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Adnominal Clauses and the ‘Mermaid Construction’: Grammaticalization of Nouns

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Mermaid construction in Burmese

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1. Introduction

Tsunoda (this volume-a) proposes the structure of the prototype of the mermaid construction (‘MMC’) as follows.

- (1) Prototype of the MMC:
[Clause] Noun Copula

Burmese has the MMC, and so far nineteen forms have been attested in the Noun slot of the MMC. The Burmese MMC can be classified into four types in terms of the category of the nineteen forms. (i) Type 1: four ‘full nouns’ (they are fully independent words). (ii) Type 2: three ‘subordinate-nouns’ (they can function like enclitics). (iii) Type 3: two

nominalizers (they are enclitics put after verbs). (iv) Type 4: ten ‘special heads’ (they are attached to verbs and form compound nouns; some of them may be regarded as enclitics or suffixes). The semantic/functional categories of the nineteen forms in the MMC concern modality, evidentiality, aspect, discourse, degree, and limit/extent. Burmese does not have a copula verb. Nonetheless, the MMC may have an ‘assisting verb’ in the predicate. Syntactically the MMC in Burmese behaves like an independent simple sentence, and it should not be regarded as a construction that involves a subordinate clause.

2. Initial illustration

As an initial illustration of the MMC of Burmese, see (2). It is an instance of Type 1; *pòun* ‘shape’ is a full noun.

- (2) mǎnêgâ t̩ù yǎthá=nê cáun t̩wá=dê pòun(=bé)
 yesterday 3SG train=with school go=AN shape(=EMP)
 LT: ‘He is a shape that he went to school by train yesterday.’
 FT: ‘It seems that he went to school by train yesterday.’
 (昨日彼は汽車で学校に行ったようだ)

Some of the instances of the Burmese MMC are difficult to translate into English, but they can be easily and nicely translated into Japanese. The MMC abounds in Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b), and some of the instances of the Burmese MMC have almost exact parallels in Japanese. In view of this, some of the examples in this paper are accompanied by a Japanese translation, in addition to an English translation.

3. Profile of the language

[1] Location, genetic affiliation, and number of speakers

Burmese belongs to the Lolo-Burmese branch of the Tibeto-Burman family of the Sino-Tibetan linguistic stock. It is mainly spoken in Myanmar. I estimate the number of its native speakers to be somewhere between 45 to 50 million. The present paper examines the Yangon-Mandalay dialect, which is generally recognized as the standard language in Myanmar. In English, this language has come to be called Myanmar because this word is close to the indigenous name of the Myanmar people: /myǎmà/. However, the present paper uses ‘Burmese’ in order to avoid confusion in terminology.

[2] Phonology

The syllable structure of Burmese is C1(C2)V1(V2)(C3)/T, where C and V stand for a consonant and a vowel, respectively, and T indicates the tone of the whole syllable. The part -V1(V2)(C3) is called ‘rhyme’. Consonant phonemes are: /p, t̩, t, c[t̩], k, ʔ, ph[pʰ], th[tʰ], ch[t̩ʰ], kh[kʰ], b, ɗ, d, j[dz],

g, (f), s, ɛ, h, sh[s^h], z, m, n, ɲ, ŋ, ŋ, hm[m̄m], hn[n̄n], hɲ[ɲ̄ɲ], hŋ[ŋ̄ŋ], w, y[j], hw[w̄w], l, hl[l̄l], (r)/. There are twenty-two rhymes: /i, e, ɛ, a, ɔ, o, u, iN, eiN, aiN, aN, aUN, oUN, uN, iʔ, eiʔ, aiʔ, ɛʔ, aʔ, auʔ, ouʔ, uʔ/. There are three tones: /à/ (low level), /á/ (high level), and /â/ (falling). In addition, there is an atonic syllable: *Că*.

The voiceless initial consonant phoneme of many bound morphemes, i.e. particles and affixes placed after nouns or verbs, alternates with its voiced counterpart unless it is preceded by a glottal stop. The same alternation occurs in compounding. In what follows, when a bound morpheme is cited, both voiceless and voiced forms are shown, e.g. =*kâ*/=*gâ* ‘agent; source’.

[3] Word classes

In my view, four word classes can be set up for Burmese: nouns, verbs, particles, and interjections. There is no need to set up adjectives or adverbs because words that denote a state are a subcategory of verbs and many words that can modify a verb are a subcategory of nouns. Verbs can be defined as words that can be followed by a verb sentence marker (see [4] below).

Nouns are not easy to define in a clear-cut way. A typical noun has the following characteristics.

(3) A typical noun:

- (a) cannot be followed by a verb sentence marker;
- (b) can be followed by a case particle, and;
- (c) can be preceded by a demonstrative.

An example of a typical noun is *ʔèiN* ‘house’. It cannot be followed by a verb sentence marker; see (4). It can be followed by a case particle, e.g. (5), and it can be preceded by a demonstrative, e.g. (6).

- (4) **ʔèiN=dè*
house=RLS
‘(untranslatable)’
- (5) *ʔèiN=hmà ɛî=dè*
house=at exist=RLS
‘(He) is at house.’
- (6) *dì ʔèiN*
this house
‘this house’

These criteria, however, are not fulfilled by all nouns. For example, nouns that are formed by reduplicating a stative verb meet criteria (a) and (b) only. Let us take *ʔéʔé* ‘coldness’ as an example. It is formed by reduplicating the verb *ʔé* ‘cold’. First, it cannot be followed by a verb sentence marker; see (7). Second, it can be followed by a case particle, e.g. (8). However, it cannot be modified by a demonstrative; see (9).

- (7) *ʔéʔé=dè
coldness=RLS
'(untranslatable)'
- (8) ṇà kòfi shò=yìN ʔéʔé=gò caiʔ=tè
1SG coffee say=if coldness=KO like=RLS
'When it comes to coffee, I like the cold one.'
- (9) *dì ʔéʔé
this coldness
Intended meaning: 'this coldness'

In the present paper, criterion (a) is considered the necessary condition for a word to be a noun. As for criteria (b) and (c), a word is regarded as a noun if it matches either of the two criteria. Thus, ʔéʔé 'coldness' is a noun.

[4] Morphosyntax

Burmese has both prefixes and suffixes, although their number is small. To this extent, Burmese is an agglutinative language. However, the affixes are used for derivation only. There is no inflection.

Burmese is non-configurational and dependent-marking. The basic order is SOV. Modifiers of a noun, e.g. a demonstrative and an adnominal clause, precede the noun.

Burmese uses postpositions, if the so-called particles are considered enclitics, rather than suffixes.

Grammatical relations, semantic roles, and the like are generally indicated by case particles (tentatively presented as enclitics, preceded by an equal symbol), such as =kâ/=gâ 'agent (subject); source', =kò/=gò 'patient; recipient; goal', =nê 'instrument; accompanier; enumeration', =hmà 'location', =yê 'possession', =câun/jâun 'cause'. Examples include (10), an intransitive sentence, and (11), a transitive sentence.

- (10) ṭù(=gâ) pyé=dè
3SG=KA run=RLS
'He ran.'
- (11) ṭù(=gâ) ʔãphè=nê ʔèiN=hmà ṇá(=gò) sá=dè
3SG=KA father=with house=at fish=KO eat=RLS
'He ate a fish with Father at home.'

The case particles =kâ/=gâ 'agent (subject); source', =kò/=gò 'patient; recipient; goal', and =yê 'possession' can be absent as far as the syntactic/semantic structure of the clause is parsable.

The case system is of the nominative-accusative type: =kâ/=gâ for the A/S, and =kò/=gò for the O.

The verb (in a simple sentence or in the main clause of a complex sentence) has to be followed by one of the particles that are called verb

sentence markers by Okell (1969: 118-119). They mainly indicate modality. The verb sentence markers that are important for the discussion in the present paper are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Verb sentence markers

verb sentence marker	meaning	example
= <i>tè</i> /= <i>dè</i>	realis modality	(12)
= <i>mè</i>	irrealis modality	(13)
= <i>phú</i> /= <i>bú</i>	negation	(15)

Sentences with =*tè*/=*dè* ‘realis’ basically concern a present event or a past event, e.g. (12). Those with =*mè* ‘irrealis modality’ basically concern a future event, e.g. (13).

- (12) tù ?èin=hmà kâ=dè
 3SG house=at dance=RLS
 ‘He dances at home. / He danced at home.’

- (13) tù ?èin=hmà kâ=mè
 3SG house=at dance=IRR
 ‘He will dance at home.’

The verb sentence marker =*phú*/=*bú* ‘negation’ is used in negative sentences. A negative sentence is formed by putting the negative prefix *mă-* before the verb and putting the particle =*phú*/=*bú* ‘negation’ after the verb, e.g. (14). In a negative sentence, the opposition between realis and irrealis modality is neutralized. Thus, (14) may mean ‘He did not dance ...’ (past), ‘He does not dance ...’ (present), or ‘He will not dance...’ (future).

- (14) tù ?èin=hmà mă-kâ=bú
 3SG house=at not-dance=NEG
 ‘He did not dance at home. / He does not dance at home. / He will not dance at home.’

[5] Literacy and styles

Burmese has a long history of the written language dating back to the 12th century, and the literacy of Burmese-speaking people has been relatively high.

Modern Burmese has two styles: the literary style and the colloquial style. The present paper deals with the colloquial style.

4. Types of clauses and sentences

4.1 Verb predicate and non-verb predicate sentences

Sentences in Burmese can be grouped into (i) verb predicate sentences and (ii) non-verb predicate sentences (including noun predicate sentences).

Verb predicate sentences must contain a verb sentence marker (see Table 1) encliticized to the head verb, e.g. (12) to (14). They can also contain an auxiliary, e.g. =*hnàin* ‘can’ in (21). Auxiliaries are elements that can appear between the verb and the verb sentence marker.

In non-verb predicate sentences, the predicate may be a noun phrase, e.g. (15), or a noun and a case particle, i.e., a postpositional phrase, e.g. (16).

- (15) *tù* *myǎmà*(=*bé*)
3SG Myanmar(=EMP)
‘He is a Myanmar (i.e. a Burman).’

- (16) *tù* *yàngòun*=*gâ*(=*bé*)
3SG Yangon=from(=EMP)
‘He is from Yangon.’

Sentences whose predicate consists of a noun phrase, e.g. (15), are called noun predicate sentences in the present paper. There are four points to note about non-verb predicate sentences.

[1] Absence of a verb sentence marker

In contrast with verb predicate sentences, non-verb predicate sentences cannot have a verb sentence marker in the predicate. Instead, some other particle, such as =*pé*/*bé* ‘emphasis’, e.g. (15), (16), or =*pà*/*bà* ‘politeness’, often appears in the predicate final position, probably in order to indicate a sentence boundary. The use of such particles, however, is not obligatory. In the relevant examples, they are shown in parentheses, as in (15) and (16).

[2] Absence of an auxiliary

In contrast with verb predicate sentences, non-verb predicate sentences cannot have an auxiliary in the predicate.

[3] Absence of a copula verb

In my opinion, Burmese does not have any verb that can be unequivocally regarded as a copula verb. In this connection, it is important to make a note on ‘assisting verbs’.

[4] Assisting verbs

Certain verbs may occur after the predicate of a non-verb predicate sentence without changing the propositional meaning of the sentence. In the present paper they will be referred to as ‘assisting verbs’ — a term suggested by Timothy J. Vance (p.c.). Assisting verbs include *lou?* ‘to do’, e.g. (17), *éi* ‘to exist’, e.g. (18), and *phyi?* ‘to become, to happen, to be’. Compare (15) with (19), and (16) with (20).

