A COMPARISON OF IMPERFECTIVITY IN LEINONG NAGA, BURMESE, AND LISU

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ABSTRACT

Using traditional grammar theory, this thesis looks at how aspect of imperfectivity is expressed in three Tibeto-Burman languages; Burmese, Lisu, and Leinong Naga. In each language three verbal particles alone, and in combination, are found to mark incomplete (imperfective) states of affairs.

This thesis especially focuses on colloquial Burmese spoken near Mandalay, the Northern Lisu dialect of Lisu, and Leinong Naga of Naga. Burmese, Lisu, and Leinong Naga are all verb final, tonal, and have little morphology. Burmese belongs to Burmish and Lisu is in the Loloish group of Burmese-Lolo branch of Tibeto-Burman language family. Leinong Naga is one of the Naga varieties found in Burma and India. It belongs to the Northern Naga group which belongs to the Bodo-Garo-Northern Naga branch of the Tibeto-Burman language family. Leinong Naga is one of the unwritten languages of the Burmese ethnic groups.

This research shows that imperfective behavior is expressed differently depending on the verbs (event types) which the verbal particles interact with. Multiple event types, such as states (including stage-level property and individual-level property states, and resultant state), activities, accomplishments, and achievements are needed to describe the imperfectivity behavior in these languages.
It concludes that in these three languages, imperfectivity is expressed by means of verbal particles. However, between languages these particles do not show one to one equivalent semantic content to each other. Behavior of imperfective denotations in these languages largely depends on the kinds of verbs the verbal particles interact with.
บทคัดย่อ
วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้ใช้ทฤษฎีไวยกรณ์แบบดั้งเดิมเพื่อศึกษาการใช้คำแสดงกาลลักษณะในลักษณะการไม่สมบูรณ์ในภาษาทั้งสามในตระกูลของภาษาทิเบต-พม่า นั่นคือ ภาษาพม่า ลีซู และเลยนองนากา ซึ่งในแต่ละภาษาในนั้นได้พบการใช้นิพนธ์ไวยกรณ์ (verbal particle) ทั้งแบบตัวเดียวอยู่สามคำ และแบบรวมกลุ่มกุมกัน เพื่อแสดงสภาพลักษณะการไม่สมบูรณ์ วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้เน้นศึกษาเฉพาะภาษาพูดของภาษาพม่าที่ใช้ใกล้แถบแมนดาเลย์ ภาษาพูดของสิรูดอนเหนือ และภาษาเลยนองนากาเท่านั้น ภาษาพม่า ลีซู และเลยนองนากา ต่างเป็นภาษาที่มีบริบทอยู่ในกลุ่มภาษาเบอร์มิส (Burmish) ภาษาลีซูอยู่ในกลุ่มที่เรียกว่ากลุ่มโลโล (Loloish) ของโลโล-เบอร์มิสในตระกูลภาษาทิเบต-พม่า ส่วนภาษาเลยนองนากาเป็นหนึ่งในภาษาถิ่นของภาษานากาที่พบในประเทศพม่าและอินเดีย ซึ่งจัดอยู่ในกลุ่มภาษาตอนเหนือ ของโปรด-กาโล ภาษาเลนเนอ (Bodo-Garo-Northern Naga) ของตระกูลภาษาทิเบต-พม่า ภาษาเลยนองนากาเป็นหนึ่งในภาษาที่ไม่มีภาษาเขียนในกลุ่มนี้ในประเทศพม่า
การวิจัยนี้แสดงให้ทราบว่า พฤติกรรมของลักษณะการณ์ไม่สมบูรณ์นั้นแตกต่างกันไปตามคำกริยาประเภทเหตุการณ์ที่มีความสัมพันธ์กับอนุภาคเชิงกริยา นอกจากนี้เพื่ออธิบายให้เห็นพฤติกรรมของลักษณะการณ์ไม่สมบูรณ์ในภาษาเหล่านั้น จำเป็นต้องทำการศึกษาประเภทเหตุการณ์หลายชนิด เช่น ผลลัพธ์การณ์ (states) ในที่นี้รวมถึง คุณลักษณะของระดับสภาพเหตุการณ์ (stage-level property) คุณลักษณะของสภาพเหตุการณ์ระดับบุคคล (individual-level property state) และ สภาพเหตุการณ์ของผลลัพธ์ (resultant state) เหตุการณ์ที่แสดงกิจกรรม (activities) เหตุการณ์ที่แสดงการบรรลุเป้าหมาย (accomplishments) และเหตุการณ์ที่แสดงผลล้าวเร็ว (achievements) ทั้งสามภาษาเหล่านี้มีการแสดงลักษณะการณ์ไม่สมบูรณ์โดยวิธีการใช้อนุภาคเชิงกริยา อย่างไรก็ตาม อนุภาคเหล่านี้ในภาษาต่างๆมักมิได้มีความหมายที่เหมือนกันแบบคำต่อคำ พฤติกรรมการแสดงลักษณะการณ์ไม่สมบูรณ์ในภาษาเหล่านี้โดยส่วนใหญ่ขึ้นอยู่กับชนิดของคำกริยา ที่มีความสัมพันธ์กับอนุภาคเชิงกริยา
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<tr>
<td>ADJ</td>
<td>Adjective</td>
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<td>ADV</td>
<td>Adverb</td>
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<td>CASE</td>
<td>Case marker</td>
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<td>CLF</td>
<td>Classifier</td>
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<td>Second person singular genitive</td>
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Phonology sketch abbreviation and symbols

C  Consonants
G  Glide
T  Tone
V  Vowel
/a/ Phonetic transcription
[a] Phonemic transcription
Vl  Voiceless
Vd  Voice
Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 A general introduction

This thesis aims to describe and compare how incomplete states of affairs (imperfective) are marked in three Tibeto-Burman languages, Burmese, Northern Lisu, and Leinong Naga. Most importantly, this study focuses on describing how the aspectual effect of imperfectivity arises in these languages from the interaction of different verb types and a set of verbal particles rather than simply stating which verbal particles function as imperfective markers.

The first two languages of this study, Burmese (Myanmar) and Lisu (the Northern Lisu dialect) are widely known among linguists and a considerable amount of linguistic work has been done on these two languages. However the third language, Leinong Naga is not well known in the linguistics world or to the people of Burma. As far as this variety is concerned, no academic linguistic work has been done on this language yet. For this reason, this thesis gives more space to describe this language. Leinong Naga is one of the Naga varieties found in Myanmar as well as in India.

Chapter (1) describes the language, people, and classification of the three languages in the following order: Burmese, Northern Lisu (the name northern Lisu and Lisu will be used interchangeably in this thesis), and Leinong Naga. Also the goals of the study, research methodology, limitations of this study, and the literature review are presented in chapter (1).
Chapter (2) presents a phonology sketch of Burmese, an overview of Burmese grammar, and imperfectivity in Burmese. Chapter (3) gives a phonology sketch of Lisu, an overview of Lisu grammar and describes imperfectivity in Lisu. As with the other two chapters, chapter (4) gives Leinong Naga’s phonology sketch, an overview on Leinong Naga Basic grammar, and describes imperfectivity behavior in the language. Chapter (5) gives comparison on the imperfectivity behavior of the three languages. Then it summarizes the whole work of this research and gives some suggestions for further study.

1.2 Burmese people and language

Burmese (Myanmar1) is the national language of Myanmar (Burma) and spoken by approximately 37 million people. Bradley lists seven different dialects of Burmese: Arakanese in the west (1.8 million speakers), Tavoyan (400,000), and Beik (250,000) in the south-east, east central Intha (90,000), Danu (100,000) and Taungyo (40,000), and west central Yaw (20,000). It is a member of the Burmese-Lolo branch within the Tibeto-Burman language family of the Sino-Tibetan phylum. It is a tonal, analytic language with Subject-Object-Verb (S-O-V) word order (Bradley 1997:41).

Burmese has different spoken styles. One is formal Burmese and the other is colloquial Burmese. This thesis will analyze only the colloquial Burmese of the Mandalay dialect.

1.3 Lisu people and language

Lisu is a language widely spoken in four different countries; China, Burma (Myanmar), Thailand, and there are a few speakers in northeast India. The Lisu were originally inhabitants of southwest Yunnan in China. The estimated Lisu population is just under a million; about 600,000 Lisu in China, over 300,000 in Burma, over 40,000 in Northern Thailand, and 1,200 in five villages in northeast India (Bradley 2006: XV ). It is a tonal language with six main tones.

The three main dialects of Lisu are Northern, Central, and Southern. The grammatical work of this thesis mainly focuses on the Northern Lisu dialect. The Northern dialect is spoken by about 35 per cent of Lisu speakers. Most speakers of

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1 The names, Burmese and Myanmar will be used interchangeably in this thesis.
the Northern dialect are found in north-western Yunnan, a few in southern Sichuan in China, many in northern Myanmar, and a few in north-eastern India.

The Central dialect is spoken in the Dehong and Gaoshan prefectures in western Yunnan in China, and in the northern Shan State, the Bhamo area and the southern part of Kachin State in Myanmar. It is spoken by 45 percent of Lisu and includes various subvarieties of Central Lisu. The Lisu Fraser’s script is based on the Central dialect and eventually this dialect came to be called the Bible dialect. The Southern dialect is found in south-western Yunnan in China, around Mogok area, the southern Shan State of Myanmar, and in Thailand. About 15 percent of Lisu speak this dialect. In addition to these three dialects, another dialect called Eastern Lisu is also recognized by several linguists. However Lisu people themselves do not recognize this variety as one of the Lisu dialects. Speakers of this dialect have had very little contact with speakers of the other dialects, which makes it very difficult for speakers of other dialects to understand. All speakers of the eastern Lisu dialect are found in China and only 5 percent of Lisu speak this dialect (Bradley 2006: XV).

According to the author’s knowledge and the Burmese government report called ‘Hill regions of Putao, Kachin State’, the term Lisu means ‘people who came from upriver’. This report states that the Lisu in Burma believes that they originated from the headwaters of a great river and gradually moved southwardly (1956: 66). The Northern dialect is called lo⁶³wu⁵⁵ by the Lisu themselves which means ‘upriver’. They are also known as ‘Black Lisu’ in Chinese and in English (Bradley 2006: XVI).

Bradley states that Burmese-Ngwi languages “are verb final, with complex tonal and consonant systems but little or no morphology” (2007: 171). According to Bradley, Lisu is verb-final with Subject-Object-Verb word order (S-O-V), has little morphology, and six tones. Lisu is one of the major components of the Ngwi (Loloish/Yi branch) group within the Burmic (Burmese-Lolo/Lolo-Burmese) branch of Tibeto-Burman language family (Bradley 2006: XV). This is shown in figure (1).
1.4 The history of Naga and its distribution in Burma (Myanmar)

According to R.R. Shimary (1985), the term “Naga” refers to all the people living in the compact area between the Brahmaputra and the Chindwin rivers. Presently, the Naga are located in the two different neighboring countries Myanmar and north-eastern India.

The term “Naga” is used by outsiders, however among the Naga themselves, they are known by their own ethnic name, clan name, or often the village name itself. For instance, the people known as Heimi Naga call themselves “Gheuvei” in Mongre Naga and “Heva” in Mongshaw Naga. However, the origin of the term ‘Naga’ is now controversial among scholars and many theories have developed. Some Naga authors from India believe that the term Naga is a Burmese term. However, Brown (1960) states that this term is unknown to the Burmese and in actuality it is used by Europeans to refer to the hill-tribes of Chin and Kachin. In giving an accurate account on the term ‘Naga’, the migration path of this people and oral tradition as mentioned by both Shimray (2001) and Nuh (2002) and Wayesha (2009), it is concluded that ‘Naga’ is a Jingphaw term which means na ‘ear’ and ga ‘split’ or ‘slit’ i.e. ‘folks with split/slit ear’. Both male and female Nagas like to wear big ear ornaments and it sometimes makes a big hole or a split on their earlobe (Wayesha 2009). This may be the reason why they have been called Naga ‘folks with split ear’.
Concerning their origin, the Naga people originally migrated from somewhere in Mongolia, then through Tibet, China and then entered northern Myanmar which is known as Kachin State. Then they proceeded to move along the Chindwin valleys and scattered throughout Manipur, Assam and even into eastern Bangladesh. From these places, some Naga later returned to Myanmar. However, many of those Naga immigrants remained in Nagaland of north-eastern India. Today, many are inhabitants of Nagaland, Assam, and Arunachal Pradesh of northeastern India (Shimray 2001).

The Naga are one of the minority peoples of Myanmar. Based on geographic location, the Naga can be divided into four main clusters with around eighty varieties or languages. Interestingly, almost every village speaks a different language from the next one a few miles away. It is believed that even though they are said to be one language group at first, the distant locations, rivers, valleys, and mountains caused them to have poor contact with one another and eventually they became unintelligible languages (Tin Yi 2004).

The Naga Hills in Myanmar are situated in the northwest, in the border area between Myanmar and India. To the east are Kachin State and the Chindwin River. The border follows the spine of the Patkoi mountain range, an easterly extension of the Himalayas that travels south as far as Chin State. The Naga are generally found in five different townships in Myanmar: Homalin, Khamti, Lahe, Layshi, and Nanyun (Numyong) of Khamti district, Sagaing Division of northwestern Myanmar. There are about 250,000 Naga in Myanmar, and the Leinong Naga comprises one of these groups. However, currently Naga people can also be found in locations such as Tamu, Homalin, Mandalay, Yangon and many other parts of Myanmar. Figure (2) shows the distribution of Naga in Myanmar.
1.4.1 Background of Leinong Naga

Primarily, the Leinong Nagas are located in the township capital, Lahe, and surrounding villages. The estimated population is about 15,000. There are well-educated people among the Leinong Nagas who serve in the government administrative office of Lahe town. Figure (3) is a linguistic map of Lahe Township.
According to Wayesha (2009), the name “Leinong” has two meanings. First, Leinong derives from the word “za-nong” which means za ‘back bone’, and nong ‘bendy’. When combined, this means ‘a person or people who work hard’. Second, the word Leinong stands for lei for ‘clan’, and nong for ‘plain’, and therefore it means ‘folk who inhabit the plain area’.

Tin Ko (1982: 286) states that the Leinong entered into Myanmar through what is called the Pongnyo, Saplaw route from India. They are peaceful people, not wanting war against anyone, and therefore their language has become the lingua franca within the Lahe Township. They are predominantly Buddhist. According to the statistics given by Tin Yi, there are 1,086 animists, 8,112 Buddhists, and 3,016 Christians among the Leinong Naga (2004: 355).

1.3.2 Language classification of Leinong Naga in Tibeto-Burman family

By different scholars, Naga languages have been classified variably within the Tibeto-Burman family. Scholars sub-grouped Naga under Kukish (Shafer1974), Kuki-Chin-Naga (Thurgood 2003) or Kuki-Naga (Benedict 1972). Differently, Benedict
(1972) treats Kachin as a language from which other languages radiated out while other scholars treat it as a separate-node of one family. Thurgood (2003) gives a more detailed subgroup of the Naga based on the language data collected mainly from India. This classification is shown in figure (4).

![Figure 4 Classification of Naga by Thurgood (2003)](image)

However, Bradley (1997:27) divides the Naga languages into two groups: northern Naga languages and southern Naga languages. He places Southern Naga under South-eastern group and northern Naga under Bodo-Garo-Northern Naga. According to his statement, in Burma, “the east of Konyak and south of the Wancho are the Htangan”. And Htangan is closely related to Konyak (following Marrison 1967) and put under the northern Naga group (1997:24).

The Naga in Myanmar are divided into four main clusters namely, 1) Somra Naga, 2) Htangan Naga, 3) Heimi Naga and, 4) Sin Naga. According to both Min Naing (1960) and Tin Yi (2004), Leinong Naga is sub-grouped with other Naga varieties such as Yao Diang, Makyam, Solo, Saplow, and Pong Nyo, Danu and Khemyungan of Lahe township under Htangan Naga. This classification is shown in figure (5).
Therefore, based on the studies of Bradley, Tin Yi, and Min Naing, placing Leinong Naga under Htangan as shown in figure (6) is proposed for the classification of Leinong Naga within the Naga groups of the Tibeto-Burman language family.

1.5 Thesis background and goal of the study

The Leinong Naga variety is chosen for research because it is one of the unwritten speech varieties of the Naga language. As far as this language is concerned, no
academic linguistic work has been done on the grammatical behavior of this Naga language. The literacy rate in the national language is very low among all Naga in Myanmar, and the Naga themselves want to have their own writing system and want to preserve and develop their language. So, it is expected that this research will be an initial piece of language documentation for the Leinong Naga language by giving a linguistic analysis for some aspect of Leinong grammatical structure. Also, this research can be a small part of a process leading to further language development among the Leinong Naga people. Moreover, it is hoped that this study will serve as a stepping stone for further linguistic studies in other related varieties and languages.

The goals of this study are as follows:

1. To analyze, describe and compare the behavior of imperfectivity in the three Tibeto-Burman languages: Leinong, Lisu, and Burmese.

2. To provide language documentation for the preservation of the unwritten language, Leinong, and to make this research available to the linguistic community.

1.5.1 Methodology

This study includes library research on grammatical articles and language background article for Burmese, Lisu, and Naga languages. For Leinong Naga data collection, two field trips were made to northwest Myanmar in 2007 and 2008. Lisu and Burmese sentences are from the author’s intuition with the help of the author’s husband. The data was analyzed mainly using a traditional grammar description.

For Leinong Naga data collection, a number of stories and a grammar questionnaire were collected from three different native speakers. An interpreter was used for communicating with the female LRP (see detailed information of the LRPs in table (1)). The collected phrases and sentences were recorded and transcribed phonetically. The elicited transcribed phrases and sentences of the three languages were put into the software program Fieldworks and interlinearized for grammatical analysis. These interlinearized stories and some sentences are included in appendix A.

After a preliminary transcription, interlinearization, and analysis, the data was re-checked with a native speaker during a second field trip and through Skype with a native speaker who is studying in New Delhi, India.
Table 1 Detailed information of LRPs

<table>
<thead>
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<th>LRP 1</th>
<th>LRP 2</th>
<th>LRP 3</th>
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<td>Age</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>27</td>
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<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Business</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Student</td>
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<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Grade 3</td>
<td>Grade 10</td>
<td>Mon Ywa University, Sagaing</td>
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<tr>
<td>Place lived</td>
<td>Khamti town</td>
<td>Sin Thae village</td>
<td>Lahe town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First language spoken</td>
<td>Leinong Naga</td>
<td>Leinong Naga</td>
<td>Leinong Naga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other languages spoken</td>
<td>Some Burmese, some Nauk Aw Naga and Long Sauk Naga</td>
<td>Burmese,</td>
<td>Burmese, some English</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.5.2 Scope and limitation of the research

This thesis mainly focuses on imperfectivity in three Tibeto-Burman languages: Leinong Naga, Burmese, and Lisu. The Lisu and Burmese data comes from my intuition and with the help of my husband, James Wayesha who is also a native speaker of Lisu, Burmese and, a Mongre Naga variety. Both my husband and I are from Burma. This thesis researches only the colloquial Burmese of the Mandalay dialect and the Northern Lisu dialect of Lisu. As for Leinong Naga, about 450 Leinong Naga phrases and sentences and three 10-sentence stories were collected from three different native LRPs who live in Burma. All of the LRPs are under the age of 40.

Since the focus is on the imperfective behavior of the three languages, a detailed phonological analysis of the three languages is not included. (For more on Lisu phonology see in Bradley 1994, 2003, 2006, and Yu 2007; for Burmese phonology see in Okell 1969 (I, II), Green 2005; for Leinong phonology see Wayesha 2009). The language of wider communication also is another factor that limits the research when eliciting sentences from Leinong Naga LRPs, especially, with the female LRP. In this case a Burmese-Naga interpreter was used in eliciting sentences. For the Leinong Naga grammatical structure, this thesis only includes the Leinong Naga from Burma side. Since some differences are found among Leinong Naga speakers of...
different places in Burma, these thesis results may not apply to the overall Leinong Naga language.

1.6 Literature review

In this section, an overview of previous research on the three languages, Burmese, Lisu, and Leinong Naga, are presented, respectively. Then it gives a review of the concepts and theoretical frame applied to this thesis.

1.6.1 Overview of previous research on Burmese

Romeo describes in her book entitled ‘Aspect of Burmese: Meaning and function’ the way Burmese organizes its aspectual system. In part I, she gives a descriptive overview of Burmese including the structure of Burmese independent clauses and ‘verbal operators’. In part II, her description covers most of the aspectual particles of Burmese. Chapter 4 discusses imperfectivity in English and Burmese. She presents the use of the post-$V_N$ operators, /ne/ ‘continuous’ with stative and non-stative verbs. In particular, she presents the imperfectives of posture, motion, perception, communication, and some achievement verbs. She summarizes the function of /ne/ as follows:

“CONTINUOUS’ marks a) dynamic, inherently durative events (activities/accomplishments) as ongoing at speech/reference time and b) states, whose well-established existence is seen to encompass and possibly exceed speech/reference time. Only rarely does it mark achievements, since the latter code change-of-state events that are inherently non-durative, i.e. punctual events that take place (or are perceived as taking place) instantaneously. In this case, /ne/ ‘continuous’ marks the result produced by the event (i.e. the attainment of the entity’s state) as continuing at speech or reference time” (2008: 87).

The behavior of $ne^{22}$ that she summarizes in her book is adapted into this thesis. One point to note about her analysis is that for achievement verbs, she does not make a distinction between the change of state events (the action $tf\bar{d}$ ‘to break horizontally’)
and the resultant states (tfō ‘be broken horizontally’) (2008: 122)\(^3\). This distinction is clearly made in this thesis. Some Burmese achievement verbs, especially the change of state verbs do not entail a resultant state. Resultant states are discussed along with achievement event verbs \(k^{\text{we}}_{44}\) ‘to break in to pieces’ and the resultant state \(k^{\text{we}}_{44}\) ‘be broken into pieces’ later in this thesis.

Her concepts of the Burmese post-V\(_N\) operator \(t^{\text{hà}}\) ‘RESULTATIVE’ which is derived from a full verb \(t^{\text{hà}}\) ‘put, place; keep’, is applied to analysis of the Leinong Naga particle \(lu{i}^{33}\) which comes from the full verb \(lu{i}^{33}\) ‘put; keep; left’. Romeo states that the function of the core operator \(t^{\text{hà}}\) is to mark the state of the undergoer resulting from the activity expressed by the main verb. That attained state is seen as stable and permanent. It also marks the affectedness of the undergoer, and so the focus of attention is drawn from the entity that triggers the change to the affected entity (2006: 73). A similar use is seen in Leinong Naga.

The other description of aspectual particles such as \(t^{e^{22}}\) ‘realis’, \(k^{\text{e}}_{42}\) ‘back there/remote past’ and, \(lai^{?]}\) ‘follow’ are also used in this thesis\(^4\). There is common agreement that \(t^{e^{22}}\) has formal or literary variants: \(\theta^{i^{22}}\) and \(\eta^{42}\). Gärtner (2005: 108) clearly states \(t^{e^{22}}\) as follows:

“events that are not related to the future, i.e. general statements as well as events which had happened or are ongoing in the present. The distinction between past or present can be specified by time phrases, as necessary.”

Of course the denotation of \(t^{e^{22}}\) particularly with event verbs is ambiguous between present (habitual), and past. However, contextually, event verbs with \(t^{e^{22}}\) are most likely understood as past events before the speech time. This implication is quite clear in the Burmese Bible. After a time indication is made at the beginning of the

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\(^3\) In Burmese, aspiration is used with several verbs to express causativity. Some examples are shown in following table.

| \(k^{\text{we}}_{44}\) ‘to break’ | \(k^{\text{we}}_{44}\) ‘to be broken’ |
| \(tf^{\text{a}}_{0^{44}}\) ‘to break horizontally’ | \(tf^{\text{a}}_{0^{44}}\) ‘be broken horizontally’ |
| \(tf^{\text{e}}_{0^{42}}\) ‘to widen’ | \(tf^{\text{e}}_{0^{42}}\) ‘be wide’ |
| \(tf^{\text{a}}^{22}\) ‘to make something fall/put down something’ | \(tf^{\text{a}}^{22}\) ‘to fall’ |
| \(tf^{\text{e}}^{?}\) ‘to cook’ | \(tf^{\text{e}}^{?}\) ‘be cooked’ |
| \(tf^{\text{u}}^{?}\) ‘to take off’ | \(tf^{\text{u}}^{?}\) ‘fall off’ |

\(^4\) \(t^{e^{22}}\) is equivalent to literary Burmese \(\theta^{i^{22}}\) and \(\eta^{42}\).
chapter, most past events in different verses of the Burmese Bible is solely marked by \( \ddot{t} \) ‘realis’ (literary Burmese form) at the end of the sentence. According to Romeo, the denotation of \( t_e \) is described as:

“1) the reality of the event, i.e. its past or present existence in the real world of events, and 2) the declarative quality of the utterance that describes the event itself” (2008: 67).

Okell has done a considerable amount of work on Burmese including both colloquial and literary Burmese. Even though most of scholars of the Burmese language do not recognizes the particle \( tou_n^{44} \) ‘durative’ (Okell’s \( tou_n \)) as expressing an imperfective effect of Burmese, Okell (2001: 92) defines \( tou_n^{44} \) as “to be still V-ing or in the process of V-ing”.

In his previous work, he recognizes \( tou_n^{44} \) as “1) a subordinate marker, with verbs 2) voiced; occurs with noun bases when followed by subordinate marker ká ‘past time’ 3) ‘while, during, while still, when’, 4) expressions with \( tou_n^{44} \) are sometimes treated as noun expressions (location complements) and followed by subordinate markers hma ‘in, at’, ká ‘past time’.” The meaning of \( tou_n^{44} \) in 3) is most related to the aspectual naturalness of \( tou_n^{44} \) ‘durative’ researched in this thesis. Okell’s examples for \( tou_n^{44} \) are as shown in (1) and (2) (1969:449).

(1)

\[ m\ddot{o}_u \quad ywa- \quad tou_n \quad hyi-thei-lo\ddot{u} \]
Sky rain-still exist-yet-because
Because it was still raining. (Okell 1969:449)

(2)

\[ ma-pi-thei-pa-phu. \quad yei-tou_n-hp\ddot{e} \]
not-finish-yet-polite-V.S. write-still-emphatic
(1) haven’t finished yet. (I’m) still writing (it). (Okell 1969: 449)

The Burmese-English dictionary (2001: 187) published by the Ministry of Education of Myanmar describes \( tou_n^{44} \) in two aspect:

1) conj while

2) part particle suffixed to verbs to denote continuing action or state (equivalent in usage to the adverb ‘still’) as in \( ?e?t? \ tou_n^{44} \ be^{44} \ ‘sleep still EMPH (still sleeping)’
However, it is important to note that there are a number of particles or connectors that co-locate events as ongoing but this thesis does not focus on the clausal subordinators, only verbal particles. So, the other subordinating use of *toun*⁴⁴ is not the focus of this thesis.

A general discussion of the Burmese verb phrase and noun phrase is given by Wheatley (2003: 202-4) as follows: the Burmese verb phrase (VP) is composed of a head followed by a variable set of main or subordinate clause particles and other elements are also present in most cases. Verbs can appear before the head verb to form serialized verb constructions. Auxiliary verbs occur in unmediated strings, right after the main verb. These auxiliaries show different grammatical properties and semantic specialization. The verbs that have a closer position to the main verbs have greater independence and can be preceded by a negative prefix or a complement marker. Those verbs which are positioned relatively far away from the main verb are strongly bound and inseparable. Auxiliaries consist of verbs like ne ‘stay’ as in *la ne pi* ([he] come-stay-PUNC) ‘here he comes/he is coming’, and pè ‘give’ as in *K’and- ci-t’a -pè -pa* (a while-watch-put-give-POL) ‘watch [it] for [me] for awhile, would you mind?’.

Regarding case marking in Burmese, Bradley states that all case marking is done with cliticized markers in Burmese and several of them are historically derived from grammaticalized nominal, verbal or other forms. Case marking is mostly optional, and largely used in spoken language. However, after giving an account on old Burmese he concludes that accusative marking on nouns as shown by the old Burmese is also characteristic of Burmese-Lolo languages and southeastern Tibeto-Burman in general. He also claims that no evidence of ergativity has been found in Burmese since the twelfth century (2005: 71). However, the colloquial Burmese of the Mandalay dialect shows some obligatory case marking on the agent, and some objects do not require object case marking. This is discussed in Chapter (2). In Lisu, especially Shibacha, Yu states that arguments, such as subject, object or topic are not obligatorily marked in all sentential circumstances in all dialects of Lisu. If the object is present the subject is marked often, otherwise the subject can be unmarked (2008: 178). She has no conclusions as to which basic case system Lisu follows.

### 1.6.2 Overview of previous research on Lisu

During 1914-1922, the Lisu script, or the so called Fraser script or Bible script, was developed by China Inland Mission member James Outram Fraser, the Karen evangelist Ba Thaw, and the American Baptist Mission member George J. Gesi,
using upper case roman letters, upright and inverted, for consonants and vowels, and with variable punctuation markers used for tones. This script is based mainly on Central Lisu spoken in Tenchong County, with some elements taken from the Central Lisu in Burma, and the Northern Lisu from Lushui County of China (Bradley 2006: xxv).

Fraser proposed the first basic grammar of Lisu based on Central Lisu dialects found in Tenchong and Longling districts in China, Myitkyina, Bhamo and the northern Shan state of Burma. He states that it is unknown whether this work is fundamentally correct for all of the Lisu dialects in different areas. In this book he introduces a general idea of Lisu consonants, vowels, and tones. Also it covers most of the grammatical categories using English parts of speech as a framework. This analysis includes case markers, and some amount of tense and aspect information.

