Atsuhiko Kato
13 Burmese

1 Introduction

Tsunoda (this volume-a, 2.1) proposes that the prototype of the mermaid construction ("MMC") has all of the following five properties.

(a) The structure is as shown in (1) – superficially at least.
(b) The Noun is an independent word (not a clitic) that is a noun.
(c) The subject of the Clause and the Noun are non-coreferential.
(d) The Clause can be used as a sentence by itself.
(e) The Clause is not the subject of the "Noun + Copula".

(1) Prototype of the mermaid construction ("MMC"):
      [Clause]   Noun   Copula

In the prototypical MMC, the Noun slot is occupied by a noun that is an independent word. In non-prototypical instances, it may be occupied by an enclitic or a suffix which derives from a noun. Nouns, enclitics and suffixes in the Noun slot may also be nominalizers.

Tsunoda (this volume-a, Section 1 and 2.1) notes as follows. Superficially at least, it looks as if the MMC contains a subordinate clause and is bi-clausal. However, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) provide ample evidence that syntactically their MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal, despite its superficial appearance (shown in (1)). Their MMC has just one predicate, not two predicates, and the predicate is a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula, as shown in (2).

(2) [... predicate of Clause]   Noun   Copula.
                compound predicate

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 placed 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 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 place of a copula verb. Syntactically the MMC behaves like independent mono-clausal sentences, and it does not contain a subordinate clause. It should be regarded as mono-clausal, not bi-clausal.

2 Initial illustration

See (3) as an initial illustration of the MMC of Burmese. It is an instance of Type 1; *pòuɴ* 'shape' is a full noun. It has an evidential meaning: 'It seems'. The form in the Noun slot is shown in bold face. When literally translated, the MMC does not make sense, and examples of the MMC will often be accompanied by a literal translation ("LT") and a free translation ("FT"). The Clause of the MMC and its literal translation are embraced by square brackets.

(3) [mănêgâ ʈù yăthá=nɛ̂ cáuɴ ʈwá=dɛ̂] **pòuɴ**(=bɛ́)
    yesterday 3SG train=with school go=AN shape(=EMP)
    LT: '[He went to school by train yesterday] a shape.'
    FT: 'It seems that he went to school by train yesterday.'

(For the particle =*bɛ́* 'emphasis', see 4.1-[1].) Only Type 1 is illustrated here. The other three types require some explanatory comments, and it is not convenient to illustrate them here.

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 chapter 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: /myămà/. However, the present chapter 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, ʈ, t,

c [tɕ], k, ʔ, ph [pʰ], th [tʰ], ch [tɕʰ], kh [kʰ], b, ḍ, d, j [dʑ], g, (f), s, ɕ, h, sh [sʰ], z, m, n, ɲ, ŋ, ɴ, hm [m̥m], hn [n̥n], hɲ [ɲ̊ɲ], hŋ [ŋ̊ŋ], w, y [j], hw [w̥w], l, hl [l̥l], (r)/ . There are twenty-two rhymes: /i, e, ɛ, a, ɔ, o, u, iɴ, eiɴ, aiɴ, aɴ, auɴ, ouɴ, uɴ, 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: *Cǎ*.

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

(4) A typical noun in Burmese:
     (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 *ʔèiɴ* 'house'. It cannot be followed by a verb sentence marker; see (5), which is ungrammatical and also untranslatable. It can be followed by a case particle, e.g. (6), and it can be preceded by a demonstrative, e.g. (7).

(5) *ʔèiɴ=dɛ̀
     house=RLS
     '(untranslatable)'

(6) ʔèiɴ=hmà ɕî=dɛ̀
     house=at   exist=RLS
     '(He) is at the house.'

(7) dì   ʔèiɴ
     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 (8). Second, it can be followed by a case particle, e.g. (9). However, it cannot be modified by a demonstrative; see (10).

(8) *ʔéʔé=dὲ
    coldness=RLS
    '(untranslatable)'

(9) ŋà   kɔ̀fi   shò=yὶɴ   ʔéʔé**=**gò   caiʔ=tὲ
    1SG coffee say=if   coldness=KO like=RLS
    'When it comes to coffee, I like cold one.'

(10) *dì   ʔéʔé
     this coldness
     IM: 'this coldness'

In the present chapter, the criterion (a) is considered a necessary condition for a word to be classified as a noun. If a word matches (a) and also matches either of the criteria (b) and (c), it is regarded as a noun. 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 (or a relative clause), precede the noun.

Burmese uses postpositions, if the so-called particles are considered enclitics, rather than suffixes. Admittedly it is not always easy to distinguish enclitics from suffixes and also from independent words.

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', =nὲ 'instrument; accompanier; enumeration', =hmà 'location', =yὲ 'possession', =câuɴ/ jâuɴ 'cause'. Examples include (11), an intransitive sentence, and (12), a transitive sentence.

(11) t̪ù(=gâ)   pyé=dὲ
     3SG(=KA) run=RLS
     'He ran.'

(12) ṭù(=gâ)   ʔăphè=nɛ̂   ʔèiɴ=hmà   ŋá(=gò)   sá=dɛ̀
   3SG(=KA) father=with house=at fish(=KO) eat=RLS
   'He ate a fish with (his) father at home.'

The case particles =kâ/=gâ 'agent (subject); source', =kò/=gò 'patient; recipient; goal', and =yɛ̂ '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 mono-clausal sentence or in the main clause of a bi-clausal 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 work are shown in Table 1.

   Sentences with =tɛ̀/=dɛ̀ 'realis' basically concern a present event or a past event, e.g. (13). Those with =mɛ̀ 'irrealis modality' basically concern a future event, e.g. (14).

(13) ṭù   ʔèiɴ=hmà kâ=dɛ̀
   3SG house=at dance=RLS
   'He dances at home. / He danced at home.'

(14) ṭù   ʔèiɴ=hmà kâ=mɛ̀
   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. (15). In a negative sentence, the opposition between realis and irrealis modality is neutralized. Thus, (15) may mean 'He did not dance …' (past), 'He does not dance …' (present), or 'He will not dance …' (future).

Tab. 1: Verb sentence markers.

Verb sentence marker	Meaning	Example
=tɛ̀/=dɛ̀	realis modality	(13)
=mɛ̀	irrealis modality	(14)
=phú/=bú	negation	(15)

(15) t̪ù ʔèiɴ=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 work deals with the colloquial style.

4 Types of sentences and clauses

4.1 Verb predicate sentences 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. (13) to (15). They can also contain an auxiliary, e.g. =hnàiɴ 'can' in (22). 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. (16), or a noun and a case particle, i.e., a postpositional phrase, e.g. (17).

(16) t̪ù myămà(=bɛ́)
3SG Myanmar(=EMP)
'He is a Myanmar (i.e. a Burman).'

(17) t̪ù yàɴgòuɴ=gâ(=bɛ́)
3SG Yangon=from(=EMP)
'He is from Yangon.'

Sentences whose predicate consists of a noun phrase, e.g. (16), are called noun predicate sentences in the present work. 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 =pɛ́/=bɛ́ 'emphasis', e.g. (16), (17), 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 (16) and (17).

[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
There are verbs that may occur after the predicate of non-verb predicate sentences without changing the propositional meaning of the sentences. In the present work they will be referred to as "assisting verbs" – a term suggested by Timothy J. Vance (p.c.) (They are called "dummy verbs" by Sawada (1998: 31) and Jenny & San San Hnin Tun (2016: 253).) Assisting verbs include *lou?* 'to do', e.g. (18), *ɕî* 'to exist', e.g. (19), and *phyi?* 'to become, to happen, to be'. Compare (16) with (20), and (17) with (21).

(18) ṭù=gâ   yídíyádá   (lou?=tɛ̀)
     3SG=KA ambiguousness (do=RLS)
     'He behaves shilly-shally.'

(19) dì   ʔèiɴ=gâ   hlâhlâpâbâ   (ɕî=dɛ̀)
     this house=KA beautifulness (exist=RLS)
     'This house is beautiful.'

(20) ṭù   myămà   (phyi?=tɛ̀)
     3SG Myanmar (be=RLS)
     'He is a Myanmar (i.e. a Burman).'

(21) ṭù   yàɴgòuɴ=gâ (phyi?=tɛ̀)
     3SG Yangon=from (be=RLS)
     'He is from Yangon.'

These three verbs – *lou?* 'to do', *ɕî* 'to exist', and *phyi?* 'to become, to happen, to be' – are frequently used as assisting verbs, and they can also be used as the "main verb". Although *phyi?* '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 shall 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. *=tὲ*/*=dὲ* 'realis' in (22), and auxiliaries, e.g. *=hnàiɴ* 'can' in (22) – in contrast with non-verb predicate sentences. Consequently the sentence can now be modified with various elements denoting modality, aspect, and so on.

(22) tʰ̩ù   myămà   phyiʔ=hnàiɴ=dὲ
   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 (16), (20), (23), and also (17), (21), (24). 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)', rather than 'not be (something)'.

(23) tʰ̩ù   myămà   mă-houʔ=phú
   3SG Myanmar not-be.so=NEG
   'He is not a Myanmar (i.e. a Burman).'

(24) tʰ̩ù   yàɴgòuɴ=gâ   mă-houʔ=phú
   3SG Yangon=from not-be.so=NEG
   'He is not from Yangon.'

As noted in [4] of Section 3, 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.

Note that assisting verbs are not auxiliaries. Assisting verbs are independent words. Auxiliaries are enclitics, and they can occur between a verb and a verb sentence marker. See (22), for example. The assisting verb *phyiʔ* 'to be' is followed by the auxiliary *=hnàiɴ* 'can'.

4.2 Adnominal clauses

4.2.1 Introductory notes

Adnominal clauses ("ACs") (or relative clauses) in Burmese are formed by means of one of the two adnominalizing markers (or simply adnominalizers) shown in Table 2. The adnominalizing markers *=tɛ̂/=dɛ̂* and *=mɛ̂* are enclitics. They differ from the verb sentence markers *=tɛ̀/=dɛ̀* 'realis' and *=mɛ̀* 'irrealis' (cf. Table 1) regarding tone only. Each of these adnominalizing markers has a weakened form, and the weakened forms are shown in parentheses. The weakened forms are discussed in 5.3.

Tab. 2: Adnominalizing markers (or adnominalizers).

Adnominalizing marker	Modality	Example
=tɛ̂/=dɛ̂ (=t̪ǎ/=d̪ǎ)	realis	(25)
=mɛ̂ (=mǎ)	irrealis	(26)

An AC always precedes the noun it modifies. Examples follow. The ACs are shown with braces.

(25) {ŋà sá=dɛ̂} hín
    1SG eat=AN curry
    'the curry that I ate'

(26) {ŋà sá=mɛ̂} hín
    1SG eat=AN curry
    'the curry that I will eat'

Teramura (1969) divides ACs of Modern Standard Japanese into two types. Tsunoda (this volume-b, 4.2.2) proposes to label these two types as "gap type" and "addition type". Burmese has these two types of ACs, as shown below.

