

## OPTIONAL MARKING OF NPS WITH CORE CASE FUNCTIONS P AND A IN LHAOVO

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**Abstract:** Lhaovo, a Burmish language, has a set of postpositional case-markers. Two core arguments of transitive verbs can both be marked with  $-\emptyset$ , but the argument **P** (object) can also be marked with the accusative case-marker  $-re^F$ , and the argument **A** (subject) can also be marked with the instrumental case-marker  $-TAyay^F$ . In this paper we observe the factors which determine the distribution of the case-markers, and consider the causes of the factors.

**Keywords:** Lhaovo, case-marker, core case functions, accusative, instrumental

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Lhaovo (Maru)<sup>1</sup> is spoken in Kachin State and Shan State of Burma (Myanmar), and Yunnan Province of China. The population of Lhaovos in China is 5600 (Dai 2005: 3) and that in Myanmar is about 100,000 (Lhaovo Littero-Cultural Committee YEAR: 1). Lhaovo belongs to Burmish group of Lolo-Burmese<sup>2</sup> and is a verb-final language, with a set of postpositional case-markers, as shown in Table 1.<sup>3</sup>

For core arguments of transitive and intransitive verbs, S (=intransitive subject, following Comrie 1981) is solely marked with  $-\emptyset$ , P (=object) is marked with  $-\emptyset$  or  $-re^F$ , and A (=transitive subject) is marked with  $-\emptyset$  or  $-TAyay^F$ .

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<sup>1</sup> The language and its speakers have been known as ‘Maru’ until recent years, which is its name in Jinghpaw and Burmese. Until the 15th edition of the Ethnologue, the language was given as ‘Maru’, and ‘Lhao Vo’, the ethnonym, was among the alternate names. In the 16th edition, the language is given as ‘Lhao Vo’. Hereafter I will use only ‘Lhaovo’ Lhaovo has an orthography invented in 1968, and the name of the language itself is spelt ‘Lhaovo’. In my phonemic transcription, it is transcribed  $loy^F vo^F$ .

<sup>2</sup> Nishi (1999: 70, fn 10) proposes to divide Burmish group into two sub-groups, probably based on the presence/absence of voiceless nasal initial series: Burmic (Achang and Xiandao) with the series, and Maruic (Zaiwa, Leqi, Langsu and Bola) lacking the series. Lhaovo (Langsu) belongs to the latter sub-group, together with Zaiwa (Atsi), Lacid (Lashi, Leqi), and Bola.

<sup>3</sup> Beside case-markers, Lhaovo has a set of nouns which mark semantic role(s). Let us call them “case-nouns”. The inventory of case-nouns is below:

$tho^H$	standard of comparison: ‘than’	$kauy^F tha^H$	substitute: ‘in place of’
$yi^H$	equate: ‘as much as’	$yit^H(-mey^H)$	beneficiary, purpose: ‘for’
$ru^L$	analogue: ‘like’	$tau^L(-mey^H)$	purpose: ‘for’

Case-nouns are attached to a noun to mark its semantic role. e.g.  $yao^L-ru^L$  ‘like him’. Most of them are also accompanied with an attributive clause, e.g.  $[yao^L kat^H-TA-TA-ra^H] ru^L$  ‘as he did (he do-RLS-ATTR-RA like)’. This shows that the case nouns still partly keep their status as nouns. As for the term ‘attribute clauses’, see the footnote 7.

<i>Morpheme</i>	<i>Name and Abbreviation</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
-∅	nom(inative)	S/A; P
-re <sup>F</sup>	acc(usative)	P; recipient; time of event
-meŋ <sup>F</sup>	loc(ative)	location of existence; location of event; point of application; time of event
-meŋ <sup>H</sup>	abl(ative)	source of movement; location of emergence; reference point of measurement; beginning of period
-khyo <sup>F</sup>	all(ative)	goal of movement
-khyo <sup>H</sup>	per(lative)	path; (inter)medium <sup>4</sup>
-TAyaŋ <sup>F 5</sup>	ins(trumental)	cause; instrument; A; non-argument agent
-fieŋ <sup>H</sup>	com(itative)	“other half” of S/A/P; concomitant with S/A; instrument/means

Table 1. Inventory of Lhaovo case-markers

In this paper we consider the factors determining the distribution in Lhaovo of each instance of “marked” or unexpected case-marking for P and A, respectively.

In section 2 we see that factors of various types are involved in the distribution of *-re<sup>F</sup>* marked Ps such as: non-adjacency to V, animacy, specificity, oldness of information, complexity/length and pragmatic contrast. In section 3 we observe *-TAyaŋ<sup>F</sup>* marked A arguments. Here, the notion of topicality is involved. Finally in section 4 I review the factors involved in the distribution of case marking and consider their causes.

### 1.1. Data

Almost all the data in the paper are taken from narrative texts collected through fieldwork in 1998, 2006, 2007, 2009-10 by the author.<sup>6</sup> The title of the story and paragraph/sentence number in my corpus are indicated after the English free translation in each example, in the form of <TITLE: PARAGRAPH NO./SENTENCE NO.>.

<sup>4</sup> I use the term ‘intermedium’ to indicate those functions which inter-mediate actions or events. It might be considered a subtype of instrument.

<sup>5</sup> Among them, the instrumental case marker is unique in that it causes the tonal alternation  $F \rightarrow L$ ,  $L \rightarrow H$ ,  $H \rightarrow H$  (vacuous) to the syllable immediately preceding it. For example, *lăhauŋ<sup>L</sup> lăpoŋ<sup>L</sup> -nau<sup>H</sup> -ye<sup>F</sup>* (RACE.NAME-young-PL) in (21) is realized as *lăhauŋ<sup>L</sup> lăpoŋ<sup>L</sup> -nau<sup>H</sup> -ye<sup>L</sup>* before instrumental case-marker. I assume an abstract element triggering the tonal alternation, *TA*. *TA* functions as the marker of positive realis informative sentence, the marker of attribution, the coordinator of verbs, and is also a part of the instrumental case-marker. Hence, the form of instrumental case-marker is *-TAyaŋ<sup>F</sup>*.

<sup>6</sup> The consultants are: (1) *lămauŋ<sup>L</sup> khoŋ<sup>F</sup> xoŋ<sup>H</sup>*, who was born in 1938 in *phāla<sup>F</sup>* village, Chipwe Township, Kachin State (the consultant in 2006, 2007, 2009-10), and (2) *tsăkhaung<sup>L</sup> khoŋ<sup>F</sup> ce<sup>L</sup>*, who was born in 1944 in *tsəm<sup>F</sup> pyo<sup>L</sup>* village, Chipwe Township, Kachin State and died in 2008 (the consultant in 1998). Here I would like to extend my appreciation for their help, and express my sincere condolences to the family of the late *tsăkhaung<sup>L</sup> khoŋ<sup>F</sup> ce<sup>L</sup>*.