- (17) t̥ù=gâ yídíyadá (louʔ=tè)
 3SG=KA ambiguousness (do=RLS)
 ‘He behaves shilly-shally.’
- (18) di ʔèin=gâ hlâhlâpâbâ (ɛî=dè)
 this house=KA beautifulness (exist=RLS)
 ‘This house is beautiful.’
- (19) t̥ù myămà (phyiʔ=tè)
 3SG Myanmar (be=RLS)
 ‘He is a Myanmar (i.e. a Burman).’
- (20) t̥ù yàngòun=gâ (phyiʔ=tè)
 3SG Yangon=from (be=RLS)
 ‘He is from Yangon.’

These three verbs — *louʔ* ‘to do’, *ɛî* ‘to exist’, and *phyiʔ* ‘to become, to happen, to be’ — are frequently used as assisting verbs, and they can also be used as the ‘main verb’. Although *phyiʔ* ‘to become, to happen, to be’ is glossed as ‘be’ for convenience, it is not really a copula verb; it is one of the assisting verbs. Selection of an assisting verb for a given non-verb predicate sentence is determined mainly by semantic features of the predicate. However, an assisting verb is sometimes collocationally fixed with the predicate. Details of this selection are still unknown. In the MMC, some more verbs can be used as assisting verbs, as we will see in 5.2 to 5.5.

The addition of an assisting verb to non-verb predicate sentences has two functions.

First, this addition turns a non-verb predicate sentence into a verb predicate sentence, and the resultant verb predicate sentence can now have a verb sentence marker (see Table 1), e.g. =tè/=dè ‘realis’ in (21), and auxiliaries, e.g. =hnàin ‘can’ in (21) — in contrast with non-verb predicate sentences. Consequently the sentence can now be modified with various elements denoting modality, aspect, and so on by employing an assisting verb.

- (21) t̥ù myămà phyiʔ=hnàin=dè
 3SG Myanmar be=can=RLS
 ‘He may be a Myanmar (i.e. a Burman).’

Second, an assisting verb is necessary for negating non-verb predicate sentences. Compare (15), (19), (22), and also (16), (20), (23). The verb *houʔ* ‘to be so’ is used for the negation of *phyiʔ* ‘to be’, because the negated form of *phyiʔ*, i.e. *mă-phyiʔ*, means ‘not to become (something)’.

(22) tù myămà $\text{mă-hou?}=\text{phú}$
 3SG Myanmar not-be.so=NEG
 ‘He is not a Myanmar (i.e. a Burman).’

(23) tù $\text{yàngòun}=\text{gâ}$ $\text{mă-hou?}=\text{phú}$
 3SG Yangon=from not-be.so=NEG
 ‘He is not from Yangon.’

Negation requires the addition of the prefix *mă-* ‘not’ and the enclitic *=phú/=bú* ‘NEG’ to the verb. In other words, negation cannot occur without a verb. Non-verb predicate sentences do not contain a verb, and as they stand they cannot be negated.

In terms of style, the use of an assisting verb makes the sentence somewhat more formal.

4.2 Adnominal and adverbial clauses

4.2.1 Adnominal clauses

4.2.1.1 *Introductory notes.* Adnominal clauses (‘ACs’) (or relative clauses) in Burmese are formed by means of one of the two adnominalizing markers shown in Table 2. The adnominalizing markers *=tê/=dê* and *=mê* are enclitics. They differ from the verb sentence markers *=tè/=dè* ‘realis’ and *=mè* ‘irrealis’ regarding tone only. An AC always precedes the noun it modifies.

Table 2. Adnominalizing markers

adnominalizing marker	modality	example
<i>=tê/=dê</i>	realis	(24)
<i>=mê</i>	irrealis	(25)

Examples are:

(24) $\eta\grave{a}$ $\text{sá}=\mathbf{d\hat{e}}$ hín
 1SG eat=AN curry
 ‘the curry that I ate’

(25) $\eta\grave{a}$ $\text{sá}=\mathbf{m\hat{e}}$ hín
 1SG eat=AN curry
 ‘the curry that I will eat’

Burmese has both ‘internal adnominal clauses’ (‘internal ACs’) and ‘external adnominal clauses’ (‘external ACs’). (See Teramura (1969) and Tsunoda (this volume-a, 7.2) for a discussion of these two types of ACs.)

Roughly speaking, in internal ACs, the head noun corresponds to an argument or an adjunct of the AC. In contrast, in external ACs, the head noun is, so to speak, added from outside the underlying clause. It does not correspond to an argument or an adjunct of the AC.

4.2.1.2 *Internal ACs*. In the ACs of Burmese, all the positions on Keenan and Comrie's (1977) accessibility hierarchy can be relativized on, except for the object of comparison. Examples include (26) (subject), (27) (direct object), (28) (indirect object), (29) (oblique object), and (30) (possessor).

- (26) dì hín sá=dê shǎyà
 this curry eat=AN teacher
 'the teacher who ate this curry'
- (27) ηà shǎyâ=gò pé=dê zún
 1SG teacher=KO give=AN spoon
 'the spoon which I gave to the teacher'
- (28) ηà zún pé=dê shǎyà
 1SG spoon give=AN teacher
 'the teacher to whom I gave the spoon'
- (29) ηà hín sá=dê zún
 1SG curry eat=AN spoon
 'the spoon with which I ate the curry'
- (30) ηà ?ou?thou? khó=dê shǎyà
 1SG hat steal=AN teacher
 'the teacher whose hat I stole'

The formation of internal ACs employs the gap strategy. Compare (26), for example, with the corresponding sentence (31).

- (31) shǎyà dì hín sá=dê
 teacher this curry eat=RLS
 'The teacher ate this curry.'

4.2.1.3 *External ACs*. Examples of external ACs include:

- (32) ṭù ηá khou?=tê ?ǎṭàn
 3SG fish cut=AN sound
 LT: 'the sound with which he is cutting a fish'
 FT: 'the sound of him cutting a fish'

- (33) $\text{tù} \quad \text{ṅá} \quad \text{kìN=dê} \quad \text{ʔănân}$
 3SG fish grill=AN smell
 LT: ‘the smell with which he is grilling a fish’
 FT: ‘the smell of him grilling a fish’

Compare (32) with (34), a sentence intended to correspond to (32), and also compare (33) with (35), a sentence intended to correspond to (33). Both (34) and (35) are unacceptable. That is, for any instance of an external AC, there is no literally corresponding sentence.

- (34) $*\text{tù} \quad \text{ʔăṭân=nê} \quad \text{ṅá} \quad \text{khouʔ=tè}$
 3SG sound=with fish cut=RLS
 Intended meaning: ‘He is cutting a fish with a sound.’

- (35) $*\text{tù} \quad \text{ʔănân=nê} \quad \text{ṅá} \quad \text{kìN=dè}$
 3SG sound=with fish grill=RLS
 Intended meaning: ‘He is grilling a fish with a smell.’

4.2.2 Adverbial clauses

Burmese has a number of ways to form adverbial clauses. The one that is relevant to a description of the MMC will be discussed in 5.3. Examples include (61), and (69) to (71).

5. Mermaid construction

5.1 Introductory notes

As noted in Section 1, Tsunoda (this volume-a) proposes the structure of the prototype of the mermaid construction (‘MMC’) shown in (1).

- (1) Prototype of the mermaid construction (‘MMC’):
 [Clause] Noun Copula.

As mentioned in 4.1, Burmese does not have a verb which can be unequivocally considered a copula verb. That is, it does not have the prototype of the MMC. Nonetheless, as is the case with non-verb predicate sentences, including noun predicate sentences, an assisting verb may appear in the MMC. Therefore, the Burmese MMC can be represented as in (36).

- (36) Mermaid construction in Burmese:
 [Clause] Noun (Assisting verb).

If we represent the verb of ‘[Clause]’ as ‘V’ and the adnominalizing marker as ‘AN’, we can represent the essential constituents of the Burmese MMC as in (37).

(37) V + (AN) + Noun

Nineteen forms have been so far attested in the ‘Noun’ slot. The Burmese MMC can be classified into four types in terms of the category of these nineteen forms.

- (a) Type 1: four ‘full nouns’ (fully independent words).
- (b) Type 2: three ‘subordinate-nouns’ (they can function like enclitics).
- (c) Type 3: two nominalizers: =*tà*/=*dà* and =*hmà* (they are enclitics put after verbs).
- (d) Type 4: ten ‘special heads’ (they are attached to verbs and form compound nouns; some of them may be regarded as enclitics or suffixes).

That is, independent nouns, enclitics, and possibly suffixes can occur in the ‘Noun’ slot.

Also, in terms of (37), the four types of the MMC can be represented as in (38). The underlined parts correspond to ‘Noun’ of (37). In Type 3 and Type 4, ‘AN’ (adnominalizer) does not appear. It is for this reason that ‘AN’ in (37) is placed in parentheses.

(38) Four types of the MMC

- (a) Type 1: V + AN + Full noun (5.2)
- (b) Type 2: V + AN + Subordinate-noun (5.3)
- (c) Type 3: V + =*tà*/=*dà* or =*hmà* (5.4)
- (d) Type 4: V + Special head (5.5)

The ‘Clause’ of the Burmese MMC cannot stand as a sentence on its own. It does not have the structure of full sentences. The verb is followed by an adnominalizer in Type 1 and Type 2, and by a nominalizer in Type 3. It is involved in compounding in Type 4. Importantly the ‘Clause’ cannot contain a verb sentence marker (cf. Section 3 and Table 1).

Note that sentences such as (39) are not instances of the MMC. Example (39) may look similar to the MMC in that it has ‘V + (AN) + Noun’. However, it is a noun predicate sentence (‘This is the fish’) whose predicate noun happens to be modified by an adnominal clause (‘that he ate’).¹

- (39) *dà=gâ* [*tù* *sá=dê*] *ṇá(=bé)*
this=KA 3SG eat=AN fish(=EMP)
‘This is the fish that he ate.’

We will now look at each of the four types of the Burmese MMC.

5.2 Type 1: *V + AN + Full noun*

This type involves a full noun preceded by an adnominalizing marker (cf. Table 2). The four full nouns shown below can be used in the ‘Noun’ slot of the MMC.

- (a) *pòun* ‘shape, form, manner, scenery’
- (b) *hàn* ‘appearance, gesture’
- (c) *ḍǎbó* ‘nature, characteristic, concept’
- (d) *shézé* ‘moment just before something’

‘Full nouns’ are nouns that can constitute a noun phrase on their own, e.g. *pòun* ‘shape’ in (40).

- (40) *pòun* *mǎ-hlâ=bú*
 shape not-beautiful=NEG
 ‘The shape is not beautiful.’

To be precise, *shézé* ‘moment just before something’ cannot constitute a noun phrase on its own. Nonetheless, it is included here because it can constitute a noun phrase as long as it is modified by a demonstrative, e.g. *?édì shézé* ‘moment just before that’ (*?édì* ‘that’).

These four forms are evidently nouns. First, they cannot be followed by any verb sentence marker. Second, they can be preceded by a demonstrative. Third, they can be followed by a case particle. Examples:

- (41) *dì* *pòun=gâ* *káun=dè*
 this shape=KA good=RLS
 ‘This shape is good.’
- (42) *?édì* *hàn=gò* *myìn=dè*
 that gesture=KO see=RLS
 ‘[I] saw that gesture [of his].’
- (43) *?édì* *ḍǎbó=gò* *ná lè=dè*
 that nature=KO understand=RLS
 ‘[I] understood that concept.’
- (44) *?édì* *shézé=hmà* *tù* *là=dè*
 that just.before=at 3SG come=RLS
 ‘Just before that, he came.’