4.2.2 ACs of the gap type

The formation of ACs of this type employs the gap strategy. The head noun corresponds to an argument or an adjunct of the AC. All the positions on Keenan & Comrie's (1977) accessibility hierarchy can be relativized on, except for the object of comparison. Thus, compare the following sentences.

(27) shǎyà=gâ   khǎlé=gò hín   pé=dɛ̀
teacher=KA child=KO curry give=RLS
'The teacher gave curry to the child.'

(28) {khǎlé=gò hín   pé=dɛ̂}   shǎyà
child=KO   curry give=AN teacher
'the teacher who gave curry to the child'   (subject)

(29) {shǎyà=gâ   khǎlé=gò pé=dɛ̂}   hín
teacher=KA child=KO give=AN curry
'the curry that the teacher gave to the child'   (direct object)

(30) {shǎyà=gâ   hín   pé=dɛ̂}   khǎlé
teacher=KA curry give=AN child
'the child to whom the teacher gave curry'   (indirect object)

In the following example, something similar to the oblique object is relativized on. It indicates an instrument.

(31) {ŋà hín   sá=dɛ̂}   zún
1SG curry eat=AN spoon
'the spoon with which I ate the curry'

4.2.3 ACs of the addition type

In ACs of this type, the head noun is, so to speak, added from outside the underlying clause. It does not correspond to any argument or any adjunct of the AC. Thus, compare:

(32) t̪ù   ŋá   kìn=dɛ̀
3SG fish grill=RLS
'He is grilling a fish.'

(33) {t̪ù   ŋá   kìn=dɛ̂} Ɂǎnân
3SG fish grill=AN smell
LT: 'the smell with which he is grilling a fish'
FT: 'the smell of him grilling a fish'

The head noun in (33) is *Ɂǎnân* 'smell'. Note that it is absent in (32). That is, the head noun is, so to speak, added from outside the underlying clause. Consider:

(34) *ṭù ʔănân=nɛ̂   ŋá kìɴ=dɛ̀
   3SG sound=with fish grill=RLS
   IM: 'He is grilling a fish with a smell.'

Sentence (34) is unacceptable. That is, the head noun in (33), i.e. *ʔănân* 'smell', cannot occur (as an adjunct) in (32). For the AC in (33), there is no literally corresponding sentence. As another set of examples, consider:

(35) ṭù ŋá khouʔ=tɛ̀
   3SG fish cut=RLS
   'He is cutting a fish.'

(36) {ṭù ŋá khouʔ=tɛ̂} ʔăṭàɴ
   3SG fish cut=AN   sound
   LT: 'the sound with which he is cutting a fish'
   FT: 'the sound of him cutting a fish'

(37) *ṭù ʔăṭàɴ=nɛ̂   ŋá khouʔ=tɛ̀
   3SG sound=with fish cut=RLS
   LT: 'He is cutting a fish with a sound.'

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 follows.

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

Tab. 3: Nominalizers.

Nominalizer	Modality
=tà/=dà	realis
=hmà	irrealis

The adnominalizing markers ("ANs") shown in Table 2 may be employed in the MMC. They are enclitics. The essential constituents of the Burmese MMC are as follows.

(39) [... V + (=AN)] + Noun.

Non-verb predicate clauses do not occur in the Clause slot of the Burmese MMC.

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 placed after verbs).
(d) Type 4: Ten "special heads" (they are attached to the preceding verb 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 (39), the four types of the MMC can be represented as in (40). The underlined parts correspond to "Noun" of (39). In Type 3 and Type 4, "AN" (adnominalizer) does not appear. It is for this reason that "AN" in (39) is placed in parentheses.

(40) Four types of the MMC
    (a) Type 1: [... V + =AN] + <u>Full noun</u>   (5.2)
    (b) Type 2: [... V + =AN] + <u>Subordinate-noun</u>   (5.3)
    (c) Type 3: [... V] + <u>=tà/=dà</u> or <u>=hmà</u>   (5.4)
    (d) Type 4: [... V] + <u>Special head</u>   (5.5)

Type 3 involves nominalizers. They are shown in Table 3.

As (40) shows, in Type 1 and Type 2, the verb is followed by an adnominalizer, which is in turn followed by the Noun (a full noun in Type 1 and a subordinate-noun in Type 2). In Type 3, the verb is immediately followed by the Noun (the

nominalizer =*tà*/=*dà* or =*hmà*). In Type 4, the verb is immediately followed by the Noun (a special head), and they form a compound noun.

As seen in Section 1, Tsunoda (this volume-a) proposes that the prototype of the MMC has five properties, one of which is the following:

(b) The Noun is an independent word (not a clitic) that is a noun.

In terms of this criterion, Type 1 conforms to the prototype, but the other three types depart from it.

It should be mentioned that sentences such as (41) are not instances of the MMC. The example (41) 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]

(41) dà=gâ {t̥ù sá=dɛ̂} ŋá(=bɛ́)
     this=KA 3SG eat=AN fish(=EMP)
     'This is the fish that he ate.'

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

5.2 Type 1: V + =AN + Full noun

This type of MMC involves a full noun preceded by an adnominalizing marker (cf. Table 2 and (40)–(a)). The four full nouns shown below can be used in the Noun slot of the MMC.

(a) *pòuɴ*   'shape, form, manner, scenery'
(b) *hàɴ*   'appearance, gesture'
(c) *d̥ăbɔ́*   'nature, characteristic, concept'
(d) *shɛ́zɛ̂* 'moment just before something'

---

1 I have had discussions with several specialists in Burmese about the Burmese MMC and some of them inquired if sentences such as (i) below were instances of the MMC. In fact, like (41), (i) is a noun predicate sentence, and not an instance of the MMC. Its predicate is the noun *cauʔ-săyà* 'a thing to be scared of'. The morpheme -*săyà* is a nominalizing suffix that forms a noun that means 'thing which is to be V-ed'.

(i) t̥ù=gâ   cauʔ-săyà(=bɛ́)
    3SG=KA scared.of-to.be.V.ed(=EMP)
    LT: 'He is a thing to be scared of.'
    FT: 'He is a scary man.'

"Full nouns" are nouns that can constitute a noun phrase on their own, e.g. *pòuɴ* 'shape' in (42).

(42) pòuɴ mă-hlâ=bú
  shape not-beautiful=NEG
  'The shape is not beautiful.'

To be precise, *shɛ́zɛ́* '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. *ʔɛ́dì shɛ́zɛ́* 'moment just before that' (*ʔɛ́dì* 'that').

These four forms are evidently nouns. First, they cannot be followed by any verb sentence marker. Second, they can be followed by a case particle. Third, they can be preceded by a demonstrative. Examples follow. *=kâ/=gâ* 'agent (subject); source', *=kò/=gò* 'patient; recipient; goal' and *=hmà* 'location' are case particles.

(43) dì   pòuɴ=gâ káuɴ=dɛ̀
  this shape=KA good=RLS
  'This shape is good.'

(44) ʔɛ́dì hàɴ=gò   myìɴ=dɛ̀
  that gesture=KO see=RLS
  '(I) saw that gesture (of his).'

(45) ʔɛ́dì d̪ăbɔ́=gò   ná lɛ̀=dɛ̀
  that nature=KO understand=RLS
  '(I) understood that concept.'

(46) ʔɛ́dì shɛ́zɛ́=hmà   t̪ù là=dɛ̀
  that just.before=at 3SG come=RLS
  'Just before that, he came.'

When these nouns are used in the MMC, the MMC denotes the meanings shown in Table 4. The MMC with *pòuɴ* 'shape' and the MMC with *hàɴ* 'appearance' have an evidential meaning; both express the speaker's inference based on his/her direct observation. The difference between them is that *hàɴ* is somewhat more formal than *pòuɴ*. The meaning of the MMC with *shɛ́zɛ́* is aspectual, or possibly temporal. The function of the MMC with *d̪ăbɔ́* is considerably difficult to understand, but we can say with certainty that it has some sort of discourse function.

Tab. 4: Meanings of the MMC of Type 1.

'Noun'		Meaning of MMC	Example
pòuɴ	'shape'	'it seems that'	(47)
hàɴ	'appearance'	'it seems that'	(48)
ḍăbɔ́	'nature'	'it is that, it is as if'	(49)
shɛ́zɛ́	'moment just before'	'be about to'	(50)

Examples follow.

(47) [ʈù dì híɴ=gò sá=dɛ̂] **pòuɴ**(=bɛ́)
 3SG this curry=KO eat=AN shape(=EMP)
 LT: '[He ate this curry] a shape.'
 FT: 'It seems that he ate this curry.'

(48) [ʈù dì híɴ=gò sá=dɛ̂] **hàɴ**(=bɛ́)
 3SG this curry=KO eat=AN appearance(=EMP)
 LT: '[He ate this curry] an appearance.'
 FT: 'It seems that he ate this curry.'

(49) [ʈù dì híɴ=gò mǎhlwɛ́ḍàlô sá=dɛ̂] **ḍăbɔ́**(=bɛ́)
 3SG this curry=KO against.one's.will eat=AN nature(=EMP)
 LT: '[He ate this curry unwillingly] a nature.'
 FT: 'It is that he unwillingly ate this curry.'

(50) [ʈù dì híɴ=gò sá=mɛ̂] **shɛ́zɛ́**(=bɛ́)
 3SG this curry=KO eat=AN just.before(=EMP)
 LT: '[He will eat this curry] just before.'
 FT: 'He is about to eat this curry.'

In the case of *pòuɴ* 'shape', *hàɴ* 'appearance', and *ḍăbɔ́* 'nature', both =tɛ̂/=dɛ̂ (realis) and =mɛ̂ (irrealis) can occur as the AN. For example, if we replace =tɛ̂/=dɛ̂ in (47) with =mɛ̂, we obtain a grammatical sentence shown in (51), with a difference in meaning. The action of eating is generally interpreted to have occurred before the utterance time in (47) (realis), while in (51) (irrealis) the action is generally interpreted not to have occurred yet.

(51) [ʈù dì híɴ=gò sá=mɛ̂] **pòuɴ**(=bɛ́)
 3SG this curry=KO eat=AN shape(=EMP)
 LT: '[He will eat this curry] a shape.'
 FT: 'It seems that he will eat this curry.'

Tab. 5: Assisting verbs for the MMC of Type 1.

"Noun"		Assisting verb	Example
pòuɴ	'shape'	*yâ* 'to get', *pɔ̀* 'to appear'	(52)
hàɴ	'appearance'	*tù* 'to resemble'	(53)
ḍăbɔ́	'nature'	*ɕî* 'to exist', *phyiʔ* 'to be'	(54)
shɛ́zɛ́	'moment just before'	*ɕî* 'to exist', *phyiʔ* 'to be'	(55)

In the case of *shɛ́zɛ́* 'moment just before', only *=mɛ̂* 'irrealis' can occur as the AN.

Only the verbs shown in Table 5 can be used as an assisting verb in the MMC of Type 1; other verbs cannot. In the case of *hàɴ* '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.

Examples follow.

(52) [t̪ù dì híɴ=gò   sá=dɛ̂] **pòuɴ** yâ=dɛ̀ / pɔ̀=dɛ̀
3SG this curry=KO eat=AN shape get=RLS / appear=RLS
'It seems that he ate this curry.'