In his book (Fraser 1922: 3), he describes ‘(a)’ (this thesis’ a⁴⁴ ‘REAL’) as follows:

‘a slurred’ which has a definite grammatical force to be explained… should neither be given its full sound value nor entirely omitted. In this book it will be represented by “(a)”; in the script devised for the use of the natives it is represented by a short dash at the foot of the letter.’

a⁴⁴ is treated as a tone a⁴⁴ se²¹ ‘a tone” in Lisu script. The occurrence of a⁴⁴ in a sentence has been controversial among Northern Lisu speakers as well as in other dialect speakers.

Bradley (2006: xxvii) also says, regarding a⁴⁴, ‘the extremely frequent postverbal marker /a/ is written as an underline after the verbal form, as in je.,O VoY /dʒ aŋo/ ‘will go’. He assumes that the reason for writing a⁴⁴ as an underline after the verb may be because writing a⁴⁴ with the Lisu letter ‘a’ might imply that it has an initial glottal stop, which it does not. He proposes a⁴⁴ as an imperfective marker (2003: 232) which is used not only for the present situation but also occurs with the past events. This is discussed with other particles in chapter (3).

a⁴⁴ can appear primarily with verbs, but it also appears after postpositional markers, nominalizers, plural markers, and adverbs etc. However the discussion in this thesis cannot give the whole picture of a⁴⁴, only a⁴⁴ which occurs post verbally or at the end of the sentence.
Fraser script has a sentence final particle \textit{lo}\textsuperscript{44} (Fraser’s \textit{law}) in his book and in Bible script which has never appeared in the daily speech of Northern Lisu speaker and some other dialect speakers who the author has encountered\textsuperscript{5}.

Regarding Lisu tense and aspect Fraser states that Lisu verbs have no inflectional system, by which what he meant that Lisu has no regular paradigmatic inflectional system. Variations of voice, mood, tense, person, etc., are either expressed by suffixes or left to be inferred. The simple past, present, or future tenses are described by the simple verb plus the suffix “(a) - \textit{law}”. For example \textit{Ngwa}\textsuperscript{4} \textit{nu}\textsuperscript{5} \textit{ye}\textsuperscript{3} (a) \textit{law}\textsuperscript{3} ‘we do/did/or will do (it). He states that the context is usually adequate to determine the tense; otherwise a temporal clause may be needed. With the past tense the “(a)” is often omitted. Either the dropping of “(a)” is possible for the past tense or in any case it is difficult to seize in daily conversation (Fraser 1922: 23). It may be true with the presence of \textit{lo}\textsuperscript{44} (\textit{law}) in the Lisu Bible dialect, however without the presence of \textit{lo}\textsuperscript{44} in ordinary conversations, the sentence must end with \textit{a}\textsuperscript{44} ‘REAL’ or \textit{o}\textsuperscript{33} ‘PFV’, and \textit{a}\textsuperscript{44} \textit{ŋo}\textsuperscript{33} ‘future event’ with some optional, additional particles following them.

Fraser proposes that the continuous tense, past or present, is expressed by the presence of \textit{tya} ‘to be present, at, in, of persons’. The time of event must either be inferred or expressed by a temporal clause (Fraser 1922: 24). This \textit{tya} is equivalent to Northern Lisu \textit{ɲɛ}\textsuperscript{35} ‘stay, sit, live’. He does not talk about larger linguistic units of Lisu (NP, clause structure, etc) in his book.

Regarding case-marking Fraser states that the subject of Lisu sentences as well as objects are often omitted when they can be inferred from the context. Lisu requires the subject marker \textit{nya}\textsuperscript{5}, \textit{lye}\textsuperscript{3} (\textit{ni}\textsuperscript{33} in this thesis) when there might be ambiguity with possessive case, or when emphasis or distinction is desired for an agent or instrument in the sentence. Also he states that the occurrence of the direct and indirect object marker \textit{ta}\textsuperscript{1} (\textit{tɛ}\textsuperscript{33} in this thesis) seems impossible to predict (1922: 7). This behavior is also found in Northern Lisu dialect.

Recent linguistic work which has been done on Lisu is by a native Lisu linguist Defen Yu (2007) from China. In her book she gives a comparative phonology study on five different dialects which she names according to where the dialect is spoken. Her data is mainly collected from the Lisu speakers of China. Her grammatical work

\textsuperscript{5} Bradley glosses \textit{lo}\textsuperscript{44} as habitual or generic particle (2003: 232).
is based on her own dialect called Shibacha. In her work, Northern Lisu dialect is called Nujiang Lisu dialect.

Based on her Lisu dialect, Shibacha, Yu (2008: 182) argues that the major function of Lisu verbs are as predicates which take a grammatical marker of negation and TAM markers including aspect, sequential, declarative, and evidential. Particularly, Lisu verbs do not inflect for number, person, or gender agreement. There is no bound morphology of tense and aspect. Tense in Lisu is signified by contextual information whereas aspect is signified by post-verbal aspectual markers. Although most verbs can take aspect, causative, imperative, prohibitive, sequential, declarative, and evidential, Lisu stative/adjective verbs are not allowed to take them. In this case, Shibacha is somewhat different from Northern Lisu dialect. In Northern Lisu stative verbs are modified by aspectual markers. This is discussed in Chapter (3).

Yu states that *tia*⁵⁵ ‘stay’ (Northern Lisu dialect’s *ɲɛ*³⁵) “occurs as a second verb in asymmetrical serial verb construction expressing durative/continuous or imperfective aspect” (2007: 218).

### 1.6.3 Overview of previous research on Naga

A partial study of some Naga varieties has been done by linguists in the past few years, but not on Leinong Naga. So, only previous research on overall Naga language varieties is overviewed.

Shi and Adams (2008) introduce a single verbal particle /lei/ of Makuri, one of the Naga dialects found in Myanmar and northeast India. They explain how different event types function with this single verbal particle /lei/. This particle appears to have the ability to denote eventuality expressed as either imperfectively or perfectly. This particle always acts imperfectively by associating events with a homogenous interval (state description) and but when it associates with events, the denoted interpretation is the ‘property of having done event’ (a perfective interpretation of the event which has done but has an imperfective interpretation of the stative event ‘in the state of being having done event’). This characteristic is also shown in some of the behavior of Leinong Naga’s aspectual particles. A general knowledge about the aspectual particles in Naga language and the idea of researching how a single particle interacts with different event types is adopted in this thesis.
Coupe (2008) explains the grammar of Mongsen which is one of the two dialects of the Ao languages found in north east India. Mongsen establishes an absolute tense category and in this category, the past tense is unmarked. He finds four aspect suffixes which encode the continuative, the repetitive and the completive, the habitual aspect of this dialect. The Mongsen continuative aspect suffix -ja can mark both activity and stative verbs as temporally unbounded state of affairs (imperfective) (2008: 325). In this dialect, direct negation is not allowed to a verb stem marked for continuative aspect and functioning as the main verb of an independent clause. Mongsen case markers occur after the final constituent of the noun phrase. Coupe's research shows that the object of Mongsen receives no overt marking while the subject is optionally marked according to the pragmatic and/or semantic factors (2008: 213). Coupe's general ideas of descriptive grammar and imperfectivity in Naga languages are applied to this paper.

Additional, grammatical work has been done on two varieties of Naga languages from Burma. One is Makuri which belongs to the Southern Naga group and the other is Para which is also from the Southern Naga group, a member of Angami-Pochuri sub-group of Kuki-Chin-Naga group within the Tibeto-Burman language family (Lubbe 2007 adapted from Burling (2003), Aung Khin 1998, and Saul (2005)). The Makuri grammatical work is done by Kwanbae Son (Son 2006) and Para by Melissa Lubbe (Lubbe 2007). These two works are helpful for this research in giving the general grammatical behavior of Naga languages, including the information about aspectual particles.

1.6.4 Theoretical framework and concepts of Aspect and Imperfectivity

The followings section introduces the theoretical foundation of this thesis and the crucial technical terms used in this thesis. The crucial technical terms in this thesis are imperfective, and the different event types which affect how imperfectivity is expressed. Some of these definitions are provided below.

1.6.4.1 Theoretical framework

This analysis is primarily based on a traditional grammatical approach in describing the grammatical behavior of the languages presented.

General ideas about grammatical terms and concepts including tense and aspect are taken from two general introductions to grammar. These introductions are Kroeger (2006), and Givon's Syntax, volume (1). Cross-linguistic grammatical behavior is
surveyed in Shopen’s three-volume, Language and typology and syntactic description. The discussion of ‘word-order’ and ‘Noun phrase structure’ by Mathew Dryer, ‘Parts-of speech systems’ by Paul Schachter, and ‘Aspect, tense, mood’ by Alan Timberlake were especially helpful discussions for this thesis.

Parsons (1990) was also useful in understanding event types. He presents a coherent general theory about how events and states relate to language. In chapter 3, he discusses events, states, and processes and some kinds of semantic tests to differentiate these eventualities. In chapter 9, the paradox of ‘imperfectivity’ and an adequate account of the semantics of the progressive in English are presented. Concepts for semantic description described in this book are applied to this thesis.

The term ‘particle’ is explained by Crystal (2003: 338) as

a term used in GRAMMATICAL description to refer to an INVARAIBLE ITEM with grammatical FUNCTION, especially one which does not really fit into a standard classification of PARTS OF SPEECH

Matisoff (2003: 212) states that

Particles are bound morphemes with abstract grammatical functions. Even though they cannot occur alone in a phrase, they are considered to be separate words, not inflectional endings, and are written with spaces before and after them...Noun particles (Pn) only occur after nouns...Verb particles (Pv) only occur after verbs...Unrestricted particles (Pu) may occur after either nouns or verbs...

This analysis treats particles as free standing words.

‘Entailment’ is described by Crystal (2003: 162): “It refers to a relation of between a pair of sentences such that the truth of the second sentence necessarily follows from (entails) the truth of the first, e.g. I can see a dog-I can see an animal. One cannot both assert the first and deny the second.”

The term Implicature is derived from the work done by the philosopher H.P. Grice (1913-88). It is use in studying conversational structure.

Conversational implicature refers to the implication which can be deduced from the FROM of an UTTERANCE, on the basis of certain COOPERATIVE PRINCIPLES which govern the efficiency and normal
acceptability of conversations. For example ‘there’s some chalk on the floor is taken to mean ‘you ought to pick it up’.” (Crystal 2003: 228).

However, conversational implicature is defeasible (can be cancelled without incoherence, see more explanations of these concepts in Allan 2001). These terms are used in describing semantic descriptions in this thesis.

1.6.4.2 Overview of concepts of aspect and imperfectivity

This section discusses the terms and concepts of aspect and imperfectivity.

1.6.4.2.1 Aspect and Imperfectivity

According to Comrie (1967:3), aspect is defined as “different ways of viewing the internal constituency of a situation”. According to Payne (1997: 238), aspect is a “grammatical category which relates to the internal temporal shape of events and states”. Kroeger (2006: 152 from Bybee (1985)) states that “aspect defines the shape, distribution, or “internal organization” of the event in time”. It has an important contribution to the basic meaning of many predicates. The nature of aspect ‘the internal temporal shape of events and states’ is simply derived from how the situation is perceived by the speaker.

Imperfectivity is opposed to perfectivity: “….involves lack of explicit reference to the internal temporal constituency of a situation” (Comrie 1976; 21). Perfectivity is viewing a situation as a whole. Various definitions of imperfectivity have been proposed by different scholars.

Comrie states that imperfectivity is “...explicit reference to the internal temporal structure of a situation, viewing a situation from within” (1976: 24). And Bybee states that “...an imperfective situation may be one viewed as in progress at a particular reference point, either in the past or present, or one viewed as characteristics of a period of time that includes the reference time, that is, a habitual situation” (Bybee et al.1994: 125-126).

Romeo (2008: 94) states that when a speaker expresses events and states imperfectively, they express themselves as if they were in the middle of performing and experiencing the situation. The external boundaries of events or states viewed imperfectively are out of speaker’s mind. So, the use of imperfective is often subject in discourse to introduce background information which does not add any new progress to the narrative. According to Comrie (1976: 25), the subcategories of
imperfectivity can be recognized as shown in figure (7). It covers the meaning of habituality and continuousness.

![Aspectual category diagram]

Figure 7 Aspectual category by Comrie (1976: 25)

‘Habituality’ expresses “... a situation which is characteristic of an extended period to time, so extended in fact that the situation referred to is viewed not as an incidental property of the moment but precisely, as a characteristic features of a whole period” (Comrie 1976: 27-28).

This thesis takes ‘habituality’ as ‘a series of completed events’ which do not focus on any particular event of the reference time (Adams (1999) following Dowty).

‘Continuous’ is defined as “...imperfectivity not occasioned by habituality (Comrie 1976: 33). It is divided into progressive i.e. “...the combination of progressive meaning and non-stative meaning” (1976: 35). For non-progressive meaning, Comrie did not provide any clear definition or examples. However, by inference, Romeo (2008: 95) assumes that non-progressive “may be described as the combination of continuous meaning and stative meaning”. From Comrie's habitual statement, Romeo infers continuousness as a situation which is perceived as “an incidental property of a moment”. ‘Continuousness’ is “a semantic notion that expresses states as enduring and non-states as ongoing at the speech time” (2008: 100-1).
According to Bybee et al. ‘continuous’ is described as:

“...more general than progressive, because it can used in progressive situations but in addition with stative predicates. Thus continuous views a situation, whether it be dynamic or stative, as ongoing at reference time....”

This thesis defines ‘continuous’ as ‘imperfectivity not occasioned by habituality, which is an incidental property of the moment of speech, and views events and states as ongoing at the speech time’.

Another type of imperfectivity is iterative. ‘Iterative’ or ‘repetitive’ refers to events which occur repeatedly. For example, English ‘keep on X-ing’, ‘over and over’ and ‘more and more’...etc (Kroeger 2006: 157).

In contrast to ‘imperfectivity’ are other notions like ‘inceptive’, ‘inchoative’, and ‘completive’. ‘Inceptive’ refers to the beginning of a situation. For instance, ‘about to X’, ‘on the point of X’ (Kroeger 2006: 157). ‘Inchoative’ “sometimes refers to a change of state or entering a state. For instance, ‘to become X’” (Kroeger 2006: 157). ‘Completive’ aspect is used to describe an event which has been completed. For example, ‘X finished X-ing’ (Kroeger 2006: 157).

Based on the concepts expressed in the definitions discussed above, the following definition of imperfectivity will be used in this thesis:

“If an eventuality expressed in a sentence or a conversation holds at the speech time expressed and the action or the existence of the eventuality expressed is not completed yet and still present at the speech time expressed then the event expressed at the speech time is imperfective”.

1.6.4.2.2 Eventualities

This section briefly reviews eventuality and different event types.

‘Eventuality’ refers to any state of affairs or happening (in other words, states or events) in the real world (Adams 1999: 48). The two main categories of eventualities, states and event, are recognized by different scholars. A state is “a situation which is relatively static” whereas an event is defined as “a situation which is changing overtime”” (Kroeger 2006: 152). According to other scholars they are defined this way:

A state is a “property/state of affairs which denotes a situation that is internally homogeneous”, on the other hand, an event is internally heterogeneous’ (Adams 1999 following Dowty 1979, and Kearns 1991).
Accomplishments, achievements, activities and states are the four fundamental eventuality types used both in this thesis and in many other studies of tense and aspect. These eventuality types were introduced by Vendler (1967) and additional formal description were given by Dowty (1979). However, different sub-eventuality types have been recognized differently by various linguists. This reorganization is shown in figure (8) comparing the research of Carlson (1977), and Kearns (1991) with Vendler/Dowty. The bolded eventuality categories are Vendler/Dowty categories.

![Eventuality categories](image)

Figure 8 Eventuality categories (adapted from Adams 1999)

This thesis will use Vendler/Dowty’s four basic Aktionsart classes of verbs: states, activities, achievements, and accomplishments (Vendler 1997:92) with at least two classes of states.6

States have duration but no culmination. Two kinds of stative predications are recognized by Kratzer (1995) and Carlson (1977): 1) those based on “individual level properties” and 2) those based on “stage level” properties. “An individual level” property is a relatively stable property of an entity, not likely to be changed (e.g. ‘tall’). A “stage level” property is a transitory property of an entity which is likely to be changed (e.g. ‘angry’).

---

6 Although two classes of states, ‘individual-level property states’ and ‘stage-level property states’ have been recognized by scholars, this thesis finds another category of states called resultant states which are produced by the change-of-state event. This resultant state show different behavior from other states in marking imperfectivity.
Activities\(^7\) are events that have duration but do not denote culmination. For example, run and walk. Some energy (dynamic) is needed to maintain the activities (Adams 1999:51).

The difference between states and activities is that states do not need energy to maintain the event whereas activities need it to maintain the event.

Achievements are events that have no duration but culminate in a change from one state of affairs to another. They are incompatible with temporal adverbials such as ‘for an hour’. For example, ‘broke’ and ‘notice’ (Adams 1999:52).

\textit{e.g.} The mirror broke (*for an hour).

Accomplishments are events that take time to culminate. An accomplishment denotes both the resultant state of the event and the durative process leading up to it. For example, the English word, ‘build’ (Adams 1999: 53).

\textit{e.g.} John built a house in a year.

The characteristics of event types are summarized in table (2)

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
Eventualities & Dynamic (takes energy) & Duration & Telic/culmination (bound) \\
\hline
State & - & + & - \\
\hline
Activity & + & + & - \\
\hline
Achievement & + & - & + \\
\hline
Accomplishment & + & + & + \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Characteristic of event types}
\end{table}

Jackendoff (1983: 170) develops several tests to distinguish states from events. Events can be assumed to answer ‘what happened?’ whereas states cannot. For distinguishing events that are telic (culmination) from atelic (non-culmination), Dowty (1979: 56) develops a test, using the temporal phrase ‘for ten minutes’ for atelic (non-culmination) and ‘in ten minutes’ for telic (culmination) events.

\textit{7} By other scholars, such as Parson (1989) and de Swärt (1997) the term ‘Activity’ is recognized as ‘process’. 
It is important to note that, one or two representative verbs from each event types for the analysis were chosen following Vendler/Dowty’s. These verbs are as follows: ‘beautiful’ (stage-level property state), ‘tall’ (individual-level property state), ‘run’ (activity), ‘build’ (accomplishment), ‘break’ (achievement event), ‘be broken’ (achievement, resultant state), and ‘give-birth’ (achievement event).

Adams (1999: 61) also suggests a basic distinction between states and events is that “events entail that asserted eventuality does not hold of the moment before the time value at which the eventuality is asserted to hold. States, on the other hand, marked no entailment about the time value immediately prior to the time value at which the eventuality is asserted to hold”.

It is noted that verbs by themselves do not denote complete eventualities. They partially denote particular eventualities. In isolation they are ambiguous between different event types. For example in English, the verb ‘sweep’ can be ambiguous. It can either be an activity or an accomplishment as shown in (3).

(3)
John swept the room for an hour.
John swept the room in an hour.

Because of this, a complete eventuality is denoted when only a verb enters into a clause with additional information such as temporal modifiers (Adams 1999: 46).
Chapter 2
Burmese

2.1 Introduction

This chapter gives a brief overview of Burmese phonology and gives a basic grammar sketch. Then it gives an introduction to the verbal particles which express the aspectual effect of imperfectivity. It then describes imperfectivity in Burmese in more detail.

2.2 Burmese phonology

This overview of Burmese phonology includes consonants, vowels, and tones. This work is mainly borrowed from Green (2005: 2-5). Burmese’s syllable structure is C (G) V ((V) C). The onset may be a consonant followed by a glide (G). The rhyme can be either a monothong alone, a monothong with a consonant, or a diphthong with a consonant. A diphthong is not allowed to occur in an open syllable.

Green states that Burmese has a difference between major and minor syllables, like many other South East Asian languages. He (following Hyman 1985 and others) assumes that minor syllables contain one unit of weight (called a mora) whereas major syllables constitute two moras. One of the characteristics of Burmese major syllables is that they bear tone whereas minor syllables bear no tone (2005: 4).

Burmese consonants\(^8\) are shown in table (3). Vowels and tones are shown in table (4).

---

\(^8\) The symbol, [ ] as used in consonant chart represents an allophone of phoneme.
Table 3 Consonants in Burmese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labial-</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal-</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
<th>glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stop:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aspirated</td>
<td>pʰ</td>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td>kʰ</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unaspirated</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vd.</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal:</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vl.</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>ɲ</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ɴ</td>
<td>ɴə</td>
<td>ɴ</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vd.</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ɲ</td>
<td>ɴ</td>
<td>ɴə</td>
<td>ɴ</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative:</td>
<td></td>
<td>sʰ</td>
<td>ʃ</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>T</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aspirated</td>
<td>f</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unaspirated</td>
<td>θ [ð]</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>ʃ</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>T</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td>ɬ</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vd.</td>
<td>ɹ</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricate:</td>
<td></td>
<td>tsʰ</td>
<td>tɕʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td>T</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aspirated</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>tɕ</td>
<td>tɕʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td>T</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unaspirated</td>
<td>dz</td>
<td>dʑ</td>
<td>dz</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vd.</td>
<td>dz</td>
<td>dz</td>
<td>dz</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximant:</td>
<td>w [w]</td>
<td>l [r]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 Vowels and tones in Burmese (Green 2005: 2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Monophthongs</th>
<th>Diphthongs</th>
<th>tones</th>
<th>Tones representation in this thesis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>ou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ə</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>au</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ε</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ɔ</td>
<td>Killed (or checked)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3 A brief overview of Burmese basic grammar

This section presents a brief overview of Burmese (Myanmar) grammar. The Burmese noun phrase structure, word order, and case system are discussed in turn.
This brief overview simply gives examples to demonstrate and make statements. It does not attempt to do any extensive justification. Complex examples are provided for illustration. However, many complex variations which are considered pragmatic or stylistic are neglected.

2.3.1 Burmese noun phrase

A Burmese noun phrase may involve a head noun and some or all of the following modifiers: one or more relative clauses (RC*), a possessor noun phrase (NP\textsubscript{poss}), a demonstrative (DEM), adjective phrase (AP), and a classifier phrase (CLFP). Number (NUM) and quantifier (QUANT) phrases are assumed to be in a classifier phrase (CLFP).

The following example (4) shows the relative ordering of Burmese noun phrase. The co-occurrence restrictions among the elements of the Burmese noun phrase are not discussed.

(4) Noun phrase (NP) structure:

\[
\text{(RC* \ (NP\textsubscript{poss}) \ (DEM) \ (AP\textsubscript{color}) \ N \ (AP*) \ (CLFP)) \ (CASE)}
\]

Adjective phrase (AP) structure:

\[
\text{(INTS) A*}
\]

Classifier phrase (CLFP) structure:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{NUM} & \quad \text{CLF} \\
& \quad \text{QUANT}
\end{align*}
\]

Example (5) shows the structure of a Burmese NP.

(5) Relative clause (RC) | NP\textsubscript{poss} | DEM
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\theta u^{22} & \text{sau}^{22} & \text{pe}^{44} & \text{de}^{42} \\
3g & \text{build} & \text{give} & \text{REL} \\
\hline
\text{t}\text{j}\text{d}\text{e}^{42} & \text{je}^{42} & \text{ho}^{22} & \text{that} \\
\text{1sg-M} & \text{GEN} & \text{that}
\end{array}
\]
In the Burmese noun phrases, the head noun usually appears in the middle or at the end of the phrase. As shown in example (6) the head noun ʔeĩn²² ‘house’ appears in the middle of the phrase ‘that big new green house of mine that he built (for me)’.

A Burmese relative clause typically precedes the head noun. One or more relative clauses can appear in a Burmese noun phrase. In (5) the relative clause θu²² sauʔ pe⁴⁴ de⁴² ‘(the house) that he built for me’ occurs at the beginning of the phrase and indirectly precedes the head noun ʔeĩn²² ‘house’. However, as shown in (6), relative clauses are not allowed to follow the head noun.

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{NP}_\text{POSS} & \text{DEM} & \text{AP} & \text{N} & \text{RC} \\
\hline
* tfød⁴² je⁴² & ho²² & ʔo²² ʔeĩn⁴⁴ jauŋ²² & ʔeĩn²² & \theta u²² sauʔ³⁴ pe⁴⁴ de⁴² & \\
1sg-M & GEN & that & green color & house & 3sg build give REL \\
\end{array}
\]

Intended: That green house of mine that he built (for me).

The possessor noun phrase (NP_\text{POSS} ) in the Burmese noun phrase precedes the possessed noun. The genitive relationship is shown by the particle je⁴² ‘GEN’. This particle typically follows the possessor and precedes the possessed noun. The example in (5) shows that the particle je⁴² ‘GEN’ precedes the possessed ʔeĩn²² ‘house’ and follows the possessor tfød⁴² ‘1sg-M’. However, the genitive relationship can be expressed by a tone. (i.e. a tone sandhi process occurs between a possessor noun and the following possessed noun). In this process, the final syllable of the possessor pronoun, or other noun, changes to creaky tone⁹, if it is not already a creaky tone (Bradley 1995:143). For example, mĩn⁴⁴ ‘you’ in mĩn⁴⁴ je⁴² ʔeĩn²² ‘you GEN house’ is changed into mĩn⁴² ʔeĩn²² ‘your house’. In this case, the positions of the possessor and possessed noun are not changed (i.e. possessor precedes possessed

---

⁹ Creaky tone is represented by superscripted number, 42, in this thesis.
noun). The genitive marker \( je^{42} \) is dropped when genitive relationship is expressed by tone.

Burmese demonstratives prefer to appear right before the head noun which they modify. They also can occur at the beginning of the noun phrase or between any constituents before the head noun. In example (5), the demonstrative pronoun \( ho^{22} \) ‘that’ occurs between the possessor noun phrases, \( tsəd^{42} je^{42} \) ‘mine’ and the adjective phrase modifier \( ?sein^{44}jaun^{22} \) ‘green (color)’. However, they are not allowed to follow the head noun that they modify, for example, \( *?ein^{22} ho^{22} \) ‘that house’.

Burmese may or may not have pure adjectives (see further discussion in Thein Tun 1995), however, this paper calls those verbs adjectives which function semantically equivalent to English adjectives. One or more adjective phrases can occur in a Burmese noun phrase. They can be stand alone adjective phrases or belong to a relative clause. The stand alone adjective phrases can occur in two positions, before and after the head noun. Only color modifiers\(^{10}\) occur before the head noun; whereas after the head noun, the modifier can be an adjective itself or an adjective phrase where the intensifier precedes the reduplicated adjective words. With the intensifier \( kʰaʔ \), the following adjective words must be reduplicated.

In (5), an adjective phrase, \( ?sein^{44} \) ‘green’ and \( jaun^{22} \) ‘color’ occurs before the head noun and \( ṭhɪʔ \) ‘new’, an adjective occurs after the head noun. In the adjective phrase ‘a fairly good green house’ in (7), the intensifier \( kʰaʔ \) ‘quite’ precedes the reduplicated adjective \( kaun^{44} \) ‘good’.

(7)
\[
?ein^{22} kʰaʔ kaun^{44} kaun^{44} to \ lon^{44}
\]
house quite good good one round
A fairly good house.

(8)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relative clause (RC)</th>
<th>NPoss</th>
<th>Adjectival RC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( ṭhɪ^{22} sau? pe^{44} de^{42} )</td>
<td>3sg build give REL</td>
<td>( tsəd^{42} je^{42} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{10}\) Every adjectival word that precedes the head noun must belong to relative clause except the color terms which must co-occur with the word, \( jaun^{22} \) ‘color’ in Burmese.
Those, three very big green houses of mine that he built (for me) last year.

As for adjective phrases which belong to relative clauses, they are restricted to the positions before the head noun (8) and are not allowed to occur after the head noun as shown in (8). This kind of AP may have an intensifier and an adjective, ʔəjan⁴⁴ ‘very’ and tʃi⁴⁴ ‘big’ as in (9). The adjective words that follow the intensifier ʔəjan⁴⁴ are not allowed to reduplicate, for instance, *ʔəjan⁴⁴ tʃi⁴⁴ tʃi⁴⁴ ‘very big’.

(9)

Classifier phrases may be the final element of the Burmese noun phrase. Directly or indirectly, they follow the head noun that they modify. A classifier phrase consists of numeral/s or a quantifier, and a classifier. Burmese requires a proper classifier whenever a number is present whereas it is optional with a quantifier. As shown in (8), the classifier phrase (CLFP), ʔoŋ⁴⁴ loŋ⁴⁴ ‘three round’, follows the head noun ʔeɪn⁴⁴ ‘house’.

2.3.2 Burmese clause word order

Typically, Burmese sentences have a subject-object-verb (SOV) word order. The relative ordering elements of a simple Burmese sentence is shown in (10). Also, this relative ordering example is demonstrated in (11).

(10)

Clause word order

(XP_{Adjunct}) NP_{SURJ} (NP_{OBJ}) (PP_{OBL}) VP
In Burmese sentences, the preferred position of the adjunct phrase is the beginning of the sentence. However, it is allowed to occur between any major constituents of the sentence. Example (11) shows that the adjunct, \textit{luN}^{22} \textit{k}^{h}e^{42} \textit{de}^{42} \textit{pa}^{42} \textit{ka}^{42} \textit{`last week'} occurs at the beginning of the sentence.

Generally, Burmese subjects occur in the position after the adjuncts or at the beginning of the sentence. The subject, \textit{mama}^{42} \textit{`Ma Ma'} occurs after the adjunct in (11). However, Burmese speakers often drop their subjects in a context where the subject can be easily identified.