## 1.2. Phonology (adapted from Sawada 1999)

The following facts about Lhaovo phonology will be useful in understanding the discussion that follows. The maximally expanded syllable in Lhaovo is:  $C(C)V(C)/QT$ . Lhaovo consonants (C) include /m\*, n\*, ñ, ŋ\*; p\*, ph, t\*, th, k\*, kh, ʔ\*; ts, tsh, c, ch; f, v, s, š, x, ɣ, fi; l, r, y\*\*/ (Note that \* stands for a word initial or word final consonant and \*\* stands for word initial, medial, or final consonant.). Lhaovo vowels (V) are /a, au, o, ø, e, u, i/ (/au/ is counted as a single phoneme.) Vowels are specified for creakiness (Q), as either [+creaky] or [-creaky]. A [+creaky] vowel is indicated by  $\_$  under the vowel symbol. There are three tones that are indicated as follows: Falling ( $^F$ ) 21, Low ( $^L$ ) 22-33, and High ( $^H$ ) 44. Some syllables are pronounced shortly without any of three tones. Let us call them "weak" syllables. Some of the weak syllables are inherently weak and others are weakened by phonological processes. An inherently weak syllable is indicated by  $\checkmark$  over the vowel symbol without  $^F, ^L, ^H$ , whereas  $\checkmark$  over the vowel symbol with  $^F (^L, ^H)$  indicates that the syllable which originally has Falling (Low, High) tone is weakened.

## 2. P MARKED WITH $-re^F$

First let us consider P marked with accusative case-marker  $-re^F$ .

### 2.1. Factors involved

Several factors are involved in determining the distribution of  $-re^F$ :

- Non-adjacency of P to V
- Animacy of P
- “Discourse-old”ness of P
- Complexity/Length of P
- Contrast/Emphasis on P

Let us examine each factor.

#### 2.1.1. Non-adjacency to V

The first factor is non-adjacency of P to its head verb.

- A P which precedes A is usually marked with  $-re^F$ .
- A P separated from the verb by other NP(s) than A or by subordinate clause(s) is usually marked with  $-re^F$ .<sup>7</sup>

The “verb” can be both a single verb and a verb concatenation. In Lhaovo, verb strings consisting of two verb morphemes are classified into two types: verb concatenations and compound verbs. Verb concatenations are the coordination of

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<sup>7</sup> An adverbial element such as *kyay<sup>F</sup>* ‘very’, *phyat<sup>F</sup>* ‘fast, quickly’, *mye<sup>F</sup>* ‘quickly, immediately’, and numerals + *lan<sup>H</sup>* indicating number of times does not count as a “separator” (see paragraph below). That is, P can be marked with  $-\emptyset$  even if such an adverbial element occurs between P and the verb.

verbs and verb coordinator *TA* which usually intervenes between the verbs, triggering tonal alternation in the verb immediately preceding it. On the other hand, compound verbs are supposed to be formed in the lexicon and *TA* does not intervene. However, there exist a few verbs like *tsoL* ‘to eat’ which seem to constitute concatenation with the preceding verb but nevertheless *TA* does not intervene in them. Although P is semantically related to a non-initial verb(s) of the verb concatenation, P is taken to be adjacent to the verb concatenation. See examples (3) and (4).

Example (1) is a case of P preceding A.

- (1) [[ $\gamma\text{it}^{\text{H}}$   $\gamma\text{o}^{\text{H}}\text{-TA-phyo}^{\text{H}}\text{-TA-TA}^{\text{8}}\text{-ra}^{\text{H}9}$ ]  $\text{šo}^{\text{L}}$ ]  $\text{-re}^{\text{F}}\text{-fia}^{\text{F}}$   
 former get-&-break-RLS-ATTR-RA meat-ACC-TOP  
 $\text{ta}\eta^{\text{F}}\text{-no}\eta^{\text{H}}\text{myi}^{\text{H}}$   $\gamma\text{it}^{\text{H}}$   $\text{vin}^{\text{F}}\text{-TA-su}^{\text{L}}\text{-TA-na}^{\text{F}}\text{-TA}^{\text{10}}\text{-ka}^{\text{H}}$ .  
 PN former carry-&-walk-&-stay-RLS-HS  
 ‘As for the meat (they) slaughtered first, Tang Nong Myi was carrying (it).’ <Setting up antelope trap: 02/01>

Example (2) is a case of P separated from the verb by Goal NP marked with  $\text{-khyo}^{\text{F}}$ .

- (2)  $\text{phyit}^{\text{H}}\text{-šo}^{\text{H}}\text{-re}^{\text{L}11}$   $\text{?ay}^{\text{L}}\text{-ne}\eta^{\text{L}}\text{-kauk}^{\text{H}}\text{-cam}^{\text{F}}\text{-re}^{\text{F}}$   $\text{yam}^{\text{F}}\text{-?o}^{\text{F}}\text{-khyo}^{\text{F}}$   
 Grandma-PN-also that-sesame-husk-PL-ACC house-under-ALL  
 $\text{ye}^{\text{L}}\text{-TA-fe}^{\text{H}}\text{-TA-khyo}^{\text{H}}\text{-TA-ke}^{\text{H}}\text{-TA-re}^{\text{F}}$ ,  $\eta\text{o}^{\text{H}}\text{khyak}^{\text{H}}\text{-myo}^{\text{H}}\text{-vo}\eta^{\text{F}}$   
 go-&-pour-&-drop-&-put.in-RLS-ACC pheasant-eye-enter

<sup>8</sup> I named such clauses as [ $\gamma\text{it}^{\text{H}}$   $\gamma\text{o}^{\text{H}}\text{-TA-phyo}^{\text{H}}\text{-TA-TA-ra}^{\text{H}}$ ] in example (1) as ‘attributive clauses’, after Okell (1969: 48)’s ‘attribute’ which means “qualifying members which are ‘subordinate’ to the head”. In both positive and negative realis attributive clauses, tonal alternation occurs in the verb of the predicate. We analyze an attributive clause as the combination of an informative verb sentence + *TA* as the marker of attributive element. Since [ $\text{tso}^{\text{H}}\text{-TA-TA-ra}^{\text{H}}$ ]  $\text{pyu}^{\text{L}}$  (eat-RLS-ATTR-RA man) ‘the man who ate’ is realized as  $\text{tso}^{\text{H}}\text{-ra}^{\text{H}}$   $\text{pyu}^{\text{F}}$ , and [ $\text{mă-tso}^{\text{L}}\text{-}\emptyset\text{-TA-ra}^{\text{H}}$ ]  $\text{pyu}^{\text{F}}$  (not-eat-NEG-ATTR-RA man) ‘the man who didn’t eat’ is realized as  $\text{mă-tso}^{\text{H}}\text{-ra}^{\text{H}}$   $\text{pyu}^{\text{F}}$ , the effect of two successive *TAs* is the same as that of a *TA*, and  $\emptyset$  does not block the effect of *TA*.