When used in the MMC, these nouns denote the meanings shown in Table 3. The nouns *pòun* ‘shape’ and *hàn* ‘appearance’ have an evidential meaning; both express the speaker’s inference based on his/her direct observation. The difference between them is that *hàn* is somewhat more

formal than *pòun*. The meaning of the MMC with *shézé* is aspectual, or possibly temporal. The function of the MMC with *ḡǎbó* is considerably difficult to understand, but we can say with certainty that it has some sort of discourse function.

Table 3. Meanings of Type 1

'Noun'	meaning in MMC	example
<i>pòun</i> 'shape'	'it seems that'	(45)
<i>hàn</i> 'appearance'	'it seems that'	(46)
<i>ḡǎbó</i> 'nature'	'it is that, it is as if'	(47)
<i>shézé</i> 'moment just before'	'be about to'	(48)

Examples follow.

- (45) tù dì hín=gò sá=dê ***pòun***(=bé)
 3SG this curry=KO eat=AN shape(=EMP)
 'It seems that he ate this curry.'
 (彼はこのカレーを食べたようだ)
- (46) tù dì hín=gò sá=dê ***hàn***(=bé)
 3SG this curry=KO eat=AN appearance(=EMP)
 'It seems that he ate this curry.'
 (彼はこのカレーを食べたようだ)
- (47) tù dì hín=gò mählwédàlô sá=dê
 3SG this curry=KO against.one's.will eat=AN
ḡǎbó(=bé)
 nature(=EMP)
 'It is that he unwillingly ate this curry.'
 (彼はこのカレーを嫌々食べた{わけ/次第}だ)
- (48) tù dì hín=gò sá=mê ***shézé***(=bé)
 3SG this curry=KO eat=AN just.before(=EMP)
 'He is about to eat this curry.'
 (彼はこのカレーを食べるところだ)

In the case of *pòun* 'shape', *hàn* 'appearance', and *ḡǎbó* 'nature', both =*tê*/=*dê* (realis) and =*mê* (irrealis) can occur as the AN. For example, if we replace =*tê*/=*dê* in (45) with =*mê*, we get a grammatical sentence shown in (49), with a difference in meaning. The action of eating is generally interpreted to have occurred before the utterance time in (45) (realis), while in (49) (irrealis) the action is generally interpreted not to have occurred yet.

- (49) tù dì hín=gò sá=mê pòun(=bé)
 3SG this curry=KO eat=AN shape(=EMP)
 ‘It seems that he will eat this curry.’
 (彼はこのカレーを食べるようだ)

In the case of *shézé* ‘moment just before’, only =*mê* ‘irrealis’ can occur as the AN.

Only the verbs shown in Table 4 can be used as an assisting verb in this type of MMC; other verbs cannot. In the case of *hàN* ‘appearance’, only *tù* ‘to resemble’ can be used. For each of the other three nouns, two verbs are possible. The difference in meaning brought by using different assisting verbs is so subtle that it is not understood.

Table 4. Assisting verbs for Type 1

‘Noun’	assisting verb	example
<i>pòun</i> ‘shape’	<i>yâ</i> ‘to get’, <i>pò</i> ‘to appear’	(50)
<i>hàN</i> ‘appearance’	<i>tù</i> ‘to resemble’	(51)
<i>ḍǎbó</i> ‘nature’	<i>ɛi</i> ‘to exist’, <i>phyi?</i> ‘to be’	(52)
<i>shézé</i> ‘moment just before’	<i>ɛi</i> ‘to exist’, <i>phyi?</i> ‘to be’	(53)

Examples follow.

- (50) tù dì hín=gò sá=dê pòun { yâ=dê / pò=dê }
 3SG this curry=KO eat=AN shape get=RLS / appear=RLS
 ‘It seems that he ate this curry.’
- (51) tù dì hín=gò sá=dê hàN tù=dê
 3SG this curry=KO eat=AN shape resemble=RLS
 ‘It seems that he ate this curry.’
- (52) tù dì hín=gò mählwédàlô sá=dê
 3SG this curry=KO against.one’s.will eat=AN
 ḍǎbó { ɛi=dê / phyi?=tê }
 nature exist=RLS / be=RLS
 ‘It is that he unwillingly ate this curry.’
- (53) tù dì hín=gò sá=mê shézé { ɛi=dê
 3SG this curry=KO eat=AN just.before exist=RLS
 / phyi?=tê }
 / be=RLS
 ‘He is about to eat this curry.’

Both verb sentence markers =*tê*/=*dê* ‘realis’ and =*mê* ‘irrealis’ (Table 1), encliticized to the assisting verb, can occur with either the adnominalizing

marker =*tê*/*dê* ‘realis’ or =*mê* ‘irrealis’ (Table 2). That is, there are four combinations in all. See (54) to (57). In these examples, the verb sentence marker =*tê*/*dê* ‘realis’ basically denotes that the judgment of the observer (mainly the speaker) occurs in the present/past time; see (54) and (56) (‘It seems’). The verb sentence marker =*mê* ‘irrealis’ indicates that the judgment will occur in the future time; see (55) and (57) (‘It will seem’). On the other hand, the adnominalizing marker =*tê*/*dê* ‘realis’ denotes that the action of eating is anterior to the judgment; see (54) (‘he ate’, ‘he had eaten’) and (55) (‘he will have eaten’). The adnominalizer =*mê* ‘irrealis’ indicates that the action of eating is posterior to the judgment; see (55) (‘he will eat’, ‘he would eat’) and (57) (‘he will eat’).

- (54) *sá=dê* *pòun* *yâ=dê*
 eat=AN(rls) shape get=RLS
 ‘It seems that [he] ate/ It seemed that [he] had eaten.’
- (55) *sá=dê* *pòun* *yâ=mê*
 eat=AN(irr) shape get=IRR
 ‘[Tomorrow when I see him], it will seem that [he] will have eaten.’
- (56) *sá=mê* *pòun* *yâ=dê*
 eat=AN(rls) shape get=RLS
 ‘It seems that [he] will eat/ It seemed that [he] would eat.’
- (57) *sá=mê* *pòun* *yâ=mê*
 eat=AN(irr) shape get=IRR
 ‘[Tomorrow when I see him], it will seem that [he] will eat.’

If an assisting verb does not appear, the judgment is usually the one that is made by the speaker at the time of the utterance.

It should also be added that out of these four nouns discussed above, *pòun* ‘shape’ and *hàn* ‘appearance’ may form a compound with the verb when the realis adnominalizing marker =*tê*/*dê* (though not =*mê* ‘irrealis’) is used. Sentences (58) and (59), which involve such compounding, can be used in place of (45) and (46), respectively.

- (58) *tù* *dì* *hín=gò* *sá-bòun(=bê)*
 3SG this curry=KO eat-shape(=EMP)
 ‘It seems that he ate this curry.’
- (59) *tù* *dì* *hín=gò* *sá-hàn(=bê)*
 3SG this curry=KO eat-appearance(=EMP)
 ‘It seems that he ate this curry.’

5.3 Type 2: *V + AN + Subordinate-noun*

Burmese has a number of nominal morphemes that function like postpositions. Okell (1969: 142-144) calls them ‘subordinate-nouns’ (see also Wheatley 1982: 142). Sawada (1998) calls them *kakumeishi* (‘case nouns’), and Okano (2007) follows his terminology. Myint Soe (1999: 72-93), however, classifies them among ‘propositional semantic role markers’, which include what are referred to as case particles in the present paper. Okell enumerates eighteen subordinate-nouns. Those that are used frequently in my observation are shown in Table 5, with the meaning as a full noun and the meaning as a subordinate-noun. English glosses are taken from Okell.

Table 5. Subordinate-nouns in frequent use

subordinate-noun	meaning as a full noun	meaning as a subordinate-noun
<i>ʔásá</i>	‘substitute’	‘instead of’
<i>ʔátáin</i>	‘measuring’	‘in accordance with’
<i>ʔátweʔ</i>	‘calculation’	‘for’
<i>ʔáthi</i>	‘reaching’	‘as far as’
<i>ʔáphyiʔ</i>	‘being, status’	‘as’
<i>ʔáhmyá</i>	‘equal share’	‘as much as’
<i>ʔáyá</i>	‘acquisition’	‘in accordance with’
<i>lò</i>	‘requirement’	‘like, as’
<i>lòlò</i>	(reduplicated form of <i>lò</i>)	‘rather like, as if’
<i>lauʔ</i>	‘sufficiency (?)’	‘as much as’

Etymologically, these nouns contain the nominalizing prefix *ʔá-*, except for the last three nouns: *lò*, *lòlò*, and *lauʔ*.

Synchronically, these nouns can also be used as full nouns, again except for the last three nouns: *lò*, *lòlò*, and *lauʔ*. Sentence (60) is an example where *ʔátweʔ* ‘calculation’ is used as a full noun.

- (60) ʔù ʔátweʔ káUN=dÈ
 3SG calculation good=RLS
 ‘He is good at calculation.’

Subordinate-nouns can be generally modified by an adnominal clause. The resultant clause plus the subordinate-noun functions as an adverbial clause, e.g. (61).

- (61) tù pyó=dê=ʔătwɛʔ ʔăchèin hmi tʷá=dê
 3SG tell=AN=for time reach go=RLS
 ‘Because he told me, [I] arrived on time.’

When four of the subordinate-nouns, i.e., *ʔăhmyá* ‘as much as’, *lò* ‘like, as’, *lòlò* ‘rather like, as if’, and *lauʔ* ‘as much as’, are modified by an adnominal clause, the adnominalizing markers =*tê*/=*dê* (realis) and =*mê* (irrealis) have to be in the weakened forms =*tă*/=*dă* and =*mă*, e.g. (69) (*lò* ‘like, as’), (70) (*lòlò* ‘rather like, as if’), and (71) (*lauʔ* ‘as much as’). The reason for the use of the weakened forms is unknown.

Furthermore, subordinate-nouns can function like case particles (tentatively presented as enclitics; cf. [4] in Section 3). They introduce adjuncts, rather than arguments. Below is an example of *ʔătwɛʔ* ‘for’.

- (62) ɲà myaʔthún=ʔătwɛʔ hín chɛʔ=tè
 1SG (personal name)=for curry cook=RLS
 ‘I cooked the curry for Myat Htun.’

Three of the subordinate-nouns shown in Table 5 can be used in the MMC. They are:

- (a) *lò* ‘like, as’
- (b) *lòlò* ‘rather like, as if’
- (c) *lauʔ* ‘as much as’

Etymologically, the subordinate-noun *lauʔ* ‘as much as’ originated in the verb *lauʔ* ‘to be sufficient’, and both *lò* ‘like, as’ and *lòlò* ‘rather like, as if’ originated in the verb *lò* ‘to require’. In Modern Burmese, the verb *lauʔ* ‘to be sufficient’ and *lò* ‘to require’ are still used as verbs, but the subordinate-nouns *lò*, *lòlò*, and *lauʔ* are all evidently nouns. First, they do not co-occur with any verb sentence marker. Second, they can be preceded by a demonstrative. Third, they can be followed by a case particle. Examples:

- (63) dì=lò=gâ pò káun=dê
 this=like=KA more good=RLS
 ‘This way is the better.’
- (64) dì=lòlò=nê pí tʷá=dê
 this=rather.like=with finish go=RLS
 ‘It has been all finished rather in this way.’
- (65) dì=lauʔ=kâ keiʔsâ mă-ɛí=bú
 this=as.much.as=KA problem not-exist=NEG
 ‘This amount is no problem.’

Like other subordinate-nouns, these subordinate-nouns can be used to introduce adjuncts, e.g. (66) to (68), and they can be modified by an adnominal clause, resulting in an adverbial clause, e.g. (69) to (71).