Objects follow the subjects and precede verbs. In (11), the object \textit{za}ba^{44} \textit{dwe}^{22} ‘uncooked rice’ follows the subject \textit{mama}^{42} ‘MaMa’ and precedes the postpositional oblique, \textit{zabadzi}^{22} \textit{t}^{h}e^{44} ‘inside the barn’ which again precedes the verb phrase \textit{t}^{h}e^{42} \textit{lai}^{34} \textit{te}^{22} ‘put’. However, when objects are brought into focus, they are placed before the subjects.

Usually, the position for the oblique, postpositional phrase arguments is after the objects. Example (11) shows that the postpositional phrase argument, \textit{zabadzi}^{22} \textit{t}^{h}e^{44} ‘inside the barn’ appears after the object \textit{za}ba^{44} \textit{dwe}^{22} ‘uncooked rice’. However, they are also permitted to occur before the objects as in (12).

(12)

\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\textit{luN}^{22} & \textit{k}^{h}e^{42} & \textit{de}^{42} & \textit{pa}^{34} & \textit{ka}^{42} & \textit{mama}^{42} \textit{ka}^{42} \\
\hline
pass & PFV & REL & week & TOP & MaMa \textit{SUBJ} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\textit{za}^{22}ba^{44} & \textit{dwe}^{22} & \textit{ko}^{22} & \textit{t}^{h}e^{42} & \textit{lai}^{34} & \textit{te}^{22} \\
\hline
un-cooked rice & PL & OBJ & put away & REAL & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

Last week, Ma Ma put all the paddy-rice into the barn.
Verb phrases are the final elements of Burmese sentences. They and their modifiers must occur after the objects. The verb $tʰɛ⁴²$ ‘put’ and its modifier (the aspect particle, $laiʔ$ ‘away (past)’ and $te²²$ ‘realis’) occur at the end of the sentence, after the objects in (12). The verb modifiers must follow the main verb in Burmese. Many more verb modifiers, or particles, can occur in a Burmese verb phrase.

### 2.3.3 Case system of Burmese

The Grammatical Relations (GR) of the constituents of the Burmese sentences is indicated by two post-posted case markers, $ka⁴²$ ‘Subject marker’ and $ko²²$ ‘object marker’.

(13)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NP&lt;sub&gt;SUBJ&lt;/sub&gt;</th>
<th>PP</th>
<th>VP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$mama⁴²$ ze⁴⁴ ko²² $θwa⁴⁴ laiʔ te²²$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MaMa</td>
<td>market OBJ go away REAL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ma Ma has gone to the market.

Burmese intransitive subjects do not take a case marker. The intransitive subject, $mama⁴²$ ‘Ma Ma’ is unmarked in (13). However, transitive subjects optionally take the subject case marker $ka⁴²$ while the transitive object obligatorily takes object case marker $ko²²$. Example (14) shows that the transitive subject $mama⁴²$ ‘Ma Ma’ is marked by the subject case marker $ka⁴²$. However, it is optional and the dropping of the subject case marker $ka⁴²$ does not result in an ungrammatical sentence. In contrast, the transitive object, $zəba⁴⁴ dwe²²$ ‘rice-uncooked’ takes $ko²²$ ‘object marker’ obligatorily.

(14)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NP&lt;sub&gt;SUBJ&lt;/sub&gt;</th>
<th>NP&lt;sub&gt;OBJ&lt;/sub&gt;</th>
<th>PP</th>
<th>VP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$mama⁴²$ ($ka⁴²$)</td>
<td>$zəba⁴⁴ dwe²² *$(ko²²$)</td>
<td>$zəbadʒi²² tʰɛ⁴⁴ tʰɛ⁴² laiʔ te²²$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MaMa</td>
<td>SUBJ un-cooked rice PL OBJ barn inside put away REAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Last week, Ma Ma put all the paddy-rice into the barn.

However, there are many options with the two case markers. Some Burmese objects take no case marker; for example, the bread in ‘cutting the bread’ (15) and the pig in ‘killing the pig’ (16).
(15)
\[ \theta u^{22} pa^{22} mon^{42} li^{44} ne^{22} \text{ te}^{22} \]
3sg bread cut CONT REAL
He is cutting bread.

(16)
\[ tfau^{22} hein^{44} \text{ we' } \theta a' \text{ ne}^{22} \text{ te}^{22} \]
Kyaw Hein pig kill CONT REAL
Kyaw Hein is killing [a] pig.

As shown in (17), the causative agent, \(?ame^{22} \text{ ‘mother’}\) is obligatorily marked by \(ka^{42}\). The secondary causer \(mama^{42} \text{ ‘Ma Ma’}\) is optionally marked by the object marker \(ko^{22}\). The causee \(k'we^{44} \text{ ‘dog’}\), however, is marked obligatorily by \(ko^{22} \text{ ‘object marker’}\).

(17)

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{NP} & \text{NP} & \text{PP} & \text{VP} \\
\hline
\text{\(\?ame^{22} ka^{42}\)} & \text{\(mama^{42} (ko^{22})\)} & \text{\(k'we^{44} ko^{22}\)} & \text{\(jai' \ ?aun^{22} lou'? \text{ te}^{22}\)} \\
\hline
\text{mother} & \text{MaMa} & \text{dog} & \text{beat CAUS do REAL} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

Mother made MaMa beat the dog.

By looking at the above examples, it is clear that Burmese, thus, does not directly follow any of the two basic case systems; Nominative/Accusative or Ergative/Absolutive.

2.4 Introduction of particles

Some features of Burmese grammar that are assumed:

1) The presence of many verb phrase (VP) particles is possible. However, this thesis is restricted to those most commonly occurring with imperfectively denoted eventualities.

2) Burmese sentences require a sentence final particle at the end of the sentence in order to be a complete sentence. Without sentence final particles, the sentence is ungrammatical or it can have an imperative interpretation.
3) Burmese sentences rarely occur without a temporal indication and some other particles that contribute modal, aspectual, or temporal information of the eventuality expressed. When a sentence occurs without such particles, for instance, \( \theta u^{22} \, la^{42} \, te^{22} \) ‘she is beautiful’, it normally denotes eventuality at present time (especially with stative verbs). When a minimal sentence is unable to refer to the present situation (due to the event types expressed in the sentence, especially with events), however, it can be ambiguous between an event happening prior to the speech time (a past event) and a habitual or an iterative event. For example, in \( \theta u^{22} \, ?e^n^{22} \, sau? \, te^{42} \) ‘he builds/built a house’, an additional verbal particle or particles is preferred. In this thesis, a minimal sentence is initially discussed and when the sentence is unable to associate the eventuality to the present time, a proper sentence for the event, happening prior to the speech time, is presented and discussed.

Habitual and iterative interpretations are assumed to be imperfective denotations, i.e. state of repeatedly doing event. These interpretations are occasionally commented on, but are not the focus of this thesis.

The three verbal particles producing an aspectual effect of imperfectivity in Burmese are \( te^{22} \) ‘realis’, \( ne^{22} \) ‘continuous’ and \( tou^{44} \) ‘durative’.

### 2.4.1 \( te^{22} \) ‘realis’

The particle \( te^{22} \) ‘realis’ typically occurs at the end of the sentence to denote that i) the eventuality expressed is true at the speech time, or sometimes prior to the speech time, and ii) the sentence is declarative (Romeo 2008: 67).

In (18), the particle \( te^{22} \) marks the state \( la^{42} \) ‘be beautiful’ is true at the speech time (now). As one of the functions of \( te^{22} \) is to carry the illocutionary indication (declarative) of a sentence as in (19), the absence of realis particle \( te^{22} \) results in the interpretation of imperative as in (20).

(18)

\[
\theta u^{22} \, la^{42} \, te^{22}
\]

3sg be beautiful REAL

She is beautiful.

---

11 \( te \) has several allomorphs; \( te, \, \theta a, \, ta, \, \text{and } v'a \) (Romeo 2008: 67 following Okell and Allott). However, it is sometimes pronounced as \( de^{22} \) in colloquial speech. In this thesis only \( te^{22} \) is used.
2.4.2 ne²² ‘continuous’

Burmese ne²² can be considered as an aspectual particle which interacts with different event types to express imperfectivity in Burmese\(^\text{12}\).

Romeo (2008: 87) states that ‘/ne/ ‘CONTINUOUS’ marks a) dynamic, inherently durative events (activities/accomplishments) as ongoing at speech/reference time and b) states, whose well-established existence is seen to encompass and possibly exceed speech/reference time. Only rarely does it mark achievements, since the latter code change-of-state events that are inherently non-durative, i.e. punctual events that take place (or are perceived as taking place) instantaneously. In this case, ne²²-continuous’ marks the

\(^{12}\) Similarly with Lisu and some other languages, the continuous particle ne²² is a grammaticalized form of a full lexical verb, ne²² ‘stay’ or ‘live’ as shown in (i) and (ii) respectively (see further discussion in Romeo 2008).
result produced by the event (i.e. the attainment of the entity’s state) as continuing at speech or reference time”.

(21)

\[ \theta u^{22} \; d i^{22} \; n e^{42} \; \theta j a n^{44} \; l a^{42} \; n e^{22} \; t e^{22} \]

3sg today very be beautiful CONT REAL

She is being very beautiful today.

The example in (21) shows that \( n e^{22} \) ‘continuous’ marks the state \( l a^{42} \) ‘be beautiful’ as a state ongoing at the speech time. In this case, a particular explicit temporal, \( d i^{22} \; n e^{42} \) ‘today’ as in (21) (‘yesterday’ or, ‘tomorrow’ could be substituted), is needed to mark when a person is directed to notice the unusual beauty of a person, “an incidental property of the moment that is ongoing or existing at the moment of speech time” (Comrie 1976: 27-28).

2.4.3 \textit{toun}^{44} ‘durative’

\textit{toun}^{44} is another of the three particles which mark imperfectivity in Burmese. It rarely occurs in literary Burmese but often appears colloquially\(^{14}\). In particular, \hfill

\(^{13}\) When ‘is being \( V \)’ is used as a free translation in this thesis, it does not entail ‘dynamicity’ but does imply changeability. In some ways it can be considered to be similar to ‘continue \( V \)’, without focus on the past.

\(^{14}\) The colloquial form \textit{toun}^{44} (i) can be replaced by \( \theta e^{44} \) ‘still’ (ii), both a colloquial and literary form in Burmese, in some contexts but not in every situation. \( \theta e^{44} \ldots \) not only informs the hearer of some action (or, with a negated verb, inaction), but also implies a relationship with some preceding action (or inaction)” (Okell 1979: 72).

(i) \[ \theta u^{22} \; l a^{42} \; t o u n^{44} \; b e^{44} \]

3sg be beautiful DUR EMPHT

She is still beautiful.

(ii) \[ \theta u^{22} \; l a^{42} \; n e^{22} \; \theta e^{44} \; t e^{22} \]

3sg be beautiful CONT still REAL

She is still beautiful (as she used to be).

What distinguishes \textit{toun}^{44} from \( \theta e^{44} \) is its ability to modify negated verbs. \textit{toun}^{44} never follows negated verbs (iii) whereas \( \theta e^{44} \) follows them without a problem (iv). However, when \( \theta e^{44} \) follows the negated verb as in this example, it implies that the entity will do the event expressed probably in
"toun" is proposed to be a marker of duration of eventualities in this thesis. In his dictionary, Okell (2001: 92) as well defines "toun" as “to be still V-ing or in the process of V-ing”. It has a focus not only on what the eventuality is now but what it was as well.

(22)

\[ \theta u^{22} \ \lambda a^{42} \ \text{toun}^{44} \ be^{44} \]

3sg  be beautiful  DUR  EMPHT
She is still beautiful.

In (22), "toun" stretches out the temporal of the states \( \lambda a^{42} \) ‘be beautiful’ from the past to the speech time and says that the property of an entity \( \lambda a^{42} \) was existing previously and still exists at the reference time. An implication can be draw that it

the near future (right after the speech time) or sometime in the future. It means that ‘I don’t want to do it now, but I will do it sometime in the future’. Without \( \theta e^{44} \), the interpretation will become, ‘I don’t eat today’ or ‘I won’t eat today’. At this point, a negative sentence final particle \( bu^{44} \) follows the negated verb, as Burmese requires a different sentence final particle for negated sentences. Most importantly as in (v), "toun", by itself, can mark the activity ‘run’ \( pje^{44} \) as an ongoing event at the speech time but example (vi) illustrates that \( \theta e^{44} \) cannot mark ‘run’ \( pje^{44} \) as ongoing event. Instead \( \theta e^{44} \) implies that the event expressed is another occurrence of an entity’s habit. Their differences are not the topic of this thesis and more research is needed to explain the complete picture of their behavior.

(iii)  * \( \theta u^{22} \ mə^{22} \ sa^{44} \ \text{toun}^{44} \ bu^{44} \)

3sg  NEG  eat  DUR  NEG-SF
Intended: He has not eaten yet.

(iv) \( \theta u^{22} \ mə^{22} \ sa^{44} \ \theta e^{44} \ bu^{44} \)

3sg  NEG  eat  still  NEG-SF
He has not eaten yet.

(v) \( \theta u^{22} \ pje^{44} \ \text{toun}^{44} \ be^{44} \)

3sg  run  DUR  EMPHT
He is still running.

(vi) \( \theta u^{22} \ pje^{44} \ \theta e^{44} \ te^{22} \)

3sg  run  still  REAL
*Intended: He is still running.

Actual: He also runs. (Implies that he used to run and he also runs today).
will be continue in to the future. However, as ‘beauty’ is a transitory property (stage level property) of an entity, it will soon decline unless an effort is made to be being in the same state.

Interestingly, even though \textit{toun}^{44} can modify the eventuality of a realis expression, it is not allowed to be followed by the realis particle \textit{te}^{22} as in (23). Also \textit{toun}^{44} is odd with irrealis particle \textit{me}^{22} as illustrated in (24). It allows only the emphatic particle, \textit{be}^{44} or certain other interjection particles\textsuperscript{15}.

(23)
\[ \theta^{22} \ toun^{44} \ te^{22} \]
3sg be beautiful DUR REAL
She is still beautiful.

(24)
\[ \theta^{22} \ toun^{44} \ me^{22} \]
3sg be beautiful DUR IREAL
Intended: She is will be still beautiful in the future.

---

\textsuperscript{15} \textit{be}^{44} is not optional for colloquial Burmese. When it is present, it indicates that the predicate expressed is something which is beyond the speaker’s expectation. Okell states that \textit{be}^{22}, in the sentence-final position, communicates the following meaning: ‘emphatic, really, truly, verily, indeed, at least, at any rate’ (1969:296). Not only that, it is also used as an exclusive marking as in example (i) and (ii). It denotes that the eventuality expressed is the only thing that the speaker desires at the moment of speech.

(i) \[ \textit{min}^{44} \ kə^{42} \ sa^{44} \ be^{22} \ sa^{44} \ ba^{44} \ ma^{42} \ mə \ louʔ \ bu^{44} \]
3sg TOP eat EMPHT eat anything NEG do NEG
You are doing/do only eating, and do nothing.

(ii) \[ \textit{kəuʔswē}^{32} \ be^{32} \ sa^{44} \ \textit{tu}^{44} \ in^{22} \ te^{22} \]
noodle EMPHT eat want REAL
I want to eat only noodle.
2.4.4 The combination of two particles, ne²² - tou⁴⁴

Burmese ne²² and tou⁴⁴ can co-occur to mark eventuality expressed as ongoing or existing from the past to the speech time as in (25). When they co-occur, tou⁴⁴ must follow ne²² and only the emphatic particle be⁴⁴ is allowed to follow them together. However, be⁴⁴ is optional. The pattern of their occurrence must be as follow, -ne²²-tou⁴⁴ - (be⁴⁴). Adding the realis te²² to the combination of ne²². tou⁴⁴ will result in an ungrammatical sentence as shown in (26).

(25)
θu²² la⁴² ne²² tou⁴⁴ (be⁴⁴)
3sg be beautiful CONT DUR EMPHT
She is still beautiful.

(26)
*θu²² la⁴² ne²² tou⁴⁴ te²²
3sg be beautiful CONT DUR REAL
Intended: She is still beautiful.

2.5 Different event types with the three aspectual particles; te²², ne²², tou⁴⁴, and ne²²-tou⁴⁴

This section discusses the imperfective behavior of different event types which results from the interaction of the three imperfective particles: te²², ne²², tou⁴⁴, and ne²²-tou⁴⁴.

2.5.1 la⁴² ‘be beautiful’ and its imperfectivity behavior

la⁴² ‘be beautiful’ is a state which is inherently durative and takes no energy to maintain its quality. Two kinds of states are recognized by Kratzer (1989), following Carlson (1977) : 1) a state which has an ‘individual level’ property i.e. a permanent property of an entity, not likely to be changed, and 2) a state which has a ‘stage level’ property i.e. subject to change, also called a phase-state. la⁴² ‘be beautiful’ is a state which has ‘stage level’ property, i.e. a transitory property of an entity which is expected to cease soon.
The imperfectivity behavior of \( l^a_{42} \) ‘beautiful’ is not discussed again in this section since it is illustrated along with the introduction of the particles which have imperfectivity effects in Burmese.

To summarize its behavior, \( l^a_{42} \) ‘be beautiful’ can be modified by \( t^e_{22} \) ‘realis’ to entail that the property of an entity ‘be beautiful’ is existing at the moment of speech. It also can be modified by the continuity marker \( ne^{22} \) to inform that the ‘an incidental property of the moment, ‘being beautiful’ is ongoing or existing at the speech time. The durative marker \( tou\_n^{44} \) marks it as the property of an entity, continually existing from the past (prior to the speech time) to the speech time. \( l^a_{42} \) ‘be beautiful’ also allows the combination of two particles \( ne^{22} - tou\_n^{44} \) to modify it, existing from the past until now (at the speech time).

### 2.5.2 \( ?aja? \_f\_e^{22} \) ‘tall’ and its imperfectivity behavior

In Burmese, the word ‘tall’ is composed of two words, \( ?aja? \) ‘height’ and \( f\_e^{22} \) ‘long’. Typically, the eventuality ‘tall’ is a state which inherently involves duration but has no culmination and no energy is needed to hold the state of affairs. Kratzer (1989), following Carlson (1977) describes that \( ?aja? \_f\_e^{22} \) ‘tall’ is a state of ‘an individual level property’ of an entity which relatively is a permanent property of an entity. Carlson (1977) assumes that ‘individual level property’ of an entity holds every time-space slice of that individual’s existence.

As described in (27), the state of affair \( ?aja? \_f\_e^{22} \) ‘tall’ is true at the speech time when the verb \( ?aja? \_f\_e^{22} \) ‘tall’ is modified by \( t^e_{22} \) ‘realis’.

(27)

\[
\theta u^{22} \ ?aja? \ _f\_e^{22} \ t^e^{22} \\
3sg \ \text{height long REAL}
\]

She is tall.

Example (28) illustrates that the sentence is odd when the state of affair \( ?aja? \_f\_e^{22} \) ‘tall’ is marked by \( ne^{22} \) ‘continuous’ as ongoing at the speech time. Since it is a state of a permanent property of an entity, it does not allow the added quality of \( ne^{22} \), ‘changeability’, to treat it as an event continuing at the speech time.
In the same way, example (29) shows that the durative marker "toun" is odd to modify the individual property of an entity "tall" as ongoing from the time before the reference time to now (at the speech time).

However, it is not ungrammatical or totally wrong to apply to a real situation, but semantically, especially without context, it is somewhat odd and cannot apply to the individual-level state intended, i.e. ‘tall’ which is a permanent property of an individual. In order to use "toun" with "tall", other information such as ‘even though she is grew old’ is needed as shown in (30). In this situation, ‘tall’ is being treated as a state of changeable property of an entity.

In this case in (30), when "tall" is acceptable to be modified by the particle "toun" ‘durative’, an individual’s permanent property ‘tall’ is perceived as a stage level property which is expected to change. The “toun” in this sentence focuses on the time when an individual grew old. Therefore “tall” in this sentence does not denote the individual-level state intended. This sentence is expected to be used only in the context, where one meets an old person whom he has not seen around for several years and finds that old person is still in the same shape. (Especially, her...
height because one might think that people should to get shrink and short when they grow old).

(31)

*θu₂² ?aja? je²² ne²² tou₄⁴ be⁴⁴

3sg height be long CONT DUR EMPHT

Intended: He is still growing tall.

However, in example (31), ?aja? je²² ‘tall’ is odd to modify by the combination of two particles ne²² -tou₄⁴. It seems that it does not allow the quality of ne²² ‘continuous’ i.e. ‘a part of event’, to change it into an event ongoing at the speech time. Along with its companion ne²², tou₄⁴ cannot modify the state of affairs, ?aja? je²².

2.5.3 pje⁴⁴ ‘run’ and its imperfectivity behavior

pje⁴⁴ ‘run’ is a prototypical verb of activity events. It takes energy to maintain the event and a significant duration is involved. Prototypically, it does not denote a culmination. However, ‘run’ can be used to denote an accomplishment if there is other information in the sentence such as ‘a mile’.

(32)

θu²² pje⁴⁴ te²²

3sg run REAL

Intended: # He runs.

Actual: He ran.

In (32), when pje⁴⁴ ‘run’ is modified by the realis particle te²², the meaning of the sentence is odd when interpreted at the speech time. It rather is taken as a past event which occurs before the reference time (in the past).

Example (33) illustrates that the event pje⁴⁴ ‘run’ is marked by ne²² ‘continuous’ as ongoing at the time of speech.

(33)

θu²² pje⁴⁴ ne²² te²²

3sg run CONT REAL

He is running.
Since the activity verb \textit{pj\textasciiacute{e}⁴⁴} ‘run’ normally involves duration to attain the event ‘running’, the particle \textit{tou⁴⁴} ‘durative’ is allowed to mark the event \textit{pj\textasciiacute{e}⁴⁴} as the event which takes place from the immediate past until now, at the speech time as in (34). In my intuition this sentence does not have much focus on what is occurring now. Instead, \textit{tou⁴⁴} focuses on ‘now’ and ‘before’ equally. In a known context this can turn into habitual interpretation, for instance ‘even though the doctor asked him not to run any more, he is still running (even now without seeing the actual running)’. This notion is extended to other verbs in this thesis.

(34)
\[
\theta u\textasciitilde 2² p j e⁴⁴ t o u n⁴⁴ b e⁴⁴
\]
\[
3 s g \text{ run } D U R \text{ EMPHT }
\]
He is still running.

Also, in (35), the combination of the two particles, \textit{ne²²}, \textit{tou⁴⁴} mark the event \textit{pj\textasciiacute{e}⁴⁴} ‘run’ as is and was ongoing at the reference time. However, intuitively, in this sentence the focus pays more attention to what is right now than to what was. Therefore this sentence implies that ‘he is still running. (Therefore we cannot set the table yet)’.

(35)
\[
\theta u\textasciitilde 2² p j e⁴⁴ n e²² t o u n⁴⁴ b e⁴⁴
\]
\[
3 s g \text{ run } \text{ CONT } D U R \text{ EMPHT }
\]
He is still running.

2.5.4 \textit{sauʔ} ‘build’ and its imperfectivity behavior

\textit{sauʔ} ‘build’ denotes an accomplishment event which is dynamic, inherently durative, and denotes a culmination.

(36)
\[
\theta u\textasciitilde 2² \textit{sauʔ} t e⁴⁴ l o n⁴⁴ \textit{sauʔ} t e²²
\]
\[
3 s g \text{ house } \text{ one } \text{ round } \text{ build REAL }
\]
Intended: #He builds a house.
Actual: He built a house.
Example in (36) illustrates that when an accomplishment event sauʔ ‘build’ is modified by the realis particle te²², it is odd to interpret the meaning of the sentence at the speech time, i.e. ‘he builds a house (now) ’. Instead it asserts the event has happened at a time prior to the speech time. In other words, the event, ‘building a house’ is completed and the result ‘a built house’ already exists at the speech time (now).

Indeed, when an explicit temporal is not used in the sentence, the minimal sentence in (36) is ambiguous between the event which happened prior to the speech time and a habitual event, which introduces multiple culminations. However, my intuition is that the minimal sentence prefers to be interpreted as an event that happened prior to the speech time. A proper Burmese example for an event happening prior to the speech time is given in (37). In this example, the temporal maniʔ ‘last year’ and the marker kʰɛ⁴² are inserted to mark the event as absolutely happening prior to the speech time. However, one of them, kʰɛ⁴² or the temporal maniʔ, can easily be dropped in marking a past event.

On the other hand, the bare sentence in example (36) can be forced into a habitual event as in (38) if a temporal adverb, niʔ³⁴ taiŋ⁴⁴ ‘every year’, is inserted into the sentence.

(37) 
maniʔ³⁴ ka⁴² ʔu²² ?cǐn²² tə lon⁴⁴ sauʔ (kʰɛ⁴²) te²² 
last year TOP 3sg house one round build back there REAL 
He built a house last year.

16 Romeo (following Bernot (1980) and Okell and Allott (2001)) states that kʰɛ⁴² ‘BACK THERE’ is a marker of displacement in space and it came to be used as a marker of displacement in time. kʰɛ⁴² is the only bound operator that marks the category which could be called tense in Burmese.

However, Gärtner states that it is ‘a particle of the other dimension in time, space, and actuality’ and the interpretation of kʰɛ⁴² depends on the grammatical and semantic context (2005:116). kʰɛ⁴² with the combination of te²² implies that the respective event occurs prior to the speech time, and remains there, parallel to the past in the real-time dimension. Gärtner strongly states that it cannot be called a past tense marker since its use is not obligatory for the past event expression (2005:116-8). A Burmese-English dictionary published by Ministry of Education of Myanmar gives the following definition for it: ‘particle suffixed to verbs to emphasize definitiveness of an action or condition’ (Myanmar-English Dictionary 2001: 57). The function of this particle is not yet fully understood. A more accurate description for this particle remains to be investigated.
He builds a house every year.

The sentence in (39) demonstrates that *ne*²² ‘continuous’ marks the event ‘build a house’ as ongoing and not yet completed at the speech time.

He is building a house.

As shown in example (40), it is somewhat odd when *sau*? ‘build’ is modified by *tou*⁴⁴ ‘durative’. The classifier phrase *to* *lon*⁴⁴ especially, which sometimes marks an indefinite, is odd with the durative marker *tou*⁴⁴. In particular, *tou*⁴⁴ usually communicates about the things that are already known or specified, and traces the time of the eventuality expressed from the past to now. Thus it would be odd to be commenting on the continuing status of an indefinite (new) object as implied by *to* *lon*⁴⁴ at the speech time. It goes well with the definite demonstrative pronoun, *ʔɛ⁴²di²² ‘that’, as illustrated in (41).

He is still building that house. [He] has not finished [it] yet.

As with *tou*⁴⁴ ‘durative’, the combination of the two particles, *ne*²² *tou*⁴⁴ is odd for marking the event *sau*? ‘build’ as ongoing in (42). As mentioned above, with the classifier phrase *to* *lon*⁴⁴ ‘one round’, which usually refers to an unspecified thing, the
sentence has a collocational clash with toun⁴⁴ ‘durative’ which normally communicates about the thing or eventuality that is already specified.

(42)

#θu²² ?ein²² to lon⁴⁴ sau? ne²² toun⁴⁴ be⁴⁴ mo pi⁴⁴ θe⁴⁴ bu⁴⁴  
3sg house one round build CONT DUR EMPHT NEG finish yet NEG-SF  
He is still building a house. [He has] not finished [building it] yet.

Thus, in fixing that collocational clash, a proper example is given in (43). As shown in (43), the combination of two particle, ne²²- toun⁴⁴ can mark the event sau? ‘build’ as ongoing at the speech time from a time prior to the speech time (the past), when the house being built is described as a specified entity by adding to the sentence a demonstrative ?e⁴²di²² ‘that’ or when the sentence has an unmodified noun¹⁷, ‘house’ alone. This kind of usage is acceptable in a known context.

(43)

θu²² ?e⁴²di²² ?ein²² ko²² sau? ne²² toun⁴⁴ be⁴⁴ mo pi⁴⁴ θe⁴⁴ bu⁴⁴  
3sg that house OBJ build CONT DUR EMPHT NEG finish yet NEG-SF  
He is still building that house. [He has] not finished [building it] yet.

2.5.5 mwe⁴⁴ ‘give-birth’ and its imperfective behavior

Generally, Burmese mwe⁴⁴ ‘give-birth’ is a verb of achievement event. It needs energy to attain the action but takes no duration to reach its culmination. In other words, achievement events happen instantaneously.

(44)

*θu²² kəle⁴⁴ mwe⁴⁴ te²²  
3sg child give-birth REAL  
Intended: She gives-birth [to a] child [now].

The sentence in (44) illustrates that the event mwe⁴⁴ ‘give-birth’ is odd when it is modified by the realis marker te²². In this case, the event is not allowed to apply to

¹⁷ An unspecified noun does not imply a discourse ‘new’ entity.
the speech time. Rather, it entails that the event happens before the speech time (in the past).

The achievement event $mwe^{44}$ ‘give-birth’ is odd when it is modified by the continuous marker $ne^{22}$ in (45). The quality of the achievement event, instantaneous happening, does not allow $ne^{22}$ ‘continuous’ to mark the event as ongoing at the speech time.

(45)

*θu^{22} kəle^{44} mwe^{44} ne^{22} te^{22}
3sg child give-birth CONT REAL
She is giving-birth [to a] child.

Semantically, the sentence in (45) cannot express an event which is going on at the speech time. However, it can be used when the focus is on the whole process of giving-birth to a child. For example, the sentence is appropriate for the situation where one tries to enter the room where a woman has been placed to give-birth a child. One may say ‘she is in the middle of giving-birth to a child’ (but in this situation a child may or may not be born yet).