<sup>9</sup>  $\text{-ra}^{\text{H}}$  is a particle which occurs after realis attributive clauses and positive realis sentences. In an attributive clause, it functions as an overt linker between the clause and its head noun, supporting non-segmental marker  $\text{-TA}$ . In a positive realis sentence,  $\text{-ra}^{\text{H}}$  indicates the high degree of formality. Its original function would be the former.

<sup>10</sup> In the verb of the predicate of positive realis sentences, tonal alternation occurs. We posit *TA* as the marker of positive realis sentence.

<sup>11</sup>  $\text{-re}^{\text{F}}$  ‘ACC’ and  $\text{-re}^{\text{L}}$  ‘also’ differ only in tone. It is unclear whether the two forms can be related etymologically. Incidentally Lacid, the language genetically closest to Lhaovo, has  $\text{-ri}^{\text{L}}$  ‘ACC’ and  $\text{-fie}^{\text{L}}$  ‘also’ (from my own data).

lo<sup>H</sup>-TA-voŋ<sup>F</sup>-TA-ka<sup>H</sup>.<sup>12</sup>  
 go<sub>H</sub>-&-enter-RLS -HS  
 ‘When Grandma Sho cast away the sesame husks below (her) house,  
 (those) entered into a pheasant’s eyes.’ <Grandma Sho: 02/01>

### 2.1.2. Animacy

The predominant factor of case-marking of Ps adjacent to the head verb is animacy. A human P is usually marked with *-re<sup>F</sup>*. Example (3) is a typical example of human P.

- (3) ʔǎloŋ<sup>H</sup> ʔay<sup>L</sup>-lau<sup>L</sup>te<sup>F</sup>-fia<sup>F</sup> [yoŋ<sup>L</sup>-TA pyin<sup>F</sup>choŋ<sup>L</sup>-ye<sup>F</sup>]-re<sup>F</sup>  
 then that-adult-TOP he-ATTR friend-PL-ACC  
 mǎ-veŋ<sup>H</sup>-TA-ta<sup>H</sup>-yaŋ<sup>L</sup> ...  
 not-dare-&-speak-CONJ  
 ‘Then the man dared not tell his friends and ...’  
 <Chongmo villagers: 03/10>

*kyø<sup>F</sup>so<sup>F</sup>* ‘god’ in (4) also belongs to the class of human nouns, so is marked with *-re<sup>F</sup>*.

- (4) myit<sup>F</sup>kaŋ<sup>L</sup>-pyu<sup>F</sup>tshoŋ<sup>F</sup>su<sup>F</sup>-ye<sup>F</sup>-fia<sup>F</sup> kyø<sup>F</sup>so<sup>F</sup>-re<sup>F</sup>  
 earth-people-PL-TOP god-ACC  
 lo<sup>F</sup>-TA-ta<sup>H</sup>-TA-kyo<sup>L</sup>-ko<sup>H</sup>-TA-ka<sup>H</sup>.  
 come<sub>H</sub><sup>13</sup>-&-speak-&-inform-PLS-RLS-HS  
 ‘People in the earth came to God and informed (him about it).’  
 <Lahaung-Lapong: 03/01>

Note that the effect of animacy can be cancelled by lexical/contextual information. A human P can be marked with *-∅* if lexical/contextual information is available as an aid to identification of the P.

<sup>12</sup> *myoŋ<sup>F</sup>-voŋ<sup>F</sup> voŋ<sup>F</sup>*- (eye-enter enter) serves an example of an idiomatic pattern which consists of a verb and a compound noun containing the same verb morpheme. *yi<sup>F</sup>-voŋ<sup>F</sup> voŋ<sup>F</sup>*- (water-enter enter) in the second sentence of (9) is another instance of this type of expression.

<sup>13</sup> Subscript <sub>H</sub> of ‘come<sub>H</sub>/go<sub>H</sub>’ indicates that the goal of the movement is the mover’s ‘home position’. It is speculated that the concept of ‘home position’ primarily means the mover’s home village, and is extended to include such concepts as ‘upside’, ‘upstream’, ‘remote place’ (Sawada 2003: 347).

(5)<sup>[1]</sup> *tsuk<sup>L</sup>-lau<sup>L</sup>te<sup>ʔF</sup>-ye<sup>F</sup>-fia<sup>F</sup>* “ *ni<sup>H</sup>*    *šit<sup>H</sup>-tso<sup>L</sup>*    *šit<sup>H</sup>-yauk<sup>F</sup>-kəm<sup>H</sup>*  
 noble-adult-PL-TOP            your    two-son    two-CLF-both  
*ne<sup>ʔF</sup>mo<sup>H</sup>-pa<sup>F</sup>*    *na<sup>H</sup>kaun<sup>F</sup>*    *pa<sup>L</sup>kaun<sup>F</sup>*    *tau<sup>F</sup>-TA-re<sup>F</sup>*<sup>14</sup>,  
 tomorrow-day    daytime    noon    lift-RLS -ACC  
 [*ni<sup>H</sup>*   *šit<sup>H</sup>-toŋ<sup>F</sup>-yoŋ<sup>L</sup>-TA*            *toŋ<sup>F</sup>-meŋ<sup>H</sup>*    *lau<sup>L</sup>te<sup>ʔF</sup>-ye<sup>F</sup>*] *cuy<sup>L</sup>-yaŋ<sup>L</sup>*,  
 your two-two.person-self-ATTR    behind-ABL    adult-PL    lead-CONJ  
*li<sup>H</sup>-TA-lo<sup>F</sup>-ke<sup>ʔF</sup>-Ø* ”    -ŋ<sup>L</sup>            *ta<sup>H</sup>-TA-ke<sup>ʔH</sup>-ko<sup>H</sup>-TA-ka<sup>H</sup>*.  
 come-&-come<sub>H</sub>-PLS-IMP -QUOT    speak-&-put.in-PLS-RLS-HS  
 ‘The noblemen said, “You two, bring adults along with you (respectively)  
 till tomorrow noon!”’