- (66) *myaʔthún=lò* *louʔ=tè*
 (personal name)=like do=RLS
 ‘[He] did just as Myat Htun did.’
- (67) *myaʔthún=lòlò* *louʔ=tè*
 (personal name)=rather.like do=RLS
 ‘[He] did just as Myat Htun would have done.’
- (68) *myaʔthún=lauʔ* *mǎ-sá=bú*
 (personal name)as.much.as not-eat=NEG
 ‘[He] did not eat as much as Myat Htun.’
- (69) *tù* *myaʔthún* *louʔ=tǎ=lò* *louʔ=tè*
 3SG (personal name) do=AN=like do=RLS
 ‘He did just as Myat Htun did.’
- (70) *tù* *myaʔthún* *louʔ=tǎ=lòlò* *louʔ=tè*
 3SG (personal name) do=AN=rather.like do=RLS
 ‘He did just as Myat Htun would have done.’
- (71) *tù* *myaʔthún* *sá=dǎ=lauʔ* *mǎ-sá=bú*
 3SG (personal name) eat=AN=as.much.as not-eat=NEG
 ‘He did not eat as much as Myat Htun ate.’

The adjuncts and adverbial clauses involving *lòlò* ‘rather like, as if’ have a counterfactual meaning, e.g. (68) and (70).

In the MMC, these subordinate-nouns have the meanings shown in Table 6. The noun *lò* ‘like’ has an evidential meaning: the speaker’s inference based on a direct observation, like *pòun* ‘shape’ and *hàn* ‘appearance’ in Type 1 (5.2), but the speaker is less sure about the judgment when *lò* is used. The noun *lòlò* has a counterfactual meaning in the MMC, too. The MMC with *lauʔ* ‘as much as’ indicates degree.

Table 6. Meanings of Type 2

‘Noun’		meaning in MMC	example
<i>lò</i>	‘like, as’	‘it seems that’	(72)
<i>lòlò</i>	‘rather like, as if’	‘it looks as if’ (counterfactual)	(73)
<i>lauʔ</i>	‘as much as’	‘hardly, scarcely’	(74)

Examples of the MMC follow. Recall that the adnominalizing marker has to be in the weakened form when *lò* ‘like, as’, *lòlò* ‘rather like, as if’ and *lau?* ‘as much as’ are modified by an adnominal clause. This applies to the MMC.

- (72) tù di hín=gò sá=dǎ=lò(=bé)
 3SG this curry=KO eat=AN=like(=EMP)
 ‘It seems that he ate this curry.’
 (彼はこのカレーを食べたようだ)
- (73) tù di hín=gò sá=dǎ=lòlò(=bé)
 3SG this curry=KO eat=AN=rather.like(=EMP)
 ‘It looks as if he had eaten this curry (but in fact he did not).’
 (彼はまるでこのカレーを食べたかのようだ)
- (74) tù di hín=gò $\text{mǎ-sá=dǎ=lau?(=pé)}$
 3SG this curry=KO not-eat=AN=as.much.as(=EMP)
 ‘He hardly eats any of this curry.’
 (彼はこのカレーをほとんど食べなかった)

The subordinate-noun *lau?* ‘as much as’ only co-occurs with a negated verb in the MMC; see (74). It cannot be used unless the verb is negated; see:

- (75) $*\text{tù}$ di hín=gò sá=dǎ=lau?(=pé)
 3SG this curry=KO eat=AN=as.much.as(=EMP)
 Intended meaning: ‘He ate almost all of this curry.’
 (彼はこのカレーをほとんど食べた)

Examples involving the irrealis adnominalizing marker $=mǎ$ ‘irrealis’ include the following. ($=mǎ$ ‘irrealis’ never co-occurs with *lau?*. Negation generally does not occur in an irrealis clause.)

- (76) tù di hín=gò sá=mǎ=lò(=bé)
 3SG this curry=KO eat=AN=like(=EMP)
 ‘It seems that he will eat this curry.’
 (彼はこのカレーを食べそうだ)
- (77) tù di hín=gò sá=mǎ=lòlò(=bé)
 3SG this curry=KO eat=AN=rather.like(=EMP)
 ‘It seems almost like he will eat this curry.’
 (いかにも彼はこのカレーを食べそうな気配だ)

Only the verbs shown in Table 7 can be used as an assisting verb in this type of MMC; other verbs cannot.

Table 7. Assisting verbs for Type 2

‘Noun’	assisting verb	example
<i>lò</i> ‘like, as’	<i>εí</i> ‘to exist’, <i>phyi?</i> ‘to be’	(78)
<i>lòlò</i> ‘rather like, as if’	<i>εí</i> ‘to exist’, <i>phyi?</i> ‘to be’	(79)
<i>lau?</i> ‘as much as’	<i>phyi?</i> ‘to be’	(80)

Examples follow:

(78) *tù* *dì* *hín=gò* *sá=dǎ=lò* {*εí=dè* / ***phyi?***=*tè*}
 3SG this curry=KO eat=AN=like exist=RL / be=RLS
 ‘It seems that he ate this curry.’

(79) *tù* *dì* *hín=gò* *sá=dǎ=lòlò* {*εí=dè* / ***phyi?***=*tè*}
 3SG this curry=KO eat=AN=rather.like exist=RL / be=RLS
 ‘It looks as if he had eaten this curry (but in fact he did not).’

(80) *tù* *dì* *hín=gò* *ma-sá=dǎ=lau?* ***phyi?***=*tè*
 3SG this curry=KO not-eat=AN=as.much.as be=RLS
 ‘He hardly ate any of this curry.’

5.4 Type 3: *V* + =*tà*/=*dà* or =*hmà*

The particles =*tà*/=*dà* and =*hmà* are nominalizers. =*tà*/=*dà* indicates realis, while =*hmà* indicates irrealis. Out of the forms that have the function of nominalizing clauses, these two are the most widely used in colloquial Burmese. Clauses nominalized by =*tà*/=*dà* or =*hmà* denote either an entity, e.g. (81), or an event, e.g. (82).

(81) *tù* *chε?*=***tà***=*gò* *ηà* *ywé=dè*
 3SG cook=TA=KO 1SG select=RLS
 ‘I selected what he cooked.’

(82) *tù* *yàngòUN* *là=dà*=*gò* *ηà* *tí=dè*
 3SG Yangon come=TA=KO 1SG know=RLS
 ‘I know that he came to Yangon.’

These particles cannot be followed by any verb sentence marker, while they can be followed by a case particle, e.g. (81), (82). In these respects, *V=tà/=dà* and *V=hmà* are nouns. However, unlike typical nouns, they cannot be modified by a demonstrative; see (83).

- (83) ***dì** chεʔ=tà
 this cook=TA
 Intended meaning: ‘this food, which [someone] cooked’

The nominalizers =tà/=dà and =hmà can occupy the ‘Noun’ slot of the MMC. However, it is considerably difficult to precisely describe the meaning or function of =tà/=dà and =hmà in the MMC. They seem to have some sort of discourse function. Regarding the function of =tà/=dà used in what the present paper calls the MMC, Okell and Allot (2001: 94-95) state that “[=tà/=dà is used] for emphasis, or when correcting the hearer’s mistaken view”, and also that “[it is used] when the information conveyed by the verb is already known to the listener and the new information in the sentence is in one of the noun phrases preceding the verb; compare English sentences of the form: It was because X that Y”.

Kato (1998: 88-89), in a Burmese primer, points out that the “meaning” of =tà/=dà and =hmà resembles that of the =no=da construction of Japanese (for this Japanese construction, see Tsunoda (this volume-b, 5.4.4)). Very roughly speaking, the Japanese =no=da construction provides explanation or reason, among others. I gloss these Burmese nominalizers as ‘it is the case that’, as is shown in Table 8. Matisoff (1972) points out that the Lahu nominalizer *ve* appears frequently in the sentence-final position. This Lahu nominalizer seems to have a function similar to that of the Burmese =tà/=dà and =hmà.

Table 8. Meanings of Type 3

‘Noun’	meaning in MMC	example
=tà/=dà ‘nominalizer (RLS)’	‘it is the case that’	(84)
=hmà ‘nominalizer (IRR)’	‘it is the case that’	(85)

Examples follow:

- (84) **tù** dì hín=gò sá=**dà**
 3SG this curry=KO eat=TA
 ‘It is the case that he ate this curry.’
 (彼はこのカレーを食べたのだ)
- (85) **tù** dì hín=gò sá=**hmà**
 3SG this curry=KO eat=HMA
 ‘It is the case that he will eat this curry.’
 (彼はこのカレーを食べるのだ)

Sentences in (86) are cited from a conversation in a Burmese radio drama, and sentences in (87) from a conversation in another scene of the

same drama. (86-B) and (87-B) are instances of the MMC. They will give some indication of how this type of the MMC is used in actual discourse.

- (86) A. nwèmókhàinḡāzìN mǎ-houʔ=phú=lá
 (personal name) not-be.so=NEG=Q
 ‘Aren’t (you) Nwe Moe Khine Thazin?’
 (あなたはヌエモーカインダズインではないのか?)
- B. mǎ-houʔ=pà=bú èìN.
 not-be.so=POL=NEG SFP
 èìN=dô lù hmá=jâ=dâ=bà
 2=PL person mistake=PL=TA=POL
 ‘I am not. You are mistaking me for another person.’
 (違います。あなた方は人違いをしているんですよ)
- (87) A. bà phyiʔ=nè=ḡǎ=dóun kwà
 what happen=PROG=RLS=Q SFP
 ‘What’s happening?’
 (どうしたのだ?)
- B. baiʔ=kâ tǎʔá nà=nè=dâ
 stomach=KA severely ache=PROG=TA
 ‘I have a severe stomachache.’
 (腹がひどく痛むのだ)

Only the verb *phyiʔ* ‘to be’ may occur as the assisting verb in the MMC with =tâ/=dâ and =hmâ, e.g.:

- (88) tù dì hín=gò sá=dâ **phyiʔ=tè**
 3SG this curry=KO eat=TA be=RLS
 ‘It is the case that he ate this curry.’
- (89) tù dì hín=gò sá=hmâ **phyiʔ=tè**
 3SG this curry=KO eat=HMA be=RLS
 ‘It is the case that he will eat this curry.’

5.5 Type 4: *V + Special head*

There are over twenty nominal morphemes that Okell (1969: 65) calls ‘special heads’. They can combine directly with a verb to yield a compound noun (see also Wheatley 1982:109-111, Yabu 1992:581, Myint Soe 1999: 34). For example, in (90), the special head *ʔǎḡàN* ‘sound’ and the verb *pyó* ‘speak’ form a compound noun. In compounding, the first syllable of *ʔǎḡàN* is dropped and the initial consonant of its second syllable, i.e. *t*, alternates with *ḡ* unless it is preceded by a glottal stop. The compound noun *pyó-ḡàN* means ‘speaking noise’. Such a verb compounded with a special head can take its own arguments. In (90), *tù* ‘3SG’ and *zǎḡá* ‘language’ are the

arguments of the verb *pyó* ‘speak’. In other words, the verb compounded with a special head can be the head verb of a subordinate clause.

- (90) $\eta\grave{a}$ [$\grave{t}\grave{u}$ $z\grave{a}g\acute{a}$ $py\acute{o}$]- $\grave{d}\grave{a}n=g\grave{o}$ $c\acute{a}=d\grave{e}$
 1SG 3SG language speak-sound=KO hear=RLS
 ‘I heard his voice speaking a language.’

In contrast, in an ordinary ‘verb + noun’ compound (in which the noun is just an ‘ordinary’ noun, and not a ‘special head’), the verb cannot take its own arguments. See (91); *zǎyei?* ‘expenses’ is an ‘ordinary’ noun, and not a special head, and it cannot take any argument.