(46)

ʔəkʰən^{44} ʔʰə^{44} mə wi^{22} ne^{42} ʔouν^{44} ʔθu^{22} mə^{44} maʔ kəle^{44} mwe^{44} ne^{22} te^{22}
room inside NEG enter NEG-yet 3sg wife child give-CONT REAL IMP birth
Don’t enter inside [the] room. His wife is (in the processes of) giving-birth.

Again in (47), it shows the achievement event $mwe^{44}$ ‘give-birth’ is cannot be modified by the durative particle $touν^{44}$. $touν^{44}$ typically marks that events last from the past to the speech time. However, the sentence can take a habitual event interpretation if a temporal ‘every year’ or a special indication ‘one child after another’ is expressed in the sentence as in (48).

(47)

*θu^{22} kəle^{44} mwe^{44} touν^{44} be^{44}
3sg child give-birth DUR EMPHT
Intended: She is still giving-birth [to a] child.
As shown in (49), the combination of the two particles ne²² tou⁴⁴ is not allowed to mark the event mwe⁴⁴ ‘give-birth’ is ongoing at the speech time or lasting from a time prior to the speech time or at the speech time. As with the above examples, the sentence can only be interpreted as an iterative happening or habitual event if other indications, ‘one child after another’ is added to the sentence as shown in (50).

(49)
*θu₂² kəle⁴⁴ to jau? pi⁴⁴ to jau? mwe⁴⁴ tou⁴⁴ be⁴⁴
3sg child one person after one person give-birth CONT DUR EMPHT
Intended: She is still giving-birth to a child.

(50)
θu₂² kəle⁴⁴ to jau? pi⁴⁴ to jau? mwe⁴⁴ ne²² tou⁴⁴ be⁴⁴
3sg child one person after one person give-birth CONT DUR EMPHT
She is still giving-birth to one child after another.

2.5.6 kʰwe⁴⁴ ‘break’ and its imperfectivity behavior

kʰwe⁴⁴ ‘break’ is a verb of an achievement event. The undergoer object (patient) of the action obtains a change-of-state when the event ends. The change-of-state event is inherently non-durative, i.e. a punctual event that takes place instantaneously.

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18 In Burmese, the verb ‘break’ is represented by two different words kʰwe⁴⁴ ‘to break’ and kwe⁴⁴ ‘to be broken’. The first one represents the action and the latter represents the result being affected or resultant state produced by the action ‘break’. Example (i) illustrates the two different ‘breaks’ of Burmese, kʰwe⁴⁴ ‘to break’ and kwe⁴⁴ ‘to be broken’.

(i) ʔe²²di²² bəgən²² ʔa²² kʰwe⁴⁴ ləit? ʔə³² kwe⁴⁴ θəwə⁴⁴ te²²
that plate 1sg break away because be broken go REAL
I made that plate break. (or) this plate is broken because I broke it.
(Romeo 2008: 87). It needs energy (dynamic) to produce its change-of-state or resultant state. In this section, the change-of-state event (\(k^w_4 e^{44}\) ‘break’) and the resultant state (\(kwe^{44}\) ‘be broken’) are discussed separately with different examples.

\(\theta u^{22} bəɡan^{22} tə tʃ⁵^ə? k^w_4 e^{44} tɛ^{22}\)
3sg plate one flat break REAL
Intended: #He breaks a plate.
Actual: He broke a plate.

\(\theta u^{22} bəɡan^{22} tə tʃ⁵^ə? k^w_4 e^{44} lai? tɛ^{22}\)
3sg plate one flat break away REAL
He broke a plate.

As shown in (51), it is odd for the change-of-state event \(k^w_4 e^{44}\) ‘break’ to be modified by the realis particle \(tɛ^{22}\) to indicate that the event holds at the speech time. Instead it asserts that the event expressed happens before the speech time. However, Burmese \(k^w_4 e^{44}\) ‘break’ itself does not entail its resultant state or culmination, although, it may imply the resultant state. It needs another particle, \(lai?\) ‘follow’, to conform and state the quality of achievement events, i.e. it culminates when it happens (Parsons 1990: 24). So in (52), the particle, \(lai?\) ‘follow’ (semantically means ‘away’ or ‘out’ (Okell and Allott 2001:24) follows the main verb \(k^w_4 e^{44}\) ‘break’ to entail that the event ‘break’ reaches its end point when it happens. It also entails that the change-of-state ‘broken plate’ already exists at the speech time. Only by the indication of \(lai\) after the main verb \(k^w_4 e^{44}\) ‘break’, can the sentence express the description of actually breaking a thing.

The example in (53) illustrates that ‘continuous’ \(nɛ^{22}\) cannot mark the change-of-state event ‘break’ as ongoing since the achievement event ‘break’ ends when it happens. However, the sentence is appropriate for iterative interpretation where one

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19 Bernot (1980 :301-306) describes the function of \(lai\) ‘follow’ in the spoken language as indicating that the attainment of the activity described by the main verb. Okell and Allott (2001:214) state that \(lai\) is ‘...minimizing the time and effort involved in the action’. In addition, Romeo (2008: 56) adds that it is, ‘a marker of transitivity/volition in transitive clauses’ (for more explanation see Romeo 2008).
breaks a plate many times until it is shattered (54) or breaks many plates at a time (55).

(53)

*θu²² bogan²² tə tfʰɔʔ ko²² kʰwe⁴⁴ ne²² te²²
3sg plate one flat OBJ break CONT REAL
Intended: He is breaking a plate.

(54)

θu²² bogan²² tə tfʰɔʔ³⁴ ko²²
3sg plate one flat OBJ

ʔaseiʔseiʔ awa²² mwa²² pʰjiʔ awu⁴² kʰwe⁴⁴ ne²² de²²
pieces be CAUS break CONT REAL
He is breaking a plate [into] pieces.

(55)

θu²² bogan²² dwe²² kʰwe⁴⁴ ne²² te²²
3sg plate PL break CONT REAL
He is breaking [the] plates.

In the same way, examples (56) and (57) illustrate that tou⁴⁴ ‘durative’ and the combination of two particles, ne²²-tou⁴⁴ respectively, cannot mark the event as ongoing with duration since the change-of-state event kʰwe⁴⁴ ‘break’ is inherently non-durative and happens instantaneously.

(56)

*θu²² bogan²² tə tfʰɔʔ ko²² kʰwe⁴⁴ tou⁴⁴ be⁴⁴
3sg plate one flat OBJ break DUR EMPHT
Intended: He is still breaking a plate.

(57)

*θu²² bogan²² tə tfʰɔʔ ko²² kʰwe⁴⁴ ne²² tou⁴⁴ be⁴⁴
3sg plate one flat OBJ break CONT DUR EMPHT
Intended: He is still breaking a plate.
2.5.7 *kwe*44 ‘be broken’ and its imperfective behavior

In (58), *te*22 ‘realis’ marks the state of the property of a plate, *kwe*44 ‘be broken’ holds at the speech time.

(58)

\[ di^{22} \, \text{bogan}^{22} \, kwe^{44} \, te^{22} \]

this plate be broken REAL

This plate is broken.

*ne*22 ‘continuous’ marks the state of the property of a plate *kwe*44 ‘broken’ as continuing at the reference time in (59). In this sense, *ne*22 does not mark that as something which is in the process of breaking.

(59)

\[ di^{22} \, \text{bogan}^{22} \, kwe^{44} \, ne^{22} \, te^{22} \]

this plate be broken CONT REAL

This plate is broken.

However, example (60) demonstrates that the durative particle *toun*44 is not allowed to stretch out or mark the state of the property of the plate *kwe*44 ‘be broken’ as existing from the past to the speech time.

(60)

\[ di^{22} \, \text{bogan}^{22} \, kwe^{44} \, toun^{44} \, be^{44} \]

this plate be broken DUR EMPHT

Intended: *This plate still (being) broken.

Actual: This plate is still broken (even though I fix it several times).

In a restricted context, it can however, be applied as the result of an iterative event. For example, the sentence is suitable for the situation where a person tries to stick the broken pieces of the plate together several times and found that pieces were falling apart again and again.

(61)

\[ di^{22} \, \text{bogan}^{22} \, kwe^{44} \, ne^{22} \, toun^{44} \, be^{44} \]

this plate be broken CONT DUR EMPHT

Intended: *This plate is still (being) broken.

Actual: This plate is still broken (even though I fixed it several times).
In (61), the state of a plate \(kwe^{44} \) ‘be broken’ does not allow marking by the combination of the two particles \(ne^{22}-tou^{44}\) as a state continuing and existing at the speech time.

It seems that \(tou^{44}\) has a progressive quality which begins from the past and lasts to the reference time. It interacts well with eventualities that can progress such as ‘eat’ and ‘run’ but not ones which cannot progress such as the individual-level property state, ‘tall’. Thus, in this sense, even though \(kwe^{44}\) interacts well with \(ne^{22}\), this time, it does not add any event-like quality to the individual-level state, \(kwe^{44}\) which \(tou^{44}\) usually requires. As with the explanation of \(tou^{44}\), this can be understood as a result of an iterative event.

2.6 Conclusions

There are a few ways to express imperfectivity in Burmese: by verbal particle \(te^{22}\), \(ne^{22}\), \(tou^{44}\), and the combination of two particles, \(ne^{22}\) and \(tou^{44}\). However, the data shows that their imperfective behaviors are different depending on the event type with which they interact. These behaviors are described in table (5) and a general summary is proposed in table (6).

Table (5) shows that the states: stage-level state \(l\alpha^{42}\) ‘beautiful’, and the individual-level state \(\varnothing aj\alpha fe^{22}\) ‘tall’, interact with the imperfective particles \(ne^{22}\) and \(tou^{44}\) differently from each other. In table (6), the analysis finds that generally, stage-level property states interact well with imperfective particles but individual-level property states do not go well with imperfective particles. They interact well with the particles only in a restricted concerned context.

Activities, for example, \(pje^{44}\) ‘run’ interact well with \(ne^{22}\) ‘continuous’, \(tou^{44}\) ‘durative’, and the combination particles \(ne^{22}-tou^{44}\). However, it is odd to modify activities by the particles \(te^{22}\) ‘realis’ unless the event time is understood to be before the speech time (in the past).

Accomplishment events such as \(sau\) ‘build’ go well with the modifiers \(ne^{22}\) ‘continuous’ and \(ne^{22}-tou^{44}\) ‘continuous + durative’, but need a context to go well with \(tou^{44}\) ‘durative’. They do not interact well with \(te^{22}\) ‘realis’ in a ‘present’ interpretation.

The achievement events, \(m\varnothing e^{44}\) ‘give-birth’ and \(k\varnothing w e^{44}\) ‘break’ do not interact well with imperfective particles, as shown in table (5). They go well with the imperfective particles only in a particular context or situation which focuses on the events as a whole or when they are interpreted as iterative events. The state \(kwe^{44}\)
‘be broken’ that is produced by the change-of-state event $kʰwẻ^{44}$ ‘break’ interacts well with the $tɛ^{22}$ ‘realis’ and $ne^{22}$ ‘continuous’. It does not interact well with $touν^{44}$ ‘durative’ and the combination of the two particles $ne^{22}.touν^{44}$. When $kwe^{44}$ ‘be broken’ is modified by $touν^{44}$ and $ne^{22}.touν^{44}$, it can only be interpreted as the result of the iterative event instead of the state ongoing at the speech time.

Table 5 Behaviors of different event types with aspectual particles in Burmese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>$tɛ^{22}$ ‘X is/ was’</th>
<th>$ne^{22}.Y$ is X-ing’</th>
<th>$touν^{44}$ ‘Y was and is X-ing’</th>
<th>$ne^{22}.touν^{44}$ ‘Y was and is X-ing’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>$lə^{42}$ ‘beautiful’</td>
<td>Ok</td>
<td>Ok</td>
<td>Ok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>$ʔajaʔ$ $fe^{22}$ ‘tall’</td>
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<td>*</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>$kwe^{44}$ ‘break’</td>
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<td>Ok</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>pje$^{44}$ ‘Run’</td>
<td>Present - *</td>
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<td>Ok</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>past - Ok</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>HAB- Ok (T)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>sauʔ ‘build’</td>
<td>Present - *</td>
<td>Ok</td>
<td>Ok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Past - Ok</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>HAB- Ok (T)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>mwe$^{44}$ ‘give-birth’</td>
<td>Present - *</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Past - Ok</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>HAB- Ok</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>$kʰwे^{44}$ ‘Break’</td>
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<td>*</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Event</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>HAB- Ok</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6 Summary of behavior of different event types with aspectual particles in Burmese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event types</th>
<th>( \text{t}^{22}) ‘X is/was’</th>
<th>( \text{ne}^{22}\text{t}^{22}) ‘Y is X-ing’</th>
<th>( \text{tουn}^{44}\text{b}^{44}) ‘Y was and is X-ing’</th>
<th>( \text{ne}^{22}\text{tουn}^{44}) ‘be**Y was and is X-ing’</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>States</td>
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<td>Individual-</td>
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<td>Resultant state</td>
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<td>*</td>
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<td>Activities</td>
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<td>HAB- Ok</td>
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<td>Accomplishments</td>
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<td>Achievements: events</td>
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<td>*</td>
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<tr>
<td>HAB- Ok (T)</td>
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</table>
Chapter 3

Lisu

3.1 Introduction

This chapter gives a brief overview of Lisu phonology and a basic grammar sketch. Then it presents an introduction to the basic particle system and a description of imperfectivity.

3.2 Phonology sketch of Lisu

This overview of Lisu phonology includes consonants, vowels, and tones. The presentation is taken mainly from Bradley’s collective discussion on all Lisu dialects (2003: 223-6).

The basic Lisu syllable structure is C (G) V T. Every Lisu syllable has tone. All Lisu dialects have the following clusters: 1) velar consonant with /w/ before /a/, 2) bilabial or /h/ with /j/ before /a/. Allophones of /w/ are [w] and [v]. /ɦ/ has allophone [h] which only occurs in the final imperative marker [ha⁵⁵].

3.2.1 Lisu consonants, vowels, and tones

Lisu consonants, vowels and tones are respectively shown in table (7), (8) and (9). In order to simplify the consonant chart, the Lisu consonant table below drops palatal retroflexes which distinguish Southern Lisu from other Lisu dialects. One thing to note about Lisu consonants is that Bradley’s affricates, /tɕ/, /tɕʰ/ and /dʑ/ are taken as /tʃ/, /tʃʰ/ and /dʒ/ in this thesis.
Table 7 Lisu consonants (adapted from Bradley 2003: 223)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labial-dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
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<tr>
<td>Stop:</td>
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<tr>
<td>unaspirated</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
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<tr>
<td>aspirated</td>
<td>pʰ</td>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td>kʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vd.</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal:</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>ŋʰ</td>
<td>ḷ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vl.</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>ʃ</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vd.</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricate:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unaspirated</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>tsʰ</td>
<td>tc</td>
<td>tcʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aspirated</td>
<td>dz</td>
<td>dz</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vd.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximant:</td>
<td>w [v]</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8 Lisu vowels (Bradley 2003: 224)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>i u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid-high</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9 Lisu tones (Bradley 2003: 223)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bradley</th>
<th>This thesis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High level</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rising</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid-level creaky</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid-level</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low falling</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low falling, creaky, with final glottal stop</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.3 Overview of Lisu basic grammar

This overview of Lisu basic grammar includes simple noun phrase structure, sentence structure (word order), and the case system of Lisu. This brief overview does not attempt to do extensive justification. Some complex examples are provided to illustrate. However, many variations which are considered pragmatic or stylistic are ignored.

3.3.1 Lisu noun phrase

Lisu noun phrases may have a single head and some or all of the following modifiers: relative clause (RC), possessor noun phrase (NP\textsubscript{POSS}), adjective phrase (AP), number phrase (NumP), and quantifier phrase (QP).

The relative ordering of elements in Lisu noun phrase is shown by the phrase structure schemas in (62). Collocational restrictions on the Lisu noun phrase’s elements are not discussed. The star notation used in (62) represents for zero or more sequences of the marked category.

(62)

Noun phrase structure (NP):

\((RC^*) (NP\textsubscript{POSS}) N (AP^*) (\text{NumP}) (\text{QP}) (\text{CASE})\)

Adjective phrase structure (AP):

\((\text{INTS}) A\)

Number phrase (NumP) structure:

\(\text{NUM CLF}\)

Quantifier phrase (QP) structure:

\(\text{QUANT (ma}^{44}\text{)}\)

(63)

\[
\begin{array}{c|cccc|cccc}
\text{Relative Clause (RC)} & a^{21}m^{35} & t^{2}a^{21} & i^{55} & a^{35} & ha^{35} & ma^{44} & a^{21}k^{55} & vu^{55} & a^{44} & ma^{44} \\
\text{Adjectival RC} & \text{last year when 3sg build COMPL REL} & \text{very be big REAL REL} \\
\end{array}
\]
My three very big blue old houses that he built last year.

An example of the noun phrase structure of Lisu is given in (63). The position of the head nouns in a noun phrase is in the middle of the phrase as shown in (63).

One or more relative clause modifiers can occur before the head noun. In (63) two relative clause modifiers, \(a^{21}ni^{35} t^a^{21} i^{55} ja^{35} ha^{33} ma^{44}\) ‘(the house) that he built last year’ and \(a^{21}k^h u^{55} vu^{25} a^{44} ma^{44}\) ‘(the house) that is very big’ precede the head noun \(\tilde{h}i^{44}\) ‘house’. The two relative clauses are restricted to a position before the head noun. The example in (64) shows that relative clause modifiers are not allowed to occur after the head noun. However, these two relative clauses are interchangeable in the position before the head noun.

(64)

Lisu does not have specialized possessive pronouns to indicate genitive relationships. Nouns and pronouns function as possessives by appearing before the possessed (head) nouns. In (63), the pronoun \(ŋwa^{33}\) ‘1sg’ is juxtaposed with the possessed noun \(\tilde{h}i^{44}\) ‘house’ to indicate the genitive relationship between them. Possession is also marked by the particle \(tɛ^{55}\) and it usually occurs after the possessor nouns and pronouns.
\(t\) is an obligatory when no overt possessee is indicated. In this point, the general classifier \(ma^{44}\) (Bradley 2003:228) functioning as a possessed pronoun, optionally

---

20 There are several uses of \(ma^{44}\) in Lisu:

a. \(ma^{44}\) follows the demonstratives pronouns, \(t^\#^{44}\) ‘this’ and \(go^{33}\) ‘that’ since they cannot stand alone in Lisu. Fraser states that together with the demonstratives, \(ma^{44}\) applies to objects of any kind in a loose way, either singular or plural (1922: 13). This is similar to what Bradley has called a ‘general classifier’ (2003: 228).

b. However, in Lisu when definiteness is required, the number with an appropriate classifier follows the demonstrative pronoun, and it all is again followed by \(ma^{44}\) i.e. (N-DEM-NUM CLF-\(ma^{44}\)) (Fraser 1922:13). In this use, \(ma^{44}\) functions as an emphatic or a topic marker which is used to refer things that are already known or particular to the context. Even though Fraser states that \(ma^{44}\) is optional in this use, in this author’s dialect, \(ma^{44}\) is obligatory in this use. It sometimes seems to replace the object case marker \(t^\#^{21}\).

c. \(ma^{44}\) may follows a quantifier phrase which follows the noun head to show emphatic effect (i) rather than a classifier because no specific classifier can replace \(ma^{44}\) in the use shown in (ii). Its presence is optional with the quantifier.

(i) \(t^\#^{21}yu^{21} t^\#^{i^{21}} by^{33} (ma^{44}) i^{55} ni^{44} t^{35} gi^{33} o^{33}\)
   book some EMPHT 3sg SUBJ take go PFV
   He took some of the books (from us).

(ii) \(*t^\#^{21}yu^{21} t^\#^{i^{21}} by^{33} pu^{33} i^{55} ni^{44} t^{35} gi^{33} o^{33}\)
   book some CLF.book 3sg SUBJ take go PFV
   Intended: He took some of the books from us.

d. \(ma^{44}\) also can function as a relativizer in a clause. As shown in (iii) when functioning as relativizer, it precedes the noun head.

(iii) \(gwa^{33} fa^{35} ha^{35} ma^{44} hi^{44} go^{33} sa^{21} hi^{44}\)
   1sg build COMPL REL house that three house
   Those three houses that I built.

e. Another function of \(ma^{44}\) is as a nominalizer. It appears after a verb or a verb phrase to make them nominal as shown in (iv).

(iv) \(za^{35} a^{44} ma^{44} do^{44} a^{44} ma^{44}\)
   eat REAL NOM LZ drink REAL NOM LZ
   Eating (and) drinking.

All of these are different uses of \(ma^{44}\); however, an explanation is beyond the scope of this thesis.
follows the possessive marker \( tɛ^{55} \), for example, \( ñwa^{33} tɛ^{55} (ma^{44}) \) ‘mine (one)’. \( tɛ^{55} \) is optional when an overt possessee is indicated, for instance, \( ñwa^{33} (tɛ)^{55} tʰo^{21}rɯ^{21} \) ‘my book’. Another way of marking possession is with \( i^{55} ‘3sg’. It typically occurs after the possessor nouns and precedes the possessee. It cannot occur after a non-third person pronoun. The pattern of its occurrence is follow, \( NP_{\text{possessor}}i^{55}-NP_{\text{possessed}} \) (Bradley 2003:227).

Pure adjectives may or may not exist in Lisu. However, this paper simply uses the term for verbs whose semantic function is equivalent to that of English adjectives. One or more adjective phrases can be found in a Lisu noun phrase. They may modify the head noun by themselves, following the head noun or by being a part of relative clause modification, preceding the head noun. Example (63) shows that the two adjective phrases \( bi^{21} \) ‘old’ and \( ni^{35}tʰi^{21}fʰi^{21} \) ‘blue’ follow the head noun \( ʰi^{44} \) ‘house’, whereas the other adjective phrase \( a^{21}kʰu^{55} \ vᵘ^{35} \ a^{44} \) ‘very big’, which is part of a relative clause, \( a^{21}kʰu^{55} \ vᵘ^{35} \ a^{44} \ ma^{44} \) ‘(the house) that is very big’, precedes the head noun.

Lisu numeral phrases may have numeral(s) and a classifier. For example, in (63), the numeral phrase \( sa^{21} ʰi^{44} \) ‘three house’ consists of a numeral \( sa^{33} \) ‘three’ and a classifier \( ʰi^{44} \) ‘house’.

A quantifier phrase may have a quantifier which is optionally followed by a particle \( ma^{44} \) which refers to a specific entity, for example, \( ʰi^{44} a^{21}dʒi^{21} (ma^{44}) \) ‘all houses (that both speakers know)’ (see footnote 17, b). However, a general classifier \( ma^{44} \) or a related classifier is obligatory for the Lisu quantifier ‘a few’ that is expressed by the numeral phrase \( tʰi^{21} nᵣ^{21} \) ‘one two’ or \( sa^{33} li^{55} \) ‘three four’ (classifiers are a requirement for numerals) in (65).

\[ (65) \]
\[
\text{fruit} \text{ one two CLF.fruit} \\
\text{Some fruits}
\]

When the two uses of \( ma^{44} \), the general classifier \( ma^{44} \) and the emphatic particle \( ma^{44} \), are juxtaposed in a phrase or a clause, the first one is the general classifier and the second will be the emphatic particle, as shown in (66).
This [is the] thing [that] he gave me.

3.3.2 Demonstratives

According to Bradley, the typical position for the demonstrative in Southern Lisu is the place right after the head noun (Bradley 2006: xxviii). He also states that the place for demonstratives in Northern Lisu is before the head noun (Bradley 1994: vii). However, in my experience, both constructions can occur in Northern Lisu dialect. Lisu demonstratives \(tʰe⁴⁴\) ‘this’ and \(ɡo³³\) ‘that’ are bound to the general classifier \(ma⁴⁴\) and the locative particle \(kwa³³\) ‘at’ which follow them directly or indirectly, in the use of deictic demonstratives: \(tʰe⁴⁴ ma⁴⁴\) ‘this’ and \(tʰe⁴⁴ kwa³³\) ‘here’. The following patterns show the co-occurrence of demonstratives, the head noun, and the numeral phrase (can be replaced by a quantifier): \(ɡo³³ N ma⁴⁴\), \(N ɡo³³ ma⁴⁴\), \(N ɡo³³ NUM ma⁴⁴\).

(67)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(ɡo³³)</th>
<th>(fi⁴⁴)</th>
<th>(ma⁴⁴)</th>
<th>(nwa³³)</th>
<th>(nu³⁵ a⁴⁴)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>that</td>
<td>house</td>
<td>CLF</td>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>like</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I like that house.

(68)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(nwa³³)</th>
<th>(fa³⁵)</th>
<th>(ha³⁵)</th>
<th>(ma⁴⁴)</th>
<th>(fi⁴⁴)</th>
<th>(ɡo³³)</th>
<th>(sa²¹ ma⁴⁴)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>build</td>
<td>COMPL REL</td>
<td>house</td>
<td>that</td>
<td>three</td>
<td>CLF</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Those three houses that I built.

There are two kinds of demonstrative constructions in Lisu: one precedes the head noun and the other follows the head noun. In (67), the demonstrative \(ɡo³³\) ‘that’ precedes the head noun \(fi⁴⁴\) ‘house’. Conversely, in example (68), the demonstrative \(ɡo³³\) ‘that’ follows the head noun \(fi⁴⁴\) ‘house’.

63
3.3.3 Lisu clause word order

Generally, Lisu has subject-object-verb (SOV) word order. The relative ordering of elements of a simple Lisu sentence is shown in (69). This relative ordering example is given in (70).

(69)

Clause word order

\[
\text{NP}_{\text{SUB}} \quad (\text{NP}_{\text{OBJ}}) \quad (\text{PP}_{\text{OBL}}) \quad \text{VP}
\]

(70)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjunct</th>
<th>NP_{SUB}</th>
<th>NP_{OBJ}</th>
<th>PP_{OBL}</th>
<th>VP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a^{21}mi^{33}) (t^{h}a^{21})</td>
<td>(a^{44}ts^{44}m^{44})</td>
<td>(dza^{44}p^{h}u^{44}ma^{44}(te^{55}))</td>
<td>(h^{i}^{44}) (kwa^{44}) (ku^{44}) (fu^{55}) (a^{44})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yesterday</td>
<td>Ahtsi</td>
<td>rice</td>
<td>house</td>
<td>put</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>when</td>
<td>SUBJ</td>
<td>TOP</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>COMPL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Yesterday, Ahtsi put [the] uncooked rice into the house.

(71)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NP_{SUB}</th>
<th>Adjunct</th>
<th>NP_{OBJ}</th>
<th>VP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(\eta^{wa^{33}})</td>
<td>(a^{21}ni^{35}) (t^{h}a^{21})</td>
<td>(h^{i}^{44}) (sa^{21}) (h^{i}^{44})</td>
<td>(fa^{35}) (fu^{44}) (o^{44})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>last year</td>
<td>house</td>
<td>build</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>when</td>
<td>three</td>
<td>top</td>
<td>COMPL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I built 3 houses last year.

The preferred position of Lisu adjuncts is at the beginning of the sentence. They are also allowed to appear between any of the major constituents. Example (70) shows that the adjunct \(a^{21}mi^{33} t^{h}a^{21}\) ‘yesterday’ occurs at the beginning of the clause. The adjunct \(a^{21}ni^{35}t^{h}a^{21}\) ‘last year’ occurs after the subject \(\eta^{wa^{33}}\) ‘1sg’ in (71).

Lisu subjects may occur right after the adjunct, \(a^{21}mi^{33} t^{h}a^{21}\) ‘yesterday’ (70) or at the beginning of the sentence (71). It is very common for Lisu speakers to drop their subjects in a context where the subject can be easily understood.

Objects typically appear after the subject. For example, \(za^{44}p^{h}u^{44}\) ‘uncooked rice’ appears after the subject, a man named \(a^{44}ts^{44}\) ‘Ahtsi’ in (70). Objects are also allowed to occur before subjects when they are brought into focus.
Lisu post-positional phrase arguments usually appear after the direct object. The post-positional phrase ħi⁴⁴kwa⁴⁴ ‘at house’ appears after the object za⁴⁴pʰu⁴⁴ ‘rice-uncooked’ in (70).

Verbs and their modifiers are restricted to occur after the objects in Lisu sentences. In example (70), the verb phrase ku⁴⁴fu⁵⁵a⁴⁴ ‘put’ occurs after the object za⁴⁴pʰu⁴⁴ ma⁴⁴te⁵⁵ ‘uncooked rice’. The aspect particles fu⁴⁴‘completive’ and a⁴⁴‘realis marker’ must follow the main verb ku⁴⁴‘put’, which they modify. There are many more verb modifiers, or particles, in Lisu.

3.3.4 Lisu case system

Lisu has two core syntactic case markings on nouns, ni³³ ‘SUBJ marker’ and te⁵⁵ ‘OBJ marker’; they usually occur at the end of the NP.

(72)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NP_SUB</th>
<th>npOBJ</th>
<th>PP_OBL</th>
<th>VP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a⁴⁴tsi³³ni³³</td>
<td>dza⁴⁴pʰu⁴⁴ma⁴⁴(te⁵⁵)</td>
<td>ħi⁴⁴kwa⁴⁴ku⁴⁴fu⁵⁵a⁴⁴</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahtsi SUBJ</td>
<td>rice-uncooked EMPH OBJ</td>
<td>house at  put COMPL REAL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahtsi put [the] uncooked rice into the house.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(73)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NP_SUB</th>
<th>PP_OBL</th>
<th>VP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a⁴⁴dw⁴⁴</td>
<td>džo²¹hi⁴⁴(kwa⁴⁴)</td>
<td>gi³³jio⁴⁴o⁴⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ah Dae</td>
<td>school at go do</td>
<td>PFV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ah Dae has gone to the school.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(74)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NP_SUB</th>
<th>PP_OBL</th>
<th>VP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a⁴⁴tsi³³</td>
<td>dżi³³dzi³³</td>
<td>khw⁴⁴ne³⁵a⁴⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahtsi</td>
<td>tree</td>
<td>cut CONT REAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahtsi is cutting [the] tree.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both ni³³ ‘SUBJ marker’ and te⁵⁵ ‘OBJ marker’ may occur in transitive sentences as in (72). The occurrence of the subject marker ni³³ seems to be obligatory to the
sentence whereas the object marker \( tɛ^{55} \) is optional. However, no case marker is needed for intransitive subjects, as seen in example (73). In example (74), it may be also seen that the subject \( a^{44}tsi^{44} \) ‘Ahtsi’ and the object \( si^{35} dzi^{33} \) ‘tree’ need no case marking.