(53) [t̪ù dì híɴ=gò   sá=dɛ̂] **hàɴ** tù=dɛ̀
3SG this curry=KO eat=AN shape resemble=RLS
'It seems that he ate this curry.'

(54) [t̪ù dì híɴ=gò   mǎhlwɛ́ḍàlô   sá=dɛ̂] **ḍăbɔ́** ɕî=dɛ̀ / phyiʔ=tɛ̀
3SG this curry=KO against.one's.will eat=AN nature exist=RLS / be=RLS
'It is that he unwillingly ate this curry.'

(55) [t̪ù dì híɴ=gò   sá=mɛ̂] **shɛ́zɛ́**   ɕî=dɛ̀ / phyiʔ=tɛ̀
3SG this curry=KO eat=AN just.before exist=RLS / be-RLS
'He is about to eat this curry.'

Both verb sentence markers *=tɛ̀/=dɛ̀* 'realis' and *=mɛ̀* 'irrealis' (Table 1), encliticized to the assisting verb, can occur with either the adnominalizing marker *=tɛ̂/=dɛ̂* 'realis' or *=mɛ̂* 'irrealis' (Table 2). That is, there are four combinations in all. See (56) to (59). In these examples, the verb sentence marker *=tɛ̀/=dɛ̀* 'realis' (RLS) basically denotes that the judgment of the observer (mainly the speaker) occurs in the present/past time; see (56) and (58) ('It seems / It seemed'). The verb sentence marker *=mɛ̀* 'irrealis' (IRR) indicates that the judgment will occur in the future time; see (57) and (59) ('It will seem'). On the other hand, the adnominalizing marker *=tɛ̂/=dɛ̂* 'realis' (AN(rls)) denotes that the action of eating is anterior to the judgment; see (56) ('he ate', 'he had eaten') and (57) ('he will have eaten'). The

adnominalizer =*mɛ̂* 'irrealis' (AN(irr)) indicates that the action of eating is posterior to the judgment; see (58) ('he will eat', 'he would eat') and (59) ('he will eat').

(56) [sá=dɛ̂]   **pòuɴ** yâ=dɛ̀
    eat=AN(rls) shape get=RLS
    'It seems that (he) ate / It seemed that (he) had eaten.'

(57) [sá=dɛ̂]   **pòuɴ** yâ=mɛ̀
    eat=AN(irr) shape get=IR
    '(Tomorrow when I see him), it will seem that (he) will have eaten.'

(58) [sá=mɛ̂]   **pòuɴ** yâ=dɛ̀
    eat=AN(rls) shape get=RLS
    'It seems that (he) will eat / It seemed that (he) would eat.'

(59) [sá=mɛ̂]   **pòuɴ** yâ=mɛ̀
    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, *pòuɴ* 'shape' and *hàɴ* 'appearance' may form a compound with the verb when the action denoted by the verb is anterior to the judgment. Thus, sentences (60) and (61), which involve such compounding, can be used in place of (47) and (48), respectively.

(60) [t̪ù dì híɴ=gò   sá]-**bòuɴ**(=bɛ́)
    3SG this curry=KO eat-shape(=EMP)
    'It seems that he ate this curry.'

(61) [t̪ù dì híɴ=gò   sá]-**hàɴ**(=bɛ́)
    3SG this curry=KO eat-appearance(=EMP)
    'It seems that he ate this curry.'

Burmese has a type of MMC in which the verb of the Clause and the Noun form a compound, i.e. the MMC of Type 4; see 5.5.

It is possible, though by no means certain, that the Noun in the compound word in sentences such as (60) and (61) has become an enclitic or a suffix, that is, the Noun in such sentences has undergone the following change:

(62) Independent word → enclitic or suffix

Languages such as nDrapa (Shirai, this volume, 5.2.2), Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 7.6) and Irabu Ryukyuan (Shimoji, this volume, 5.5) provide instances where a noun (an independent word) became an enclitic and/or a suffix, and both (i.e. a noun and an enclitic, or a noun and a suffix) or all of the three (a noun, an enclitic and a suffix) can occupy the Noun slot of the MMC. See Tsunoda (this volume-a, 4.2.2).

5.3 Type 2: V + AN + Subordinate-noun

Burmese has a number of nominal morphemes that can also function like postpositions. Many of these have corresponding full nouns. When they are used as full nouns, they are independent words. When they are used like postpositions, they are tentatively considered enclitics, shown with a preceding equal symbol. They seem to have undergone the following change: independent word → enclitic. See (62). Some of the subordinate nouns do not have corresponding full nouns, but historically, they also seem to have changed from full nouns. (However, recall that, as noted in [4] in Section 3, it is not always easy to distinguish enclitics from suffixes and also from independent words.)

When used like postpositions, these nominal morphemes are called "subordinate-nouns" by Okell (1969: 142–144) (see also Wheatley 1982: 142). They are referred to as *kakumeisi* ('case nouns') by Sawada (1998), and this label is adopted by Okano (2007). 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 work. Okell enumerates eighteen subordinate-nouns. Those that are used frequently in my observation are shown in Table 6, with the meaning as a full noun and the meaning as a subordinate-noun. English glosses are taken from Okell (1969).

Tab. 6: Subordinate-nouns of frequent use.

Subordinate-noun	Meaning as a full noun	Meaning as a subordinate-noun
ʔăsá	'substitute'	'instead of'
ʔătáɪɴ	'measuring'	'in accordance with'
ʔătwɛʔ	'calculation'	'for'
ʔăthî	'reaching'	'as far as'
ʔăphyiʔ	'being, status'	'as'
ʔăhmyâ	'equal share'	'as much as'
ʔăyâ	'acquisition'	'in accordance with'
lò	'requirement'	'like, as'
lòlò	'spontaneously'	'rather like, as if'
lauʔ	'sufficiency (?)'	'as much as'

These nouns contain the nominalizing prefix ʔă-, except for the last three nouns: *lò*, *lòlò*, and *lauʔ*. However, two of these, i.e. *lò* and *lòlò*, are required to be attached with the prefix *ʔă-* when they are used as full nouns: *ʔălò* and *ʔălòlò*. The subordinate-nouns listed in Table 6 can be used as full nouns, except for the last one: *lauʔ*. Sentence (63) is an example where *ʔătwɛʔ* 'calculation' is used as a full noun.

(63) t̥ù ʔătwɛʔ káuɴ=dɛ̀
    3SG calculation good=RLS
    'He is good at calculation.'

Subordinate-nouns can function like case particles. They introduce adjuncts, rather than arguments. Below is an example of *=ʔătwɛʔ* 'for'.

(64) ŋà myaʔthúɴ=ʔătwɛʔ híɴ chɛʔ=tɛ̀
    1SG (personal.name)=for curry cook=RLS
    'I cooked the curry for Myat Htun.'

Furthermore, subordinate-nouns can be generally modified by an adnominal clause (cf. 4.2). The resultant structure, i.e. an adnominal clause plus the subordinate-noun, can function as an adverbial clause. An example is the following, which contains the subordinate-noun *=ʔătwɛʔ* 'for'.

(65) t̥ù pyɔ́=dɛ̂=ʔătwɛʔ ʔăchèiɴ hmì t̥wá=dɛ̀
    3SG tell=AN=for time reach go=RLS
    'Because he told me, (I) arrived on time.'

When four of the subordinate-nouns, i.e., *=ʔăhmyâ* '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 *=tɛ̂/=dɛ̂* (realis) and *=mɛ̂* (irrealis) have to be in the weakened forms *=t̥ă/=d̥ă* and *=mă* (cf. Table 2). Examples include (72) (*=lò* 'like, as'), (73) (*=lòlò* 'rather like, as if'), and (74) (*=lauʔ* 'as much as'). The reason for the use of the weakened forms is unknown.

Three of the subordinate-nouns shown in Table 6 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 followed by a case particle. Third, they can be preceded by a demonstrative. Examples:

(66) dì=lò=gâ   pò   káuɴ=dὲ
     this=like=KA more good=RLS
     'This way is the better.'

(67) dì=lòlò=nὲ̂   pí   ṭwá   =dὲ
     this=rather.like=with finish go=RLS
     'It has been all finished rather in this way.'

(68) dì=lauʔ=kâ   keiʔsâ   mă-ɕî=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. (69) to (71), and they can be modified by an adnominal clause, resulting in an adverbial clause, e.g. (72) to (74).

(69) myaʔthúɴ=lò   louʔ=tὲ
     (personal.name)=like do=RLS
     '(He) did just as Myat Htun did.'

(70) myaʔthúɴ=lòlò   louʔ=tὲ
     (personal.name)=rather.like do=RLS
     '(He) did just as Myat Htun would have done.'

(71) myaʔthúɴ=lauʔ   mă-sá=bú
     (personal.name)=as.much.as not-eat=NEG
     '(He) did not eat as much as Myat Htun.'

(72) ṭù   myaʔthúɴ   louʔ=ṭă=lò louʔ=tὲ
     3SG (personal.name) do=AN=like do=RLS
     'He did just as Myat Htun did.'

(73) ṭù   myaʔthúɴ   louʔ=ṭă=lòlò   louʔ=tὲ
     3SG (personal.name) do=AN=rather.like do=RLS
     'He did just as Myat Htun would have done.'

(74) ṭù   myaʔthúɴ   sá=ḍă=lauʔ   mă-sá=bú
     3SG (personal.name) eat=AN=as.much.as not-eat=NEG
     'He did not eat as much as Myat Htun ate.'

Tab. 7: Meanings of the MMC of Type 2.

Noun		Meaning of MMC	Example
=lò	'like, as'	'it seems that'	(75)
=lòlò	'rather like, as if'	'it looks as if' (counterfactual)	(76)
=lauʔ	'as much as'	'hardly, scarcely'	(77)

The adjuncts and adverbial clauses involving =*lòlò* 'rather like, as if' have a counterfactual meaning, e.g. (70) and (73).

When these subordinate-nouns are used in the MMC, the MMC has the meanings shown in Table 7. The MMC with =*lò* 'like' has an evidential meaning: the speaker's inference based on a direct observation, like *pòuɴ* 'shape' and *hàɴ* 'appearance' in Type 1 (5.2), but the speaker is less sure about the judgment when =*lò* is used. Like adjuncts and adverbial clauses involving =*lòlò* 'rather like, as if', the MMC with =*lòlò* has a counterfactual meaning. The MMC with =*lauʔ* 'as much as' indicates degree.

Examples of the MMC follow. Recall that the adnominalizing marker has to be in the weakened form (cf. Table 2) when =*lò* 'like, as', =*lòlò* 'rather like, as if' and =*lauʔ* 'as much as' are modified by an adnominal clause. This applies to the MMC.

(75) [ʈù dì híɴ=gò sá=ḍǎ]=**lò**(=bɛ́)
      3SG this curry=KO eat=AN=like(=EMP)
      LT: '[He ate this curry] like.'
      FT: 'It seems that he ate this curry.'