- (91) $*\eta\grave{a}$ [$\grave{t}\grave{u}$ $n\grave{a}z\grave{a}$ $s\acute{a}$]- $z\grave{a}yei?=k\grave{o}$ $p\acute{e}=d\grave{e}$
 1SG 3SG dinner eat-expenses=KO give=RLS
 Intended meaning: ‘I paid for his eating dinner.’

This is a crucial difference between the ‘V + Special head’ and ‘verb + noun’ compounds.

Table 9 shows special heads in frequent use, together with their meaning. Those above the single line, i.e., from *ǎcáun* ‘fact’ to *ǎsá* ‘beginning’, can be used as a full noun, while the others, i.e., from *-yòun* ‘only thing to V’ to *-khàzâ/-gàzâ* ‘time when one has just started V-ing’, cannot be used as a full noun. The latter are represented with a hyphen in order to show this fact. The forms with a hyphen can be considered particles (i.e. enclitics) or suffixes.

Table 9. Special heads in frequent use

special head	meaning	MMC
<i>ʔǎcáun</i>	‘fact; fact of V-ing’	no
<i>ʔǎkhà</i>	‘time; time when one V-s’	no
<i>ʔǎchèiN</i>	‘time; time when one V-s’	no
<i>ʔǎchín</i>	‘happening, event; act of V-ing’	no
<i>ʔǎkhwín</i>	‘permission; opportunity to V’	no
<i>ʔǎhmú</i>	‘problem; act of V-ing’	no
<i>ʔǎyé</i>	‘matter, affair; matter of V-ing’	no
<i>ʔǎtàn</i>	‘sound; sound of V-ing’	no
<i>ní</i>	‘method; way of V-ing’	no
<i>tù</i>	‘3SG pronoun; person who V-s’	no
<i>ʔǎphó</i>	‘share, portion; to V’	yes
<i>ʔǎshóun</i>	‘end; thing that is the most V’	yes
<i>ʔǎsá</i>	‘beginning; time when one has just started V-ing’	yes
<i>-yòun</i>	‘mere act of V-ing’	yes
<i>-tóun/-dóun</i>	‘process of V-ing’	yes
<i>-shé/-zé</i>	‘process of V-ing’	yes
<i>-pídá</i>	‘thing that has already V-ed’ < <i>pí</i> ‘to end’ + <i>tá</i> ‘emphatic nominalizer’	yes
<i>-nèjá</i>	‘thing that one habitually V-s’ < <i>nè</i> ‘to stay’ + <i>ʔǎcá</i> ‘fall, drop (n)’	yes
<i>-leʔsá</i>	‘thing that is halfway through V-ing’ < <i>leʔ</i> ‘hand’ + <i>ʔǎsá</i> ‘beginning’	yes
<i>-khàzâ/-gàzâ</i>	‘time when one has just started V-ing’ < <i>ʔǎkhà</i> ‘time’ + <i>ʔǎsá</i> ‘beginning’	yes

For the special heads that can be used as a full noun, the meanings that they have when they are used as a full noun are shown before the semicolon, while those that they have when they are combined with a verb are shown after the semicolon.

When the forms with the first syllable *ʔǎ-* are compounded with a verb, this syllable is dropped; see (90). This is for an etymological reason that is not directly relevant to the theme of the present paper. (*ʔǎ-* is a nominalizing prefix. Compare the noun *ʔǎshóun* ‘end’ and the verb *shóun* ‘to end’.)

Special heads shown with ‘yes’ in the rightmost column in Table 9 can occupy the ‘Noun’ slot of the MMC. Table 10 shows the meanings that they have when they are used in the MMC. They generally have an aspectual (or possibly temporal) meaning. In addition, *ʔǎshóun* ‘be the most V’ indicates degree, e.g. (93), and *-yòun* ‘only do V-ing; have only to V’ indicates limit or extent: ‘only’, e.g. (95).

The form *ʔăshóUN* ‘be the most V’ has a particular characteristic in that the nominalizing prefix *ʔă-* is attached before the verb when it is compounded with a verb. See (93).

Table 10. Meanings of Type 4

‘Noun’	meaning	example
<i>ʔăphô</i> ‘share: to V’	‘be about to V’	(101)
<i>ʔăshóUN</i> ‘end’	‘be the most V’	(102)
<i>ʔăsâ</i> ‘beginning’	‘have just V-ed’	(103)
<i>-khàzâ/-gàzâ</i> ‘beginning’	‘have just V-ed’	(103)
<i>-yòUN</i> ‘only thing to V’	‘only do V-ing; have only to V’	(104)
<i>-tóUN/-dóUN</i> ‘process of V-ing’	‘be in the middle of V-ing’	(105)
<i>-shé/-zé</i> ‘process of V-ing’	‘be in the middle of V-ing’ (more formal than <i>-tóUN</i>)	(106)
<i>-píḍá</i> ‘thing that has already V-ed’	‘have finished V-ing’	(107)
<i>-nèjâ</i> ‘thing that one habitually V-s’	‘habitually V’	(108)
<i>-lɛʔsâ</i> ‘thing that is halfway through V-ing’	‘have started V-ing, but have not finished it’	(109)

Compounds consisting of a verb and a special head are nouns in two respects. First, they cannot be followed by any verb sentence marker. Second, they can be followed by a case particle. However, they are not typical nouns. Namely, they cannot be modified by a demonstrative.

The following examples show that special heads can be followed by a case particle.²

(92) míN phaʔ-**phô**=gò yù là=∅
2SG read-to=KO take come=IMP
‘Bring what you have to read.’

(93) míN ʔă-caiʔ-**shóUN**=gò yù là=∅
2SG A-like-most=KO take come=IMP
‘Bring what you like best.’

(94) tù yàngòUN=gò yauʔ{-**sâ**/**-khàzâ**}=hmà nà=nê twê=dè
3SG Yangon=KO arrive{-beginning}=at 1SG=with meet=RLS
‘He met me soon after he came to Yangon.’

- (95) $\eta\grave{a}$ $\text{py}^{\circ}\text{-y}\grave{o}\text{UN}=\text{n}\acute{e}$ $\text{t}\grave{u}$ $\text{n}\acute{a}$ $\text{l}\acute{e}=\text{d}\acute{e}$
 1SG tell-only=with 3SG understand=RLS
 ‘He understood it when I merely told it.’
- (96) $\eta\grave{a}$ $\text{?ei}^{\circ}=\text{n}\acute{e}\text{-d}\acute{o}\text{UN}=\text{h}\acute{m}\acute{a}$ $\text{t}\grave{u}$ $\text{l}\acute{a}=\text{d}\acute{e}$
 1SG sleep=PROG-process=at 3SG come=RLS
 ‘He came while I was sleeping.’
- (97) $\eta\grave{a}$ $\text{?ei}^{\circ}=\text{n}\acute{e}\text{-z}\acute{e}=\text{h}\acute{m}\acute{a}$ $\text{t}\grave{u}$ $\text{l}\acute{a}=\text{d}\acute{e}$
 1SG sleep=PROG-process=at 3SG come=RLS
 ‘He came while I was sleeping.’
- (98) $\text{m}\acute{\text{I}}\text{N}$ $\text{lou}^{\circ}\text{-p}\acute{\text{I}}\text{q}\acute{a}=\text{g}\acute{o}$ $\text{y}\grave{u}$ $\text{l}\acute{a}=\emptyset$
 2SG do-already=KO take come=IMP
 ‘Bring what you have finished.’
- (99) $\text{m}\acute{\text{I}}\text{N}$ $\text{pha}^{\circ}\text{-n}\acute{e}\text{j}\acute{a}=\text{g}\acute{o}$ $\text{y}\grave{u}$ $\text{l}\acute{a}=\emptyset$
 2SG read-habit=KO take come=IMP
 ‘Bring what you are habitually reading.’
- (100) $\text{m}\acute{\text{I}}\text{N}$ $\text{pha}^{\circ}\text{-l}\acute{e}\text{?s}\acute{a}=\text{g}\acute{o}$ $\text{y}\grave{u}$ $\text{l}\acute{a}=\emptyset$
 2SG read-not.yet=KO take come=IMP
 ‘Bring what you haven’t finished reading.’

Now, special heads can occupy the ‘Noun’ slot of the MMC:

- (101) $\text{t}\grave{u}$ $\text{d}\acute{\text{i}}$ $\text{h}\acute{\text{I}}\text{N}=\text{g}\acute{o}$ $\text{s}\acute{a}\text{-b}\acute{o}$ (=b\acute{e})
 3SG this curry=KO eat-about.to(=EMP)
 ‘He is about to eat this curry.’
 (彼はこのカレーを食べるところだ)
- (102) $\text{t}\grave{u}$ $\text{d}\acute{\text{i}}$ $\text{h}\acute{\text{I}}\text{N}=\text{g}\acute{o}$ $\text{?}\acute{a}\text{-cai}^{\circ}\text{-sh}\acute{o}\text{UN}$ (=b\acute{e})
 3SG this curry=KO A-like-most(=EMP)
 ‘He likes this curry the best of all.’
 (彼はこのカレーが一番好きだ)
- (103) $\text{t}\grave{u}$ $\text{y}\acute{\text{a}}\text{n}\text{g}\acute{o}\text{UN}=\text{g}\acute{o}$ $\text{yau}^{\circ}\{-\text{s}\acute{a}/\text{-kh}\acute{a}\text{z}\acute{a}\}$ (=b\acute{e})
 3SG Yangon=KO arrive{-beginning}(=EMP)
 ‘He has just arrived in Yangon.’
 (彼はヤンゴンに来たばかりだ)
- (104) $\text{t}\grave{u}$ $\text{d}\acute{\text{i}}$ $\text{h}\acute{\text{I}}\text{N}=\text{g}\acute{o}$ $\text{s}\acute{a}\text{-y}\acute{o}\text{UN}$ (=b\acute{e})
 3SG this curry=KO eat-only(=EMP)
 ‘He only ate this curry; He has only to eat this curry.’
 (彼はこのカレーを食べただけだ;
 彼はこのカレーを食べる必要があるだけだ)

- (105) $\text{tù di híN=gò sá=nè-dóun(=bé)}$
 3SG this curry=KO eat=PROG-process(=EMP)
 ‘He is in the middle of eating this curry.’
 (彼はこのカレーを食べている最中だ)
- (106) $\text{tù di híN=gò sá=nè-zé(=bé)}$
 3SG this curry=KO eat=PROG-process(=EMP)
 ‘He is in the middle of eating this curry.’
 (彼はこのカレーを食べている最中だ)
- (107) $\text{tù di híN=gò sá-píḍá(=bé)}$
 3SG this curry=KO eat-finishing(=EMP)
 ‘He has already finished eating this curry.’
 (彼はこのカレーをもう食べ終わっている)
- (108) $\text{tù di híN=gò sá-nèjâ(=bé)}$
 3SG this curry=KO eat-habit(=EMP)
 ‘He is habitually eating this curry.’
 (彼はこのカレーを食べつけている)
- (109) $\text{tù di híN=gò sá-leʔsâ(=bé)}$
 3SG this curry=KO eat-not.yet(=EMP)
 ‘He started eating this curry, but hasn’t finished yet.’
 (彼はこのカレーを食べかけだ)

Only the verbs shown in Table 11 can be used as an assisting verb in this type of the MMC; other verbs cannot.