(75)

\[ i^{55} \ ywa^{33} \ tɛ^{55} \ duu^{21}\ lə^{21}\ a^{44} \]

3sg 1sg  OBJ  hit     come  REAL
He hit me.

(76)

\[ i^{55} \ ywa^{33} \ tɛ^{55} \ tʰo^{21}\ yɯ^{21} \ tʰi^{21}\ puu^{33}\ gɯ^{21}\ lə^{21}\ a^{44} \]

3sg 1sg  OBJ  book  one  CLF.book give  come  REAL
He gave me a book.

Bradley (2003: 226) states that Lisu causee subject, dative, beneficiary, or patient objects are marked by \( tɛ^{55} \). Marking is nearly always obligatory on the causee subject of a causative, common on a dative (DAT) or beneficiary (BEN), and least frequent on a patient object (ACC). The subject marker \( ni^{33} \) (Bradley’s \( ne^{33} \) or \( le^{33} \)) occurs less frequently and is a non-obligatory ergative marker in Southern Lisu; possibly Northern Lisu as well. The relevant examples are shown in (75) and (76).

There are many options with the occurrence of the two case markers. The Lisu case system does not seem to follow either of the two major case patterns, Ergative/Absolutive or Nominative/Accusative.

### 3.4 Introduction of Lisu particles

There are three kinds of verbal particle that interact to create the aspeotual effect of imperfectivity in Lisu: \( a^{44} \) ‘realis’, \( ɲɛ^{35} \) ‘continuous’, and \( si^{21} \) ‘duration’.
3.4.1 Particle a\textsuperscript{44}

The particle a\textsuperscript{44} is proposed as a ‘reals’ marker of Northern Lisu dialect in this paper\textsuperscript{21}. The particle a\textsuperscript{44} mostly follows the verb and typically occurs at the end of the sentence; but it may be followed by other particles. It marks that the event or state holds at the speech time (present) or prior to the speech time (past). In example (1), the stative predicate, a property of an entity, ‘be beautiful’ is true at the speech time. The particle a\textsuperscript{44} has similar status to the Burmese reals marker tɛ\textsuperscript{55} (Romeo 2008:67). It indicates not only that the event holds at a speech time but also contributes a declarative sense to the sentence as shown in (77).

\begin{equation}
\text{i}\textsuperscript{55} bji\textsuperscript{32} a\textsuperscript{44}
\end{equation}

3sg be beautiful REAL
She is beautiful.

This paper calls a\textsuperscript{44} \textsuperscript{22} ‘a reals’ marker because it extends to both perfective and imperfective eventuality. As shown in figure (9), a\textsuperscript{44} occurs with both states and events. To states, it entails imperfectivity of the state of affairs, whereas to events, it entails perfectiveness of the actions.

\textsuperscript{21} This particle is not handled consistently in the Lisu writing system. In Lisu the a\textsuperscript{44} is sometimes represented by a short dash at the foot of the final letter of the verb or another verbal particle. In this way it is treated as a tone and Lisu calls it a\textsuperscript{44} sɛ\textsuperscript{21} ‘a’ tone’. However, it is not only a tone and as Fraser stated in his paper, ‘Hand book of Lisu, ‘a slurred’ has a definite grammatical force to be explained (1922:2).

\textsuperscript{22} Bradley (2003:228) states that a\textsuperscript{44} is an imperfective aspectral marker. However, this paper finds that it is used to denote not only imperfective but perfective events as well. If its perfective use is similar to the English perfect, then Bradley’s suggestion may be correct in a more abstract sense. The perfective use of a\textsuperscript{44} is given in example (i).

(i) a\textsuperscript{21}mi\textsuperscript{33} tʰ\textsuperscript{21} ŋw\textsuperscript{33} tʰ\textsuperscript{21}yur\textsuperscript{31} tʰ\textsuperscript{21} fɔ\textsuperscript{55} bo\textsuperscript{44} a\textsuperscript{44}
    yesterday when 1sg letter one sheet write REAL
    Yesterday, I wrote a letter.
3.4.2 The particle ɲɛ³⁵ ‘continuous’

The Lisu continuous particle ɲɛ³⁵ is derived from the lexical verb ɲɛ³⁵ which has multiple meanings such as ‘sit’, ‘stay’ or ‘be’ ²³. Typically, the particle ɲɛ³⁵ ‘continuous’ follows verbs to mark that the eventuality expressed in the sentence is holding at the denoted time either in the past, present or future. In (78), ɲɛ³⁵ ‘continuous’ marks the stative predicate bji³³ ‘be beautiful’ as an event which is ongoing at the speech time, ‘she is being very beautiful today’ ²⁴. It treats bji³³ ‘be beautiful’ as an event with continuity.

---

²³ The alternate lexical uses of ɲɛ³⁵ are shown below (i), (ii), and (iii).

(i) ɪ³³ kw a⁴⁴ ɲɛ³⁵
    here at sit
    Sit here!

(ii) ɲwa³³ i⁵⁵ ɦi⁴⁴ kwa⁴⁴ ɲɛ³⁵ a⁴⁴
    1sg 3sg house at stay REAL
    I stay in his house.

(iii) i⁵⁵ ɦi⁴⁴ kwa⁴⁴ ɲɛ³⁵ ta⁴⁴ e²¹
    3sg house at be COMPL Q
    Is he at home?

²⁴ When ‘is being V’ is used as a free translation in this thesis, it does not entail ‘dynamicity’ but does imply changeability. In some ways it can be considered to be similar to ‘continue to V’, without focus on the past.
Today, she is being very beautiful.

3.4.3 The durative particle *si*$_{21}$

The durative particle *si*$_{21}$ occurs after the verb or other aspect particles to stretch out the duration of the event expressed in the sentence from the past up to the speech time (now) as an ongoing event$^{25}$.

The eventuality, ‘be beautiful’ *bji*$_{33}$ has duration but no culmination. It can be classified as an event type with stage level property i.e. transitory property of an entity which is likely to change (following Kratzer).

In (79), the durative particle *si*$_{21}$ stretches out the duration of the state of the property of an entity, *bji*$_{33}$ from the past to the speech time (now). It reports that the state ‘being beautiful’ existed previously and exists at the time of speech (One can also draw the implication that it will be going on to the future.) However, the expectation on the stage level property of an entity is that it will soon cease (Carlson 1977).

(79)

\[
I^{55} \ bji^{33} \ a^{44} \ si^{21} \ a^{44}
\]

3sg be beautiful REAL DUR REAL

She is still beautiful.

---

$^{25}$ The Lisu aspect particle *si*$_{21}$ follows the main verb or other aspect particles in a sentence. It has two semantic functions, *si*$_{21}$ ‘durative (still)’ and *si*$_{21}$ ‘yet’ as in (i) (Fraser 1922: 24). The latter semantic function of *si*$_{21}$ mostly occurs when expressing an irrealis situation or in a negative clause. This use of *si*$_{21}$ will not be discussed in this paper.

(i) $^{\text{\small 1sg}} \ gwa^{33} \ dza^{33} \ za^{35} \ si^{21} \ a^{44} \ hi^{44} \ ma^{44} \ ta^{21} \ si^{35} \ si^{21}$

*1sg* rice *eat* REAL house TOP NEG-IMP sweep *yet*

Don’t sweep yet, I am still eating.
The data shows that \( \text{ǹɛ}^{35} \) (78) is focused on what is happening to the event expressed at the speech time, but it does not really focus on what happened with the event expressed before the speech time. Unlike \( \text{ǹɛ}^{35} \) ‘continuous’, the durative particle \( \text{sɨ}^{21} \) (79) communicates the duration of the state or event expressed at the speech time, and also has a focus on what was happened to the event expressed before the speech time.

(80)

\[
i^{55} \text{na}^{21} \text{a}^{44}\text{mu}^{44}\text{gur}^{44} \text{bji}^{33} \text{ǹɛ}^{35} \text{sɨ}^{21} \text{a}^{44}
\]

3sg TOP even now be beautiful CONT DUR REAL

Even now, she is still beautiful.

However, \( \text{ǹɛ}^{35} \) and \( \text{sɨ}^{21} \) can co-occur in an event expression to denote that the existence of the event expressed is progressing from the past until now, at the speech time. When they co-occur, they must be in the following pattern, \( \text{ǹɛ}^{35} -\text{sɨ}^{21} - \text{a}^{44} \) (80). The example given in (80) denotes that the state of the property of a person \( \text{bji}^{33} \) ‘be beautiful’ existed before the denoted time and it still exists at the speech time.

The realis particle \( \text{a}^{44} \) must occur after the continuous particle \( \text{ǹɛ}^{35} \) and the durative particle \( \text{sɨ}^{21} \) or after the combination of them i.e. \( \text{ǹɛ}^{35} -\text{sɨ}^{21} \) to denote the event time is at the speech time and to be a declarative sentence. The dropping of the particle \( \text{a}^{44} \) results in the sentence becoming an imperative i.e. ‘irrealis’, as in example (81) and (82).

(81)

\[
e^{21}\text{mu}^{44} \text{ǹɛ}^{35}
\]

sleep be

Be asleep!

(82)

\[
e^{21}\text{mu}^{44} \text{ǹɛ}^{35} \text{sɨ}^{21}
\]

sleep CONT DUR

Keep sleeping!
3.5 Different event types with the three aspectual particles: \( a^{44}, \text{ne}^{35}, \text{si}^{21} \), and \( \text{ne}^{35}. \text{si}^{21} \)

This section describes the behaviors of verbs typically denoting different event types that result from the interaction of the three aspectual particles, \( a^{44}, \text{ne}^{35}, \text{si}^{21} \), and combinations of the two particles, \( \text{ne}^{35}. \text{si}^{21} \).

This discussion excludes habitual or iterative interpretations. They are understood as denoting an eventuality of state and have the pattern of other states (Swart 2000: 20).

Since the stage-level state \( bji^{33} \) ‘be beautiful’ was used in the ‘Introduction of particles’ in section (3.4), this section discusses imperfectivity in the behaviors of four other event types: individual-level state \( (mo^{55} \) ‘tall’), activities \( (tu^{35} \) ‘run’), accomplishments \( (ja^{35} \) ‘build’), and achievements \( (bu^{21} \) ‘break’ and \( hy^{33} \) ‘give-birth’).

3.5.1 \( mo^{55} \) ‘tall’ and its imperfectivity behavior

\( mo^{55} \) ‘tall’ is a stative predicate, has duration but no culmination, and needs no energy to maintain its state of affairs. It is a permanent property of an entity which is unlikely to change.

Example (83) shows that the state \( mo^{55} \) ‘tall’ is true at that speech time i.e. ‘he is tall (now)’.

(83)

\[ i^{55} \quad mo^{55} \quad a^{44} \]

3sg be tall REAL

He is tall.

Example (84) shows that \( \text{ne}^{35} \) ‘continuous’ is not allowed to mark \( mo^{55} \) ‘tall’ as an ongoing event. The oddness of the sentence confirms that an individual level property of an entity, in this case \( mo^{55} \) ‘tall’, cannot be changed or marked as ongoing event.

(84)
He is being tall.

However, as shown in (85), when *mo₅⁵ ‘tall’ is understood as a changeable state, *ne³⁵ ‘continuous’ is allowed to mark *mo₅⁵ ‘tall’ as an ongoing event with progression by use of the directional verb la₅⁵ ‘come’.

(85)

za²¹ny³³ tʰe³³ tʰi²¹jo⁴⁴ ma⁴⁴ tʰi²¹ pi³³ go⁴⁴ po⁴⁴ tʰi²¹ ni³³
child this one person TOP one day after one day

*mo₅⁵ la⁴⁴ *ne³⁵ a⁴⁴
tall come CONT REAL

This child is growing tall one day after another.

In (86), si²¹ ‘durative’ cannot mark the state *mo₅⁵ ‘tall’ as a state of continued ‘growing tall’ from the past up to the speech time (now). However, when ‘tall’ is perceived as a changeable state which is different from what this thesis intended, it is acceptable for it to be marked by si²¹. This interpretation means that a state of a property of an entity existed and still exists until now even though the property of the entity is expected to change by the speech time. This sentence needs a special context such as, ‘even though he is very old, his height is still the same’ (Lisu people expect that people become short as they grow old).

(86)

*i⁵⁵ mo₅⁵ a⁴⁴ si²¹ a⁴⁴
3sg tall REAL DUR REAL
Intended: *He is still (growing) tall.
Actual: He is still tall.

Like wise, in (87), the combination of ne³⁵ and si²¹ does not mark the state *mo₅⁵ ‘tall’ as an ongoing state i.e. growing tall (from before the speech to the speech time).

(87)
When *mo*³⁵ ‘tall’ is modified by the combination of two particles *ɲɛ*³⁵ and *s*ɨ²¹ in a specific context as in (88), it only means that the state ‘tall’ existed and continued existing at the speech time even though the state ‘tall’ is expected to be changed by the time of speech. Unlike (85), it does not mean ‘grow’. In this sense ‘tall’ is understood as a changeable state.

(88)

*a⁴⁴ne³³ i⁵⁵ na₂¹ mo²¹ la³³ be⁴³ guʳ³³*

oh 3sg TOP be old come even though

*a⁽²¹kʰu⁾⁵⁵ ti⁵⁵ mo⁵⁵ pe⁴³ si²¹ a⁴⁴ ma²¹*

very EMPHT be tall CONT DUR REAL EMPHT

He is still very tall, even though he grew old.

### 3.5.2 *tu*³⁵ ‘run’ and its imperfectivity behavior

*tu*³⁵ ‘run’ is a prototypical verb of activity events. It does not denote a culmination but has duration, and needs energy to maintain the event (Olsen 1994).

Example (89) shows that it is odd to apply *a⁴⁴ ‘realis’ to the event expressed by *tu*³⁵ ‘run’ at the speech time (now). The meaning of the sentence is interpreted at the time before the speech time (past). The sentence is interpreted as habitual only when an explicit time value, *tʰi²¹ waive³³ li⁴⁴ ti²¹ waive³³ ‘every day’ is present in the sentence as in (90).

(89)

*i⁵⁵ tu⁴⁵ a⁴⁴*

3sg run REAL

Intended: *He runs.

Actual: He ran.

(90)
He runs every day.

In (91), the event $tu^{35}$ ‘run’ is modified by the continuative marker $nɛ^{35}$ and denotes that the event expressed is ongoing at the time of speech.

In contrast, example (92) shows that the event $tu^{35}$ does not allow the durative marker $sɨ^{21}$ to stretch out its duration. It is odd to interpret the activity ‘running’ as having happened in the past and also still happening at the speech time. It seems that the limited duration (some hours but not days or months or years) a person continue the activity of ‘running’ cannot accept the unlimited or long duration offered by the particle $sɨ^{21}$.

(91)

\[ i^{55} \ t^{u^{35}} \ nɛ^{35} \ a^{44} \]

3sg run CONT REAL
He is running.

(92)

\[ i^{55} \ t^{u^{35}} \ sɨ^{21} \ a^{44} \]

3sg run DUR REAL
Intended: *He is still running.
Actual: He will run again/also ran [yesterday].

However, in (93), the combination of the two particles $nɛ^{35}$ ‘continuous’ and $sɨ^{21}$ ‘durative’ mark that the event ‘run’ was and is ongoing at the speech time. In this case, the focus of $nɛ^{35}$ i.e. what is happening now, narrows down the focus of the durative particle $sɨ^{21}$ from a long duration (days, months, years) to a short duration. Though the durative marker $sɨ^{21}$ still communicates the information of ‘what was’, it does so in a short, limited time frame instead of in a long time frame. Example (93) indicates that ‘a person was running before the speech time and is still running at the speech time’.
3.5.3 \( \text{fa}^{35} \) ‘build’ and its imperfectivity behavior

\( \text{fa}^{35} \) ‘build’ is a verb that usually denotes an accomplishment event which includes both the resultant state of the event and the durative process leading up to it.

In (94), the meaning of the sentence, ‘He builds a house’, is odd when the event ‘build a house’ is modified by the realis particle \( a^{44} \). Instead, the verb \( \text{fa}^{35} \) prefers another particle, \( h a^{44} \) ‘completive’ to follow it which is in turn followed by the realis particle \( a^{44} \) as in (95). However, the meaning in (95) cannot apply to the present but to the past. It asserts that the accomplishment event i.e. telic or the resultant state of the event, ‘having a built house’ has already occurred. It does not allow the interpretation of the action into the present time (at speech time).

(94)

\[
* i^{55} \quad h i^{44} \quad t h^{21} \quad h i^{44} \quad f a^{35} \quad a^{44}
\]

3sg house one house build REAL

Intended: He builds a house.

(95)

\[
i^{55} \quad a^{21} n i^{44} \quad t h^{21} \quad h i^{44} \quad t h^{21} \quad h i^{44} \quad f a^{35} \quad h a^{44} \quad a^{44}
\]

3sg last year when house one house build COMPL REAL

He built a house last year. (as in ‘he (has) built a house last year but it is not very good’.)

In (96), \( \text{ne}^{35} \) marks that the accomplishment event ‘build a house’ is progressing at the speech time and that the result is not yet reached.
He is building a house.

In contrast, as shown in (97), the accomplishment event verb $fa^{35}$ ‘build’ cannot occur with the durative particle $st^{21}$. It is odd to interpret the meaning of the sentence as ‘he is and was building a house (now)’. It seems the existence of an end point (the resultant state ‘a built house’) of the event does not allow $si^{21}$ ‘durative’ to treat $fa^{35}$ ‘build’ as an event which has no ending.

(97)

* $i^{55}$ $hi^{44}$ $thi^{21}$ $hi^{44}$ $fa^{35}$ $ne^{35}$ $a^{44}$

3sg house one house build DUR REAL

Intended: He is still building a house.

It is acceptable, however, to interpret the sentence in (97) as a habitual event when the numeral phrase, $thi^{21}$ $hi^{44}$ ‘one house’, is dropped out from the sentence as in (98). This sentence implies that ‘a person has been building houses as his professional job’. Therefore the sentence in (98) can be the answer to the question ‘Is he still building houses (as his job)?’ The answer can be ‘yes, he is building houses (as his job)’, not a particular house but houses in general.

(98)

$i^{55}$ $hi^{44}$ $fa^{35}$ $st^{21}$ $a^{21}$

3sg house build DUR REAL

Intended: *He is still building a house (now).

Actual: He is still building houses [as his profession]

Even though $st^{21}$ ‘durative’ alone is not allowed to modify the event $fa^{35}$ ‘build’, example (99) shows that the combination of two particles, $ne^{35}$ and $st^{21}$, can modify the accomplishment event $fa^{35}$ ‘build’. It denotes an event which ‘was and is ongoing at the speech time’.

(99)
Based on the examples shown, it can be said that the semantic function of the continuity particle ɲɛ³⁵ first takes away ‘the resultant state of the event fa³⁵ i.e. ‘having a built house’ and makes it as an event progressing at the speech time. In this way, si²¹ ‘durative’ finds a way to stretch out the duration of the event ‘building a house’. Then it is acceptable to interpret the sentence in (99) as an ongoing event from the time prior to the speech time until now (at the speech time).

3.5.4 hy³³ ‘give birth’ and its imperfectivity behavior

Lisu hy³³ ‘give-birth’ is an achievement event which takes no duration to reach its resultant state, although it does need energy to reach its resultant state.

In example (100), the meaning of the sentence is odd if applied to the time of speech i.e. ‘she gives birth to a child’. Instead, the sentence asserts that the event ‘give-birth to a child’ already happened before the time of speech or in the past. However, in context or by inserting an explicit time frame ti²¹kʰo²¹ ‘each year’, it can be interpreted as the habitual event of a person. For example, ‘Once a year, she gives-birth to a child’.

Example (101) shows that the event hy³³ ‘give-birth’ cannot occur with the continuous particle ɲɛ³⁵ in Lisu. The nature of the achievement event denotes no duration to reach the resultant state, and thus does not allow the continuous particle ɲɛ³⁵ to mark the event as an ongoing event since this would involve a considerable amount of duration.
Intended: *She is giving-birth [to a] child.
Actual: She is caring for [a] child.

However, in Lisu it is acceptable to interpret the sentence as the event of having and taking care of a child as a whole including from the beginning stage, going to the hospital, to the final stage, as in ‘give-birth to a child, going home and taking care of that child’. This interpretation does not focus only on the processes of ‘give-birth a child’ but to the whole process of having and taking care of an infant. In this sense the hy³³ ‘give-birth’ can be modified by ŋe³⁵ to have the meaning, ‘when she was caring for (giving-birth) the child (infant), her husband was in serious sickness’ (102) or ‘she cannot be away from home right now because she is taking care of (giving-birth) her child (infant)’ (103). This interpretation is an activity and not an achievement.

(102)

i⁵⁵ za²ⁿy³³ go³³ ma⁴⁴ hy³³ a⁴⁴ tʰa²¹
3sg child that CLF give-birth REAL when

i⁵⁵ hi⁴⁴ si⁴⁴ pʰa²¹ ma⁴⁴ a²¹kʰu⁵⁵ na²¹ ŋe³⁵ a⁴⁴
3sg husband TOP very sick CONT REAL

When she was caring (giving-birth) that child, her husband was very sick.

(103)

tʰe³³ tʰi²¹ ts¹ tʰi⁴⁴ kwa⁴⁴ i⁵⁵ ka⁴⁴kʰu⁵³ do⁴⁴ ma²¹ ba³³ la³³ si²¹
this one day at 3sg travel NEG able yet

i⁵⁵ za²ⁿy³³ hy³³ a⁴⁴ ŋe³⁵ sì²¹ a⁴⁴
3sg child give-birth REAL CONT DUR REAL

She/he cannot travel [in] these days yet. She is caring for (giving-birth) [a] child.
In the same way, as shown in (104), the achievement event $hy^{33}$ ‘give-birth’ does not allow the durative particle $sï^{21}$ to stretch out its duration.

(104)

\[ *i^{55} \ za^{21}hy^{33} \ a^{44} \ sï^{21} \ a^{44} \]

3sg child give-birth REAL DUR REAL  
Intended: She is still giving-birth a child [now].  
Actual: She is caring for a child.

It is impossible for the combination of the two imperfective particles $jue^{35}$ and $sï^{21}$ to modify the achievement event $hy^{33}$ ‘give-birth’ as ongoing at the speech time as shown in (105), since it does not allow $jue^{35}$ ‘continuous’ and $sï^{21}$ ‘durative’ to modify it as an ongoing event. However, as with the example (101), the event expressed in (105) can be interpreted as the process of having and taking care of an infant as a whole.

(105)

\[ *i^{55} \ za^{21}hy^{33} \ a^{44} \ jue^{35} \ sï^{21} \ a^{44} \]

3sg child give-birth REAL CONT DUR REAL  
Intended: She is still giving-birth [the] child [now].  
Actual: She is caring for a child.

3.5.5 $bu^{21}$ ‘break’ and its imperfectivity behavior

The event $bu^{21}$ ‘break’ is an achievement verb which needs very little time or no duration to reach its resultant state. In other words, it denotes a sudden change of state. It has two senses. One of them is the event of doing the action ‘break’ and the other is the state of ‘being broken’. The following will discuss the two statuses of $bu^{21}$ ‘break’ separately with different examples. The discussion begins with the event ‘break’.

Example (106) shows that the realis particle $a^{44}$ cannot modify the event $bu^{21}$ ‘break’ directly. It is odd to express ‘breaking a plate’ without giving reason in Lisu. It implies that to break a plate, or any other thing is not a usual or normal thing for a person to do. To make sense of breaking a plate, Lisu needs a causative aspect particle $tsi^{44}$ to express that the action ‘break’ happens not intentionally but by
accident. Only then can the realis a⁴⁴ modify the event ‘break’, by following the causative particle tsi⁴⁴. This is shown in example (106).

(106)

\[ i^{55} (n^{3.3}) si^{55} ku^{55} ti^{21} p^{b} e^{21} bu^{21} (ji^{44}) tsi^{44} a^{44} \]

3sg SUBJ plate one flat break away CAUS REAL

He made a plate break.

So as in (107), the property of the event bu⁴uvo ‘break’, as ‘durationless’, does not allow the particle ne³⁵ ‘continuous’ to mark the event as ongoing.

Since the event bu⁴uvo ‘break’ needs a very little amount of time or (some might say) no time to obtain its resultant state ‘be broken’, si⁴⁴ ‘durative’ is not allowed to mark bu⁴uvo ‘break’ as an ongoing event which lasts from the time prior to the speech time to now (at the speech time) in (108).

(107)

\[ *i^{55} (n^{3.3}) si^{55} ku^{55} ti^{21} p^{b} e^{21} bu^{21} (ji^{44}) tsi^{44} ne^{35} a^{44} \]

3sg SUBJ plate one flat break away CAUS CONT REAL

He is breaking a plate.

(108)

\[ i^{55} (n^{3.3}) si^{55} ku^{55} ti^{21} p^{b} e^{21} bu^{21} (ji^{44}) tsi^{44} si^{21} a^{44} \]

3sg SUBJ plate one flat break away CAUS DUR REAL

*Intended: He is still breaking a plate.

Actual: He also made a plate break.

In the same way, the event ‘break’ cannot be modified by the combination of both particles ne³⁵ and si⁴⁴ in (109). However, it is acceptable for the event ‘break’ to be modified by the continuative particle ne³⁵ when the action is interpreted iteratively: for example, breaking several plates in a speech time (110). The manner verb lo⁴⁴ ‘throw’ must occur before the verb ‘break’ in the sentence.
(109)

\[ *i^{55} (ni^{33}) si^{55} ku^{55} ti^{21} p^{he^{21}} bu^{21} (ji^{44}) ts^{44} ne^{35} si^{21} a^{44} \]

3sg SUBJ plate one flat break away CAUS CONT DUR REAL

He is still breaking a plate [now].

(110)

\[ i^{55} (ni^{33}) si^{55} ku^{55} ti^{21} p^{he^{21}} gu^{33} ti^{21} p^{he^{21}} lo^{44} bu^{21} ne^{35} a^{44} \]

3sg SUBJ plate one flat finish one flat throw break CONT REAL

He is breaking [the plates] by throwing one after another.

3.5.6 **bu**\(^{21}\) ‘be broken’ and its imperfectivity behavior

Lisu uses only one lexical word for both the event ‘break’ \(bu^{21}\), and the resultant state ‘be broken’ \(bu^{21}\). The instantaneous change of the event ‘break’ is the resultant state \(bu^{21}\) ‘be broken’. The following discussion assumes the stative interpretation of the event ‘break’ \(bu^{21}\).

When the event \(bu^{21}\) ‘break a plate’ is modified by the realis participle \(a^{44}\) shown in example (111), it implies that the resultant state ‘be broken’ is already reached and is true at or before the speech time.

(111)

\[ si^{55} ku^{55} p^{he^{33}} ma^{44} bu^{21} a^{44} \]

plate this CLF break REAL

This plate is broken.

Example (112) illustrates that the resultant state \(bu^{21}\) ‘be broken’ does not allow the continuative particle \(ne^{35}\) to denote that the state is ongoing at the time of speech.

As with \(ne^{35}\), the durative particle \(si^{21}\) is not allowed to modify the state ‘be broken’ in (113). It seems that the property of the state ‘be broken’ already has enough duration by ‘being broken’ at the speech time (present), to include the time before the speech time (past), and imply it will be broken in the future unless someone fixes it.
This plate is being broken.

This plate has been broken [for a long time].

As in the example above, the example in (114) shows that the combination of the two particles, *ne* and *si*, cannot mark the state *bu* ‘be broken’ as an ongoing event with duration.

However, the sentences in (113) and (114) can be interpreted as an unexpected iterative state of an entity. An example would be, ‘I fixed that plate many times and I found that it is still broken [even now]’.

**3.6 Conclusions**

There are a few ways to express imperfectivity in Lisu: by the verbal particle *a*, *ne*, or *si*, or the combination of two particles, *ne* and *si*. However, the data shows that their imperfectivity behaviors vary according to the event types with which they interact. These behaviors are described in table (10) and a summary is proposed in table (11).

Table (10) shows that the states: stage-level state *bij* ‘beautiful’, and individual-level state *mo* ‘tall’ interact with the imperfective particles differently from each other. In table (11), the analysis finds that generally, individual-level property states do not go well with the imperfective particles. They combine with the particles only
in a restricted context. Stage-level property states do, however, interact well with the imperfective particles in Lisu.

Activities, for example, tu³⁵ ‘run’ interact well with ne³⁵ ‘continuous’ and the combination of particles ne³⁵ -si²¹. However, it is somewhat odd for them to be modified with the particles a⁴⁴ ‘realis’ or si²¹ ‘durative’.

Accomplishment events, for example fa³⁵ ‘build’ go well with the modifiers ne³⁵ ‘continuous’ and ne³⁵ -si²¹ ‘continuous/durative’ but do not interact well with a⁴⁴ ‘realis’ or si²¹ ‘durative’.