(76) [ʈù dì híɴ=gò sá=ḍǎ]=**lòlò**(=bɛ́)
      3SG this curry=KO eat=AN=rather.like(=EMP)
      LT: '[He ate this curry] rather like.'
      FT: 'It looks as if he had eaten this curry (but in fact he did not).'

(77) [ʈù dì híɴ=gò mǎ-sá=ḍǎ]=**lauʔ**(=pɛ́)
      3SG this curry=KO not-eat=AN=as.much.as(=EMP)
      LT: '[He did not eat this curry] as much as.
      FT: 'He hardly ate any of this curry.'

The subordinate-noun =*lauʔ* 'as much as' only co-occurs with a negated verb in the MMC; see (77). It cannot be used unless the verb is negated; see:

(78) *[ʈù dì híɴ=gò sá=ḍǎ]=**lauʔ**(=pɛ́)
      3SG this curry=KO eat=AN=as.much.as(=EMP)
      LT: '[He ate this curry] as much as.'
      IM: 'He ate almost all of this curry.'

In (75) (=*lò*), (76) (=*lòlò*) and (77) (=*lauʔ*), the adnominalizer employed is the realis =*tɛ̂*/=*dɛ̂*, to be precise, its weakened form =*tǎ*/=*dǎ* (cf. Table 2). In (79) (=*lò*) and (80) (=*lòlò*), the adnominalizer is the irrealis adnominalizer =*mɛ̂*, to be precise, its weakened form =*mǎ*. (No example of =*lauʔ* 'as much as' is given here. As just noted, =*lauʔ* only co-occurs with a negated verb in the MMC. Also, negation generally does not occur in an irrealis clause. Therefore, =*mǎ* 'irrealis' never co-occurs with =*lauʔ*.)

(79) [t̪ù dì híɴ=gò sá=mǎ]=**lò**(=bɛ́)
   3SG this curry=KO eat=AN=like(=EMP)
   LT: '[He will eat this curry] like.'
   FT: 'It seems that he will eat this curry.'

(80) [t̪ù dì híɴ=gò sá=mǎ]=**lòlò**(=bɛ́)
   3SG this curry=KO eat=AN=rather.like(=EMP)
   LT: '[He will eat this curry] rather like.'
   FT: 'It seems almost like he will eat this curry.'

Only the verbs shown in Table 8 can be used as an assisting verb in the MMC of Type 2; other verbs cannot.

Tab. 8: Assisting verbs for the MMC of Type 2.

Noun		Assisting verb	Example
=*lò*	'like, as'	ɕî 'to exist', *phyiʔ* 'to be'	(81)
=*lòlò*	'rather like, as if'	ɕî 'to exist', *phyiʔ* 'to be'	(82)
=*lauʔ*	'as much as'	*phyiʔ* 'to be'	(83)

Examples follow.

(81) [t̪ù dì híɴ=gò sá=d̪ǎ]=**lò** ɕî=dɛ̀ / phyiʔ=tɛ̀
   3SG this curry=KO eat=AN=like exist=RL/ be=RLS
   'It seems that he ate this curry.'

(82) [t̪ù dì híɴ=gò sá=d̪ǎ]=**lòlò** ɕî=dɛ̀ / phyiʔ=tɛ̀
   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).'

(83) [t̪ù dì híɴ=gò ma-sá=d̪ǎ]=**lauʔ** phyiʔ=tɛ̀
   3SG this curry=KO not-eat=AN=as.much.as be=RLS
   'He hardly ate any of this curry.'

As noted above, the subordinate-nouns seem to have undergone the following change: independent word → enclitic. (See (62).) It is interesting to note that it is the enclitic forms, not the independent words, that are used in the MMC.

5.4 Type 3: V + =tà/=dà or =hmà

The particles =tà/=dà and =hmà are nominalizers; see Table 3. The nominalizer =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. (84), or an event, e.g. (85).

(84) t̪ù chɛʔ=tà=gò ŋà ywé=dɛ̀
3SG cook=TA=KO 1SG select=RLS
'I selected what he cooked.'

(85) t̪ù yàŋgòuɴ là=dà=gò ŋà t̪í=dɛ̀
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. (84), (85). In these respects, V=tà/=dà and V=hmà are nouns. However, unlike typical nouns, they cannot be modified by a demonstrative; see (86).

(86) *dì chɛʔ=tà
this cook=TA
IM: '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 work 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. This is the Modern Standard Japanese MMC with the nominalizer =no; see Tsunoda (this volume-b, 5.1.4). Very roughly speaking, the Modern Standard Japanese =no=da

Tab. 9: Meanings of the MMC of Type 3.

Noun		Meaning of MMC	Example
=tà/=dà	'nominalizer (RLS)'	'it is the case that'	(87)
=hmà	'nominalizer (IRR)'	'it is the case that'	(88)

construction provides explanation or reason, among others. I gloss these Burmese nominalizers as 'it is the case that', as is shown in Table 9. 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*.

Examples follow.

(87) [ʈù dì hín=gò sá]=**dà**
    3SG this curry=KO eat=TA
    LT: '[He ate this curry] TA (nominalizer).'
    FT: 'It is the case that he ate this curry.'

(88) [ʈù dì hín=gò sá]=**hmà**
    3SG this curry=KO eat=HMA
    LT: '[He will eat this curry] HMA (nominalizer).'
    FT: 'It is the case that he will eat this curry.'

Sentences in (89) are cited from a conversation in a Burmese radio drama, and sentences in (90) from a conversation in another scene of the same drama (both slightly modified for simplicity). The second sentence of each of (89-B) and (90-B) is an instance of the MMC. These sentences will give some indication of how this type of the MMC is used in actual discourse.

(89) A. nwèmókhàiɲd̥àzìn mă-houʔ=phú=lá
        (personal.name)   not-be.so=NEG=Q
        'Aren't (you) Nwe Moe Khine Thazin?'

    B. mă-houʔ=pà=bú.
       not-be.so=POL=NEG
       '(I) am not.'

       [ɕìn=dô lù   hmá=jâ]=**dà**=bà
       2=PL   person mistake=PL=TA=POL
       'You are mistaking me for another person.'

(90) A. bà   phyiʔ=nè=ḍ̥ă=dóuɴ
      what happen=PROG=RLS=Q
      'What's happening?'

    B. [baiʔ=kâ   tḁ̆ʔá   nà=nè]=**dà**
       stomach=KA severely ache=PROG=TA
       'I have a severe stomachache.'

Only the verb *phyiʔ* 'to be' may occur as the assisting verb in the MMC with =*tà*/=*dà* or =*hmà*, e.g.:

(91) [t̥ù dì   híɴ=gò   sá]=**dà** phyiʔ=tὲ
     3SG this curry=KO eat=TA be=RLS
     'It is the case that he ate this curry.'

(92) [t̥ù dì   híɴ=gò   sá]=**hmà** phyiʔ=tὲ
     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". Some of special heads can be used as a full noun, while others cannot. All the special heads 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 (93), the special head *ʔḁ̆t̥àɴ* 'sound' and the verb *pyɔ́* 'speak' form a compound noun. In compounding, the first syllable of *ʔḁ̆t̥àɴ* is dropped and the initial consonant of its second syllable, i.e. *t̥*, alternates with *ḍ̥* unless it is preceded by a glottal stop. The compound noun *pyɔ́-ḍ̥àɴ* means 'speaking noise'. A verb compounded with a special head can take its own arguments. In (93), *t̥ù* '3SG' and *zḁ̆gá* 'language' are the arguments of the verb *pyɔ́* 'speak'. In other words, the verb compounded with a special head can be the head verb of a subordinate clause. In (93), the subordinate clause is shown with a broken line.

(93) ŋà t̥ù zḁ̆gá   pyɔ́-ḍ̥àɴ=gò   cá=dὲ
     ‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾
     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 (94). The compound *sá-zḁ̆yeiʔ* is a noun that means 'food expenses'. The noun

Tab. 10: Special heads of frequent use.

Special head	Meaning	Example
ʔăcáuɴ	'fact; fact of V-ing'	
ʔăkhà	'time; time when one V-s'	
ʔăchèiɴ	'time; time when one V-s'	
ʔăchín	'happening, event; act of V-ing'	
ʔăkhwîn	'permission; opportunity to V'	
ʔăhmû	'problem; act of V-ing'	
ʔăyé	'matter, affair; matter of V-ing'	
ʔăṭàɴ	'sound; sound of V-ing'	
ní	'method; way of V-ing'	
ṭù	'3SG pronoun; person who V-s'	
ʔăphô	'share, portion; to V'	(95)
ʔăshóuɴ	'end; thing that is the most V'	(96)
ʔăsâ	'beginning; time when one has just started V-ing'	(97)
-khàzâ/-gàzâ	'time when one has just started V-ing' < ʔăkhà 'time' + ʔăsâ 'beginning'	(98)
-yòuɴ	'only thing to V'	(99)
-tóuɴ/-dóuɴ	'process of V-ing'	(100)
-shɛ̂/-zɛ̂	'process of V-ing'	(101)
-píḍá	'thing that has already V-ed' < pí 'to end' + ṭá 'emphatic nominalizer'	(102)
-nèjâ	'thing that one habitually V-s' < nè 'to stay' + ʔăcâ 'fall, drop (n)'	(103)
-lɛʔsâ	'thing that is halfway through V-ing' < lɛʔ 'hand' + ʔăsâ 'beginning'	(104)

zăyeiʔ 'expenses' is an ordinary noun, and not a special head. Therefore, unlike the verb *pyɔ́* 'speak' in (93), the verb *sá* 'eat' in (94) cannot take any argument, and (94) is ungrammatical, unlike (93). This is a crucial difference between the "V + Special head" and "verb + noun" compounds.

(94) *ŋà ṭù ɲâzà sá-zăyeiʔ=kò pé=dè
   1SG 3SG dinner eat-expenses=KO give=RLS
   - - - - - - - - - - -
   IM: 'I paid for his eating dinner.'

Table 10 shows special heads of frequent use, together with their meaning. Those above the single line, i.e., from *ʔăcáuɴ* 'fact' to *ʔăsâ* 'beginning', can be used as a full noun, while the others, i.e., from *-khàzâ* 'time when one has just started V-ing' to *-lɛʔsâ* 'thing that is halfway through 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. For four of the special heads, their formation is shown.

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 ʔă- are compounded with a verb, this syllable is dropped; e.g. (93) (cf. ʔăṭàɴ and -ḍàɴ). This is for an etymological reason that is not directly relevant to the theme of the present paper. (ʔă- is a nominalizing prefix. Compare the noun ʔăshóuɴ 'end' and the verb shóuɴ 'to end'.)

The form ʔăshóuɴ '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 (96).

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.

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

(95) ṭù   phaʔ-phô=gò yù   là=dɛ̀
     3SG read-to=KO   take come=RLS
     'He brought what he had to read.'

(96) ṭù   ʔă-caiʔ-shóuɴ=gò yù   là=dɛ̀
     3SG A-like-most=KO   take come=RLS
     'He brought what he liked best.'

(97) ṭù   yàngòuɴ=gò yauʔ-sâ=hmà   ŋà=nɛ̂   twê=dɛ̀
     3SG Yangon=KO arrive-beginning=at 1SG=with meet=RLS
     'He met me soon after he came to Yangon.'