<sup>[2]</sup> *toŋ<sup>F</sup>-pa<sup>F</sup>-re<sup>F</sup>*    *tsuk<sup>L</sup>-nau<sup>H</sup>-fia<sup>F</sup>*    *tsuk<sup>L</sup>-tso<sup>L</sup>-tsuk<sup>L</sup>-tsaŋ<sup>F</sup>*  
 behind-day-ACC    noble-young-TOP    noble-son-noble-adult  
*khay<sup>F</sup>-TA-tsaŋ<sup>L</sup>-TA-ye<sup>L</sup>-yaŋ<sup>L</sup>*, *pa<sup>L</sup>kaun<sup>F</sup>*    *mă-tau<sup>F</sup>-š<sup>L</sup>-Ø-meŋ<sup>H</sup>*  
 call-&-assemble-&-go-CONJ    noon    not-lift-still-NEG-ABL  
*ye<sup>L</sup>-TA-loŋ<sup>H</sup>-TA-na<sup>F</sup>-ko<sup>H</sup>-TA-ka<sup>H</sup>*.  
 go-&-wait-&-stay-PLS-RLS-HS  
 ‘Next day, the noble youth called and assembled noble kids and adults,  
 then went and waited before noon.’  
 <Noble youth and orphan youth: 05/01>

The quoted part in the first sentence of (5) is an imperative sentence. Therefore, *ni<sup>H</sup> šit<sup>H</sup>-tso<sup>L</sup>* ‘you two’ is obviously A and *lau<sup>L</sup>te<sup>ʔF</sup>-ye<sup>F</sup>* ‘adults’ can be construed only as P. In the second sentence of (5), that *tsuk<sup>L</sup>-tso<sup>L</sup>-tsuk<sup>L</sup>-tsaŋ<sup>F</sup>* ‘noble kids and adults’ is P is obvious from the meaning of the verb *tsaŋ<sup>L</sup>* ‘assemble’ and from the fact that another argument, *tsuk<sup>L</sup>-nau<sup>H</sup>* ‘the noble youth’, is singular. In such cases, human Ps can be marked with -Ø.

If P is a non-human animate NP, it is usually marked with -Ø like an inanimate P. But if the NP could be confused with A, e.g. if it could be A of a different verb or if A is also non-human animate, the NP is marked with *-re<sup>F</sup>*. For example, in (6) P is marked with *-re<sup>F</sup>* because both A and P are non-human animate NPs.

(6) *lö<sup>L</sup>-mo<sup>H</sup>*    *voŋ<sup>F</sup>-TA-li<sup>H</sup>-mun<sup>L</sup>*    [*nuŋ<sup>L</sup>-lau<sup>L</sup>-tham<sup>L</sup>-meŋ<sup>H</sup>-TA*    *nuŋ<sup>L</sup>*  
 tiger-AUG    enter-&-come-CONS    cart-wallow-pond-ABL-ATTR    cart  
*tă-tau<sup>L</sup>]-re<sup>F</sup>*            *li<sup>H</sup>-TA-pe<sup>ʔF</sup>-TA-she<sup>F</sup>-TA-lo<sup>H</sup>-TA-ka<sup>H</sup>*.  
 1-CL-ACC            come-&-beat-&-pull-&-go<sub>H</sub>-RLS-HS  
 ‘The large tiger came into, then approached a cow in a wallowing pond  
 and knocked it down and dragged it.’ <Slaying the tiger: 05/01>

<sup>14</sup> *-re<sup>F</sup>* also marks the time of event, attached to temporal nominals or positive/negative Realis sentences markers.

### 2.1.3. “Discourse-old”ness of P

Definiteness is argued to be correlated with optional (or differential) case-marking in different languages from different language families, for example, Hebrew (Semitic, Givón 1978; Aissen 2003), Bashkir and Manchu (Turkic, Bossong 1991), and Mongolian (Mongolic, Guntsetseg 2009). It is not necessarily clear that researchers of these languages agree on the definition of definiteness. In fact, the definition itself is often not given explicitly in some studies. In such circumstances, the effectiveness of relating definiteness to the marking of Ps in Lhaovo directly is open to question. We might as well seek other notions which are related to but independent of definiteness.

Prince (1992) treats the difference of subject and non-subject with respect to definiteness as a formal phenomenon and information-status of NPs as a discourse phenomenon (1992: 296). She distinguishes between two notions of old or new information. On the one hand, an entity may be Hearer-old or Hearer-new. That is, an NP “may be old or new with respect to the hearer’s beliefs” (Prince 1992: 301). At the same time, an entity may be Discourse-old or Discourse-new. If the NP is discourse old it had been evoked in a “prior discourse-stretch” or if it is discourse-new, the NP is not been evoked previously in the discourse (Prince 1992: 303).

Prince says that in English, Hearer-status is typically (but not categorically) marked with definiteness (1992: 303), but there is virtually no marking for the Discourse-status (1992: 304).

In the case of narrative texts, it is often difficult to estimate the Hearer-status of the referent of an NP. We can only speak of its Discourse-status readily. Because all examples in the section are taken from narrative texts, I simply take an entity which appears first in the text as Discourse-new, and that which has appeared previously in the text as Discourse-old. A specific and Discourse-old P tends to be marked with *-re<sup>F</sup>*.

Note that the judgement of Discourse-status is made only on Ps with a specific reference. If a non-specific P is not human, it is usually marked with *-∅*.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Even human Ps, marked with *-re<sup>F</sup>* by default, are sometimes marked with *-∅* when they are non-specific.

- (i) tam<sup>F</sup>sa<sup>L</sup>      choŋ<sup>H</sup>-TA-γo<sup>F</sup>-TA-lo<sup>H</sup>-TA-re<sup>F</sup>  
 priest          chase-&-search-&-go<sub>H</sub>-RLS-ACC  
 khak<sup>H</sup>-re<sup>F</sup>-re<sup>L</sup>      mǎ-the<sup>?</sup>H-TA-yuk<sup>H</sup>-∅-ka<sup>H</sup>.  
 who-ACC-also      not-INEVT-&-find-NEG-HS  
 ‘(She) sought a priest, but (she) could not find any priest.’  
 <Origin of Tsam dance: 03/02>
- (ii) chuk<sup>H</sup>tso<sup>L</sup>-nau<sup>H</sup>-fia<sup>F</sup>      [yoŋ<sup>L</sup>-TA      thoŋ<sup>F</sup>      pǒ<sup>F</sup>-TA-ta<sup>H</sup>-neŋ<sup>H</sup>-TA  
 orphan-young-TOP      he-ATTR      behind      be.included-&-speak-IRL-ATTR  
 lau<sup>L</sup>te<sup>F</sup>      tǎ<sup>F</sup>-yauk<sup>F</sup>]-re<sup>L</sup>      mǎ-γo<sup>H</sup>-TA-γo<sup>F</sup>-∅-ka<sup>H</sup>.  
 adult      one-CLF(non-spec.)-also      not-get-&-search-NEG-HS  
 ‘The poor youth could not get even an adult who could speak for him.’  
 <Noble youth and orphan youth: 05/02>

(7)<sup>[1]</sup> laŋ<sup>F</sup>pyit<sup>F</sup>-yit<sup>F</sup>-yeŋ<sup>F</sup>-meŋ<sup>F</sup> ɲo<sup>L</sup>  
 PN-water-vicinity-LOC fish (non-spec.)

choŋ<sup>H</sup>-TA-yo<sup>F</sup>-TA-lo<sup>H</sup>-TA-re<sup>F</sup>, phyit<sup>H</sup>tam<sup>L</sup>-meŋ<sup>H</sup>-kho<sup>F</sup>  
 chase-&-search-&-go<sub>H</sub>-RLS-ACC waist-ABL-approximately

no<sup>F</sup>-TA-TA-ra<sup>H</sup> yit<sup>F</sup>tham<sup>L</sup>-khuk<sup>F</sup>  
 deep-RLS-ATTR-RA pond-inside

tă-lam<sup>L</sup>-meŋ<sup>F</sup> ɲo<sup>L</sup>  
 one-CLF-LOC fish(spec.&D.-new)

yě<sup>L</sup>-TA-the<sup>F</sup>-TA-myon<sup>F</sup>-ko<sup>H</sup>-TA-ka<sup>H</sup>.  
 go-&-INEVT-&-see-PLS-RLS-HS