The achievement events, hy³³ ‘give-birth’ and bu²¹ ‘break’, do not go well with imperfective particles as shown in table (10). They occur with imperfective particles only in a particular context or situation which focuses on the events as a whole or when they are interpreted iteratively or habitually. The resultant state bu²¹ ‘be broken’, only goes well with the realis particle a⁴⁴.

**Table 10 Imperfective behavior of different event types with aspectual particles in Lisu**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event types</th>
<th>a⁴⁴ ‘X is or was’</th>
<th>ne³⁵ ‘Y is X-ing’</th>
<th>si²¹ ‘Y was and is X-ing’</th>
<th>ne³⁵ - si²¹ ‘Y was and is still X-ing’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 bji³³ ‘beautiful’</td>
<td>ok</td>
<td>ok</td>
<td>ok</td>
<td>ok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 mo⁵⁵ ‘tall’</td>
<td>ok</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bu²¹ (state) ‘be broken’</td>
<td>ok</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 tu³⁵ ‘run’</td>
<td>Present-</td>
<td>Past-</td>
<td>ok</td>
<td>ok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past- ok</td>
<td>Habitual- ok (T)</td>
<td>ok</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>ok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 fa³⁵ ‘build’</td>
<td>Present-</td>
<td>Past-</td>
<td>ok</td>
<td>Ok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past- ok</td>
<td>ok</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 hy³³ ‘give-birth’</td>
<td>Present-</td>
<td>Past-</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past- ok</td>
<td>Habitual- ok (T)</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 bu²¹ ‘break’(event)</td>
<td>Present-</td>
<td>Past- ok (needs additional PRT)</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 11  Summary of the imperfective behavior of different event types with aspectual particles in Lisu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event types</th>
<th>$a^{*4}$ ‘X is or was’</th>
<th>$ɲɛ^{35}$ ‘Y is X-ing’</th>
<th>$si^{21}$ ‘Y was and is X-ing’</th>
<th>$ɲɛ^{35}$ - si ‘Y was and is still X-ing’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>States</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stage-level property</td>
<td>ok</td>
<td>ok</td>
<td>ok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Individual-level property</td>
<td>ok</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Resultant</td>
<td>ok</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activities</td>
<td>Present- *</td>
<td>ok</td>
<td>*/ok (for some activities)</td>
<td>ok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Past- ok</td>
<td>ok</td>
<td></td>
<td>ok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HAB- ok</td>
<td>ok</td>
<td></td>
<td>ok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accomplishments</td>
<td>Present- *</td>
<td>ok</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>ok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Past- ok</td>
<td>ok</td>
<td></td>
<td>ok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievements</td>
<td>Present- *</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Past- ok</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HAB- ok</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 4

Leinong Naga

4.1 Introduction

This chapter includes a brief overview of Leinong Naga phonology, a basic grammar, an introduction to verbal particles, and a presentation of the way this language expresses the aspectual effect of imperfective.

4.2 Leinong Naga phonology

An overview of Leinong Naga phonology includes Leinong Naga consonants, vowels, and tones.

The phonology description used in this chapter is taken from Wayshe 2009 (in progress). Leinong Naga has the following syllable structure: (C) V (V) (C).

4.2.1 Leinong Naga consonants, vowels, and tones

The following tables (12), (13), and (14) show the inventory of Leinong Naga consonants, vowels and tones.

Leinong Naga has 22 consonants, 6 vowels, and 4 tones. However, this thesis uses a broad phonetic transcription in examples because the phonological analysis of Leinong Naga is in progress, and some changes are expected.
**Table 12 Consonants in Leinong Naga**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labio-dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Post-alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stop:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aspirated Vl.</td>
<td>pʰ</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td>kʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vd.</td>
<td>b</td>
<td></td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NASALS:</strong></td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FRICATIVE: Vl. Vd.</strong></td>
<td>v</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>ʃ</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AFFRICATIVE:</strong></td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>tf</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lateral</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 13 Vowels in Leinong Naga**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close-mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 14 Tones in Leinong Naga**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone representation in this thesis</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>a⁴⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>a³³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>a²²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td>a⁴²</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.3 A brief overview of Leinong basic grammar

This section presents a brief overview of Leinong Naga basic grammar. This grammar section is a little more wide-ranging since no other grammatical description of Leinong Naga exists. The Leinong Naga noun phrase structure, word order, and case system are discussed respectively. As with the Lisu and Burmese basic grammar overview, some complex examples are given to demonstrate and make statements. This description does not attempt to make any extensive justification. Complex examples are presented to illustrate basic structure. However, many variations which are considered pragmatic or stylistic are ignored.

4.3.1 Leinong Naga noun phrase structure

Leinong Naga noun phrases may have a head noun and some or all of the following modifiers: demonstrative phrase (DEMP), relative clause (RC), possessor noun phrase (POSS), adjective phrase (AP), and a quantifier phrase (QUANP) or number phrase (NUMP) which includes numerals and classifiers.

The relative ordering of elements in the Leinong Naga noun phrase is given by the phrase structure schema in (115). This paper does not discuss co-occurrence restrictions among the elements of the Leinong Naga noun phrase.

(115)

Noun phrase structure (NP):

\[
(\text{DEMP}) (\text{RC}) (\text{NP}_{\text{POSS}}) \text{ N} (\text{AP}^*) (\text{PL}) \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
\text{QUANP} \\
\text{NUMP}
\end{array} \right\} \text{CASE}
\]

Demonstrative phrase structure: DEM

(POST) (GSUB)\(^{26}\)

Adjective phrase structure: A

(INTS)

\(^{26}\) GSUB means general subordinator
Quantifier phrase structure: QUAN

Numerical phrase structure: (CLF) NUM

Example (116) illustrates the relative ordering of elements of the Leinong Naga noun phrase structure.

(116)

As with the Lisu and Burmese, the head noun in a Leinong Naga noun phrase generally occurs in the middle of the phrase. In (116), the head noun zam⁴⁴ ‘house’ occurs in the middle of the noun phrase ‘these three big houses of mine’.

The preferred position for the demonstrative in a noun phrase is at the beginning. It is used as a specifier which is used to mark known entities. In (116), the demonstrative nay⁴⁴ ‘occurs at the beginning of the noun phrase, ‘these three big houses of mine’ and indirectly precedes the head noun or possessee, zam⁴⁴. However, it can also occur between the possessor and the possessee, the head noun, as in (117).

(117)

Unlike Burmese or Lisu, the Leinong Naga demonstrative pronoun nay⁴⁴ specifies for both things which are near or far from the speaker. The distinction is made by the context. The spatial deictic demonstrative nay⁴⁴ ‘here’ and le³³ ‘there’ must be
followed by the postposition \( \text{guʔ}^{42} \) ‘at’, which in turn may optionally be followed by \( \text{pu}^{33} \), which this paper calls a general subordinator (GSUB) \(^{27}\). This particle, \( \text{pu}^{33} \), is a final element in a constituent and indicates that the constituent to which it is attached is subordinated to the phrase in which the constituent occurs. However, \( \text{pu}^{33} \) is optional to deictic demonstratives such as \( \text{le}^{33} \text{guʔ}^{22} \text{pu}^{33} \) ‘over there’, as in (118).

(118)
\[
\text{le}^{33} \text{guʔ}^{42} \text{pu}^{33} \text{ŋu}^{33} \text{ɔ}^{44} \text{vu}^{33} \text{z}^{m44}
\]
there at GSUB 1sg GEN house
My house over there.

Genitive relationships in Leinong Naga are marked two ways: 1) by the case marker \( \text{ɔ}^{44} \text{vu}^{33} \) ‘GEN’ which follows the possessor and precedes the possessee, and 2) by juxtaposing the possessor before the possessee. Example (118) shows the genitive case marker \( \text{ɔ}^{44} \text{vu}^{33} \) occurring after the possessor pronoun, \( \text{ŋu}^{33} \) ‘1sg’ and preceding the possessee, the head noun, \( \text{zam}^{44} \) ‘house’.

This genitive case marker \( \text{ɔ}^{44} \text{vu}^{33} \) is optional for alienable possessive expression (except 1sg and 2sg possessor pronoun). For example, it is optional in \( \text{ŋu}^{33} \text{pi}^{22} \text{ɔ}^{44} \text{vu}^{33} \text{zam}^{44} \) ‘his house’. However, inalienable possession does not allow \( \text{ɔ}^{44} \text{vu}^{33} \) (except 1sg and 2sg) to mark possession. Adding \( \text{ɔ}^{44} \text{vu}^{33} \) between the 3rd person possessor and the possessee may be ungrammatical for inalienable possessive

---

\(^{27}\) The following presents other subordinating functions of \( \text{pu}^{33} \).

Nominalizer
(i) \( \text{ŋuʔ}^{42} \text{pʰoŋ}^{33} \text{pu}^{33} \text{di}^{44} \)
Fish drift NMLZ OBJ
[the] drifting fish.

Relativizer
(ii) \( \text{ŋu}^{33} \text{ʃi}^{33} \text{ɡ} \text{n}^{33} \text{pu}^{33} \text{vin}^{44} \)
1sg buy carry REL snack
[The] snack that I bought.
expression. For detailed information on Leinong Naga possessive marking see table (15).

**Table 15 General summary of genitive marking in Leinong Naga**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronouns/nouns</th>
<th>Alienable</th>
<th>Inalienable</th>
<th>Part whole</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg ŋu³³</td>
<td>ŋ⁴⁴vu³³</td>
<td>ŋ⁴⁴vu³³</td>
<td>Juxtaposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl suam⁴⁴ (EXCL) sam⁴⁴ (INCL)</td>
<td>(ŋ⁴⁴vu³³)</td>
<td>Juxtaposition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg ɲi²²</td>
<td>ŋ⁴⁴vu³³</td>
<td>ŋ⁴⁴vu³³</td>
<td>Juxtaposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl ə³³ha³³</td>
<td>(ŋ⁴⁴vu³³)</td>
<td>Juxtaposition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg ə³³pi²² or ə³³</td>
<td>(ŋ⁴⁴vu³³)</td>
<td>Juxtaposition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl naŋ⁴⁴ hai³³</td>
<td>(ŋ⁴⁴vu³³)</td>
<td>Juxtaposition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proper noun</td>
<td>(ŋ⁴⁴vu³³)</td>
<td>Juxtaposition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common noun</td>
<td>(ŋ⁴⁴vu³³)</td>
<td>Juxtaposition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As mentioned above, the singular first person pronoun, ŋu³³ requires ŋ⁴⁴vu³³ ‘GEN’ to express either alienable or inalienable possession; for instance, ŋu³³ ŋ⁴⁴vu³³ zam⁴⁴ ‘my house’ may be said but not *ŋu³³ zam⁴⁴.

Unlike Burmese or Lisu, Leinong Naga has a specialized first person possessive pronoun tʃə³³ to mark genitive relationship. It has a singular meaning when it is used as a possessive pronoun, for example, tʃə³³ zam⁴⁴ ‘my house’. Surprisingly, it allows double genitive expression, for instance, ŋu³³ ŋ⁴⁴ vu³³ tʃə³³ nau²² ‘my sister’. Conversely, it has a plural meaning when it is used as a first person pronoun with the following numeral modifier which is obligatory, for instance, tʃə³³ nau²² ‘We (exclusive) two’. tʃə³³ cannot occur as an independent first person pronoun, either singular or plural, as shown in (119).
Intended: I went to the village yesterday.

The 3sg pronoun "pi²²" is contracted to " when it is used as a possessor in both alienable and inalienable possessive expression. For example, either "pi²² fau²²" or "fau²² ‘his son’ is acceptable in Leinong Naga.

As with the Burmese and Lisu noun phrase descriptions, this paper calls the stative verbs whose function is equivalent to the English adjective, ‘adjectives’. Adjectives or adjective phrases typically follow the head nouns they modify and there can be one or more. They may be composed of a single adjective, " new’ or an adjective following an intensifier, "very big’ as in (120).

As in Lisu or Burmese, when a Leinong Naga adjective precedes the head noun, it must be part of a relative clause. Example (121) illustrates that the clause, "mi²² fau²² ‘tail black’ is a part of the relative clause ‘the dog that has a black

---

28 "fau²² ‘black’ cannot occur without the relativizer pu³³ as shown in example (i). However the relativizer pu³³ is optional when " INTS/CONT’ is present in the sentence as shown in example (ii).

(i) *mi²² fau²² zai²²
tail black Dog
Intended: The dog with a black tail or the dog whose tail is black.
tail’. This kind of adjective clause must have the relativizer/ GSUB 
particle \( \text{pfu}^{22} \) ‘big’.

(121)
\[
\varepsilon^{33}\text{mi}^{22} \text{pi}^{42} \text{pu}^{33} \text{zai}^{22}
\]
tail black REL Dog
The dog with a black tail /the dog which tail is black.

Leinong Naga nouns are uninflected for number, but if plural, the number of the
head noun is marked by a following plural marker \( \text{hai}^{33} \) or a numeral after the head
noun. \( \text{hai}^{33} \) and numerals may co-occur even though the presence of \( \text{hai}^{33} \) is optional
when the numeral is present. When they co-occur, \( \text{hai}^{33} \) ‘PL’ precedes the numeral as
shown in (117). Other constituents such as adjectives may be present between the
head noun and \( \text{hai}^{33} \).

A quantifier phrase or numeral phrase is the final element of the noun phrase. The
quantifying words, ‘all’ or ‘some’, do not co-occur with the numeral phrase. In the
numeral phrase, the classifier is optional i.e. numerals do not require classifiers in
Leinong Naga. In (122), the numeral \( \text{sam}^{44} \) occurs by itself at the end of the noun
phrase ‘three new big houses’. However, when the classifier and the numeral co-
occur, the classifier must precede the numeral, and together they modify the head
noun, for example \( \text{sam}^{44} \text{kʰwi}^{44} \text{ua}^{44} \text{k}^{44} \) ‘six CLF houses’.

(122)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>AP</th>
<th>NUM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zg44</td>
<td>in44</td>
<td>(voŋ44) (pfu44) sam44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house</td>
<td>new</td>
<td>big</td>
<td>big</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Three new big houses.

(ii) \( \varepsilon^{33}\text{mi}^{22} \text{pi}^{42} \text{pi}^{42} \text{ (pfu}^{33}) \text{zai}^{22} \)
tail black CONT REL Dog
The dog with a black tail or the dog whose tail is black.
4.3.2 Leinong Naga clause word order

A typical simple Leinong Naga sentence has Subject-Object-Verb (SOV) word order. The relative ordering of a simple Leinong sentence is given in (123). This relative ordering of the elements is illustrated in (124) and (125). Co-occurrence restrictions of the elements of the Leinong Naga sentence are not given in this thesis.

(123)

Clausal word order

NP$_{SUB}$ NP$_{OBJ}$ (XP$_{Adjunct}$) (PP$_{OBL}$) VP

(124)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ə³³pi²² ja³³</th>
<th>mai⁴²jau³³</th>
<th>di⁴⁴</th>
<th>ma⁴⁴d⁴⁴le⁴⁴</th>
<th>gu³³</th>
<th>li³³</th>
<th>an⁴⁴</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>SUBJ</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>Mandalay at</td>
<td>take</td>
<td>PFV</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

He took the child to Mandalay.

(125)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ʒu³³</th>
<th>mai⁴²</th>
<th>di⁴⁴</th>
<th>ma²²v⁴³</th>
<th>lu⁴⁴</th>
<th>an⁴⁴</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>person</td>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>yesterday</td>
<td>see</td>
<td>PFV</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I saw the man yesterday.

Leinong subjects usually occur at the beginning of the sentence immediately followed by the object. In (124), the subject ə³³pi²² ja³³ occurs at the beginning of the sentence before the object, mai⁴²jau³³ di⁴⁴. Like Lisu and Burmese, Leinong Naga speakers drop their subjects often in contexts where the subject is easily understood. Objects may appear before the subject when they are the topic of the sentence.

The preferred position for adjuncts is after the object. However, as with the other two languages, they can occur between any major constituents or at the beginning of the sentence. Example (125) illustrates that the adjunct, ma²²v⁴³ occurs after the object mai⁴² di⁴⁴. Adjuncts do not occur in the clause final position in Leinong Naga.
Oblique, postpositional phrase arguments prefer to occur right after the object. The postpositional phrase argument, \( m\dddot{a}^{44}d\dddot{a}^{44}l\dddot{e}^{44}\mbox{gu}\dddot{t}^{22} \) follows the object, \( m\dddot{a}^{42}f\dddot{a}^{33}d\dddot{i}^{44} \), in (125).

The final element in Leinong Naga sentences are verb phrases. They and their modifiers must occur immediately after the object if there are no adjuncts or oblique arguments following the object. Verb modifiers must follow the main verb they modify, except for the future tense marker \( t\dddot{f}^{22} \) ‘will’ which occurs before the main verb in Leinong Naga. In (125) the verb \( j\dddot{t}^{44} \) ‘go’ and the modifiers, \( l\dddot{i}^{33} \) ‘PFV’, and \( a\dddot{n}^{44} \) ‘REAL’ occur at the end of the sentence. There are many more verb modifiers or particles that can occur in a Leinong Naga verb phrase.

4.3.3 Case system of Leinong Naga

The Grammatical Relations (GR) of the constituents of the Leinong Naga sentences are marked by three case markers \( j\dddot{a}^{33} \) ‘SUBJ’, \( d\dddot{i}^{44} \) ‘OBJ’, \( j\dddot{o}^{44} \) ‘OBJ’. They either follow the noun immediately or can be the final element of the NP. \( j\dddot{a}^{33} \) is also used as a topic marker in this language.

Both transitive and intransitive subjects are optionally not marked in Leinong Naga. The intransitive subject \( \dddot{a}^{33}p\dddot{i}^{22} \) ‘3sg’ in (126) and the transitive subject, \( \dddot{n}u^{33} \) ‘1sg’ in (127) are not marked. The person who is seen, \( m\dddot{a}^{42} \) ‘person’ in (127) is marked by the object case marker \( d\dddot{i}^{44} \).

(126)

\[
\dddot{a}^{33}p\dddot{i}^{22} \ z\dddot{a}^{44} \ u\dddot{t}^{44} \ z\dddot{w}^{44} \ j\dddot{n}^{22} \ n\dddot{a}^{44}
\]

3sg  house at  return CONT CRESP

He is returning home.

(127)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NP_SUB</th>
<th>NP_OBJ</th>
<th>XP_Adjunct</th>
<th>VP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \dddot{n}u^{33} )</td>
<td>( m\dddot{a}^{42} )</td>
<td>( d\dddot{i}^{44} )</td>
<td>( m\dddot{a}^{33}v\dddot{u}^{33} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>person</td>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>yesterday</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I saw the man yesterday.
Leinong Naga does, however, require marking the agentive subject of an action which significantly affects another entity. The affected undergoer, the object also must be marked. When the language resource person (LRP) was asked to drop one of the two case markings in (128), he answered that neither of them can be dropped. In (128), the agentive subject mau²²pi²² ‘Maw Pi’ is marked by the subject case marker ja³³ and the affected undergoer, i³³ nu⁴⁴ ‘Enu’ is marked by the object case marker di⁴⁴.

(128)

mau²²pi²² ja³³ i³³nu⁴⁴ di⁴⁴ dat⁴⁴ an⁴⁴
MawPi SUBJ Enu OBJ hit REAL
MawPi hit Enu.

However, as in Burmese, some affected objects may not take case marking in Leinong Naga. The two objects, pi⁴⁴ ‘wood’ and tu²² zak⁴⁴ ‘a boar’, in (129) and (130), respectively, are not marked. Instead, the subjects are marked in both examples. Thus, Leinong Naga does not seem to strictly follow either of the two basic case patterns, Nominative/Accusative or Ergative/Absolutive.

(129)

ə³³pi²² ja³³ pi⁴⁴ pʰu⁴⁴ tʰo⁴⁴ tʃə²² tu²² vu²²
3sg SUBJ wood break when will be IRR
He may be breaking (the) wood.

(130)

man³⁴gɔŋ³³ ja³³ tu²² zak⁴⁴ gup²² lau²²
Mang Gang SUBJ boar one shoot finish
Mang Gang shot a boar……

Leinong Naga case marking is summarized in table (16). It shows that the occurrence of the case markings is not yet predictable.
Table 16 General summary of Leinong Naga case marking

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ja³³/Ø</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>ja³³/Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>ja³³/Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>di⁴⁴/jo⁴⁴ /Ø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 17 Illustration of Leinong Naga case marking occurrences in two-participant sentences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example in English translation</th>
<th>Agent</th>
<th>Patient</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. He kills the dog.</td>
<td>‘he’-ja³³</td>
<td>‘dog’- Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Mang Gang shot a boar.</td>
<td>‘Mang Gang’-ja³³</td>
<td>‘boar’- Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. He hit the man/dog.</td>
<td>‘he’-(ja³³)</td>
<td>‘man or dog’- di⁴⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. He split the wood.</td>
<td>‘he’- ja³³</td>
<td>‘wood’- Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. He broke the plate.</td>
<td>‘he’- ja³³</td>
<td>‘olate’-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. He kicked the ball.</td>
<td>‘he’- Ø</td>
<td>‘ball’- (di⁴⁴)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Enu bought tea (for) Mawpi.</td>
<td>‘Enu’- ja³³</td>
<td>‘Mawpi’-di⁴⁴/jo⁴⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. I saw the person.</td>
<td>‘I’-Ø</td>
<td>‘person’ - di⁴⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. He took the children.</td>
<td>‘he’-(ja³³)</td>
<td>‘children’-(di⁴⁴)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j. They selected him as a village chief.</td>
<td>‘they’-ja³³</td>
<td>‘him’-di⁴⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k. He looks tall to me (in front of me)</td>
<td>‘In front of me’- tfø k'a guʔ</td>
<td>‘He’- di⁴⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l. They named him Enu.</td>
<td>‘they’- ja³³</td>
<td>‘him’- di⁴⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. I made Matio fall. (accidentally)</td>
<td>‘I’- Ø</td>
<td>‘Matio’- (di⁴⁴)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. I made the child sleep.</td>
<td>‘I’- ja³³</td>
<td>‘child’- Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o. I got hit.</td>
<td>‘I’- Ø</td>
<td>‘child’- (di⁴⁴)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 18 Illustration of Leinong Naga case marking occurrences in three or four participant sentences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examples in English translation</th>
<th>‘I’- Ø</th>
<th>‘you’ - jo⁴⁴/ di⁴⁴</th>
<th>‘car’- Ø</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. I want you to drive the car.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. She asked me to wash the clothes.</td>
<td>‘she’(ja³³)</td>
<td>‘me’- jo⁴⁴</td>
<td>‘clothes’- Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. I gave him a book (for) his father.</td>
<td>‘I’- Ø</td>
<td>‘him’-jo⁴⁴</td>
<td>‘his father’- (di⁴⁴)/ li²²gu²² ‘for’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Mother made her make the child sleep.</td>
<td>‘mother’- ja³³</td>
<td>‘her’- di⁴⁴</td>
<td>‘child’- Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. I made MawPi hit Matio.</td>
<td>‘I’- Ø</td>
<td>‘MawPi’- ja³³</td>
<td>‘Enu’- di⁴⁴ (P)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. He beat the dog with the broom.</td>
<td>‘he’- ja³³</td>
<td>‘dog’- di⁴⁴</td>
<td>‘broom’- ja³³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. She covered her face with the umbrella.</td>
<td>‘she’- ja³³</td>
<td>‘her face’- di⁴⁴</td>
<td>‘umbrella’- ja³³</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tables (17) and (18) summarize the occurrences of the case markers in a wide range of transitive sentences. As discussed previously, intransitive subjects are optionally unmarked.

According to my informant, the object case markers di⁴⁴ and jo⁴⁴ are used alternatively to mark the direct objects (not a causer) in both two participant sentences (table 17 g) and three participant sentences (table 18 a,b,c) . However, the limitation on the replacement of di⁴⁴ for jo⁴⁴ or vice versa is not yet known. In the three-participant causative sentence, the primary causer is optionally marked with ja³³. However, ja³³ is also used for secondary causer (functive agent) when the primary causer is not marked (table 18 e, f). The reason for this change is not yet understood. The third participant who can be a beneficiary (table 18 d), an affected patient (table 18 f), or a recipient (table 18 c) is optionally marked by di⁴⁴. A goal or
beneficiary sometimes is marked by $li^{22}gu^{22}$ ‘for’ (table 18 d) instead of $di^{44}$. A theme such as ‘book’ is not marked (table 18c). However, an instrument, such as ‘the broom’, is taken as an agentive entity and marked by the subject marker $ja^{33}$ in Leinong Naga (table 18 g, h).

4.4 Introduction of Leinong Naga particles

There are three verbal particles that interact to create the aspectual effect of imperfectivity in Leinong Naga: $an^{44}$ ‘realis’, $niu^{22}$ ‘continuous’, and $lui^{33}$ ‘continuous’. As with Burmese and Lisu, Leinong Naga sentences seldom occur without context, temporal indication, and other particles that denote some mode, aspect, or time of the eventuality expressed. Sentences without such particles are essentially ungrammatical.

4.4.1 $an^{44}$ ‘realis’

To construct a well formed sentence, Leinong Naga needs a verbal particle or particles at the end of the sentence. Most likely, $an^{44}$ is used not only as a realis marker; it also indicates the declarative meaning of the sentence by appearing at the end of the sentence or before the main verbs. At any rate, the presence of $an^{44}$ for the sentence which is or was true in the real world is obligatory (except for the imperfective sentence expressed by $niu^{22}$).

$an^{44}$ ‘realis’ in Leinong occurs at the end of the sentence to indicate that the eventuality described is true at the speech time.

In (131), $an^{44}$ marks that the individual-level state or the permanent property of an entity, $lai^{22}$ ‘tall’ holds at the speech time.

(131)

$ə^{33}pi^{22} ə^{33}von^{44} ə^{22}lai^{22} an^{44}$
3sg height long REAL

He is tall.

However, $an^{44}$ also can indicate an event which occurs prior to the speech time. When it denotes the past event, it may follow or precede the aspectual particles
which denote the completion of the eventuality, for instance, \textit{zap}^{33} \textit{an}^{44} \textit{luaj}^{33} or \textit{zap}^{33} \textit{luaj}^{33} \textit{an}^{44}, both of which mean ‘slept’.

It seems the denoted eventuality is past when \textit{an}^{44} is applied to events but not with states. De Swart notes that the simple present in English is only applicable to states unless it is used as a historical present or a reporter’s present (Swart 2000: 9). It might be true in Leinong as well because for ‘the present eventuality description’, \textit{an}^{44} is applicable only to states but not to events. When \textit{an}^{44} is applied to events (without temporal indication), it entails that the event expressed has already occurred before the speech time (the past event). A summarized diagram of the expansion of \textit{an}^{44} to states and events is illustrated in figure (10).

\begin{figure}[ht]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{diagram.png}
\caption{Figure 10 Expansion of \textit{an}^{44} ‘realis’ to states and events}
\end{figure}

The use of \textit{an}^{44} ‘realis’ is required for sentences which describe present states (imperfective) and for past event expressions. The absence of \textit{an}^{44} in a present or past eventuality expression results in an ungrammatical sentence unless another verbal particle is used. A contrast is shown in (132) and (133). An imperfective eventuality expressed by \textit{niu}^{22}, however, does not allow \textit{an}^{44} i.e. \textit{*V niu}^{22} \textit{an}^{44} (this is discussed later along with the description of continuous particles). Future states of affairs are marked by the irrealis particle \textit{vu}^{33} ‘IRR’ (134) and imperative expressions are marked by the particle \textit{a}^{42} (135) in Leinong Naga.

(132)

\begin{verbatim}
nan^{44} zam^{44} voq^{44} *(an^{44})
\end{verbatim}

\begin{flushleft}
this house big REAL.
\end{flushleft}

This house is big.
I lived in Zom village for two years.

He will probably go to Mandalay.

Eat!

4.4.2 \textit{niu$^{22}$} ‘continuous’

Unlike Burmese or Lisu, Leinong Naga uses a specialized particle, \textit{niu$^{22}$}, to mark the aspectual effect of imperfectivity without using the grammaticalized form of the verb ‘stay’ or ‘live’. \textit{niu$^{22}$} must follow the verb directly when it denotes an incomplete processes or the continuous progression of the verb.

---

29 a. \textit{niu$^{22}$} is also used as an intensifier (in the AP where stative verbs follow the head noun they modify) in (i) or a relativizer (when stative verbs precede the head noun they modify) by following the stative verb as in (ii)

(i) zam$^{44}$ vog$^{33}$ \textit{niu$^{22}$} (ii) z$^{33}$mi$^{22}$ \textit{niu$^{22}$} (pu$^{33}$) zai$^{22}$

house big INTS tail black CONT REL dog

‘(a) very big house’ The dog with a black tail./ The dog which tail is black.

b. \textit{niu$^{22}$} is homophonous with the noun \textit{niu$^{22}$} ‘female/mother’, for instance \textit{kwaj$^{33}$vi$^{44}$ niu$^{22}$} ‘female teacher’.
In (136), \(\text{ɲiu}^{22}\) ‘continuous’ marks the activity event \(\text{sau}^{42}\) ‘eat’ as ongoing at the speech time and the reported speech marker \(\text{naŋ}^{44}\) follows \(\text{ɲiu}^{22}\) to indicate that the sentence is intentionally reported for the hearer. This paper calls \(\text{naŋ}^{44}\) ‘currently related reported speech particle (CRES P)’ (see footnote 26).

(136)
\[
\text{i}^{33}\text{nu}^{44}\text{ ja}^{33}\text{ sau}^{42}\text{ ɲiu}^{22}\ (\text{naŋ}^{44})
\]
Enu SUBJ eat CONT CRES P
Enu is eating.