(98) ṭù   yàngòuɴ=gò yauʔ-khàzâ=hmà   ŋà=nɛ̂   twê=dɛ̀
     3SG Yangon=KO arrive-beginning=at 1SG=with meet=RLS
     'He met me soon after he came to Yangon.'

(99) ŋà   pyɔ́-yòuɴ=nɛ̂ ṭù   ná lɛ̀=dɛ̀
     1SG tell-only=with 3SG understand=RLS
     'He understood it when I merely told it.'

(100) ŋà   ʔeiʔ=nè-dóuɴ=hmà   ṭù   là=dɛ̀
      1SG sleep=PROG-process=at 3SG come=RLS
      'He came while I was sleeping.'

2 Table 11 shows the special heads that can occupy the Noun slot of the MMC. Among these special heads, -yòuɴ can only be followed by the case particle =nɛ̂ "with", and not by other case particles, whereas the other special heads can be followed by any case particle. In this respect, the nounhood of V-yòuɴ can be said to be lower than that of the other special heads (listed in Table 11).

(101) ŋà ʔeiʔ=nè-zɛ́=hmà   ṱù   là=dɛ̀
1SG sleep=PROG-process=at 3SG come=RLS
'He came while I was sleeping.'

(102) ṱù   louʔ-píd̠á=gò   yù   là=dɛ̀
3SG do-already=KO take come=RLS
'He brought what he had finished.'

(103) ṱù   phaʔ-nèjâ=gò   yù   là=dɛ̀
3SG read-habitually=KO take come=RLS
'He brought what he was habitually reading.'

(104) ṱù   phaʔ-lɛʔsâ=gò   yù   là=dɛ̀
3SG read-halfway=KO take come=RLS
'He brought what he hadn't finished reading.'

Consider Table 10. The last three entries among the special heads that can be used as a full noun and also all of the special heads that cannot be used as a full noun can occupy the Noun slot of the MMC. (Their use outside the MMC was exemplified above.) Table 11 shows the meanings that the MMC has when these special heads are used. The MMC generally has an aspectual (or possibly temporal) meaning. In addition, the MMC with ʔǎshóuɴ 'be the most V' indicates degree, e.g. (106), and -yòuɴ 'only do V-ing; have only to V' indicates limit or extent: 'only', e.g. (109).

Tab. 11: Meanings of the MMC of Type 4.

Noun		Meaning	Example
ʔǎphô	'share: to V'	'be about to V'	(105)
ʔǎshóuɴ	'end'	'be the most V'	(106)
ʔǎsâ	'beginning'	'have just V-ed'	(107)
-khàzâ/-gàzâ	'beginning'	'have just V-ed'	(108)
-yòuɴ	'only thing to V'	'only do V-ing; have only to V'	(109)
-tóuɴ/-dóuɴ	'process of V-ing'	'be in the middle of V-ing'	(110)
-shɛ̂/-zɛ́	'process of V-ing'	'be in the middle of V-ing' (more formal than -tóuɴ)	(111)
-píd̠á	'thing that has already V-ed'	'have finished V-ing'	(112)
-nèjâ	'thing that one habitually V-s'	'habitually V'	(113)
-lɛʔsâ	'thing that is halfway through V-ing'	'have started V-ing, but have not finished it'	(114)

Examples of special heads used in the MMC follow.

(105) [t̪ù dì híɴ=gò sá]-**bô**(=bɛ́)
　　　 3SG this curry=KO eat-about.to(=EMP)
　　　 'He is about to eat this curry.'

(106) [t̪ù dì híɴ=gò ʔă-caiʔ]-**shóuɴ**(=bɛ́)
　　　 3SG this curry=KO A-like-most(=EMP)
　　　 'He likes this curry the best of all.'

(107) [t̪ù yàɴgòuɴ=gò yauʔ]-**sâ**(=bɛ́)
　　　 3SG Yangon=KO arrive-beginning(=EMP)
　　　 'He has just arrived in Yangon.'

(108) [t̪ù yàɴgòuɴ=gò yauʔ]-**khàzâ**(=bɛ́)
　　　 3SG Yangon=KO arrive-beginning(=EMP)
　　　 'He has just arrived in Yangon.'

(109) [t̪ù dì híɴ=gò sá]-**yòuɴ**(=bɛ́)
　　　 3SG this curry=KO eat-only(=EMP)
　　　 'He only ate this curry; He has only to eat this curry.'

(110) [t̪ù dì híɴ=gò sá=nè]-**dóuɴ**(=bɛ́)
　　　 3SG this curry=KO eat=PROG-process(=EMP)
　　　 'He is in the middle of eating this curry.'

(111) [t̪ù dì híɴ=gò sá=nè]-**zɛ́**(=bɛ́)
　　　 3SG this curry=KO eat=PROG-process(=EMP)
　　　 'He is in the middle of eating this curry.'

(112) [t̪ù dì híɴ=gò sá]-**píḍá**(=bɛ́)
　　　 3SG this curry=KO eat-already(=EMP)
　　　 'He has already finished eating this curry.'

(113) [t̪ù dì híɴ=gò sá]-**nèjâ**(=bɛ́)
　　　 3SG this curry=KO eat-habitually(=EMP)
　　　 'He is habitually eating this curry.'

(114) [t̪ù dì híɴ=gò sá]-**lɛʔsâ**(=bɛ́)
　　　 3SG this curry=KO eat-halfway(=EMP)
　　　 'He started eating this curry, but hasn't finished yet.'

Only the verbs shown in Table 12 can be used as an assisting verb in the MMC of Type 4; other verbs cannot.

Tab. 12: Assisting verbs for the MMC of Type 4.

Noun		Assisting verb	Example
ʔăphô	'be about to V'	*louʔ* 'to do'	(115)
ʔăshóuɴ	'be the most V'	*phyiʔ* 'to be'	(116)
ʔăsâ	'have just V-ed'	*ɕî* 'to exist', *phyiʔ* 'to be'	(117)
-khàzâ/gàzâ	'have just V-ed'	*ɕî* 'to exist', *phyiʔ* 'to be'	(118)
-yòuɴ	'only do V-ing; have only to V'	*ɕî* 'to exist', *phyiʔ* 'to be'	(119)
-tóuɴ/-dóuɴ	'be in the middle of V-ing'	*ɕî* 'to exist', *phyiʔ* 'to be'	(120)
-shɛ̂/-zɛ́	'be in the middle of V-ing'	*ɕî* 'to exist', *phyiʔ* 'to be'	(121)
-píḍá	'have finished V-ing'	*phyiʔ* 'to be'	(122)
-nèjâ	'habitually V'	*ɕî* 'to exist', *phyiʔ* 'to be'	(123)
-lɛʔsâ	'have started V-ing, but have not finished V-ing'	*ɕî* 'to exist', *phyiʔ* 'to be'	(124)

Examples follow.

(115) [t̪ù dì híɴ=gò sá]-**bô** louʔ=nè=dè
3SG this curry=KO eat-about.to do=PROG=RLS
'He is about to eat this curry.'

(116) [t̪ù dì híɴ=gò ʔă-caiʔ]-**shóuɴ** phyiʔ=tè
3SG this curry=KO A-like-most be=RLS
'He likes this curry the best of all.'

(117) [t̪ù yàɴgòuɴ=gò yauʔ]-**sâ** ɕî=dè/phyiʔ=tè
3SG Yangon=KO arrive-beginning exist=RLS / be=RLS
'He has just arrived in Yangon.'

(118) [t̪ù yàɴgòuɴ=gò yauʔ]-**khàzâ** ɕî=dè / phyiʔ=tè
3SG Yangon=KO arrive-beginning exist=RLS / be=RLS
'He has just arrived in Yangon.'

(119) [t̪ù dì híɴ=gò sá]-**yòuɴ** ɕî=dè / phyiʔ=tè
3SG this curry=KO eat-only exist=RLS / be=RLS
'He only ate this curry; He has only to eat this curry.'

(120) [t̪ù dì híɴ=gò sá=nè]-**dóuɴ** ɕî=dè / phyiʔ=tè
3SG this curry=KO eat=PROG-process exist=RLS / be=RLS
'He is in the middle of eating this curry.'

(121) [t̪ù dì híɴ=gò sá=nè]-**zɛ́** ɕî=dè / phyiʔ=tè
3SG this curry=KO eat=PROG-process exist=RLS / be=RLS
'He is in the middle of eating this curry.'

(122) [ʈù dì híɴ=gò sá]-**píɖá** phyiʔ=tɛ̀
3SG this curry=KO eat-already be=RLS
'He has already finished eating this curry.'

(123) [ʈù dì híɴ=gò sá]-**nèjâ** ɕî=dɛ̀ / phyiʔ=tɛ̀
3SG this curry=KO eat-habitually exist=RLS / be=RLS
'He is habitually eating this curry.'

(124) [ʈù dì híɴ=gò sá]-**lɛʔsâ** ɕî=dɛ̀ / phyiʔ=tɛ̀
3SG this curry=KO eat-halfway exist=RLS / be=RLS
'He started eating this curry, but hasn't finished yet.'

5.6 Summary of the Noun

Table 13 provides 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

Tab. 13: Exhaustive list of the forms used in the Noun slot.

Noun		Semantic/functional category
Type 1: V + =AN + Full noun		
pòuɴ	'it seems that'	evidentiality
hàɴ	'it seems that'	evidentiality
ɖăbɔ́	'it is that'	discourse
shɛ́zɛ̂	'be about to'	aspect
Type 2: V + =AN + Subordinate-noun		
lò	'it seems that'	evidentiality
lòlò	'it looks as if'	evidentiality (to be precise, counterfactuality)
lauʔ	'hardly V, scarcely 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		
ʔăphô	'be about to V'	aspect
ʔăshóuɴ	'be the most V'	degree
ʔăsâ	'have just V-ed'	aspect
-khàzâ/-gàzâ	'have just V-ed'	aspect
-yòuɴ	'only do V-ing, have only to V'	limit/extent
-tóuɴ/-dóuɴ	'be in the middle of V-ing'	aspect
-shɛ̂/-zɛ̂	'be in the middle of V-ing'	aspect
-píɖá	'have finished V-ing'	aspect
-nèjâ	'habitually V'	aspect
-lɛʔsâ	'have started V-ing, but have not finished it'	aspect

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.

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 (39)). In *shɛ̂zɛ̂* 'be about to' of Type 1, only the irrealis adnominalizing marker *=mɛ̂* can occur as the AN. All of the other forms that have an aspectual meaning belong to Type 4, in which no adnominalizing marker occurs; see (40)–(d).

5.7 Morphosyntactic properties of the MMC

In Section 5 thus far, we have examined the forms that can occupy the Noun slot of the MMC. We also considered certain morphosyntactic aspects of the MMC. The structure of each of the four types of the MMC is presented in (40). We shall recapitulate a few of these morphosyntactic aspects. We shall also consider a few other morphosyntactic aspects.