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

[2] ʔăloŋ<sup>H</sup>, lau<sup>L</sup>te<sup>F</sup> tă-yauk<sup>F</sup>-fia<sup>F</sup> [yit<sup>F</sup>tham<sup>L</sup>-meŋ<sup>H</sup>-TA  
 then adult one-CLF(spec.&D.-new)-TOP pond-ABL-ATTR

ɲo<sup>L</sup>]-re<sup>F</sup> šeŋ<sup>F</sup>tam<sup>H</sup>-TAyan<sup>F</sup> yam<sup>L</sup>-TA-ke<sup>F</sup>-TA-re<sup>F</sup>,  
 fish(spec.&D.-old)-ACC sword-INS cut.at-&-put.in-RLS-ACC

ɲo<sup>L</sup>-re<sup>F</sup> mă-tsoŋ<sup>H</sup>-lo<sup>L</sup>, yoŋ<sup>L</sup>-TA moŋ<sup>H</sup>kaŋ<sup>H</sup>-meŋ<sup>F</sup>  
 fish(spec.&D.-old)-ACC not-touch-NCCM he-ATTR shin-LOC

kuk<sup>F</sup>-ŋ<sup>L</sup> the<sup>F</sup>-TA-yam<sup>L</sup>-TA-ka<sup>H</sup>.  
 ONOM-QUOT INEVT-&-cut.at-RLS-HS

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

In the first sentence of (7), the first ɲo<sup>L</sup> ‘fish’ has a non-specific reference and is marked with -∅. The second ɲo<sup>L</sup> has a specific reference and is Discourse-new because a specific fish is first introduced here, so it is marked with -∅.

In the second sentence of (7), both occurrences of ɲo<sup>L</sup> have a specific reference and are Discourse-old, so both are marked with -re<sup>F</sup>.

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*tam<sup>F</sup>sa<sup>L</sup>* in (i) does not refer to any specific priest, and *lau<sup>L</sup>te<sup>F</sup> tă<sup>F</sup>-yauk<sup>F</sup>(-re<sup>L</sup>)* ‘(even) an adult’ in (ii) does not refer to any specific adult. The latter might be marked with -re<sup>F</sup>, just as *khak<sup>H</sup>-re<sup>F</sup>-re<sup>L</sup>* ‘anyone’ in (i).

- (8)<sup>[1]</sup> tā<sup>F</sup> 16-ne<sup>F</sup>-pa<sup>F</sup>-re<sup>F</sup>,      lākha<sup>L</sup>-fia<sup>F</sup>      kauk<sup>F</sup>  
 one-day-day-ACC      dog(spec.&D.-new)-TOP      paddy(non-spec.)  
 thaŋ<sup>L</sup>-TA-TA-ra<sup>H</sup>      tsham<sup>F</sup>-meŋ<sup>F</sup>      vo<sup>F</sup>-phauy<sup>L</sup>  
 pound-RLS-ATTR-RA      mortar-LOC      pig-bran(spec.&d.-new)  
 yo<sup>F</sup>-neŋ<sup>H</sup>-ŋ<sup>L</sup>      kat<sup>H</sup>-TA-re<sup>F</sup>,      tsham<sup>F</sup>-khun<sup>L</sup>-meŋ<sup>F</sup>  
 lick-IRL-QUOT      make-RLS-ACC      mortar-hole-LOC  
 khyuk<sup>F</sup>      yeŋ<sup>L</sup>-yan<sup>L</sup>,      mā-kay<sup>F</sup>-TA-yo<sup>F</sup>-Ø-ka<sup>H</sup>.  
 horn(spec.&D.-new)      interfere-CONJ      not-good-&-lick-NEG-HS  
 ‘One day, a dog tried to lick bran in a mortar to pound paddy, (but he)  
 could not do it because (his) horns prevented (him from putting his mouth)  
 into the hole of the mortar.’

- (2)<sup>[2]</sup> ʔäy<sup>F</sup>-muŋ<sup>L</sup>,      lākha<sup>L</sup>-fia<sup>F</sup>      [yoŋ<sup>L</sup>-TA      khyuk<sup>F</sup>]-re<sup>F</sup>  
 that-CONS      dog(spec.&D.-old)-TOP      he-ATTR      horn(spec.&D.-old)-ACC  
 khyat<sup>H</sup>-TA-to<sup>L</sup>-yan<sup>L</sup>,      [tsham<sup>F</sup>-khuk<sup>F</sup>-meŋ<sup>H</sup>-TA  
 take.off-&-put-CONJ      mortar-inside-ABL-ATTR  
 vo<sup>F</sup>-phauy<sup>L</sup>]-re<sup>F</sup>      yo<sup>F</sup>-TA-na<sup>F</sup>-TA-re<sup>F</sup>,  
 pig-bran(spec.&D.-old)-ACC      lick-&-stay-RLS-ACC  
 chat<sup>H</sup>pe<sup>F</sup> ʔä<sup>F</sup>-tau<sup>L</sup>      li<sup>H</sup>-muŋ<sup>L</sup>,  
 goat one-CLF(spec.&D.-new)      come-CONS  
 [lākha<sup>L</sup>      khyat<sup>H</sup>-TA-to<sup>L</sup>-TA-TA-ra<sup>H</sup>      khyuk<sup>F</sup>]-re<sup>F</sup>  
 dog      take.off-&-put-RLS-ATTR-RA      horn(spec.&D.-old)-ACC  
 kauk<sup>F</sup>-TA-tsaŋ<sup>L</sup>-TA-phoŋ<sup>F</sup>-TA-lo<sup>H</sup>-TA-ka<sup>H</sup>.  
 pick.up-&-attach-&-run-&-go<sub>H</sub>-RLS-HS  
 ‘So the dog took his horns off and licked bran in the mortar, then a goat  
 came, picked the horns the dog had taken off and attached (them), and ran  
 away.’ <Dog and goat: 01/03-04>

In the first sentence of (8), *kauk<sup>F</sup>* ‘paddy’ is non-specific, and *vo<sup>F</sup>-phauy<sup>L</sup>* ‘bran’ is specific and Discourse-new. Both are marked with -Ø.

In the second sentence of (8), two occurrences of *khyuk<sup>F</sup>* ‘horn’ and an occurrence of *vo<sup>F</sup>-phauy<sup>L</sup>* ‘bran’ are all specific and Discourse-old and marked with *-re<sup>F</sup>*.

