tree-INS
tamF-TA-thauF-TA-peʔF-TA-keʔH-kòH-TA-kaH.
 again-&-cut.down-&-hit-&-put.in-PLS-RLS-HEARSAY
 ‘Then they went down to lowland, and cut a *chong* tree and beat (Lahaung-Lapong brothers).’

[4] ?ăy-ruF-reF lăhaunLlăpoŋL-nauH-camF-TAyaŋF tshøH-tsaL
 that-NMLZ-ACC RACE.NAME-youth-PL-INS easy-only
 lamF-TA-vo?F-TA-šăpye?H-TA-ke?H-koH-TA-kaH.
 from.afar-&-fold-&-throw.away-&-put.in-PLS-RLS-HEARSAY

‘It was easily folded and thrown away **by Lahaung-Lapong brothers.**’

- The second and fourth sentences of (20) contain **A** marked with -TAyaŋF. Both sentences lack overt **P**, but it is obvious from the context that **P** in the second sentence is lăso?H-keŋF ‘lasok tree’, and **P** in the fourth sentence is coŋF-keŋF ‘chong tree’. These **As** are marked with -TAyaŋF because the topic throughout the paragraph is pyuF-camF ‘the people’.

Inanimate **As** marked with -TAyaŋF are extremely rare, only used personificationally.

(21) khyoF-meŋF loF-TA-TA ?auL-reF šoLcamH-meŋF thoŋFkyoŋF-TAyaŋF
 road-LOC come₁-RLS-ATTR time-ACC meat-LOC branch-INS
 lamF-TA-loŋL-loŋH, šoL-tă-khyiH layL-pyitL-cho?H-TA.
 from.afar-&-pull-TEMP meat-one-CLF slice-give-behind-RLS

‘On the way back, when the meat was hooked into **by a branch**, a part of meat is sliced.’
 (Literally, ‘... a branch pulled the meat from afar ...’)

Summary

P marked with -reF

| Factors | Function of -reF |
|---|--|
| i) Non-adjacent to V (2.1.1) | Indicating deviation from the canonical word order: [A P V] |
| ii) Human (2.1.2) | Eliminating the possibility of confusing P with A |
| iii) Specific and Discourse-old (2.1.3) | Creating a link to element(s) in the preceding context |
| iv) Complex/long (2.1.4) | Delimiting the end of the NP |
| v) Contrasted/Emphasized (2.1.5) | Disambiguating P from others |

- i) takes priority over all other factors.
- ii) predominates iii) – v), though its effect can be cancelled by lexical/contextual information (and sometimes by Non-specificity of **P**).
- iii) ranks lower than i) and ii), with counterexamples exemplified in 2.1.3.
- iv) and v) are factors involved in the speaker’s choice.

A marked with -TAyaŋF

A marked with -TAyaŋF cannot be the topic of the sentence. The topic might be **P**, or an element outside of the clause containing **A**.

Data

Almost all data are taken from narrative texts collected in the fieldworks in 1998, 2006, 2007, 2009-10 by H.S.

The consultants are lămauŋL khoŋF xoŋH (born in 1930s, phălaF village, Chipwe Township, Kachin State: fieldworks in 2006, 2007, 2009-10) and tsăkhaungL khoŋF ceL (born in 1930s, tsømfpyo?L village, Chipwe Township, Kachin State: the fieldwork in 1998).

Phonology (Sawada1999, slightly modified)

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

C = Consonant: / m^* , n^* , \tilde{n} , η^* ; p^* , ph , t^* , th , k^* , kh , $ʔ^*$; ts , tsh , c , ch ; f , v , s , \check{s} , x , y , h ; 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 , h , $ʔ$,/))

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

| | | | |
|------|--|------|---|
| ×2 | Reduplication | NMLZ | Nominalizer |
| & | Coordinator of verbs | NPRF | Nominalizing Prefix |
| ABL | Case marker: Ablative | ONOM | Onomatopoeia |
| ACC | Case marker: Accusative | PL | Plural |
| ALL | Case marker: Allative | PLS | Plurality of subject |
| ATTR | Marker of Attributive element | PN | Proper name |
| CLF | Classifier noun | PRF | Prefix |
| COM | Case marker: Comitative | QUOT | Quotation marker |
| CONS | Subordinate clause marker: Consecutive | RA | Indicator of high degree of formality (in positive Realis Informative sentence); Linker (in attributive elements) |
| CONJ | Subordinate clause marker: Conjunctive with the feature [+Home position] | RLS | Sentence marker: Positive Realis Informative |
| H | | RLZN | Auxiliary: Realization |
| IMP | Sentence marker: Imperative | TEMP | Subordinate clause marker: Temporal |
| INS | Case marker: Instrumental | TOP | Topic Indicator |
| IRL | Sentence marker: Irrealis Informative | | |
| LOC | Case marker: Locative | | |
| NEG | Sentence marker: Negative Realis Informative | | |

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