Table 11. Assisting verbs for Type 4

‘Noun’	assisting verb	example
<i>ʔăphô</i> ‘be about to V’	<i>louʔ</i> ‘to do’	(110)
<i>ʔăshóun</i> ‘be the most V’	<i>phyiʔ</i> ‘to be’	(111)
<i>ʔăsá</i> and <i>-kházâ/gázâ</i> ‘have just V-ed’	<i>éí</i> ‘to exist’, <i>phyiʔ</i> ‘to be’	(112)
<i>-yòun</i> ‘only do V-ing; have only to V’	<i>éí</i> ‘to exist’, <i>phyiʔ</i> ‘to be’	(113)
<i>-tóun/-dóun</i> ‘be in the middle of V-ing’	<i>éí</i> ‘to exist’, <i>phyiʔ</i> ‘to be’	(114)
<i>-shé/-zé</i> ‘be in the middle of V-ing’	<i>éí</i> ‘to exist’, <i>phyiʔ</i> ‘to be’	(115)
<i>-píḍá</i> ‘have finished V-ing’	<i>phyiʔ</i> ‘to be’	(116)
<i>-nèjâ</i> ‘habitually V’	<i>éí</i> ‘to exist’, <i>phyiʔ</i> ‘to be’	(117)
<i>-leʔsâ</i> ‘have started V-ing, but have not finished V-ing’	<i>éí</i> ‘to exist’, <i>phyiʔ</i> ‘to be’	(118)

Examples follow.

- (110) tù dì hín=gò sá-bô $\text{lou?}=nè=dè$
 3SG this curry=KO eat-to do=PROG=RLS
 ‘He is about to eat this curry.’
- (111) tù dì hín=gò ?ǎ-cai?-shóun $\text{phyi?}=tè$
 3SG this curry=KO A-like-most be=RLS
 ‘He likes this curry the best of all.’
- (112) tù yàngòun=gò $\text{yau?}\{-sâ/-khàzâ\}$ $\{\text{eî=dè} / \text{phyi?}=tè\}$
 3SG Yangon=KO arrive\{-beginning\} exist=RLS / be=RLS
 ‘He has just arrived in Yangon.’
- (113) tù dì hín=gò sá-yòun $\{\text{eî=dè} / \text{phyi?}=tè\}$
 3SG this curry=KO eat-only exist=RLS / be=RLS
 ‘He only ate this curry; He has only to eat this curry.’
- (114) tù dì hín=gò sá=nè-dóun $\{\text{eî=dè} / \text{phyi?}=tè\}$
 3SG this curry=KO eat=PROG-process exist=RLS / be=RLS
 ‘He is in the middle of eating this curry.’
- (115) tù dì hín=gò sá=nè-zé $\{\text{eî=dè} / \text{phyi?}=tè\}$
 3SG this curry=KO eat=PROG-process exist=RLS / be=RLS
 ‘He is in the middle of eating this curry.’
- (116) tù dì hín=gò sá-pídá $\text{phyi?}=tè$
 3SG this curry=KO eat-already be=RLS
 ‘He has already finished eating this curry.’
- (117) tù dì hín=gò sá-nèjâ $\{\text{eî=dè} / \text{phyi?}=tè\}$
 3SG this curry=KO eat-habit exist=RLS / be=RLS
 ‘He is habitually eating this curry.’
- (118) tù dì hín=gò sá-le?sâ $\{\text{eî=dè} / \text{phyi?}=tè\}$
 3SG this curry=KO eat-not.yet exist=RLS / be=RLS
 ‘He started eating this curry, but hasn’t finished yet.’

5.6 Summary

Table 12 is an exhaustive list of the forms that are attested in the ‘Noun’ slot of the MMC. Nineteen forms have been found so far. Their use can be grouped into four semantic/functional categories: evidentiality, aspect, discourse, degree, and limit/extent (cf. Vittrant 2005 for the semantic categories of the Burmese predicates). The table also shows these categories.

Table 12. Exhaustive list of the forms used in the ‘Noun’ slot

‘Noun’	semantic/functional category
Type 1 (V + AN + Full noun)	
<i>pòun</i> ‘it seems that’	evidentiality
<i>hàN</i> ‘it seems that’	evidentiality
<i>ḍǎbó</i> ‘it is that’	discourse
<i>shézé</i> ‘be about to’	aspect
Type 2 (V + AN + Subordinate-noun)	
<i>lò</i> ‘it seems that’	evidentiality
<i>lòlò</i> ‘it looks as if’	evidentiality (to be precise, counterfactuality)
<i>lau?</i> ‘hardly V’	degree
Type 3 (V + =tà/=dà or =hmà [nominalizer])	
=tà/=dà ‘it is the case that’	discourse
=hmà ‘it is the case that’	discourse
Type 4 (V + Special head)	
<i>ʔǎphô</i> ‘be about to V’	aspect
<i>ʔǎshóun</i> ‘be the most V’	degree
<i>ʔǎsâ</i> ‘have just V-ed’	aspect
<i>-khâzâ/-gâzâ</i> ‘have just V-ed’	aspect
<i>-yòun</i> ‘only do V-ing’	limit/extent
<i>-tóun/-dóun</i> ‘be in the middle of V-ing’	aspect
<i>-shé/-zé</i> ‘be in the middle of V-ing’	aspect
<i>-píḍá</i> ‘have finished V-ing’	aspect
<i>-nèjâ</i> ‘habitually V’	aspect
<i>-lɛʔsâ</i> ‘have started V-ing’	aspect

It is worth pointing out that the forms that have an aspectual meaning do not show a realis/irrealis opposition in the ‘AN’ of ‘V + (AN) + Noun’ (see (37)). In *shézé* ‘be about to’ of Type 1, only the irrealis adnominalizing marker =*mê* can occur as the AN. All of the other forms that have an aspectual meaning belong to Type 4, in which the adnominalizing markers themselves do not occur.

6. Comparison of the MMC with other constructions

6.1 Introductory notes

We shall compare the MMC with some other constructions in terms of their syntactic behavior. The constructions that will be compared are as follows.

- (a) Internal AC: ‘V + =tê/=dê or =mê + Noun’ (4.2.1.2).
- (b) External AC: ‘V + =tê/=dê or =mê + Noun’ (4.2.1.3).
- (c) ‘V + =tà/=dà or =hmà’ denoting an entity (5.4), e.g. (81).
- (d) ‘V + =tà/=dà or =hmà’ denoting an event (5.4), e.g. (82).
- (e) MMC of Type 1 (5.2).
- (f) MMC of Type 2 (5.3).
- (g) MMC of Type 3 (5.4).
- (h) MMC of Type 4 (5.5).
- (i) Noun-predicate sentence (4.1).
- (j) Verb-predicate sentence (4.1).

The following comparison of these constructions will bring the syntactic characteristics of the MMC into relief. In particular, it will show that the MMC has characteristics similar to those of simple sentences (not complex sentences), that is, the MMC is mono-clausal (not bi-clausal).

I will employ the following five tests in order to examine the syntactic characteristics of the MMC.

- Test 1: Modification by a demonstrative.
- Test 2: Clefting (1): ‘Noun’.
- Test 3: Topicalization.
- Test 4: Relativization.
- Test 5: Clefting (2): elements in the clause or ‘Clause’.

Test 1 and Test 2 are designed to highlight the syntactic properties of the ‘Noun’ of the MMC (cf. (36) and (37)), while Tests 4, 5, and 6 are intended to highlight those of the ‘Clause’ of the MMC.

These tests will be applied to the following sample sentences of the ten constructions (a) to (j). The portion which can be represented as ‘V + (AN) + Noun’ is underlined in each sample sentence. Recall that the essential constituents of the Burmese MMC are ‘V + (AN) + Noun’; see (37).

- (a) Internal AC: ‘V + =tê/=dê or =mê + Noun’
 (119) tù chε? =tê hín=gò ηà sá=dè
 3SG cook=AN curry=KO 1SG eat=RLS
 ‘I ate the curry which he cooked.’
 (彼が作ったカレーを私は食べた)
- (b) External AC: ‘V + =tê/=dê or =mê + Noun’
 (120) tù ηà kìn=dê ?ănân=gò ηà yâ=dè
 3SG fish grill=AN smell=KO 1SG get=RLS
 ‘I smelled the smell of him grilling a fish.’
 (彼が魚を焼くにおいを私はかいだ)

(c) ‘V + =tâ/=dâ or =hmâ’ denoting an entity

- (121) tû chεʔ=tâ=gò nà sá=dè
3SG cook=TA=KO 1SG eat=RLS
‘I ate what he cooked.’
(彼が作ったのを私は食べた)

(d) ‘V + =tâ/=dâ or =hmâ’ denoting an event

- (122) tû yàngòUN là=dâ=gò nà tû=dè
3SG Yangon come=TA=KO 1SG know=RLS
‘I know that he came to Yangon.’
(彼がヤンゴンに来たのを私は知っている)

(e) MMC of Type 1

- (123) tû dì hín=gò sá=dê pòUN=bé
3SG this curry=KO eat=AN shape=EMP
‘It seems that he ate this curry.’
(彼はこのカレーを食べたようだ)

(f) MMC of Type 2

- (124) tû dì hín=gò sá=jìn=dǎ=lò=bé
3SG this curry=KO eat=want.to=AN=like=EMP
‘It seems that he wants to eat this curry.’
(彼はこのカレーを食べたいようだ)

(g) MMC of Type 3

- (125) tû jǎpàn=gò mǎhlwédàlô là=yâ=dâ=bé
3SG Japan=KO against.one’s.will come=must=TA=EMP
‘It is the case that he unwillingly came to Japan.’
(彼は日本に仕方なく来なければならなかったのだ)

(h) MMC of Type 4

- (126) tû dì hín=gò sá-nèjâ=bé
3SG this curry=KO eat-habit=EMP
‘He is habitually eating this curry.’
(彼はこのカレーを食べつけている)

(i) Noun-predicate sentence

- (127) tû ʔǎshòdò=bé
3SG singer=EMP
‘He is a singer.’
(彼は歌手だ)

(j) Verb-predicate sentence

- (128) tù dì hín=gò sá=dè
3SG this curry=KO eat=RLS
'He ate this curry.'
(彼はこのカレーを食べた)

We shall now look at each test. As mentioned above, Test 1 (6.2) and Test 2 (6.3) are designed to highlight the syntactic properties of the 'Noun' of the MMC.

6.2 Test 1: Modification by a demonstrative

This test examines whether the 'Noun' of (37) 'V + (AN) + Noun' can be modified by a demonstrative. The demonstrative ʔédì 'that' will be put in front of the 'Noun' in question of the sample sentences. The sample sentences of (a) and (b) remain grammatical, but those of (c), (d), (e), (f), (g), and (h) become ungrammatical. This test is not applicable to constructions (i) and (j), for they lack the 'Noun' in question.