Unfortunately, this factor does not always work well. When a Discourse-old P recurs in a text, its non-first occurrences are sometimes not marked with *-re<sup>F</sup>*, as in the fourth and fifth sentences of (9).

<sup>16</sup> A particle is often weakened before another particle.

- (9)<sup>[1]</sup>ʔay<sup>L</sup>-yit<sup>F</sup>tham<sup>L</sup>-khuk<sup>F</sup>-men<sup>F</sup> sak<sup>H</sup>-ken<sup>F</sup> tǎ<sup>F</sup>-ken<sup>F</sup>  
 that-pond -inside-LOC tree-tree one-CLF  
 yauk<sup>F</sup>-TA-coʔ<sup>F</sup>-mun<sup>L</sup>, [pyö<sup>L</sup>-ʔam<sup>F</sup> tǎ<sup>F</sup>-ʔam<sup>F</sup>  
 grow.in-&-exist-CONS bee-comb one-CLF(spec.&D.-new)  
 tsauy<sup>L</sup>-TA-tauy<sup>L</sup>-TA-loŋ<sup>L</sup>-TA-coʔ<sup>F</sup>-TA-TA ru<sup>F</sup>]<sup>17</sup>  
 bear-&-tie-&-suspend-&-exist-RLS-ATTR NMLZ  
 the<sup>ʔH</sup>-TA-myon<sup>F</sup>-ko<sup>H</sup>-TA-ka<sup>H</sup>.  
 INEVT-&-see-PLS-RLS-HS  
 ‘(They) saw a tree grows from inside the pond, and a honeycomb hangs  
 down (from the tree).’
- [2]lau<sup>L</sup>teʔ<sup>F</sup> tǎ<sup>F</sup>-yauk<sup>F</sup> ši<sup>H</sup> ... yit<sup>F</sup>tham<sup>L</sup>-khuk<sup>F</sup>-khyo<sup>F</sup> yit<sup>F</sup>-von<sup>F</sup>  
 adult one-CLF ahead pond-inside -ALL water-enter  
 von<sup>F</sup>-lo<sup>L</sup>-yan<sup>L</sup>, pyö<sup>L</sup>-ʔam<sup>F</sup>-re<sup>F</sup>  
 enter-already-CONJ bee-comb(spec.&D.-old)-ACC  
 lo<sup>H</sup>-TA-choŋ<sup>H</sup>-TA-søʔ<sup>H</sup>-TA-ʔo<sup>F</sup>-TA-ka<sup>H</sup>.  
 go<sub>H</sub>-&-chase-&-grope-&-search-RLS-HS  
 ‘At first, an adult ... entered into the pond and grabbed the honeycomb.’
- [3]phyat<sup>F</sup> mǎ-ʔuk<sup>H</sup>-yan<sup>L</sup>, yit<sup>F</sup> šauk<sup>H</sup>-TA-se<sup>L</sup>-TA-TA rǔ<sup>F</sup>-fie<sup>ʔH</sup>,  
 fast not-find-CONJ water drink-&-spit-RLS-ATTR NMLZ-COM  
 tauŋ<sup>F</sup>kaun<sup>F</sup>-khyo<sup>F</sup> tam<sup>F</sup>-TA-thuk<sup>H</sup>-lo<sup>F</sup>-TA-ka<sup>H</sup>.  
 outside-ALL again-&-exit-come<sub>H</sub>-RLS-HS  
 ‘Because (he) could not find (it) fast and drank and spat water, (he) came  
 out.’
- [4]ʔǎy<sup>L</sup>-thon<sup>F</sup> tǎ<sup>F</sup>-yauk<sup>F</sup> yit<sup>F</sup>-von<sup>F</sup> tam<sup>F</sup>-TA-von<sup>F</sup>-TA-lo<sup>H</sup>-yan<sup>L</sup>,  
 that-behind one-CLF water-enter again-&-enter-&-go<sub>H</sub>-CONJ  
 lo<sup>H</sup>-TA-choŋ<sup>H</sup>-TA-søʔ<sup>H</sup>-TA-ʔo<sup>F</sup>-TA-re<sup>F</sup>, pyö<sup>L</sup>-ʔam<sup>F</sup>  
 go<sub>H</sub>-&-chase-&-grope-&-search-RLS-ACC bee-comb(spec.&D.-old!)  
 mǎ-ʔuk<sup>H</sup>-yan<sup>L</sup>, tauŋ<sup>F</sup>kaun<sup>F</sup>-khyo<sup>F</sup> tam<sup>F</sup>-TA-thuk<sup>H</sup>-lo<sup>F</sup>-TA-ka<sup>H</sup>.  
 not-find-CONJ outside-ALL again-&-exit-come<sub>H</sub>-RLS-HS  
 ‘Then another (adult) entered, but (he) could not find the honeycomb and  
 came out.’

<sup>17</sup> Nominalized clauses in Lhaovo are formed by the combination of the nominalizer *ru<sup>F</sup>* and an attributive clause. The nominalized clauses refers to both events as in (9), and inanimate participants bearing the semantic role of Theme/Patient as in the below example.

[yoŋ<sup>L</sup> vay<sup>F</sup>-TA-TA ru<sup>F</sup>]-tho<sup>ʔH</sup> kay<sup>F</sup>-TA-ra<sup>H</sup>  
 he buy-RLS-ATTR NMLZ-than good-RLS-RA  
 ‘(It) is better than the one he bought.’

[5] ʔăy<sup>L</sup>-thon<sup>F</sup>    tǎ<sup>F</sup>-yauk<sup>F</sup>    pin<sup>F</sup>    tǎ<sup>F</sup>-yauk<sup>F</sup>    yit<sup>F</sup>-von<sup>F</sup>    von<sup>F</sup>-yan<sup>L</sup>,  
 that-behind    one-CLF    finish    one-CLF    water-enter    enter-CONJ  
 pyö<sup>L</sup>-ʔam<sup>F</sup>    lo<sup>H</sup>-TA-choŋ<sup>H</sup>-TA-sø<sup>ʔ</sup>H-TA-ʔo<sup>F</sup>-ko<sup>H</sup>-TA-ka<sup>H</sup>.  
 bee-comb(spec.&D.-old!)    go<sub>H</sub>-&-chase-&-grobe-&-search-PLS-RLS-HS  
 ‘Thereafter (they) entered one by one and grabbed the honeycomb.’  
 <Chongmo villagers: 03/03-07>

“Hearer-old” seems less relevant to the case-marking of P in the small sample of conversations in the narrative texts I used for this study. To be doubly sure of the relevance of “hearer-old” to case marking, we need more data from actual conversations.

#### 2.1.4. Complexity/Length of P

A P which has a relatively complex structure, and/or which is relatively long such as an enumeration of NPs, an NP with attributive clause(s), and an NP with post-head modifier(s) could be marked with *-re<sup>F</sup>* even though it is adjacent to V, inanimate and Discourse-new.