When an imperfective expression is marked by the particle \(\text{ɲiu}^{22}\), \(\text{an}^{44}\) ‘realis’ is not allowed to occur following \(\text{ɲiu}^{22}\), as shown in (137). However, when \(\text{an}^{44}\) precedes \(\text{ɲiu}^{22}\) and directly follows the verb i.e. \(\text{V an}^{44}\text{ɲiu}^{22}\), it denotes habitual interpretation of the eventuality expressed; for example, \(\text{s}^{33}\text{pi}^{22}\text{ a}^{33}\text{ʃi}^{42}\text{ sau}^{42}\text{ an}^{44}\text{ɲiu}^{22}\text{ naŋ}^{44}\) ‘He usually eats rice’. Habitual is a series of completed events. Since this construction for different event types indicates habitual, this expression is excluded from the discussion of imperfectivity in this thesis.

(137)
\[
\ast\text{33}\text{pi}^{22}\text{ a}^{33}\text{ʃi}^{42}\text{ sau}^{42}\text{ ɲiu}^{22}\text{ an}^{44}
\]
3sg SUBJ rice eat CONT REAL
Intended: He is eating.

As illustrated in example (136), the presence of the currently related reported speech particle \(\text{naŋ}^{44}\) (which can also co-occur with the present, past) is optional for imperfective expressions\(^{30}\). However, the LRP mentions that ending the sentence

\(^{30}\) \(\text{naŋ}^{44}\) potentially indicates that the event reported is somehow near the context of speech. \(\text{naŋ}^{44}\) contrasts with \(\text{ta}^{33}\) ‘RESP’ (i) and \(\text{ʃi}^{22}\) ‘self talk’ (ii).

(i) \(\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{am}^{13}\text{ ʃi}^{33}\text{tʃi}^{42}\text{ pja}^{33}\text{ tʃi}^{44}\text{ pu}^{22}\text{ voi}^{13}\text{ gui}^{42}\text{ nuak}^{42}\text{ zak}^{42}\text{ məŋ}^{44}\)
once upon a time grandfather and father time at village one in

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mai}^{42}\text{ pu}^{22}\text{ mai}^{42}\text{ ɲiu}^{22}\text{ nai}^{13}\text{ zam}^{44}\text{ k}^{\text{h}2i}^{44}\text{ zak}^{42}\text{ gai}^{22}\text{ an}^{44}\text{ ta}^{33}
\end{align*}
\]

person male person female two house roof one exist REAL RESP
with the aspectual particle is more like a poetry form and in his opinion one of the sentence final particles should appear at the end of the sentence, for instance, \textit{naj}^{44} ‘CRESP’, t\textit{fi}^{33} ‘self talk but not intended for others’, or \textit{ta}^{33} ‘RESP’. However, the data shows that often the collected sentences end with aspectual particles (in imperfective expression) or verbs (in a negated sentence). The co-occurrence pattern of \textit{naj}^{44} and \textit{niu}^{22} is as follows: V \textit{niu}^{22} (\textit{naj}^{44}) but not *V \textit{naj}^{44} \textit{niu}^{22}. When \textit{an}^{44} and \textit{naj}^{44} co-occur, \textit{naj}^{44} follows \textit{an}^{44} directly or indirectly.

\subsection*{4.4.3 Another continuous particle, \textit{lui}^{33}}

\textit{lui}^{33} is another aspectual particle which as well interacts with different event types to mark imperfective effect in Leinong Naga.

In contrast to \textit{niu}^{22}, \textit{lui}^{33} is a grammaticalized form of the verb ‘put/keep’\textsuperscript{31}. When it functions as an aspectual particle, it must follow the verb indirectly to indicate incomplete action of the eventuality expressed. Between the main verb and \textit{lui}^{33} is the position for \textit{an}^{44} ‘realis’. The occurrence pattern of \textit{an}^{44}, \textit{lui}^{22}, and \textit{naj}^{44} is V \textit{an}^{44} \textit{lui}^{33} (\textit{naj}^{44}) but not *V \textit{lui}^{33} \textit{an}^{44} \textit{naj}^{44} or *V \textit{an}^{44} \textit{lui}^{33} \textit{an}^{44}.

In (138), by following the realis particle \textit{an}^{44}, which directly follows the stative verb \textit{zap}^{33} ‘sleep’, \textit{lui}^{33} ‘continuous’ marks the event, \textit{zap}^{33}, as ongoing at the speech time.

---

Once, in my grandfather and father times, in a village there was a family consisting of one couple.

(ii) \textit{dau}^{27} \textit{vu}^{31} \textit{a}^{44} \textit{k\textsuperscript{w}n}^{44} \textit{an}^{44} \textit{t\textit{fi}}^{33} \\
    today sky hot REAL self-talk-SF

It is hot today.

\textsuperscript{31} The ungrammatical used of \textit{lui}^{33} is shown in (i).

(i) \textit{t\textit{fi}}^{33} \textit{nu}^{44} \textit{a}^{33} \textit{t\textit{fi}}^{33} \textit{\textit{su}^{24}}^{2} \textit{dt}^{44} \textit{per}^{44} \textit{gu}^{24}^{2} \textit{lui}^{33} \textit{an}^{44} \\
    Enu SUBJ un-cooked rice OBJ barn at put REAL

    Enu put all the paddy-rice in the barn.
(138)

\(\text{ə}^{33}\text{pi}^{22} \text{zap}^{33} \text{an}^{44} \text{lui}^{33}\)
3sg sleep REAL CONT
He is sleeping.

However, the interpretation of the eventuality expressed by the pattern, \text{Van}^{44} \text{lui}^{33} (\text{nag}^{44}) can be two different expressions, continuous or resultative state\(^{32}\), depending on the event types with which they interact. A summarized diagram of the expansion of \text{lui}^{33} to events and states is illustrated in figure (11).

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure11.png}
\caption{Expansion of \text{lui}^{33} to events and states}
\end{figure}

When the eventuality expressed is marked by \text{lui}^{33}, it denotes events with culmination as resultative state produced by the preceding event and makes it relevant to the speech time. For states and events which do not entail culminations such as activities, however, it denotes them as eventualities ongoing at the speech

\(^{32}\) The term resultative state is used following Romeo (2008). She describes that Burmese full verb \(t\text{\textalpha}^{44}\) ‘put, place; keep’ is used as a post-V\(_n\) operator marking RESULTATIVE state. She defines RESULTATIVE state as follows; ‘the actor causes the undergoer to be placed at a certain location, and a state is produced as a result of activity’ (Romeo 2008: 178-181). She summarizes the function of \(t\text{\textalpha}^{44}\) as follows: \(t\text{\textalpha}^{44}\) marks the state of the undergoer resulting from the activity expressed by the main verb. The attained state is seen as stable and endurable. It also marks the affectedness of the Undergoer. So it shifts the focus from the actor to the affected Undergoer. The time reference has no relevance to this kind of state since permanent states, conditions or qualities can be temporally existed in the past, present or future. \(t\text{\textalpha}^{44}\) is often found describing properties or qualities of entities by following the verb in a pre-nominal relative clause in Burmese (2008: 181-3).
time. As in Burmese, lui³³ commonly occurs in relative clauses, which are adverbial clauses i.e. ‘when the wealth that they have had became used up’ in (139) and ‘when they have (had) a son’ in (140). The attained states, tʰaʔ⁴² lui³³ (pu³³ kʰi³³ tʃi³³ nai³³) ‘(the wealth) that they have been having’ i.e. the state of having had the wealth (139), and maiʔ⁴² pu²² sau²² zak⁴² paʔ⁴² lui³³ ‘they have gave-birth to a son’ (140) i.e. the state of having gave-birth to a son, are perceived by the speaker as stable and permanent states which still have to do with the situation of the speech time.

(139)

₃sg-GEN husband come die when 3sg-GEN husband 3sg-GEN two

₃sg-GEN husband come die when 3sg-GEN husband 3sg-GEN

nai³³ ja³³ tʰaʔ⁴² lui³³ pu³³ kʰi³³ tʃi³³ nai³³ jui⁴⁴ kʰam⁴⁴ va³³
two SUBJ get CONT REL wealth come finish when

₃sg-GEN Son 3sg-GEN mother SUBJ be poor away REL RESP

After her husband died, when all the wealth that the couple once had was spent, the two, mother and son, became poor.

(140)

₃sg-GEN two SUBJ male son one give-birth put time at

₃sg-GEN husband SUBJ suddenly sick do after die REAL RESP GEN

They were living in that way until they had a son.
When they had a son, her husband was suddenly sick and died.
4.5 Descriptions of imperfectivity; different event types with the three aspectual particles: an⁴⁴ ‘real’, njiu²² ‘continuous’, and lui³³ ‘continuous’

Interestingly, when the LRP is asked for imperfective expression of different event types, the LRP unconsciously switches between the two particles, njiu²² and lui³³, in modifying different verbs. Imperfective expression of states is given with the marking of lui³³ but events are given by njiu²².

However, both particles are used in testing the imperfective behavior of various event types. The discussion therefore begins with the imperfective particle that the LRP unconsciously gives first, and then discussion with the other particle follows.

The following discussion includes imperfective behavior of various event types, using lón⁴⁴mi⁴⁴ ‘beautiful’, a³³voŋ⁴⁴ lat³³ ‘tall’, dan²² ‘run’, da⁴⁴ ‘build’, and pi³³ ‘break’.

4.5.1 lón⁴⁴mi⁴⁴ ‘be beautiful’ and its imperfectivity behavior

As described in chapters two and three, lón⁴⁴mi⁴⁴ ‘be beautiful’ is a state which has a stage-level property, needs no energy to maintain the state of affairs, is inherently durative, and has no ending, but is subject to change.

In example (141), the state of the property of an entity lón⁴⁴mi⁴⁴ ‘be beautiful’ is marked by the realis particle an⁴⁴, indicating that the state of the property of an entity ‘be beautiful’ holds at the speech time.

(141)

a³³pi²² (a³³) lón⁴⁴mi⁴⁴ an⁴⁴
3sg SUBJ be beautiful REAL
She is beautiful.

In (142), an⁴⁴ directly follows the stative predicate lón⁴⁴mi⁴⁴ ‘be beautiful’ and is again followed by the continuous marker lui³³, indicating that the state of the property of an entity ‘be beautiful’ holds and is continuing at the speech time³³.

³³ When ‘is being V’ is used as a free translation in this thesis, it does not entail ‘dynamicity’ but does imply changeability. In some ways it can be considered to be similar to ‘continue to V’, without focus on the past.
The state of the property of an entity $log^{44}mi^{44}$ is marked by the other continuous particle $niu^{22}$, indicating that the existence of the incidental property of an entity is being particularly noticed at the speech time in (143). The LRP mentions that this sentence is used when an entity is seen to be especially beautiful only today, at the moment of speech time (she may not be a beautiful girl). The other particle $mu^{44}$ ‘still’ can optionally follow $niu^{22}$ to mention that the event starts before the speech time and is still going on at the speech time.

However, in this case, as shown in example (144), when $an^{44}$ directly or indirectly follows the continuous $niu^{22}$, it makes the sentence ungrammatical.

(143)

\[
\text{\small \textbf{3sg today very be beautiful CONT still CRESP}}
\]

She is being very beautiful today (especially).

(144)

\[
\text{\small *\text{\textbf{3sg today very be beautiful CONT still REAL}}}
\]

Intended: She is being very beautiful today.

---

34 $mu^{44}$ is optional in marking the Leinong Naga imperfective and it only occurs if imperfectivity is already existed. It does not have its own semantic content to mark eventualities as imperfective expressions as shown in (i).

(i) \[
\text{\small *\text{\textbf{3sg Today very be beautiful still CRESP}}}
\]

Intended: She is (being) very beautiful today.
4.5.2 ə³³voŋ⁴⁴ lai³³ ‘tall’ and its imperfectivity behavior

ə³³voŋ⁴⁴ lai²² ‘tall’ is a combination of two words, ‘height’ and ‘long’. ‘Tall’ is the state of an individual-level property of an entity which is not likely to change. It does not need energy to maintain its state of affairs, is inherently durative and denotes no culmination.

In (145), an⁴⁴ denotes that the individual-level property of an entity ə³³voŋ⁴⁴ lai³³ ‘tall’ holds at the speech time.

(145)

ə³³pi²² a³³ əvoŋ⁴⁴ lai²² an⁴⁴
3sg SUBJ height long REAL
He is tall.

However, the state of individual-level property of an entity ‘tall’ does not allow lui³³ marking it as continuing being tall at the speech time as shown in example (146). Since it is a permanent property of an entity, which holds through every time interval of that entity’s existence, it does not allow lui³³ to treat it as an event which is progressing at the speech time.

(146)

*ə³³pi²² a³³ əvoŋ⁴⁴ lai²² an⁴⁴ lui³³ (naŋ⁴⁴).
3sg SUBJ height long REAL CONT CRESP
Intended: He is being tall.

Again, when ə³³voŋ⁴⁴ lai²² is tested modifying by nju²² along with or without an⁴⁴, it gives an ungrammatical result, as shown in (147) and (148). It is clear that the permanent property of an entity cannot be treated as a quality which can progress at the speech time. Therefore, it cannot go well with nju²² which has some entailment of changeability.

(147)

*ə³³pi²² a³³ əvoŋ⁴⁴ lai²² nju²² (naŋ⁴⁴)
3sg SUBJ height long CONT CRESP
Intended: He is being tall.
4.5.3 dan²² ‘run’ and its imperfectivity behavior

dan²² ‘run’ is an activity event which takes energy to attain the action, and has duration, but denotes no culmination.

In example (149), when the activity event dan²² ‘run’ is marked by the realis particle an⁴⁴, the event cannot apply to the speech time. Instead, it asserts that the event happens prior to the speech time.

(149)
*ə³³pi²² dan²² an³³
3sg run REAL

Intended: #He runs.

Actual: He ran.

In (150), the continuous particle niu²² marks the activity ‘run’ dan²² as ongoing at the speech time. The particle mu³³ ‘still’ and the reported speech particle nay⁴⁴ may follow niu²². These add that the event starts before the speech time and is still going on at the speech time and also that this sentence is deliberately reported to the hearer, respectively.

However, the sentence in (151) shows that the realis particle an⁴⁴ is not allowed to follow niu²² ‘continuous’. It is possible that part of the semantic notation of an⁴⁴ i.e. making the event end before the speech time, is incompatible with the imperfective notation that niu²² is intended to deliver and makes the sentence ungrammatical, *V niu²² an⁴⁴.
(150)

\[ \text{nu}^{33} \text{ pʰa}^{33} \text{jə}^{44} \text{fuŋ}^{44} \text{ di}^{44} \text{ dan}^{22} \text{ pni}^{22} \ (\text{mu}^{33}) \ (\text{nə}^{44}) \]

1sg  church  at  run  CONT  still  CRES

I am running to the church.

(151)

\[ *\text{ə}^{33} \text{pi}^{22} \ a^{33} \text{fuəŋ}^{22} \text{ gu}^{42} \text{ dan}^{22} \text{ pni}^{22} \ \text{an}^{44} \]

3sg  SUBJ  school  at  run  CONT  REAL

Intended: He is running.

As shown in (152), \( \text{lui}^{33} \) marks the event ‘run’ as ongoing at the speech time by following the realis particle \( \text{an}^{44} \), which directly follow the main verb \( \text{dan}^{22} \) ‘run’, i.e. \( \text{V an}^{44} \text{lui}^{33} (\text{nə}^{44}) \).

(152)

\[ \text{ə}^{33} \text{pi}^{22} \ a^{33} \text{fuəŋ}^{22} \text{ gu}^{42} \text{ dan}^{22} \text{ An}^{44} \text{ lui}^{33} \ (\text{nə}^{44}) \]

3sg  SUBJ  school  at  run  REAL  CONT  CRES

He is running to the school.

4.5.4 \( \text{da}^{44} \) ‘built’ and its imperfectivity behavior

\( \text{da}^{44} \) ‘build’ is an accomplishment event which denotes dynamicity, duration, and culmination.

In example (153), when the accomplishment event \( \text{da}^{44} \) ‘build’ is modified by \( \text{an}^{44} \) ‘realis’, it is odd to apply the event ‘building a house’ to the time of speech. Instead, it asserts that the event ‘building a house’ is finished by the speech time and ‘a built house’ is already existed. As with Burmese and Lisu, the sentence in this example can turn into a habitual interpretation if a temporal adverbial ‘every year’ or ‘once a year’ is inserted into the sentence.
When the LRP is asked to give a sentence, ‘he builds (the) house’, the LRP gives the sentence with the particle ɲiu²² as shown in (154), but the sentence in this example actually means ‘He is building a house’. This phenomenon shows that the LRP’s unconscious knowledge about her language suggests to her that expressing the event which is true at the speech time is incompatible with the sentence in example (153), and instead she gives the sentence in (154), which means ‘he is building a house’. In this example, ɲiu²² marks the accomplishment event da⁴⁴ ‘build’ as ongoing at the speech time. The reported speech particle naŋ⁴⁴ is optional.

(154)

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
{\text{3sg SUBJ}} & {\text{house}} & {\text{build}} & {\text{CONT CRESP}} \\
\end{array}
\]

He is building [a] house.

However, as with other event types, an⁴⁴ is not allowed following ɲiu²² when the event denoted is marked as imperfective as shown in (155).

(155)

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
{\text{3sg SUBJ}} & {\text{house}} & {\text{build}} & {\text{CONT REAL}} \\
\end{array}
\]

Intended: He is building [a] house.

When da⁴⁴ ‘build’ is tested with lui³³ as in (156), the event cannot apply as ongoing at the speech time. Instead, it asserts that the event ‘building a house’ is done by the speech time, ‘he has built a house (as you suggested)’. It can be said that when the resultant state denotation of the event ‘build’ and the intervention of the primary semantic content of lui³³, ‘keep, put’ (to be present at a certain location/situation)
encounter each other, the event cannot go any further to express incomplete denotation.

Unlike \textit{niu}^{22}, \textit{lui}^{33} has a weak continuous denotation which cannot go over the resultant state denotation of ‘build’ (this is clear because \textit{niu}^{22} marks ‘build’ as a continuous event without difficulty). In addition its behavior shows that it favors duration over changeability.

As discussed previously, \textit{lui}^{33} normally marks events which entail culmination as a resultative state (having done something) which is still relevant to the speech time. When it interacts with event types which have no entailment of culmination, such as states and activities, it cannot mark them as resultative states. Instead \textit{lui}^{33} marks them as an ongoing event of the speech time.

\begin{equation*}
\sigma^{33} pi^{22} ja^{33} zam^{44} zak^{42} da^{44} an^{44} lui^{33} (nay^{44})
\end{equation*}

\begin{tabular}{llll}
3sg & SUBJ & house & one build REAL CONT CRESP \\
\end{tabular}

Intended: *He is building a house.

Actual: He has built a house.

\subsection{4.5.5 \textit{pa}^{42} ‘give-birth’ and its imperfectivity behavior}

\textit{pa}^{42} ‘give-birth’ is an achievement event which denotes an event that is dynamic and culminates, but has no duration.

When the achievement event \textit{pa}^{42} is marked by \textit{an}^{44} ‘realis’ as illustrated in (157), the event cannot apply to the speech time. Instead, it asserts that the event is already finished by the speech time and an infant is already exists by the speech time.

\begin{equation*}
\sigma^{33} pi^{22} ja^{33} fau^{22} zak^{42} pa^{42} an^{44}
\end{equation*}

\begin{tabular}{llll}
3sg & SUBJ & child & one give-birth REAL \\
\end{tabular}

Intended: *She gives-birth [to a] child.

Actual: She gave-birth [to a] child.
The sentence in example (158) shows that niu²² ‘continuous’, with the followed by an⁴⁴ or nay⁴⁴, or both of them together, is not allowed to mark the achievement event paʔ⁴² as ongoing at the speech time. It cannot accept the duration and continuity offered by niu²² since an achievement event takes no time to reach its culmination. The LRP mentions that this sentence can be interpreted as the whole process of giving-birth to a child, not knowing whether the child is delivered. This interpretation gets an activity denotation, not incompletive.

(158)

*ə³³pi²² ja³³ fəu²² zak⁴² paʔ⁴² niu²² (*an⁴⁴ /nay⁴⁴ /*an⁴⁴ nay⁴⁴
3sg SUBJ child one give-birth CONT REAL RESP REAL CRESP
Intended: she is giving-birth [to a] child (now).

The achievement event paʔ⁴² is again tested with another continuous particle lui³³ and the result is an ungrammatical sentence as shown in (159). Since it is an event which does not have duration, it is incompatible with the duration offered by lui³³. Rather, the interaction in this example asserts that the event is already finished by the speech time.

(159)

ə³³pi²² ja³³ fəu²² zak⁴² paʔ⁴² an⁴⁴ lui³³ nay⁴⁴
3sg SUBJ child one give-birth REAL CONT CRESP
Intended: *she is giving-birth [to a] child.
Actual: She has given-birth [to a] child.

4.5.6 lauʔ⁴² pi²² ‘break’ and its imperfectivity behavior

pi²² ‘break’ is an achievement event which denotes energy and culmination, but no duration (it ends when it happens).

Similarly to the Burmese, Leinong Naga’s achievement event verb ‘break’ has two morphological representations to denote event and resultant state, lauʔ⁴² pi²² and
In particular, the event ‘break’ is expressed by the presence of the particle lauʔ⁴² before the verb ‘be broken’ pi⁴². The use of these two verbs is illustrated in (160).

(i) | Intransitive | Transitive |
---|---|---|
ai⁴⁴ an⁴⁴ 'to die' | lauʔ⁴² ai⁴⁴ an⁴⁴ 'to kill'
mi⁴² an⁴⁴ 'be good' | lauʔ⁴² mi⁴² an⁴⁴ 'to make good or to repair'
pi⁴² an⁴⁴ 'be flat' | lauʔ⁴² pi⁴² an⁴⁴ 'to make flat or to flatten'

In contrast, when lauʔ⁴² appears following the main verb, it marks the completion of the action expressed by the main verb as in (ii). The example is extracted from a story which is about a past event. In the story, a man visited to his relatives who lived in another village and shared the snack that he bought for his nephews.

(ii) nwak⁴⁴ guʔ⁴² pu⁴³ fij³³ an⁴⁴ pu³³ vin⁴⁴ ti³³ lai³³ hai³³ jo⁴⁴
village at 1sg buy REAL REL snack 1-GEN nephew PL DO

zin³³ zak⁴⁴ zak⁴⁴ poŋ zin³³ vaŋ⁴² lauʔ⁴² giʔ⁴²
share one one each share feed finish CL-CHAIN

At the village, I shared the snack that I bought at my village to all of my nephews one each.

Moreover, it is also used as a sequential marker together with the particle mu²² ‘when/if’ when the speaker wants to express different happenings which happen in order as shown in (iii) and (iv).

(iii) viuʔ⁴² pʰuaŋ⁴⁴ lauʔ⁴² mu²² ga袒⁴²
slash and burn field cut finish when CL-CHAIN

von⁴² dwi²² lauʔ⁴² mu²² ga袒⁴²
fire to burn finish when CL-CHAIN

ɔk⁴² kjam²² ɔk⁴² kjam²² lauʔ⁴² mu²² ga袒⁴²
garbage clear garbage clear finish when CL-CHAIN

(We) cut the slash and burn field, after (that we) burned (the field), and after that we clear the garbage, after we cleared the garbage……
This plate is broken because I broke it.

In example (161), when an⁴⁴ ‘realis’ marks the achievement event lauʔ⁴²pi²² ‘break’, the event ‘breaking a plate’ is not relate to the speech time. Instead, it entails that the event is done and the plate is already broken by the speech time.

Intended: *He breaks a plate.
Actual: He broke a plate.

In is illustrated in example (162), niu⁴⁴ cannot mark the change of state event lauʔ⁴² pi²² as ongoing at the speech time. However, the LRP mentions that this sentence cannot refer to the action where a person breaks a plate by hitting just once but to the action where a person intentionally breaks a plate until it is shattered, or cannot be used any more. Therefore this sentence expresses iterative processes (an activity) instead of ongoing event. Instantaneous change of state event ‘break’ is odd to express as an ongoing at the speech time, since it takes no time to reach its culmination.

In the same way, the V niu²² an⁴⁴ constructions also cannot mark the event ‘break’ as ongoing at the speech time as shown in (163).
(162)

\[ \sigma^{33} \pi^{22} \text{ SUBJ } \text{ plate } \text{ one } \text{ do } \text{ break } \text{ CONT } \text{ still } \text{ CRESP} \]

Intended: *He is breaking a plate.
Actual: he is breaking a plate (into pieces).

(163)

\[ *\sigma^{33} \pi^{22} \text{ SUBJ } \text{ plate } \text{ one } \text{ do } \text{ break } \text{ CONT } \text{ REAL} \]

Intended: He is breaking a plate.

Example (164) shows that \( \text{ lui}^{33} \) also cannot mark the achievement event ‘break’ as continuing at the reference time. It is an instantaneous event which ‘ends when it happens’ and is incompatible with the duration offered by \( \text{ lui}^{33} \) when combined with \( \text{ an}^{44} \) i.e. \( \text{ V an}^{44} \text{ lui}^{33} (\text{ naj}^{44}) \).

(164)

\[ \sigma^{33} \pi^{22} \text{ SUBJ } \text{ plate } \text{ one } \text{ do } \text{ break } \text{ REAL } \text{ RES} \]

Intended: *He is breaking a plate.
Actual: He has broken a plate.

4.5.7 \( \pi^{22} \) ‘be broken’ and its imperfectivity behavior

\( \pi^{22} \) ‘be broken’ is a state of an individual-level property of an entity which stays the same over a period of time. It needs no energy to maintain its states, and has duration, but denotes no culmination.

In (165), \( \text{ an}^{44} \) marks that the state of the permanent property of a plate, \( \pi^{22} \) ‘be broken’ holds at the speech time.
116

(165)

\[ \text{nag}^{44} \text{ loŋ}^{33} \text{fu}^{44} \text{ pi}^{22} \text{ an}^{44} \]

this plate be broken REAL

This plate is broken.

The sentence in example (166) shows that the resultant state of a plate ‘be broken’ is marked by \( \text{lui}^{33} \) as continuing at the speech time.

(166)

\[ \text{nag}^{44} \text{ loŋ}^{33} \text{fu}^{44} \text{ pi}^{22} \text{ an}^{44} \text{ lui}^{33} \text{ (nag}^{44}) \]

This plate is (being) broken./This plate has been broken.

When \( \text{pi}^{22} \) ‘be broken’ is tested with \( \text{niu}^{22} \), as shown in (167), the resultant state \( \text{pi}^{22} \) ‘be broken’ does not allow \( \text{niu}^{22} \) ‘continuous’ to mark it as ongoing at the speech time along with of \( \text{an}^{44} \) or \( \text{nag}^{44} \) or both of them together. From this phenomenon, it can be said that \( \text{niu}^{22} \) ‘continuous’ has an entailment of changeability which is incompatible with the state.

(167)

\[ * \text{nag}^{44} \text{ loŋ}^{33} \text{fu}^{44} \text{ pi}^{22} \text{ niu}^{22} \text{ an}^{44} \text{ (nag}^{44}) \]

Intended: This plate is broken.

4.6 Conclusion

Leinong Naga’s imperfective expression is marked by three different particles, \( \text{an}^{44} \) ‘realis’, \( \text{niu}^{22} \) ‘continuous’, and \( \text{lui}^{33} \) ‘continuous’. This analysis shows that different continuous particles are used for different event types, \( \text{niu}^{22} \) for events, and \( \text{lui}^{33} \) for states. The analysis also shows that the imperfectivity behaviors marked by these three particles are different depending on the event type that they interact with. These behaviors are shown in table (19), and a general summary is given in table (20).
an⁴⁴ marks states as ongoing at the speech time, but it fails to mark events as ongoing at the speech time. Instead, it marks events as past events which happen prior to the speech time, table (20).

niu²², in particular, has an entailment of changeability. It marks the stage-level state, loŋ⁴⁴ mi⁴⁴ ‘beautiful’ as ongoing at the speech time but not the individual level states, ə³³voŋ⁴⁴ lai³³ ‘tall’ and pi²² ‘be broken’. Events such as activity dan²² ‘run’, or accomplishment da⁴⁴ ‘build’, niu²² marks them as events, ongoing at speech time. However, it fails to mark the achievement events, paʔ ‘give-birth’, and lauʔ⁴² pi²² ‘to break’ as ongoing at the speech time, table (19).

lui³³, a grammaticalized form of a full verb lui³³ ‘put; keep; left’, when marking imperfective effect, it follows the main verb indirectly by following an⁴⁴ ‘realis’ which immediately follow the main verb i.e. V an⁴⁴ lui³³. Interestingly, lui³³ is used particularly when a native speaker wants to express states as ongoing at the speech time. It can mark stage-level states (loŋ⁴⁴ mi⁴⁴ ‘beautiful’) and resultant states (pi²² ‘be broken’) as continuing at the speech time, however it fails in marking individual-level state (ə³³voŋ⁴⁴ lai³³ ‘tall’) as ongoing. For events, lui³³ marks the activity, dan²² ‘run’ as an imperfective event but it fails to mark accomplishment (da⁴⁴ ‘build’) and achievement (pi²² ‘break’ and paʔ ‘give-birth’), as imperfectivity. Instead it marks them as resultative states (attained states) which still have to do with the situation at the speech time, table (19).