(a) Internal AC: 'V + = $t\hat{e}$ /= $d\hat{e}$ or = $m\hat{e}$ + Noun'

- (129) tù $\text{chɛʔ=t\hat{e}}$ ʔédì hín=gò ɲà sá=dè
3SG cook=AN that curry=KO 1SG eat=RLS
'I ate this curry which he cooked.'
(彼が作ったそのカレーを私は食べた)

(b) External AC: 'V + = $t\hat{e}$ /= $d\hat{e}$ or = $m\hat{e}$ + Noun'

- (130) tù ɲá $\text{kìn=d\hat{e}}$ ʔédì ʔánân=gò ɲà yâ=dè
3SG fish grill=AN that smell=KO 1SG get=RLS
'I smelled that smell of him grilling a fish.'
(彼が魚を焼くそのにおいを私はかいだ)

(c) 'V + = $t\hat{a}$ /= $d\hat{a}$ or = $hm\hat{a}$ ' denoting an entity

- (131) *ʔédì tù $\text{chɛʔ=t\hat{a}=gò}$ ɲà sá=dè
that 3SG cook=TA=KO 1SG eat=RLS
Intended meaning: 'I ate that thing he cooked.'
(その、彼が作ったのを私は食べた)

(d) 'V + = $t\hat{a}$ /= $d\hat{a}$ or = $hm\hat{a}$ ' denoting an event

- (132) *ʔédì tù yàngòUN $\text{là=d\hat{a}=gò}$ ɲà tù=dè
that 3SG Yangon come=TA=KO 1SG know=RLS
Intended meaning: 'I know the fact that he came to Yangon.'
(その、彼がヤンゴンに来たのを私は知っている)

(e) MMC of Type 1

- (133) *tù dì hín=gò sá=dê ?édì pòuN=bé
3SG this curry=KO eat=AN that shape=EMP
'untranslatable'
(彼はこのカレーを食べたそのようだ)

(f) MMC of Type 2

- (134) *tù dì hín=gò ?édì sá=jìN=dǎ=lò=bé
3SG this curry=KO that eat=want.to=AN=like=EMP
'untranslatable'
(彼はこのカレーをその食べたいようだ)

(g) MMC of Type 3

- (135) *tù jǎpàN=gò mǎhlwédǎlô ?édì là=yâ=dà=bé
3SG this=KO against.one's.will that come=must=TA=EMP
'untranslatable'
(彼は日本に仕方なくその来なければならなかったのだ)

(h) MMC of Type 4

- (136) *tù dì hín=gò ?édì sá-nèjâ=bé
3SG this curry=KO that eat-habitually=EMP
'untranslatable'

(i) Noun-predicate sentence

Inapplicable because there is no relevant 'Noun'.

(j) Verb-predicate sentence

Inapplicable because there is no relevant 'Noun'.

6.3 Test 2: Clefting (1): 'Noun'

Clefting in Burmese involves the nominalizer =tâ/=dâ or =hmâ and yields a construction which can be represented as 'V + =tâ/=dâ or =hmâ X', where X represents the focus. Here, clefting is applied to the 'Noun' of 'V + (AN) + Noun' of the MMC and the equivalent head noun of (a) and (b).

When clefting is applied, in (a), the resultant sentence is grammatical; see (137). In (b), the resultant sentence is unacceptable; see (138). However, if the head noun is modified by a demonstrative, the sentence becomes acceptable; see (139). In (c), (d), and (g), this test is not applicable, for the head noun itself is the morpheme that makes a cleft sentence: =tâ/=dâ or =hmâ. In (e), (f), and (h), the resultant sentence is unacceptable. This test is inapplicable to (i) and (j).

(a) Internal AC: ‘V + =tê/=dê or =mê + Noun’

- (137) **tù** cheʔ=tà **hín=bé**
3SG cook=TA curry=EMP
‘It was curry that he cooked.’
(彼が作ったのはカレーだ)

(b) External AC: ‘V + =tê/=dê or =mê + Noun’

- (138) ***tù** **ŋá** kìn=dà **ʔănân=bé**
3SG fish grill=TA smell=EMP
LT: ‘It is with a smell that he grilled a fish.’
(彼が魚を焼くのはにおいだ)

- (139) **tù** **ŋá** kìn=dà **dì** **ʔănân=bé**
3SG fish grill=TA this smell=EMP
‘It is with this smell that he grilled a fish.’
(彼が魚を焼くのはこのにおいだ)

(c) ‘V + =tà/=dà or =hmà’ denoting an entity

Inapplicable because =tà itself is a morpheme that yields a cleft sentence.

(d) ‘V + =tà/=dà or =hmà’ denoting an event

Inapplicable because =tà/=dà or =hmà itself is a morpheme that yields a cleft sentence.

(e) MMC of Type 1

- (140) ***tù** **dì** hín=gò **sá=dà** **pòun=bé**
3SG this curry=KO eat=TA shape=EMP
LT: ‘It is a shape that he ate this curry.’
(彼がこのカレーを食べたのはようだ)

(f) MMC of Type 2

- (141) ***tù** **dì** hín=gò **sá=jìn=dà** **lò=bé**
3SG this curry=KO eat=want.to=TA like=EMP
‘untranslatable’
(彼がこのカレーを食べたいのはようだ)

(g) MMC of Type 3

Inapplicable because =tà/=dà or =hmà itself is a morpheme that yields a cleft sentence.

(h) MMC of Type 4

- (142) ***tù** **dì** hín=gò **sá=dà** **nèjà=bé**
3SG this curry=KO eat=TA habit=EMP
‘untranslatable’

(i) Noun-predicate sentence

Inapplicable because there is no such constituent as ‘V + (AN) + Noun’.

(j) Verb-predicate sentence

Inapplicable because there is no such constituent as ‘V + (AN) + Noun’.

We have looked at the tests that are designed to highlight the syntactic properties of the ‘Noun’ of the MMC. We shall now turn to those tests that are intended to highlight the syntactic properties of the ‘Clause’ of the MMC. In 6.4, 6.5, and 6.6 below, the following will be compared.

- (143) (i) The subordinate clause of (a) to (d)
(ii) The ‘Clause’ of the MMC: (e) to (h)
(iii) Simple sentences: (i), (j)

6.4. Test 3: Topicalization

This test examines whether topicalization can apply to elements in the three structures listed in (143).

For this test, we use $=kâdô/=gâdô$, which I consider to be a contrastive topic marker. This form is a compound of the case particle $=kâ/=gâ$ ‘agent’ and the particle $=tô/=dô$ which indicates contrastiveness. The case particle $=kâ/=gâ$ can only follow the subject, e.g. (10), (11), but $=kâdô/=gâdô$ can follow non-subjects, e.g. (144). For this reason I consider $=kâdô/=gâdô$ a different word from $=kâ/=gâ$.

- (144) di sà?ou?=kâdô mǎ-pha?=phú=bú
3SG book=CON not-read=experience=NEG
‘As for this book, I have never read it.’

In the examples below, the contrastive topic marker $=kâdô/=gâdô$ is placed after the subject $tù$ ‘3SG’ of the sample sentences. (The gloss ‘HE, HIM’ is in capital letters, for the reader’s convenience.) It basically cannot occur in the subordinate clauses, as is shown in the results of (a) to (d) below. However, it can occur in the “Clause” of the MMC, i.e. (e) to (h), and also in simple sentences: (i) and (j).

(a) Internal AC: ‘V + $=tê/=dê$ or $=mê$ + Noun’

- (145) * $tù=gâdô$ che?=tê hín=gò ñà sá=dè
3SG=CON cook=AN curry=KO 1SG eat=RLS
‘I ate the curry that HE cooked.’
(彼は作ったカレーを私は食べた)

(b) External AC: ‘V + =tê/=dê or =mê + Noun’

- (146) ***tù**=gâdô ná kìn=dê ?ănân=gò nà yâ=dê
3SG=CON fish grill=AN smell=KO 1SG get=RLS
‘I smelled the smell of HIM grilling a fish.’
(彼は魚を焼くにおいを私はかいだ)

(c) ‘V + =tà/=dà or =hmà’ denoting an entity

- (147) ***tù**=gâdô che?=tà=gò nà sá=dê
3SG=CON cook=TA=KO 1SG eat=RLS
‘I ate what HE cooked.’
(彼は作ったのを私は食べた)

(d) ‘V + =tà/=dà or =hmà’ denoting an event

- (148) ?**tù**=gâdô yàngòUN là=dà=gò nà t̃=dê
3SG=CON Yangon come=TA=KO 1SG know=RLS
‘I know that HE came to Yangon.’
(彼はヤンゴンに来たのを私は知っている)

(e) MMC of Type 1

- (149) **tù**=gâdô di hín=gò sá=dê pòUN=bé
3SG=CON this curry=KO eat=AN shape=EMP
‘It seems that HE ate this curry.’
(彼はこのカレーを食べたようだ)

(f) MMC of Type 2

- (150) **tù**=gâdô di hín=gò sá=jìn=dã=lò=bé
3SG=CON this curry=KO eat=want.to=AN=like=EMP
‘It seems that HE wants to eat this curry.’
(彼はこのカレーを食べたいようだ)

(g) MMC of Type 3

- (151) **tù**=gâdô jăpàn=gò mǎhlwédâlô là=yâ=dà=bé
3SG=CON Japan=KO against.one’s.will come=must=TA=EMP
‘It is the case that HE unwillingly came to Japan.’
(彼は日本に仕方なく来なければならなかったのだ)

(h) MMC of Type 4

- (152) **tù**=gâdô di hín=gò sá-nèjâ=bé
3SG=CON this curry=KO eat-habit=EMP
‘HE is habitually eating this curry.’
(彼はこのカレーを食べつけている)

(i) Noun-predicate sentence

- (153) **tù**=gâdô ?ăshòdò=bé
3SG=CON singer=EMP
'HE is a singer.'
(彼は歌手だ)

(j) Verb-predicate sentence

- (154) **tù**=gâdô di hín=gò sá=dê
3SG=CON this curry=KO eat=RLS
'HE ate this curry.'
(彼はこのカレーを食べた)

6.5 Test 4: Relativization

This test examines whether relativization can apply to elements in the three constructions listed in (143).

In order to conduct this test, we need to include an assisting verb in the sample sentence of (i) 'Noun-predicate sentence', as well as those of the MMC, i.e. (e), (f), (g), and (h), because relativization does not work for sentences which end with a noun.

The resultant sentences of (a) to (d) are ungrammatical, while those of all the other constructions are grammatical.

(a) Internal AC: 'V + =tê/=dê or =mê + Noun'

Relativization of the subject of the adnominal clause of (119), i.e. **tù** '3SG':

- (155) *chê?=tê hín=gò ñà sá=dê **lù**
cook=AN curry=KO 1SG eat=AN person
Intended meaning: 'the person who cooked the curry that I ate'
(作ったカレーを私が食べた人)

(b) External AC: 'V + =tê/=dê or =mê + Noun'

Relativization of the subject of the adnominal clause of (120), i.e. **tù** '3SG':

- (156) *ñá kìn=dê ?ănân=gò ñà yâ=dê **lù**
fish grill=AN smell=KO 1SG get=AN person
Intended meaning: 'the person who grilled a fish whose smell I smelled'
(魚を焼くにおいを私がかいだ人)

(c) 'V + =tà/=dà or =hmà' denoting an entity

Relativization of the subject of the clause nominalized by =tà of (121), i.e. **tù** '3SG':

- (157) *chɛʔ=tà=gò nà sá=dê lù
 cook=TA=KO 1SG eat=AN person
 Intended meaning: ‘the person who cooked what I ate’
 (作ったのを私が食べた人)

(d) ‘V + =tâ/=dâ or =hmâ’ denoting an event
 Relativization of the subject of the clause nominalized by =tâ of (122), i.e. *ɬù* ‘3SG’:

- (158) *yàngòUN là=dà=gò nà ɬi=dê lù
 Yangon come=TA =KO 1SG know=AN person
 Intended meaning: ‘the person who, I know, came to Yangon’
 (ヤンゴンに来たのを私が知っている人)

(e) MMC of Type 1
 Relativization of the subject of the “Clause” of (123), i.e. *ɬù* ‘3SG’:

- (159) di hín=gò sá=dê pòUN yâ=dê lù
 this curry=KO eat=AN shape get=AN person
 ‘the person who seems to have eaten this curry’
 (このカレーを食べたようである人)

Sentence (159) is grammatical, but sounds somewhat unnatural because =tê/=dê occurs twice. In order to avoid this, the verb and the noun *pòUN* are compounded, as in (160) (see (58) for compounding of *pòUN*).