5.7.1 Copula of the MMC

As noted 4.1-[3] and -[4], in my opinion, Burmese does not have any verb that can be unequivocally regarded as a copula verb. But an "assisting verb" may occur after the predicate of a non-verb predicate sentence without changing the propositional meaning of the sentence. In the MMC, too, an assisting verb may occur in the Copula slot. Many examples have already been given.

5.7.2 Noun of the MMC

5.7.2.1 Morphological status of the Noun

The forms in the Noun slot are independent nouns in Type 1 (5.2). However, they are subordinate-nouns and (tentatively considered) enclitics in Type 2 (5.3), enclitics (and nominalizers) in Type 3 (5.4), and they may be considered enclitics or suffixes in Type 4 (5.5).

In view of the putative change shown in (62), it will be possible to say that Type 1 (which employs full nouns) is less grammaticalized, and that Types 2, 3 and 4 (which use enclitics or suffixes) are more grammaticalized. Regarding the morphological status of the forms in the Noun slot (i.e. full nouns vs. enclitics/suffixes), the latter three types of the Burmese MMC are grammaticalized to a considerable degree.

5.7.2.2 Modification of the Noun

We now examine the noun-hood of the Noun. For this purpose, we examine whether the Noun can be modified by a demonstrative. As (4)–(c) shows, typical nouns in Burmese can be modified by a demonstrative, e.g. (124) (*dì hín* 'this curry'). In contrast, the Noun can in no way be modified by a demonstrative. See (125) to (128). Note in particular that even a full noun (e.g. *pòuɴ* 'shape' in (125)) cannot be modified. In this respect, the forms in the Noun slot do not have a full status as nouns.

MMC of Type 1
(125) *[t̪ù dì   híɴ=gò   sá=dɛ̂] ʔɛ́dì **pòuɴ**=bɛ́
      3SG this curry=KO eat=AN that shape=EMP
      '(untranslatable)'

MMC of Type 2
(126) *[t̪ù dì   híɴ=gò   ʔɛ́dì sá=jìɴ=d̪ǎ]=**lò**=bɛ́
      3SG this curry=KO that eat=want.to=AN=like=EMP
      '(untranslatable)'

MMC of Type 3
(127) *[t̪ù jǎpàɴ=gò măhlwɛ́d̪àlô   ʔɛ́dì là=yâ]=**dà**=bɛ́
      3SG Japan=KO against.one's.will that come=must=TA=EMP
      '(untranslatable)'

MMC of Type 4
(128) *[t̪ù dì   híɴ=gò   ʔɛ́dì sá]-**nèjâ**=bɛ́
      3SG this curry=KO that eat-habitually=EMP
      '(untranslatable)'

5.7.3 Predicate of the Clause of the MMC

As (40) shows, in Type 1 and Type 2, the verb of the Clause is followed by, and combined with, an enclitic adnominalizer, which is in turn followed by the Noun (a full noun in Type 1, and a subordinate-noun in Type 2). In Type 3, the verb is followed by, and combined with, the Noun (an enclitic nominalizer). In Type 4, the verb is compounded with the Noun. As seen in 4.1, verb predicate sentences must contain a verb sentence marker. In contrast, the Clause of the MMC cannot contain a verb sentence marker.

5.7.4 Can the Clause be used as a sentence by itself?

As seen in Section 1, Tsunoda (this volume-a) proposes that the prototype of the MMC has five properties, one of which is the following:

(d) The Clause can be used as a sentence by itself.

The Clause of the Burmese MMC cannot stand as a sentence on its own. As noted in 5.7.3, the Clause cannot contain a verb sentence marker.

5.7.5 Sentencehood of the Clause of the MMC

The Clause of the MMC does not have a full status as a sentence and it shows a lower degree of sentencehood than independent sentences. This is clearly shown by the fact that the Clause cannot be used as a sentence by itself. Specifically, the lower degree of the sentence-hood of the Clause is seen in facts such as the following.

[1] As noted in 4.1 and 5.7.3, verb predicate sentences must contain a verb sentence marker. However, as just seen, the Clause of the MMC does not, and cannot, contain a verb sentence marker.

[2] Sentences allow a sentence-final particle to occur at their end. For example, (129) has the sentence-final particle *nɔ̀* in the sentence-final position. This sentence-final particle indicates the speaker's request for the hearer's agreement. It is glossed as 'TAG'. In contrast, the Clause of the MMC cannot be followed by a sentence-final particle. See (40). The Clause (shown with square brackets) cannot be followed by a sentence-final particle in any of the four type of the MMC. As an example, see (130) (an instance of Type 1 in (40)–(a)). The Clause is followed by the sentence-final particle *nɔ̀*, and the sentence is ungrammatical (and also untranslatable).

(129) ʈù dì hín=gò sá=dὲ **nɔ̀**
3SG this curry=KO eat=RLS TAG
'He ate this curry, didn't he?'

(130) *[ʈù dì hín=gò sá=dὲ̂] **nɔ̀** pòuɴ(=bέ)
3SG this curry=KO eat=AN TAG shape(=EMP)
'(untranslatable)'

6 Comparison of the MMC with other constructions

6.1 Introductory notes

We now compare the MMC with other constructions. In particular, we shall examine the following two issues.

(a) Does the MMC contain an adnominal clause?
(b) Is the MMC bi-clausal or mono-clausal?

The structure of the prototype of the MMC is as shown in (1). Superficially at least, it looks as if the prototypical MMC is bi-clausal. In some of the languages reported in the present volume, the Clause of the MMC looks similar to an adnominal clause ("AC") (or a relative clause) of the respective languages and consequently it looks as if the MMC is bi-clausal, with an AC as a subordinate clause. This applies to Burmese. The adnominalizers (cf. Table 2) are used in ACs (4.2.1) and in the MMC of Type 1 and Type 2 (see (40)). It may look as if these two types of the MMC are bi-clausal, with an AC as a subordinate clause.

However, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) yield evidence that their MMC does not contain an AC and that it is syntactically mono-clausal. (See Tsunoda (this volume-a, 3.4.2).) In view of this, it is important to examine the two issues listed above.

For Burmese, we shall compare the following constructions.

(i)   Mono-clausal verb predicate sentences (cf. 4.1).
(ii)   MMC of Type 1 (cf. 5.2).
(iii)   MMC of Type 2 (cf. 5.3).
(iv)   MMC of Type 3 (cf. 5.4).
(v)   MMC of Type 4 (cf. 5.5).
(vi)   AC of the gap type (cf. 4.2.2).
(vii)   AC of the addition type (cf. 4.2.3).

Verb-predicate sentences are chosen as the representative of independent sentences. It is necessary to consider mono-clausal sentences, since one of the aims of this comparison is to examine the issue (b) listed above.

When we look at the MMC, we shall mainly be concerned with the Clause, but we also look at the entire MMC.

We shall compare the constructions listed above in terms of the structure of the predicate (6.2) and syntax (6.3 to 6.6). The result of this comparison is shown in Table 14.

6.2 Predicate

(i) Mono-clausal verb predicate sentences
The verb must be followed by a verb sentence marker (cf. Table 1), e.g. (11) to (15).

(ii) MMC of Type 1
(iii) MMC of Type 2
The verb of the Clause is followed by an adnominalizer (cf. Table 2) (which is in turn followed by the Noun). See (40)–(a), -(b).

(iv) MMC of Type 3
(v) MMC of Type 4
The verb occurs by itself within the Clause. See (40)–(c), -(d). (It is directly followed by the Noun.)

(vi) AC of the gap type
(vii) AC of the addition type
The verb is followed by an adnominalizer; see 4.2.2 and 4.2.3.

6.3 Topicalization

Burmese has the enclitic *=kâdɔ̂/=gâdɔ̂*, which I consider to be a contrastive topic marker. This form is a compound of the case particle *=kâ/=gâ* 'agent' and the particle *=tɔ̂/=dɔ̂* which indicates contrastiveness. The case particle *=kâ/=gâ* can only follow the subject, e.g. (11), (12), but *=kâdɔ̂/=gâdɔ̂* can follow non-subjects, e.g. (131). For this reason I consider *=kâdɔ̂/=gâdɔ̂* a different word from *=kâ/=gâ*.

(131) ŋà   dì   sàʔouʔ=kâdɔ̂ mǎ-phaʔ=phú=bú
      1SG this book=CON   not-read=experience=NEG
      'I have never read this book (in contrast with other books).'

(i) Mono-clausal verb predicate sentences
The contrastive topic marker *=kâdɔ̂/=gâdɔ̂* 'CON' can occur, e.g. (131), (132).

(132) tʰ̥ù=gâdɔ̂   dì   híɴ=gò   sá=dɛ̀
      3SG=CON this curry=KO eat=RLS
      'He (in contrast with other people) ate this curry.'

(ii) MMC of Type 1
(iii) MMC of Type 2
(iv) MMC of Type 3

(v) MMC of Type 4

The contrastive topic marker =*kâdɔ̂*/=*gâdɔ̂* 'CON' can occur in the Clause of every type of the MMC. Examples are as follows. (ii) MMC of Type 1: (133). (iii) MMC of Type 2: (134). (iv) MMC of Type 3: (135). (v) MMC of Type 4: (136).

(133) [t̪ù=gâdɔ̂ dì hín=gò   sá=dɛ̂] **pòuN**=bɛ́
      3SG=CON this curry=KO eat=AN shape=EMP
      'It seems that he (in contrast with other people) ate this curry.'

(134) [t̪ù=gâdɔ̂ dì hín=gò   sá=jìN=d̪ă]=**lò**=bɛ́
      3SG=CON this curry=KO eat=want.to=AN=like=EMP
      'It seems that he (in contrast with other people) wants to eat this curry.'

(135) [t̪ù=gâdɔ̂ jăpàN=gò măhlwɛ́d̪àlô   là=yâ]=**dà**=bɛ́
      3SG=CON Japan=KO against.one's.will come=must=TA=EMP
      'It is the case that he (in contrast with other people) unwillingly came to Japan.'

(136) [t̪ù=gâdɔ̂ dì hín=gò   sá]-**nèjâ**=bɛ́
      3SG=CON this curry=KO eat-habitually=EMP
      'He (in contrast with other people) habitually eats this curry.'

   (vi) AC of the gap type
   (vii) AC of the addition type

The contrastive topic marker =*kâdɔ̂*/=*gâdɔ̂* 'CON' cannot occur in (vi) ACs of the gap type (see (137)) or (vii) ACs of the addition type (see (138)).

(137) *t̪ù=gâdɔ̂ chɛʔ=tɛ̂ hín=gò   ŋà sá=dɛ̀
      3SG=CON cook=AN curry=KO 1SG eat=RLS
      IM: 'I ate the curry that he (in contrast with other people) cooked.'

(138) *t̪ù=gâdɔ̂ ŋá kìN=dɛ̂ ʔănâN=gò ŋà yâ=dɛ̀
      3SG=CON fish grill=AN smell=KO 1SG get=RLS
      IM: 'I smelled the smell of him (in contrast with other people) grilling a fish.'

6.4 Gapping

It is convenient to start with ACs.