In giving a general summary (table (20)), stage-level state interacts well with all the three particles but individual-level-states do not interact well with niu²² ‘continuous’. Activities go well with niu²² and lui³³ but not an⁴⁴. Accomplishments interact well only with niu²² but not with an⁴⁴ and lui³³. Achievements do not go well with any imperfective particles of Leinong Naga. Instead they obtain another interpretation, resultative state which is produced by the action expressed by the main verb and which still has something to do with the situation at the speech time.
Table 19: Imperfective behaviors of different event types with aspectual particles in Leinong Naga

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>an⁴⁴ (naŋ⁴⁴)</th>
<th>niu²²</th>
<th>niu²² an⁴⁴</th>
<th>niu²² naŋ⁴⁴</th>
<th>an⁴⁴ niu²²</th>
<th>an⁴⁴ lui³³ (naŋ⁴⁴)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lo⁴⁴ mi⁴⁴ ‘beautiful’</td>
<td>PRES- Ok PST-ᵃ HAB-</td>
<td>Ok</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Ok</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Ok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a³³voŋ⁴⁴ lai³³ ‘tall’</td>
<td>PRES- Ok PST-ᵃ HAB- Ok (T)</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pi²² ‘break (STATE)’</td>
<td>PRES- Ok PST-ᵃ HAB- Ok (T)</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>OK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dan²² ‘run’</td>
<td>PRES-ᵃ PST - Ok HAB- Ok (T)</td>
<td>Ok (mu)</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Ok</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>OK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da⁴⁴ ‘Build’</td>
<td>PRES-ᵃ PST - Ok HAB- Ok (T)</td>
<td>Ok (mu)</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Ok</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>*/RES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paʔ ‘give-birth’</td>
<td>PRES-ᵃ PST - Ok HAB- Ok (T)</td>
<td>Ok</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Ok</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>*/RES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lauʔ pi²² ‘break’ Event</td>
<td>PRES-ᵃ PST - Ok HAB- Ok (T)</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>*/RES</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 20 General summary of imperfective behavior of different event types with aspectual particles in Leinong Naga

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event types</th>
<th>\textit{an}⁴⁴ (\textit{naŋ}⁴⁴) \textit{Y is X-ing}</th>
<th>\textit{ɲiu}²² \textit{Y is X-ing}</th>
<th>\textit{ɲiu}²² \textit{naŋ}⁴⁴ \textit{Y is X-ing}</th>
<th>\textit{an}⁴⁴ \textit{lui}³³ (\textit{naŋ}⁴⁴) \textit{Y is X-ing}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>States</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage-level property</td>
<td>Ok</td>
<td>Ok</td>
<td>Ok</td>
<td>Ok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual-level property</td>
<td>Ok</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*/Ok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resultant</td>
<td>Ok</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Ok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRES-*</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ok</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST - Ok</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAB- Ok (T)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accomplishments</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRES-*</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ok</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST - Ok</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAB- Ok (T)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievements (event)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRES-*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST - Ok</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAB- Ok (T)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 5

Comparisons and summaries of findings

5.1 Introduction

This chapter gives a comparative discussion of the verbal particles used to mark imperfective behavior in the three Tibeto-Burman languages: Burmese, Northern dialect of Lisu, and Leinong Naga. A summary of this thesis along with conclusions and suggestions for further research are in the end.

5.2 Similarities and differences of the three languages

This section discusses similarities and differences of the imperfectivity behavior in the three languages. It first discusses a unique imperfective behavior of the Leinong Naga. Then it discusses how Burmese and Lisu are similar in marking imperfectivity and in what way they are different from each other.

From the analysis the following imperfectivity behavior of the three Tibeto-Burman languages is compiled in Table 21.
### Table 21 General summary of imperfective behavior of the three Tibeto-Burman languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event Types</th>
<th>(1) Burmese</th>
<th>(2) Lisu</th>
<th>(3) Leinong</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tu²²</td>
<td>ne²²</td>
<td>toun⁴⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>states</td>
<td>ok</td>
<td>ok</td>
<td>ok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>individual</td>
<td>ok</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>ok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>result</td>
<td>ok+</td>
<td>A)</td>
<td>ok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>activities</td>
<td>ok-past</td>
<td>ok</td>
<td>B) ok</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| accomplishment   | ambi-past | ok | C) ok | ok | ambi-past | ok | C)  | ok | ambi-past | ok | perf-
| achievements     | perf-past | * | * | perf-past | * | * | perf-past | * | perf-past | * | perf-

Differently from Burmese and Lisu, instead of using a grammaticalized form of a lexical verb ‘stay’ or ‘live’, Leinong Naga uses a particular particle niu²² to mark events as ongoing at the speech time. niu²² is also used as an intensifier following qualitative stative verbs. However, the full function of niu²² is not yet understood.

Again, unlike the other two languages, Leinong Naga uses a grammaticalized form of a full lexical verb lui³³ ‘keep; put; left’, in marking imperfectivity. The function of lui³³ is quite different from the other imperfective particles of the three languages. Particularly, lui³³ is used in marking states and activities as ongoing at the speech time. For events, which entail culmination, lui³³ marks them as resultative states which are produced by the preceded action and are perceived as stable and enduring by the speaker. lui³³ is not allowed to follow the main verb directly when it denotes an imperfective eventuality. This is different from all of the other aspect particles in Leinong Naga. Instead it follows the main verb indirectly by following the realis particle an⁴⁴.

However, an⁴⁴ and niu²² must follow the main verb directly when they mark its state of affairs as ongoing at the speech time. They are not allowed to precede main verbs. Interestingly, niu²² and lui³³ are never found co-occurring in marking imperfectivity as seen by the similar particles in the other two languages. They have their own role in marking imperfective which cannot be blended i.e. niu²² marking events as
ongoing and lu¹ marking states and activities as ongoing at the speech time but
events which entail culmination as resultative states.

The realis particles of the three languages, Leinong Naga’s an⁴⁴, Lisu’s a⁴⁴, and
Burmese’s tɛ²² mark eventualities with two different denotations, for states they
mark them as ongoing at the speech time but for events they assert them as
happening prior to the speech time. However, their positions in the sentences are
not the same. tɛ²² occurs after the verb and its modifiers, often at the end of the
sentence. a⁴⁴ ‘realis’ in Lisu may be found at the end of the sentence which is after
the verb and other modifiers. Similar to Lisu, Leinong Naga’s an⁴⁴ may follow the
verbs directly or indirectly. It can be sentence final or other modal particles may
follow it.

Burmese has three verbal particles that mark imperfective effect, tɛ²² ‘realis’, ne²²
‘continuous’, a grammaticalized form of a full lexical verb ne²² ‘stay’ or ‘live’, and
toun⁴⁴ ‘durative’. These three particles must follow the verb they modify, and denote
an incomplete state of affairs at the speech time. They are not allowed to precede
the verb. ne²² ‘continuous’ and toun⁴⁴ ‘durative’ can co-occur in marking
imperfectivity with focus i.e. that the event ‘was and is’ ongoing at the speech time.
However, the pattern, ne²² -toun⁴⁴. tɛ²² is not allowed to mark imperfectivity in
Burmese.

Similarly to Burmese, Lisu imperfective is expressed by three verbal particles: a⁴⁴
‘realis’, ɲɛ³⁵ ‘continuous’ which is also a grammaticalized form of a full verb ɲɛ³⁵ ‘sit;
stay; be’, and si²¹ ‘durative’. As in Burmese, these particles must follow the verb
which they modify as ongoing state of affairs at the speech time. These three
particles combine together when a state of affairs is needed to express as eventuality
which was and is, ongoing at the speech time.

Generally, Burmese’s tɛ²² ‘realis’, ne²² ‘continuous’ and toun⁴⁴ ‘durative’ and Lisu’s
a⁴⁴ ‘realis’, ɲɛ³⁵ ‘continuous’ and si²¹ ‘durative’ have a similar semantic content i.e. ‘is
true’, ‘is going on’, and ‘is and was’ with focus on the eventuality expressed at the
speech time, respectively. Moreover, they can co-occur in marking imperfectivity.

Even though two languages, Burmese and Lisu, have the same pattern in marking
imperfectivity, some differences are also found in the interaction of the particles and
different eventualities. Different behaviors of the two aspectual particles, Burmese
ne²² ‘continuous’ and Lisu ɲɛ³⁵ ‘continuous’ are found in the interaction with
resultant states. Otherwise these two particles can be said to be similar. As shown in
table 21 (see 1A and 2A), Burmese ne\textsuperscript{22} marks resultant state (e.g. ‘broken’) as ongoing, while ne\textsuperscript{35} does not. Other differences of Burmese and Lisu are also found between the two particles tou\textsuperscript{n} ‘durative’ and si\textsuperscript{21} ‘durative’ in the interaction with activities (see 1B and 2B in table 21) and accomplishment events (see 1C and 2C in table 21). While tou\textsuperscript{n} interacts well with both events, si\textsuperscript{21} does not. However, it is important to note that the marking of si\textsuperscript{21} is inconsistent with activities. It can only mark some activities, for instance, za\textsuperscript{21} ‘eat’ and si\textsuperscript{35} ‘sweep’, as imperfective.

Therefore, it can be concluded that among the three languages, Leinong Naga shows its own pattern and uses of particular particles which are quite different from the two other languages, in marking imperfectivity.

Burmese and Lisu can be said to be similar in having the same pattern of marking, ‘is true’, ‘is going on’, and ‘is and was’. They use similar form of particles (‘stay’ or ‘live’) in denoting incomplete state of affairs in spite of some differences found between them. Perhaps, it may be that their closer genetic relationship is preserved in their grammar.

5.3 Conclusion

Chapter one presented an introduction to the languages, Burmese, Northern Lisu dialect and, Leinong Naga. It also explained research goals, methodology, and limitations of this thesis; and presented relevant literature overview of the three languages.

Chapter two provided a phonology sketch of Burmese, an overview of Burmese grammar, and a discussion of imperfectivity in Burmese.

A phonology sketch of Lisu, an overview of Lisu grammar and of imperfectivity of Lisu was provided in chapter three.

Chapter four was about Leinong Naga. As with the other two chapters, a phonology sketch, an overview on Leinong Naga Basic grammar, and the ways of expressing imperfective of the language were discussed.

Lastly, chapter five compared and summarized verbal particles and imperfectivity behavior of the three languages.

This analysis finds that there are different ways to attain imperfective denotation in the three Tibeto-Burman languages: Burmese, Lisu, and Leinong Naga. This
denotation is especially marked by means of verbal particles. However, these particles do not show one to one equivalent semantic content to each other. Moreover individual particles and time adjuncts are preferred in denoting a specific meaning (now, before, or after the speech time). The behavior of imperfective denotations in these languages was shown to crucially depend on kinds of verb the verbal particles interact with.

5.4 Suggestion for further study

Since, a considerable amount of linguistic work has been done on Burmese, not much is suggested. However, the particles $k^b\varepsilon^{42}$ and $lai?$ are still in need of more accurate description. Different scholars have been doing some investigations on these two particles, but additional investigation is needed.

The verbal particle $a^{44}$ is not consistently handled in literary Lisu and as well in Northern Lisu dialect. $a^{44}$ can also appear anywhere in the sentence and its occurrence is unpredictable yet. As noted previously, Lisu durative particle $s\varepsilon^{21}$ is also in need of further investigation. Yu (2008: 8) finds that Lisu dialects show distinctions not only in phonology but also in the aspect of their grammar. It is suggested to study whether this imperfective behavior of Northern Lisu dialect can extend to other dialects of Lisu.

As for Leinong Naga, a further investigation is needed to give a more accurate noun phrase structure rule and case system. This suggestion also needs to extend to Lisu and Burmese as well. As $n\iota^{22}$ ‘continuous’ has different functions such as intensifier, adjectivizer to color terms, and an aspectual particle, a further investigation needs to be done to have a full description of this particle. Even though this thesis presents some behavior of the two particles, $a^{44}, n\iota^{22}$ and $lui^{33}$ the last particle still needs to be investigated since it has two different interpretations (imperfective and resultative state) in marking different event types. Essentially, this thesis describes the later interpretation of $lui^{33}$; however it does not give a detailed account on this interpretation. Therefore a further research on $lui^{33}$ should be taken. This thesis presents Leinong Naga noun phrase, clause word order, case system and imperfective behavior. However a full description of Leinong Naga grammar is still needed.
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Appendix 1

Story I

Paragraph 1.

I lived in Zom village for two years.

Paragraph 2.

I lived there from year thousand two and five.

Paragraph 3.

In August 2005, Bela, Mangang and I went to Japae stream to bomb fish because we did not have anything to cook (for the dish).

Paragraph 4.

In Longmai lake, (we) bombed one time but didn't get any.
Paragraph 5.

We bombed again at the upper part of the lake; only one or two (a few) fish died there.

Paragraph 6.

I was trying to catch the drifting fish, (I) got into current water and was carried away. When I was trying to catch the drifting fish, (I) got into current water and was carried away.

Paragraph 7.

Quickly move out get CL-CHAIN

I had to move out (from the water current) quickly and

Paragraph 8.

I was very close (to situation) that might take my life away instead of catching the fish as (I have intended to do).

Paragraph 9.

CL-CHAIN
(We) caught all the death fish and some of them were cooked, barbecued, and baked. After we finished eating, (we) collected the fish that we caught, and shared it. Then we returned home.

**Paragraph 10.**

(We) caught all the death fish and some of them were cooked, barbecued, and baked. After we finished eating, (we) collected the fish that we caught, and shared it. Then we returned home.

**Story II**

**Paragraph 1.**

I went to the village yesterday.

**Paragraph 2.**

After I bought some packets of snack for my nephew for a thousand (Kyats), Pa Jong and I went together to the village.

**Paragraph 3.**

On the way, because Hwi Pang stream was flooded, we rode a boat to cross the stream.
The boat fee was one hundred per head and I paid two hundred for two.

Paragraph 4.

From there (where we crossed the river), (we) went up (the hill) and passed the tea farm. When we reached at the slash and burn field, the farmer group that has gone (before us) was already there.

Paragraph 5.

After we talked with the friends (there), we reached to the village.

Paragraph 6.

At the village, I shared the snack that I bought at my village with my nephews, one each.

Paragraph 7.

At the village, I shared the snack that I bought at my village with my nephews, one each.
Because they were not behaving well, (I) taught (them) not to fight with others and to listen to the words that their parents had taught them.

**Paragraph 8.**

Because they were not behaving well, (I) taught (them) not to fight with others and to listen to the words that their parents had taught them.

After (I) taught (my nephews), (I) went to bath, after (I) bathed, (I) return (where I stayed), (and) (I) ate, after (that I) returned (home).

**Paragraph 9.**

(On my way home), I met (my) friends at the field and talked with them, and then (I) passed the tea farm and Hwi Pang river again.

**Story III**

**Paragraph 1.**

Once, in my grandfather and father times, in a village there was a family consisting of one couple.
Paragraph 2.

They loved each other very much and were living happily and joyfully.

Paragraph 3.

In addition to this, they were a very wealthy family and had plenty of food and drinks.

Paragraph 4.

So, the guests (those who visited to the village) liked them. Villagers also liked them and treated (fed) them well (especially) when the villagers got games.

Paragraph 5.

They were living in that way [until they had a son]. When had had a son, the husband [her husband] was suddenly sick and died.
Paragraph 6.

After her husband died, when all the wealth that the couple once (have) had was spent, the two, mother and son became poor.

Paragraph 7.

When they became poor, the ones who gave and fed them well before did not want to treat (feed) them well and even they did not want to look at [meet] them.

Paragraph 8.

Now, when the villagers got games, [they] only shared [to them] bone and gristles. They did not want to share them [mother and son] the good things as when the father was alived.
Paragraph 9.

[that time] (they) dried all the that the villagers [other] gave to them and put it on the rack.

Paragraph 10.

When [her] son had grown up, they again became rich as in their father's time. (They had things to eat just like in his father's time).

Paragraph 11.

At one time, when they got a game, all the villagers came to their house and cooked, baked, and barbecued the game. When they were cooking, the son poured out all the dry gristle in front of the villagers that they gave them before. So, all the villagers got a shame and ran away.

LN Naga Sent:  2007 (IV)

Paragraph 1.

I saw the man yesterday.
Paragraph 2.
\( \etau^{33} \ na\eta^{44} \ ma^{42} \ di^{44} \ dau^{33} \ hm^{44} \ t^{33} \ p^{33} \ vu^{33} \) .
1sg this person OBJ tomorrow will see IRR
I will see the man tomorrow.

Paragraph 3.
\( \etau^{33} \ na\eta^{44} \ ma^{42} \ di^{44} \ p^{42} \ ai^{32} \ kam^{44} \ an^{44} \) .
1sg this person OBJ see PL finish REAL
I already saw that man.

Paragraph 4.
\( \etau^{33} \ na\eta^{44} \ ma^{42} \ di^{44} \ 33 \ p^{42} \ ai^{32} \ lo\eta^{33} \) .
1sg that person OBJ not see PL PST
I did not meet that man.

Paragraph 5.
\( \etau^{33} \ na\eta^{44} \ ma^{42} \ di^{42} \ p^{42} \ dum^{44} \ an^{44} \) .
1sg this person OBJ see want REAL
I want to see/meet that man.

Paragraph 6.
\( \etau^{33} \ na\eta^{44} \ ma^{42} \ di^{42} \ 33 \ p^{42} \ ta^{42} \ vu^{33} \) .
1sg this person already 1sg-GEN see get IRR
I must see that man.

Paragraph 7.
\( \etau^{33} \ na\eta^{44} \ ma^{42} \ di^{42} \ tim^{33} \ zak^{44} \ pa\eta^{44} \ 33 \ p^{42} \ tui^{33} \) .
1sg this person OBJ time one even not see NEG-SF
I haven't ever seen that man.

Paragraph 8.
\( \etau^{33} \ na\eta^{44} \ ma^{42} \ di^{42} \ p^{42} \ zuak^{42} \ an^{44} \) .
1sg this person OBJ see can REAL
I am able to see the man.
\( \etau^{33} \ m^{33} \ run^{44} \ lu^{33} \ ki^{22} \ 33 \ iu^{33} \) .
1sg slowly walk CONT
I am walking slowly.

Paragraph 9.
\( \etau^{33} \ 33 \ run^{22} \ di^{44} \ ki^{22} \ 33 \ iu^{22} \) .
1sg quickly with walk CONT
I am walking quickly.
Paragraph 10.

\[ \text{\(\nu^{23}\) \(\text{ba}^{21}\) \(\text{za}^{22}\) \(\text{di}^{24}\) \(\text{ki}^{22}\) \(\text{iu}^{22}\).} \]

1sg very quickly with walk CONT
I am walking very quickly.

Paragraph 11.

\[ \text{\(\text{au}^{23}\) \(\nu^{23}\) \(\text{za}^{22}\) \(\text{di}^{24}\) \(\text{ki}^{22}\) \(\text{iu}^{22}\).} \]

indeed 1sg quickly with walk CONT
I am walking quickly indeed.

Paragraph 12.

\[ \text{\(\text{a}^{24}\) \(\text{vu}^{42}\) \(\text{iu}^{22}\) \(\text{na}^{44}\).} \]

sky drop CONT PRT
It is raining.
\[ \text{\(\text{da}^{22}\)\(\text{vu}^{23}\) \(\text{a}^{24}\) \(\text{km}^{44}\) \(\text{an}^{44}\).} \]

today sky hot REAL
It's hot today.
\[ \text{\(\text{da}^{22}\)\(\text{vu}^{23}\) \(\text{a}^{24}\) \(\text{km}^{44}\) \(\text{an}^{44}\) \(\text{ti}^{23}\).} \]

today sky hot REAL self-talk-SF
It is hot today.

Paragraph 13.

\[ \text{\(\text{pi}^{22}\) \(\text{za}^{22}\) \(\text{lo}^{44}\) \(\text{an}^{44}\).} \]

3sg group PST REAL
He stood up.
\[ \text{\(\text{pi}^{22}\) \(\text{a}^{31}\) \(\text{na}^{44}\) \(\text{ma}^{41}\) \(\text{di}^{24}\) \(\text{da}^{42}\) \(\text{an}^{44}\) \(\text{na}^{44}\).} \]

3sg SUBJ this person OBJ hit REAL this
He hit the man.

Paragraph 14.

\[ \text{\(\text{pi}^{22}\) \(\text{a}^{31}\) \(\text{na}^{44}\) \(\text{ma}^{41}\) \(\text{jo}^{22}\) \(\text{nau}^{22}\)\(\text{so}^{44}\) \(\text{za}^{44}\) ki\(\text{u}^{42}\) \(\text{an}^{44}\).} \]

3sg SUBJ this person DO arrow one give REAL
He gave an arrow to that man.

Paragraph 15.

\[ \text{\(\text{pi}^{22}\) \(\text{za}^{44}\) \(\text{ju}^{44}\) \(\text{iu}^{22}\) \(\text{na}^{44}\).} \]

3sg house at return CONT CRESP
He is returning home.
LN  Naga Sent: 2007 (V)

Paragraph 1.
i³nu⁴⁴ ton⁴⁴ u⁴⁴ a⁴⁴ ai³² an⁴⁴.
Enu to at child two be REAL
Enu has two children.

Paragraph 2.
mai²⁴au²² hai²² pom³³ pom³³ twan³³ u⁴⁴ au³³ an³³.
child PL all school at go REAL
All the children went to school.
i³nu⁴⁴ a³¹ mai²⁴au²² hai³² twan³³ u⁴² i⁴⁴ li³³ an⁴⁴.
Enu SUBJ child PL school at take PFV REAL
Enu took the children to school.

Paragraph 3.
i³nu⁴⁴ a³¹ zam³³ lum³³ di⁴⁴ ai³² an³³.
Enu SUBJ active with be REAL
Enu is smart. (Enu is an active person)
i³nu⁴⁴ a³¹ zam³³ lum³³ di⁴⁴ ai³².
Enu SUBJ active with not be
Enu is not smart.

Paragraph 4.
i³nu⁴⁴ a³¹ zam³³ lum³³ di⁴⁴ ai²² m⁴⁴.
Enu SUBJ active OBJ be Q
Is Enu smart?

Paragraph 5.
i³nu⁴⁴ a³¹ mtwi⁴⁴ lu³³ ki³³ an⁴⁴.
Enu SUBJ slowly EMPH? walk REAL
Enu walks/walked slowly.

Paragraph 6.
ŋu³³ i³nu⁴⁴ di⁴⁴ sa³² han³³ an³³.
1sg Enu OBJ fall CAUS REAL
I made Enu fall.
Paragraph 7.
\[ \text{n\textsuperscript{u\textdegree}3} \text{i\textsuperscript{3}nu\textsuperscript{44} dau\textsuperscript{42} sa\textsuperscript{22} di\textsuperscript{44} ui\textsuperscript{33} an\textsuperscript{44}} \].

1sg Enu in order to fall EMPH do REAL
I made Enu fall.

Paragraph 8.
\[ \text{i\textsuperscript{3}nu\textsuperscript{44} sa\textsuperscript{22} an\textsuperscript{44} m\textsuperscript{44}} \].

Enu fall REAL Q
Did Enu fall?

Paragraph 9.
\[ \text{ma\textsuperscript{3}vu\textsuperscript{32} i\textsuperscript{3}nu\textsuperscript{44} a\textsuperscript{31} sau\textsuperscript{42} an\textsuperscript{44}} \].

yesterday Enu SUBJ eat REAL
Yesterday, Enu ate.

Paragraph 10.
\[ \text{i\textsuperscript{3}nu\textsuperscript{44} a\textsuperscript{31} sau\textsuperscript{42} iu\textsuperscript{21} na\textsuperscript{44}} \].

Enu SUBJ eat CONT this
Enu is eating.

Paragraph 11.
\[ \text{i\textsuperscript{3}nu\textsuperscript{44} a\textsuperscript{31} sau\textsuperscript{42} kam\textsuperscript{44} an\textsuperscript{44}} \].

Enu SUBJ eat finish REAL
Enu already ate.

Paragraph 12.
\[ \text{i\textsuperscript{3}nu\textsuperscript{44} a\textsuperscript{31} t\textsuperscript{33} sau\textsuperscript{42} vu\textsuperscript{33}} \].

Enu SUBJ will eat IRR
Enu will eat.

Paragraph 13.
\[ \text{i\textsuperscript{3}nu\textsuperscript{44} a\textsuperscript{31} pa\textsuperscript{3}lap\textsuperscript{42} tom\textsuperscript{44} mau\textsuperscript{22}pi\textsuperscript{22} jo\textsuperscript{44}} / \text{di\textsuperscript{44} i\textsuperscript{33} an\textsuperscript{13} an\textsuperscript{44}} \].

Enu SUBJ tea water MawPi DO OBJ buy carry REAL
Enu bought tea (for) Mawpi. / Enu bought Mawpi tea.

LN Naga Noun phrase (GEN) 2008 (VI)

Paragraph 1.
\[ \text{le\textsuperscript{31} u\textsuperscript{42} pu\textsuperscript{33} nu\textsuperscript{33} 44vu\textsuperscript{33} zam\textsuperscript{44} sam\textsuperscript{44} vn\textsuperscript{22} na\textsuperscript{33} mai\textsuperscript{44} iu\textsuperscript{21}} \].

there at TOP 1sg GEN house three fire PRT burn CONT
Those three houses of mine are burning.
Paragraph 2.

\[ \text{naŋ}^{44} \text{ŋu}^{33} \text{vu}^{23} \text{zam}^{44} \text{sam}^{44} \].

this 1sg GEN house three

These three houses of mine.

Paragraph 3.

\[ \text{naŋ}^{44} \text{ŋu}^{33} \text{vu}^{23} \text{zam}^{44} \text{voŋ}^{44} \text{iu}^{33} \text{hai}^{33} \text{sam}^{44} \text{vn}^{22} \text{na}^{33} \text{mai}^{44} \text{iu}^{22} \].

this 1sg GEN house big big PL three fire PRT burn big

These three big houses of mine are burning.

Paragraph 4.

\[ \text{le}^{33} \text{u}^{42} \text{pu}^{33} \text{ŋu}^{33} \text{vu}^{33} \].

there at TOP 1sg GEN

The (house, thing) over there is mine.

Paragraph 5.

\[ \text{le}^{33} \text{u}^{42} \text{pu}^{33} \text{ŋu}^{33} \text{vu}^{33} \text{zam}^{44} \].

there at TOP 1sg GEN house

My house over there or it may be 'my house is over there'.

Paragraph 6.

\[ * \text{zam}^{44} \text{le}^{33} \text{u}^{42} \text{pu}^{33} \text{ŋu}^{33} \text{vu}^{23} \].

house there at TOP 1sg GEN

The house over there is mine.

Paragraph 7.

\[ \text{mi}^{22} \text{kaŋ}^{22} \text{iu}^{21} \text{zi}^{22} \].

tail black CONT dog

The dog with a black tail. (the dog that has a black tail).

Paragraph 8.

\[ \text{zi}^{22} \text{i}^{22} ( \text{iu}^{22} ) \].

dog black big

[A] black dog.

Paragraph 9.

\[ \text{zi}^{22} \text{mi}^{22} \text{kaŋ}^{22} \text{i}^{22} \text{iu}^{21} \text{zi}^{22} \].

dog tail black CONT dog

The dog with a black tail.

Paragraph 10.

\[ \text{naŋ}^{44} \text{mi}^{22} \text{kaŋ}^{22} \text{i}^{22} \text{iu}^{22} \text{ai}^{22} \text{an}^{44} \].

this tail black CONT tree REAL
This dog has a black tail.

Paragraph 11.

næŋ⁴⁴ zai²² ³³mi²²kauŋ²² i⁴² iu²¹ ai²² an⁴⁴ næŋ⁴⁴  
this dog tail black CONT tree REAL PRT

This dog has a black tail. cf. LN 2008 III S:29

Paragraph 12.

tom⁴⁴ mi³³ lim⁴⁴ pu³³ zam⁴⁴ pu²²  
water bottom side REL house male

[The] guest from Mandalay.

Paragraph 13.

* tom⁴⁴ mi³³ lim⁴⁴ u⁴² zam⁴⁴ pu²²  
water bottom side at house person

Intended: [The] guest from Mandalay.

Paragraph 14.

tom⁴⁴ mi³³ lim⁴⁴ u⁴² pu³³ zam⁴⁴ pu²²  
water bottom side at REL house person

Guest from Mandalay.

Paragraph 15.

tom⁴⁴ mi³³ lim⁴⁴ a⁴¹ton⁴⁴ nai³³ pu²² mai⁴¹  
water bottom side from go-up father person

Guest who come from Mandalay.

Paragraph 16.

ŋu³³ ⁴⁴vu³³ ji⁴²kha⁴⁴  
1sg GEN finger

My fingers.

Paragraph 17.

* ŋu³³ ji⁴²kha⁴⁴  
1sg finger

My fingers.

Paragraph 18.

* t³³ ji⁴²kha⁴⁴  
1s-GEN finger

My fingers.
Paragraph 19.

nanj\(^{44}\) ( ma\(^{41}\) ) \(^{44}\)vu\(^{33}\) zam\(^{44}\) .
this person GEN house
That man's house.

Paragraph 20.

pi\(^{22}\) \(^{33}\) zam\(^{44}\) .
3sg 3sg house
His house or that man's house.

Paragraph 21.

pi\(^{22}\) zai\(^{22}\) .
3sg dog
His dog or that man's dog.

Paragraph 22.

# nanj\(^{44}\) ma\(^{41}\) zam\(^{44}\) .
this person house
That man's house.  (LRP said this sentence sound not very natural).

Paragraph 23.

nanj\(^{44}\) ( ma\(^{41}\) ) \(^{44}\)vu\(^{33}\) zai\(^{22}\) .
this person GEN dog
That man's dog.

Paragraph 24.

\* pi\(^{22}\) vu\(^{22}\) zai\(^{22}\) .
3sg GEN dog
Intended:  His dog.

Paragraph 25.

mi\(^{22}\) t\(^{42}\) pu\(^{33}\) zai\(^{22}\) .
tail black REL dog
The dog with a black tail.
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