- (160) di hín=gò sá-bòUN yâ=dê lù
 this curry=KO eat-shape get=AN person
 ‘the person who seems to have eaten this curry’
 (このカレーを食べたようである人)

(f) MMC of Type 2
 Relativization of the subject of the “Clause” of (124), i.e. *ɬù* ‘3SG’:

- (161) di hín=gò sá=jìn=dǎ=lò ɛi=dê lù
 this curry=KO eat=want.to=AN=like exist=AN person
 ‘the person who looks like he wants to eat this curry’
 (このカレーを食べたいようである人)

(g) MMC of Type 3
 Relativization of the subject of the “Clause” of (125), i.e. *ɬù* ‘3SG’:

- (162) jǎpàn=gò mǎhlwéǰàlô là=yâ=dà phyi?=mê
 Japan=KO against.one's.will come=must=TA be=AN
lù

person

Intended and literal meaning: 'The person who, it must have been the case that, unwillingly came to Japan'

(日本に仕方なく来なければならなかったのであろう人)

Sentence (162) is grammatical, but somewhat unnatural. This is probably because it sounds extremely formal. In order to express the intended meaning in daily conversation, the sentence below without the MMC is used:

- (163) jǎpàn=gò mǎhlwéǰàlô là=yâ=dê **lù**
 Japan=KO against.one's.will come=must= AN person
 'The person who unwillingly had to come to Japan'
 (日本に仕方なく来なければならなかった人)

(h) MMC of Type 4

Relativization of the subject of the "Clause" of (126), i.e. *lù* '3SG':

- (164) dì hín=gò sá-nèjâ ɛî=dê **lù**
 this curry=KO eat-habit exist=AN person
 'The person who habitually eats this curry'
 (このカレーを食べつけている人)

(i) Noun-predicate sentence

Relativization of the subject of (127), i.e. *lù* '3SG':

- (165) ʔǎshòdò phyi?=tê **lù**
 singer be=AN person
 'The person who is a singer'
 (歌手である人)

(j) Verb-predicate sentence

Relativization of the subject of (128), i.e. *lù* '3SG':

- (166) dì hín=gò sá=dê **lù**
 this curry=KO eat=AN person
 'The person who ate this curry.'
 (このカレーを食べた人)

6.6 Test 5: *Clefting (2): elements in the clause*

This test examines whether elements in the three structures in (143) can be placed in the focus slot by clefting. Clefting is applied to the subject *lù*

‘3SG’ of the sample sentences. The resultant sentences of (a) to (d) are ungrammatical, while those of all the other constructions are grammatical.

(a) Internal AC: ‘V + =tê/=dê or =mê + Noun’

- (167) *chɛʔ=tê hín=gò nà sá=dà t̩ù=bé
 cook=AN curry=KO 1SG eat=TA 3SG=EMP
 Intended meaning: ‘It is he whose curry I ate.’
 (作ったカレーを私が食べたのは彼だ)

(b) External AC: ‘V + =tê/=dê or =mê + Noun’

- (168) *ŋá kìn=dê ʔănân=gò nà yâ=dà t̩ù=bé
 fish grill=AN smell=KO 1SG get=TA 3SG=EMP
 ‘untranslatable’
 (魚を焼くにおいを私がかいだのは彼だ)

(c) ‘V + =tà/=dà or =hmà’ denoting an entity

- (169) *chɛʔ=tà=gò nà sá=dà t̩ù=bé
 cook=TA=KO 1SG eat=TA 3SG=EMP
 ‘untranslatable’
 (作ったのを私が食べたのは彼だ)

(d) ‘V + =tà/=dà or =hmà’ denoting an event

- (170) *yàngòun là=dà=gò nà tí=dà t̩ù=bé
 Yangon come=TA =KO 1SG know=TA 3SG=EMP
 Intended and literal meaning: ‘It is he who, I know, came to Yangon.’
 (ヤンゴンに来たのを私が知っているのは彼だ)

(e) MMC of Type 1

- (171) di hín=gò sá=dê pòun yâ=dà t̩ù=bé
 this curry=KO eat=AN shape get=TA 3SG=EMP
 ‘It is he who seems to have eaten this curry.’
 (このカレーを食べたようであるのは彼だ)

(f) MMC of Type 2

- (172) di hín=gò sá=jìn=dǎ=lò ɛí=dà t̩ù=bé
 this curry=KO eat=want=AN=like exist=TA 3SG=EMP
 ‘It is he who seems to want to eat this curry.’
 (このカレーを食べたいようであるのは彼だ)

(g) MMC of Type 3

- (173) jǎpàn=gò mǎhlwéǰàlô là=yâ=dà
Japan=KO against.one's.will come=must=TA
phyi?=hmà tǔ=bé
be=HMA 3SG=EMP

Intended and literal meaning: 'It is he who, it must have been the case that, unwillingly came to Japan.'

(日本に仕方なく来なければならなかったようであるのは彼だ)

Although (173) is grammatical, it sounds somewhat unnatural. This is probably because it sounds extremely formal. In daily conversation, (174) is used instead:

- (174) jǎpàn=gò mǎhlwéǰàlô là=yâ=dà tǔ=bé
Japan=KO against.one's.will come=must=TA 3SG=EMP
'It is he who unwillingly came to Japan.'
(日本に仕方なく来なければならなかったのは彼だ)

(h) MMC of Type 4

- (175) dì hín=gò sá-nèjâ éî=dà tǔ=bé
this curry=KO eat-habit exist=TA 3SG=EMP
'It is he who habitually eats this curry.'
(このカレーを食べつけているのは彼だ)

(i) Noun-predicate sentence

- (176) ʔǎshòdò phyi?=tà tǔ=bé
singer be=TA 3SG=EMP
'It is he who is a singer.'
(歌手であるのは彼だ)

Sentence (176) is grammatical, but somewhat unnatural. This may be because the same meaning can be expressed by using a simple noun-predicate sentence as in (177).

- (177) ʔǎshòdò=gâ tǔ=bé
singer=KA 3SG=EMP
'The singer is he.'
(歌手は彼だ)

(j) Verb-predicate sentence

- (178) dì hín=gò sá=dà tǔ=bé
thiscurry=KO eat=TA 3SG=EMP
'It is he who ate this curry.'
(このカレーを食べたのは彼だ)

6.7 Discussion

Table 13 sums up the results of the tests conducted above. The symbols and the abbreviation employed indicate the following.

- (i) ‘+’: the construction passes the test.
- (ii) ‘-’: the construction does not pass the test.
- (iii) ‘±’: the result differs from case to case.
- (iv) ‘n/a’: the test is not applicable.
- (v) ‘?’: acceptability is difficult to judge.

The results of Test 1 and Test 2 show that the ‘Nouns’ of the MMC (i.e. (e) to (h)) have a low degree of ‘noun-hood’.

It may look as if the MMC — in particular (e) Type 1, which involves a full noun (5.2), and (f) Type 2, which contains a subordinate-noun (5.3) — is a construction that involves a subordinate clause headed by the ‘Noun’, i.e. a bi-clausal construction. However, the results of Tests 3, 4, and 5 show that syntactically the ‘Clause’ of the MMC behaves like simple independent sentences ((i) noun predicate sentences and (j) verb predicate sentences), and differently from the subordinate clauses of (a), (b), (c), and (d). That is, the MMC should not be regarded as a construction that involves a subordinate clause. It is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal.

Table 13. Syntactic behavior of the MMC and other constructions

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	MMC				(i)	(j)
					(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)		
Test 1. demonstrative	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	n/a	n/a
Test 2. clefting (1)	+	±	n/a	n/a	-	-	n/a	-	n/a	n/a
Test 3. topicalization	-	-	-	?	+	+	+	+	+	+
Test 4. relativization	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
Test 5. clefting (2)	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+

7. Summary and concluding remarks

The MMC in Burmese can be grouped into four types in terms of the category of the ‘Noun’: (i) Type 1: ‘full nouns’, (ii) Type 2: ‘subordinate-nouns’ (i.e., nouns that can function like enclitics), (iii) Type 3: nominalizers (i.e., nominalizing clitics), and (iv) Type 4: ‘special heads’ (they compound with verbs; they are nouns, clitics, or possibly suffixes). Semantic/functional categories of the MMC are evidentiality, aspect, discourse, degree, and also limit/extent.

The ‘Clause’ cannot stand as a sentence on its own. It does not have the structure of full sentences. The verb is followed by an adnominalizer in

Type 1 and Type 2, and by a nominalizer in Type 3. It is involved in compounding in Type 4. Importantly the ‘Clause’ cannot contain a verb sentence marker.

The MMC of Type 1 and Type 2 is similar to ACs in that the verb is followed by an adnominalizer. Syntactically, however, the ‘Clause’ of Type 1 and Type 2 behaves like simple sentences, and differently from ACs (clauses adnominalized by =*tê*/*dê* or =*mê*). This shows that the MMC of Type 1 and Type 2 should be regarded as mono-clausal, and not as a construction that contains a subordinate clause. The same is true of Type 3 and Type 4. They should also be regarded as mono-clausal.

The Burmese MMC exhibits the phenomenon of grammaticalization. First, full nouns in Type 1 (see Tables 3 and 12) have a grammatical or discourse related meaning/function when they are used in the MMC. Second, the full nouns *pòun* ‘shape’ and *hàn* ‘appearance’ have acquired the use like enclitics or suffixes. See (58) and (59).

To the best of my knowledge, there is no previous study that has clearly pointed out that Burmese has the MMC. Probably, many of the previous studies have simply considered it a noun-predicate sentence. Nonetheless, some of the previous studies including Okell and Allot (2001: 128) and Ohno (1983) suggested, in effect, that the MMC is mono-clausal. Okell and Allot (2001: 128) state that the noun *pòun* ‘shape’, which is one of the nouns that form the MMC of Type 1 (see Table 3), is ‘perhaps in process of becoming a sentence final phrase particle’. Ohno (1983: 253) classifies the expression *pòun yâ* (the noun meaning ‘shape’ + the verb meaning ‘to get’; see Table 4) among auxiliaries. Their views imply that the construction in question is becoming mono-clausal.

What remains to be done in future research is to investigate how the MMC has developed in Burmese. In order to do this, we need research on old documents and comparative studies of various dialects.

Abbreviations

A - (i) nominalizing prefix *ʔă-*, (ii) transitive subject ; AC - adnominal clause; AN - adnominalizer or adnominalizing marker; AN(irr) - irrealis adnominalizer; AN(rls) - realis adnominalizer; CON - contrasted topic; EMP - emphasis; FT - free translation; HMA - nominalizer =*hmâ*; IMP - imperative; IRR - irrealis modality; KA - case particle =*kâ*/*gâ* ‘agent (subject); source’; KO - case particle =*kò*/*gò* ‘patient; recipient; goal’; LT - literal translation; NEG - negation; O - object; PL - plural; POL - politeness; Q - question; PROG - progressive; RLS - realis modality; S - intransitive subject; SFP - sentence final particle; SG - singular; TA - nominalizer =*tâ*/*dâ*; V - verb; 1 - first person; 2 - second person; 3 - third person

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Notes

1. I have had discussions about the Burmese MMC with several specialists in Burmese and some of them inquired if sentences such as (i) below were instances of the MMC. In fact, (i), as well as (39), is a noun predicate sentence, and not an instance of the MMC. Its predicate is the noun *cauʔ-sǎyà* ‘a thing to be scared of’. The morpheme *-sǎyà* is a nominalizing suffix that forms a noun that means ‘thing which is to be V-ed’.

- (i) tù=gâ cauʔ-sǎyà(=bê)
 3SG=KA scared.of-to.be.V.ed(=EMP)
 LT: ‘He is a thing to be scared of.’
 FT: ‘He is a scary man.’

2. Among the special heads listed in Table 10, *-yòun* can only be followed by the case particle *=nê* ‘with’, and not by other case particles, whereas the other special heads in Table 10 can be followed by any case particle. In this respect, the nounhood of *V-yòun* can be said to be lower than that of the other special heads listed in Table 10.

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