   (vi) AC of the gap type

Gapping takes place in the formation of ACs of the gap type. For example, compare (27) with (28) to (30). All of the subject, the direct object and the indirect object are

present in (27). In contrast, the subject is absent in the AC of (28), the direct object is absent in the AC of (29), and the indirect object is absent in the AC of (30).

(vii) AC of the addition type

Gapping does not take place in the formation of ACs of the addition type. For example, compare (32) with (33). The subject and the object are present in the AC of (33), as is the case with (32).

(i) Mono-clausal verb predicate sentences
(ii) MMC of Type 1
(iii) MMC of Type 2
(iv) MMC of Type 3
(v) MMC of Type 4

Gapping does not take place in the formation of these constructions.

6.5 One subject or two subjects?

Again, it is convenient to start with ACs.

(vi) AC of the gap type
(vii) AC of the addition type

Sentences with an AC may have two subjects: the subject of the AC and the subject of the main clause. This applies to both types of ACs. For example, in (139) ((vi) ACs of the gap type) and (140) ((vii) ACs of the addition type), *t̪ù* '3SG' is the subject of the AC, and *ŋà* '1SG' is the subject of the main clause.

(139) {t̪ù chɛʔ=tɛ̂} hín=gò   ŋà sá=dɛ̀
      3SG cook=AN curry=KO 1SG eat=RLS
      'I ate the curry which he cooked.'

(140) {t̪ù ŋá kìɴ=dɛ̂} ʔănâɴ=gò ŋà yâ=dɛ̀
      3SG fish grill=AN smell=KO 1SG get=RLS
      'I smelled the smell of him grilling a fish.'

(i) Mono-clausal verb predicate sentences
(ii) MMC of Type 1
(iii) MMC of Type 2
(iv) MMC of Type 3
(v) MMC of Type 4

These constructions cannot have two subjects. They have just one subject. For example, (3) (the MMC) and (11) (a mono-clausal verb predicate sentence) each have just one subject: *t̪ù* '3SG'.

6.6 Clefting

Clefting in Burmese involves the nominalizer *=tà/=dà* 'RLS' (realis) or *=hmà* (IRR) (irrealis) (cf. Table 9) and yields a construction which can be represented as follows. "X" represents the focus.

(141) ... V + *=tà/=dà* or *=hmà* X.

The subject will be focused on in the examples given below. In the case of ACs, it is the subject of an AC, not the subject of the main clause, that will be focused on.

    (i) Mono-clausal verb predicate sentences
Clefting is possible. Compare:

(142) t̥ù   dì   hín=gò   sá=dὲ
     3SG this curry=KO eat=RLS
     'He ate this curry.'

(143) dì   hín=gò   sá=dà   t̥ù=bέ
     this curry=KO eat=TA 3SG=EMP
     'It is he who ate this curry.'

    (ii) MMC of Type 1
Clefting is possible. Compare:

(144) [t̥ù   dì   hín=gò   sá=dê] **pòuɴ=**bέ
     3SG this curry=KO eat=AN shape=EMP
     'It seems that he ate this curry.'

(145) dì   hín=gò   sá=dê   **pòuɴ** yâ=dà   t̥ù=bέ
     this curry=KO eat=AN shape get=TA 3SG=EMP
     'It is he who seems to have eaten this curry.'

Note that (145) contains the assisting verb *yâ* 'to get'. Roughly speaking, a cleft version of the MMC must contain an adequate assisting verb. Thus, (145) contains *yâ* 'to get', which is one of the two assisting verbs used with *pòuɴ* 'shape' (see Table 5). (147) contains *ɕî* 'exist', which is one of the two assisting verbs used with *=lò* 'like, as' (see Table 8). (149) contains *phyiʔ* 'be', which is the only assisting verb for the MMC of Type 3 (see 5.4). (152) contains *ɕî* 'exist', which is one of the two assisting verbs used with *-nèjâ* 'habitually' (see Table 12).

(iii) MMC of Type 2

Clefting is possible. Compare:

(146) [t̪ù dì hín=gò sá=jìɴ=d̪ǎ]=**lò**=bɛ́
  3SG this curry=KO eat=want.to=AN=like=EMP
  'It seems that he wants to eat this curry.'

(147) dì hín=gò sá=jìɴ=d̪ǎ=**lò** ɕî=dà t̪ù=bɛ́
  this curry=KO eat=want=AN=like exist=TA 3SG=EMP
  'It is he who seems to want to eat this curry.'

  (iv) MMC of Type 3

Clefting is possible. Compare:

(148) [t̪ù jǎpàɴ=gò mǎhlwɛ́d̪àlô là=yâ]=**dà**=bɛ́
  3SG Japan=KO against.one's.will come=must=TA=EMP
  'It is the case that he unwillingly came to Japan.'

(149) jǎpàɴ=gò mǎhlwɛ́d̪àlô là=yâ=**dà** phyiʔ=hmà t̪ù=bɛ́
  Japan=KO against.one's.will come=must=TA be=HMA 3SG=EMP
  Intended and literal meaning: 'It is he who, it must have been the case
  that, unwillingly came to Japan.'

(149) is grammatical. It has the structure of cleft sentences shown in (141). (For the
nominalizer slot, it employs the nominalizer =*hmà* 'IRR' (irrealis).) However, it
sounds somewhat unnatural. This is probably because it sounds extremely formal.
(As noted in 4.1, the use of an assisting verb makes the sentence somewhat more
formal.) In daily conversation, (150), which does not employ the MMC, is used
instead.

(150) jǎpàɴ=gò mǎhlwɛ́d̪àlô là=yâ=dà t̪ù=bɛ́
  Japan=KO against.one's.will come=must=TA 3SG=EMP
  'It is he who unwillingly came to Japan.'

  (v) MMC of Type 4

Clefting is possible. Compare:

(151) [t̪ù dì hín=gò sá]-**nèjâ**=bɛ́
  3SG this curry=KO eat-habitually=EMP
  'He habitually eats this curry.'

(152) dì hín=gò sá-**nèjâ** ɕî=dà t̪ù=bɛ́
  this curry=KO eat-habitually exist=TA 3SG=EMP
  'It is he who habitually eats this curry.'

(vi) AC of the gap type

Clefting is impossible. (Recall that it is the subject of an AC, not the subject of the main clause, that is focused on.) Compare:

(153) {ṭù chɛʔ=tɛ̂} híɴ=gò ŋà sá=dɛ̀
3SG cook=AN curry=KO 1SG eat=RLS
'I ate the curry which he cooked.'

(154) *chɛʔ=tɛ̂ híɴ=gò ŋà sá=dà ṭù=bɛ́
cook=AN curry=KO 1SG eat=TA 3SG=EMP
IM: 'It is he whose curry I ate.'

(vii) AC of the addition type

Clefting is impossible. Compare:

(155) {ṭù ŋá kìɴ=dɛ̂} ʔănâɴ=gò ŋà yâ=dɛ̀
3SG fish grill=AN smell=KO 1SG get=RLS
'I smelled the smell of him grilling a fish.'

(156) *ŋá kìɴ=dɛ̂ ʔănâɴ=gò ŋà yâ=dà ṭù=bɛ́
fish grill=AN smell=KO 1SG get=TA 3SG=EMP
'(untranslatable)'

6.7 Relativization

This test is similar to the test of clefting. The subject will be relativized on in the examples given below. In the case of ACs, it is the subject of an AC, not the subject of the main clause, that will be relativized on.

(i) Mono-clausal verb predicate sentences

Relativization is possible. Compare (142) and:

(157) dì híɴ=gò sá=dɛ̂ lù
this curry=KO eat=AN person
'the person who ate this curry.'

(ii) MMC of Type 1

Relativization is possible. Compare (144) and:

(158) dì híɴ=gò sá=dɛ̂ **pòuɴ** yâ=dɛ̂ lù
this curry=KO eat=AN shape get=AN person
'the person who seems to have eaten this curry'

Note that (158) contains the assisting verb *yâ* 'to get' (cf. Table 5). Like cleft versions of the MMC, ACs that correspond to the MMC require an adequate assisting verb. This applies to (159), (160), (161) and (163) as well.

Sentence (158) is grammatical, but it sounds somewhat unnatural because =*tê*/=*dê* occurs twice. In order to avoid this, the verb and the noun *pòun* are compounded, as in (159). See (60) for compounding involving *pòun*.

(159) dì   hín=gò   sá-**bòun** yâ=dê lù
      this curry=KO eat-shape get=AN person
      'the person who seems to have eaten this curry'

(iii) MMC of Type 2
Relativization is possible. Compare (146) and:

(160) dì   hín=gò   sá=jìn=d̥ă=**lò**   ɕî=dê   lù
      this curry=KO eat=want.to=AN=like exist=AN person
      'the person who looks like he wants to eat this curry'

(iv) MMC of Type 3
Relativization is possible. Compare (148) and:

(161) jăpàɴ=gò măhlwέd̥àlô   là=yâ=**dà**   phyiʔ=mê̂ lù
      Japan=KO against.one's.will come=must=TA be=AN   person
      Intended and literal meaning: 'the person who, it must have been the case that, unwillingly came to Japan'

Sentence (161) 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.

(162) jăpàɴ=gò măhlwέd̥àlô   là=yâ=dê̂   lù
      Japan=KO against.one's.will come=must=AN person
      'the person who unwillingly had to come to Japan'

(v) MMC of Type 4
Relativization is possible. Compare (151) and:

(163) dì   hín=gò   sá-**nèjâ**   ɕî=dê   lù
      this curry=KO eat-habitually exist=AN person
      'the person who habitually eats this curry'

(vi) AC of the gap type

Relativization is impossible. Compare (153) and:

(164) *chɛʔ=tɛ̂ híɴ=gò ŋà sá=dɛ̂ lù
      cook=AN curry=KO 1SG eat=AN person
      IM: 'the person who cooked the curry that I ate'

(vii) AC of the addition type

Relativization is impossible. Compare (155) and:

(165) *ŋá kìɴ=dɛ̂ ʔǎnâɴ=gò ŋà yâ=dɛ̂ lù
      fish grill=AN smell=KO 1SG get=AN person
      IM: 'the person who grilled a fish whose smell I smelled'

6.8 Discussion

The result of the comparison above is shown in Table 14.

The first criterion "Predicate" concerns a morphological aspect, while the other five criteria have to do with syntactic aspects.

In terms of the structure of the predicate of the Clause, the MMC of Type 1 and the MMC of Type 2 behave like ACs and unlike mono-clausal verb predicate senten-

Tab. 14: Comparison of the MMC with other constructions.

	Predicate	Topicalization	Gapping
Mono-clausal verb predicate sentences	Verb=VSM	+	–
MMC of Type 1	Verb=AN	+	–
MMC of Type 2	Verb=AN	+	–
MMC of Type 3	Verb	+	–
MMC of Type 4	Verb	+	–
AC of gap type	Verb=AN	–	+
AC of addition type	Verb=AN	–	–

	Two subjects	Clefting	Relativization
Mono-clausal verb predicate sentences	–	+	+
MMC of Type 1	–	+	+
MMC of Type 2	–	+	+
MMC of Type 3	–	+	+
MMC of Type 4	–	+	+
AC of gap type	+	–	–
AC of addition type	+	–	–

Legend: +: possible or obligatory; –: impossible.

ces. The MMC of Type 3 and the MMC of Type 4 behave unlike both mono-clausal verb predicate sentences and ACs.