In (10), the P consists of a parataxis of four nouns and a quantifier *ʔălap<sup>H</sup>* ‘all’ which takes the whole parataxis as its scope. It is longer and more complex than the phrases before and after it. Here, *-re<sup>F</sup>* marks the end of the long and complex phrase.

(10) muk<sup>L</sup>myit<sup>F</sup>-yöso<sup>ʔ</sup>H-men<sup>F</sup>    [pam<sup>F</sup>    puk<sup>F</sup>kaun<sup>F</sup>    loŋ<sup>L</sup>khaun<sup>L</sup>    con<sup>L</sup>ten<sup>F</sup>  
 world-nature-LOC    mountain    land    valley    field  
 ʔălap<sup>H</sup>]-re<sup>F</sup>    phan<sup>H</sup>-TA-to<sup>L</sup>-va<sup>H</sup>-TA.  
 all-ACC    create-&-put-RLZN-RLS  
 ‘In the world, (the god) created all of mountains, lands, valleys and fields.’  
 <Lahaung-Lapong: 01/02>

In (11), the P is a noun *pyu<sup>F</sup>-yuk<sup>F</sup>-kyaun<sup>L</sup>* ‘route’ with an attributive clause *[loŋ<sup>F</sup>vo<sup>F</sup>-pyü<sup>F</sup>-myu<sup>H</sup>-ye<sup>F</sup>    na<sup>F</sup>-TA-kyo<sup>H</sup>-TA-lo<sup>F</sup>-TA-TA-ra<sup>H</sup>]* ‘through which Lhaovo people migrated’. Again, *-re<sup>F</sup>* marks the end of the complex NP.

(11) ʔăna<sup>H</sup>-fia<sup>F</sup>    [[loŋ<sup>F</sup>vo<sup>F</sup>-pyü<sup>F</sup>-myu<sup>H</sup>-ye<sup>F</sup>  
 now-TOP    Lhaovo-man-kind-PL  
 na<sup>F</sup>-TA -kyo<sup>H</sup> -TA -lo<sup>F</sup> -TA -TA -ra<sup>H</sup>]    pyu<sup>F</sup>-yuk<sup>F</sup>-kyaun<sup>L</sup>]-re<sup>F</sup>  
 stay-&-descend-&-come<sub>H</sub>-RLS-ATTR-RA    man-flow-route-ACC  
 ta<sup>H</sup>-TA-lo<sup>H</sup>-nen<sup>H</sup>    ŋat<sup>L</sup>.  
 speak-&-go<sub>H</sub>-IRL    COPULA  
 ‘Now (I) will tell about the route through which Lhaovo people migrated.’  
 <Migration of Lhaovo people: 00/01>

The function of *-re<sup>F</sup>* is also observed in (12), where the P is a noun *myi<sup>L</sup>tam<sup>H</sup>* ‘torch’ with a post-head modifier *kha<sup>F</sup>-yaŋ<sup>F</sup>yaŋ<sup>F</sup>* ‘fairly long’.

- (12) [myi<sup>L</sup>tam<sup>H</sup>      kha<sup>F</sup>-yaŋ<sup>F</sup>yaŋ<sup>F</sup>]-re<sup>F</sup>      kat<sup>H</sup>-TA-chi<sup>F</sup>-yaŋ<sup>L</sup>,  
 torch      rather-long<sup>×2</sup>(spec.&D.-new)-ACC      make-&-take.up-CONJ  
 myi<sup>L</sup>tam<sup>H</sup>      thəm<sup>L</sup>-TA-kyo<sup>H</sup>-TA-lo<sup>F</sup>-TA.  
 torch(spec.&D.-new)      light-&-descend-&-come<sub>H</sub>-RLS  
 ‘(They) take fairly long torches up, light them and come down.’  
 <Mr. Lamaung Khao Hhao's biography: 02/23>

### 2.1.5. Contrast/Emphasis

Finally, there exist instances of *-re<sup>F</sup>* which we just have to interpret as marking P contrasted with other NP(s), or merely emphasized, by the speaker.

In (13) the three year old black ox which is not desired is contrasted with the three year old white ox desired as an offering to God.

- (13) sam<sup>F</sup>-tsin<sup>F</sup>-nuŋ<sup>L</sup>-phyu<sup>F</sup>-lo<sup>L</sup>      khay<sup>L</sup>-mǝŋ<sup>F</sup>-re<sup>L</sup>  
 three-year-cow-white-male(non-spec.)      where-LOC-also  
 mǝ-the<sup>ʔH</sup>-TA-yuk<sup>H</sup>-yaŋ<sup>L</sup>,  
 not-INEVT-&-find-CONJ  
 [sam<sup>F</sup>-tsin<sup>F</sup>-nuŋ<sup>L</sup>-no<sup>ʔF</sup>-lo<sup>L</sup>      tǎ<sup>F</sup>-tau<sup>L</sup>]-rǝ<sup>F</sup>-tsa<sup>L</sup>  
 three-year-cow-black-male      one-CLF(spec.&D.-new)-ACC-only  
 yo<sup>H</sup>-TA-yuk<sup>H</sup>-TA-ñəŋ<sup>H</sup>-TA-to<sup>L</sup>-TA-ka<sup>H</sup>.  
 get-&-find-&-arrange-&-put-RLS-HS  
 ‘(She) could not find a three-year-old white ox anywhere, but only a three-year-old black ox.’ <Origin of Tsam dance: 03/01>

In the second sentence of (14), it seems that the correspondences between P and its head verb are simply emphasized.

- (14)<sup>[1]</sup> ... ɲa<sup>H</sup>-phauŋ<sup>H</sup>-puk<sup>F</sup>tso<sup>L</sup>-ho<sup>ʔH</sup>      ʔǎlap<sup>H</sup>-cam<sup>F</sup>  
 my-eldest.maternal.uncle-relative-PL.relative      all-PL  
 ʔay<sup>L</sup>-men<sup>F</sup>      na<sup>F</sup>-TA.  
 there-LOC      stay-RLS  
 ‘All the relatives of my eldest maternal uncle lived there.’  
<sup>[2]</sup>yǝ<sup>F</sup>thauŋ<sup>H</sup>-re<sup>F</sup>      phauk<sup>H</sup>-TA,      khyeŋ<sup>F</sup>-re<sup>F</sup>  
 rice.field(spec.&D.-new)-ACC      plow-RLS      fence(spec.&D.-new)-ACC  
 kat<sup>H</sup>-TA.  
 make-RLS  
 ‘(They) plowed rice fields, and made fences.’  
 <Mr. Lamaung Khao Hhao's biography: 03/14-15>

## 2.2. Recipients

From the viewpoint of case-marking, the Recipient is treated in the same manner as Theme<sup>18</sup>/Patient, which is the default semantic role of P.