In terms of the five syntactic criteria the four types of the MMC behave exactly like mono-clausal independent sentences, to the exclusion of ACs – except that ACs of the addition type behave like the MMC and mono-clausal independent sentences in that they do not involve gapping.

To sum up, in terms of the structure of the predicate, at least the MMC of Type 1 and the MMC of Type 2 behave like ACs and unlike mono-clausal independent sentences. As far as these two types are concerned, it may look as if the MMC contains an AC, that is, it may look as if the MMC is bi-clausal. However, syntactically the MMC – including Type 1 and Type 2 – behaves like mono-clausal independent sentences, almost entirely to the exclusion of ACs. That is, syntactically the MMC should not be regarded as a bi-clausal sentence, with an AC as a subordinate clause. It should be considered mono-clausal.

6.9 Compound predicate

We saw in 6.8 that syntactically the Burmese MMC should be considered mono-clausal, not bi-clausal. Then, it should have just one predicate, not two predicates. We now investigate what structure the predicate has.

As seen in Section 1, the prototype of the MMC has the structure shown in (1) – superficially at least. However, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) provide ample evidence that syntactically their MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal, despite its superficial appearance (shown in (1)). Their MMC has just one predicate, not two predicates, and the predicate is a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula, as shown in (2).

(1) Prototype of the mermaid construction ("MMC"):
     [Clause]   Noun   Copula

(2) [... predicate of Clause]   Noun   Copula.
                 compound predicate

The situation in the Burmese MMC is as follows. See (40). Burmese does not have a copula verb (4.1-[3]), and we shall exclude the Copula from the following discussion. It is convenient to start with Type 4.

(d) Type 4. The verb of the Clause and the Noun (a special head) form a compound word, and this is the predicate of this MMC.

(c) Type 3. The Noun slot is occupied by a nominalizer. The nominalizer is an enclitic, and it is clear that the verb of the Clause and the Noun form a unit. This is the predicate of this MMC.

(b) Type 2. The verb of the Clause is followed by an adnominalizer (an enclitic), which is in turn followed by a subordinate noun (an enclitic). It is clear that the verb and these two enclitics form a unit. This is the predicate of this MMC.

(a) Type 1. The verb of the Clause is followed by an adnominalizer (an enclitic). The Noun slot is occupied by a full noun, which is an independent word, not a clitic or affix. There is one piece of syntactic evidence to show that "V + =AN" and the Noun form a unit. As seen in 5.7.2.2, a full noun in the Noun slot cannot be modified by any word. This shows that "V + =AN" and the Noun form a unit. This is the predicate of this MMC, and it is a compound predicate. As an example, the structure of (3) can be shown as follows. The compound predicate is shown with an underline. (The emphatic particle =bɛ́ should be regarded as a member of this compound predicate. We shall return to this issue shortly.)

(166) [mănêgâ ţù yăthá=nɛ̂ cáuɴ ţwá=dɛ̂] **pòuɴ**(=bɛ́)
     yesterday 3SG train=with school go=AN   shape(=EMP)
                                   compound predicate
     LT: '[He went to school by train yesterday] a shape.'
     FT: 'It seems that he went to school by train yesterday.'

(The unacceptability of the modification of a noun in the Noun slot is one of the two pieces of evidence that Tsunoda (this volume-b, 6.11) provides to show that in the Japanese MMC the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula form a unit.)

Now, recall that the Noun of the MMC may be followed by an assisting verb. Examples include (52) to (55), (167) (Type 1), (81) to (83) (Type 2), (91), (92) (Type 3) and (115) to (124) (Type 4).

(167) [mănêgâ ţù yăthá=nɛ̂ cáuɴ ţwá=dɛ̂] **pòuɴ** yâ=dɛ̀
     yesterday 3SG train=with school go=AN   shape get=RLS
                                   compound predicate
     'It seems that he went to school by train yesterday.'

There is evidence to show that an assisting verb – together with a verb sentence marker – is a member of the compound predicate of the MMC, as shown in (167). An independent word cannot intervene between the Noun and an assisting verb, although a type of enclitic can. Details are as follows.

Burmese has a group of particles that Okell (1969: 196) calls "sentence-medial postpositions" and Wheatley (1982: 97) calls "general postpositions", e.g. =lɛ́ 'also, too', e.g. (168), =tàuɴ 'even', =ţà 'only', and =tɔ̂ 'at least'. They are enclitics.

(168) shăyà=lɛ́   khălé=gò híɴ   pé=dɛ̀
     teacher=also child=KO curry give=RLS
     'The teacher, too, gave curry to the child.'

(The particle =*lɛ́* 'also, too' is attached, for example, to nouns, verbs, and subordinate clauses. It appears to be attached to nouns most frequently. It does not occur in the sentence-final position.)

These particles can follow the Noun of the MMC, e.g.:

(169) [mănêgâ ʈù yăthá=nɛ̂ cáuɴ ʈwá=dɛ̂] pòuɴ=**lɛ́** yâ=dɛ̀
     yesterday 3SG train=with school go=AN shape=also get=RLS
                                           compound predicate
     'It also seems that he went to school by train yesterday.'

In contrast with these particles (they are enclitics), independent words (and other enclitics) cannot intervene between the Noun and an assisting verb. This provides evidence that the Noun and the assisting verb form a unit.

(In (169), the enclitic =*lɛ́* 'also, too' is a member of this compound predicate. In view of this, in (166), the enclitic =*bɛ́* 'EMP' might be considered a member of this compound predicate.)

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 the preceding verb; they are independent nouns, clitics, or possibly suffixes). Burmese may be somewhat uncommon in that it has as many as four types of MMC.

Semantic/functional categories of the MMC are evidentiality, aspect, discourse, degree, and also limit/extent.

Burmese does not have a copula verb. Nonetheless, the MMC may have an "assisting verb" in place of a copula verb.

Within the Clause, the verb is followed by an adnominalizer in Type 1 and Type 2, and it is immediately followed by the Noun in Type 3 and Type 4. That is, the Clause cannot contain a verb sentence marker. Consequently the Clause has a low degree of sentence-hood in this respect, and also the Clause cannot stand as a sentence on its own.

As far as Type 1 and Type 2 are concerned, the Clause behaves like ACs in that the verb is followed by an adnominalizer. It may look as if these two types of MMC are bi-clausal sentences with an AC in them. Syntactically, however, all the four types of MMC – including Type 1 and Type 2 – behave like mono-clausal verb predicate sentences, almost entirely to the exclusion of ACs. That is, syntactically the MMC should be considered mono-clausal, not bi-clausal.

There are nouns that have undergone (or seem to have undergone) the following change: independent word → enclitic or suffix. In the case of the three subordinate-nouns of Type 2, it is the enclitics, not the free nouns, that are used in the MMC.

It is probably possible to say that, regarding the morphological status of the forms in the Noun slot (i.e. full nouns vs. enclitics/suffixes), Type 1 (which uses full nouns) is not grammaticalized, but that Types 2, 3 and 4 (which employs enclitics or suffixes) are grammaticalized to a considerable degree.

To the best of my knowledge, there is no previous study that has clearly pointed out that Burmese has what is termed the MMC in the present volume. 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 this construction is mono-clausal. Okell and Allot (2001: 128) state that the noun *pòuɴ* 'shape', which is one of the nouns that form the MMC of Type 1 (see Table 4), is "perhaps in process of becoming a sentence final phrase particle". Ohno (1983: 253) classifies the expression *pòuɴ yâ* (the noun meaning 'shape' + the verb meaning 'to get'; see Table 5) 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.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

A = transitive subject; A = nominalizing prefix *ʔă-*; AC = adnominal clause; AN = adnominalizer or adnominalizing marker; AN(irr) = irrealis adnominalizer; AN(rls) = realis adnominalizer; C = consonant; CON = contrasted topic; EMP = emphasis; FT = free translation; HMA = nominalizer *=hmà*; IM = intended meaning; IRR = irrealis modality; KA = case particle *=kâ/=gâ* 'agent (subject); source'; KO =

case particle =*kò*/=*gò* 'patient; recipient; goal'; LT = literal translation; MMC = mermaid construction; NEG = negation; O = object; PL = plural; POL = politeness; PROG = progressive; Q = question; RLS = realis modality; S = subject; S = intransitive subject; SG = singular; T = tone; TA = nominalizer =*tà*/=*dà*; TAG = tag question; V = vowel; V = verb; VSM = verb sentence marker; 1 = first person; 2 = second person; 3 = third person.

References

Jenny, Mathias & San San Hnin Tun. 2016. *Burmese: A comprehensive grammar*. London & New York: Routledge.

Kato, Atsuhiko. 1998. *Ekusupuresu Birumago* [Burmese primer]. Tokyo: Hakusuisha.

Keenan, Edward L. & Bernard Comrie. 1977. Noun phrase accessibility and universal grammar. *Linguistic Inquiry* 8(1). 63–99.

Kim, Joungmin. This volume. Korean.

Matisoff, James A. 1972. Lahu nominalization, relativization, and genitivization. In John Kimball (ed.), *Syntax and Semantics* Vol. 1. 237–257. New York & London: Seminar Press.

Myint Soe. 1999. *A grammar of Burmese*. Eugene: University of Oregon PhD dissertation.

Ohno, Toru. 1983. *Gendaibirumago nyuumon* [An introduction to Modern Burmese]. Tokyo: Tairyuusha.

Okano, Kenji. 2007. *Gendaibirumago bunpoo* [A grammar of Modern Burmese]. Tokyo: Kokusaigogakusha.

Okell, John. 1969. *A reference grammar of colloquial Burmese*. London: Oxford University Press.

Okell, John & Anna Allott. 2001. *Burmese/Myanmar dictionary of grammatical forms*. Richmond & Surrey: Curzon Press.

Sawada, Hideo. 1998. Birumago bunpoo ninenji [Burmese grammar, the second year]. MS.

Shimoji, Michinori. This volume. Irabu Ryukyuan.

Shirai, Satoko. This volume. nDrapa.

Teramura, Hideo. 1969. The syntax of noun modification in Japanese. *The Journal-Newsletter of the Association of Teachers of Japanese* 6(1). 63–74.

Tsunoda, Tasaku. This volume-a. Mermaid construction: An introduction and summary.

Tsunoda, Tasaku. This volume-b. Modern Standard Japanese.

Vittrant, Alice. 2005. Burmese as a modality-prominent language. In Justin Watkins (ed.), *Studies in Burmese linguistics*, 143–161. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, The Australian National University.

Wheatley, K. Julian. 1982. *Burmese: A grammatical sketch*. Berkeley: University of California PhD dissertation.

Yabu, Shiro. 1992. Birumago [Burmese]. In Takashi Kamei, Rokuro Kono & Eiichi Chino (eds.), *Sanseido Gengogalu Daiziten* [Sanseido's Encyclopedia of Linguistics] Vol. 3. 567–610. Tokyo: Sanseido.