- (15)  $\text{noŋ}^F\text{-re}^F$  [  $\text{sam}^F\text{-tsin}^F\text{-nuŋ}^L\text{-phyu}^F\text{-lo}^L$   $\text{tǎ}^F\text{-tau}^L$  ]  
 you(Recip.)-ACC three-year-cow-white-male one-CLF(Theme)  
 $\text{thuk}^H\text{-pyit}^L\text{-neŋ}^H\text{-fi}^H$ .  
 exit-give-IRL-EXCLM  
 ‘(I) will offer you (=the god of heaven) a three-year-old white ox.’  
 <Origin of Tsam dance: 01/06>

In (15), Recipient ‘you’ is marked with  $\text{-re}^F$  because it is non-adjacent to V and included in the semantic category of human nouns. The Theme ‘a three-year-old white ox’ is marked with  $-\emptyset$  because it is adjacent to V and is non-specific.

On the other hand, in (16) the Theme ‘the fish (he) caught’ is non-adjacent to V, and Recipient ‘his mother’ is human, so both are marked with  $\text{-re}^F$ .

- (16)  $\text{yoŋ}^L\text{-myi}^H$   $\text{myo}^F$   $\text{cuk}^H\text{-yaŋ}^L$ , [  $\text{yoŋ}^L$   $\text{yo}^H\text{-TA-taun}^H\text{-TA-TA-ra}^H$  ]  
 PRF-mother eye blind-CONJ he get-&-catch-RLS-ATTR-RA  
 $\text{ŋo}^L\text{-re}^F$   $\text{yoŋ}^L\text{-myi}^H\text{-re}^F$   $\text{mǎ-ke}^H\text{-pyit}^L\text{-}\emptyset\text{-ka}^H$ .  
 fish(Theme)-ACC PRF-mother(Recip.)-ACC not-put.in-give-NEG-HS  
 ‘His mother was blind, and (he) could not give the fish he caught to his mother.’ <Mother's love: 02/03>

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

- (17)<sup>[1]</sup>  $\text{myi}^H\text{thon}^F\text{tso}^H\text{-re}^F\text{-še}^F$   $\text{khin}^F\text{caun}^F\text{-fia}^F$   $\text{ʔay}^L\text{-yuy}^F\text{-šo}^L\text{-re}^F$   
 afternoon -ACC-at.last priest -TOP that-spirit-meat-ACC  
 $\text{tam}^F\text{-TA-yap}^F\text{-TA-yu}^F\text{-TA-ra}^H$ .  
 again-&-take.away-&-take-RLS-RA  
 ‘Finally in the afternoon, the priest takes the meat for the spirits away (from the alter).’

- [2]  $\text{paŋ}^H\text{vo}^F$   $\text{ʔǎlap}^H$  [  $\text{myi}^H\text{tshom}^F$   $\text{na}^H\text{tsoŋ}^L$  ]  
 guest all(Recip., spec.&D.-old) supper lunch  
 $\text{ne}^F\text{tshel}^L$   $\text{yaun}^H\text{-TA-tso}^L\text{-ko}^H\text{-TA-ra}^H$ .  
 breakfast(Theme, spec.&D.-new) cook-&-feed-PLS-RLS-RA  
 ‘(The priest) cooked supper, lunch and breakfast, and treat all the guests.’  
 <Tsam of wealth: 06/01-02>

<sup>18</sup> Here the term ‘Theme’ is used as a semantic role as in several grammatical theories. Van Valin (2001: 24) describes Themes as “semantically similar to patients ... which refer to entities which are located or which undergo a change of location; they also denote entities which are possessed or which undergo a change of possession.” (Van Valin 2001: 24).

The second sentence of (17) is a counterexample to the generalizations thus far described for factors co-occurring with the  $-re^F$  marking of P: in §2.1.1 it was shown that P non-adjacent to V is marked with  $-re^F$ ; in 2.1.2 it was shown that intervention by NP(s) other than A/subordinate clause(s) will mean  $-re^F$  marking of P; and in 2.1.3 it was seen that Human P are marked with  $-re^F$ . In (17) it seems to be simply the semantic relation of the NP to the verb  $ya\eta^H-TA-tso^L$  ‘cook and treat’ which ensures that  $pa\eta^Hvo^F ?\check{a}lap^H$  ‘all the guests’ is Recipient<sup>19</sup> (it is quite unlikely that the guests cook for and treat the host(s) in the host's house.)

Dryer (1986) proposes that some languages employ the grammatical relations Primary Object (PO) and Secondary Object (SO), which can be defined in terms of DO and IO. He says, “a nominal is a PO if it is an IO in a ditransitive clause, or a DO in a monotransitive clause; it is an SO if it is a DO in a ditransitive clause.” (1986: 814) Dryer's PO/SO are schematized as below, in Figure 1, alongside the ordinary pattern of DO/IO.

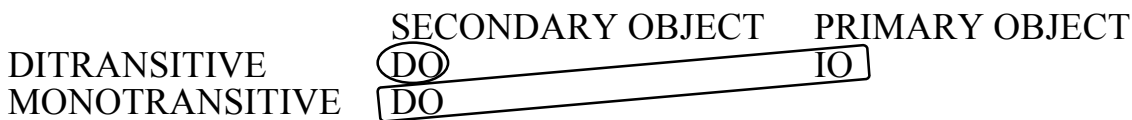


Figure 1. Dryer's schema of PO/SO (Dryer 1986: p.814, Fig. 1b)

Dryer refers to the languages in which rules are sensitive to the distinction between POs and SOs as PO languages, and refers to the languages in which rules are sensitive to the distinction between DOs and IOs as DO languages (1986: 815).

As far as case-marking is concerned, Lhaovo is neither a PO language nor a DO language, because the marking of non-subject Theme/Patient NPs and Recipient NPs are determined virtually by the same set of factors argued above. Though Recipient NPs are usually marked with  $-re^F$  because they are human in most cases, they sometimes occur without  $-re^F$  if lexical/contextual resources for its identification are available, as in the second sentence of (17).

### 3. A MARKED WITH $-TAya\eta^F$

Let us turn to A marked with  $-TAya\eta^F$ , the instrumental marker.

A arguments in Lhaovo are usually marked with  $-\emptyset$ . See examples (1), (6), (8[2]), (9[2]), (9[4]). In narrative texts A arguments are often accompanied by the topic marker  $-fia^F$ . See examples (3), (4), (5[1]), (5[2]), (7[2]), (8[1]), (8[2]), (17[1]). It is obvious that As with  $-TAya\eta^F$  are ‘marked’.

<sup>19</sup> It might be thought that  $pa\eta^Hvo^F ?\check{a}lap^H$  ‘all the guests’ in the second sentence of (17), without  $-re^F$ , functions as the topic of the sentence. The possibility is excluded by the fact that the topic marker  $-fia^F$  cannot be attached to  $pa\eta^Hvo^F ?\check{a}lap^H$ . If  $pa\eta^Hvo^F ?\check{a}lap^H$  is accompanied with  $-re^F$  and  $-fia^F$  in that order, the NP will be interpreted contrastively, and the interpretation will be ‘As for all the guests, (the priest) cooked supper, lunch and breakfast, and treated them’.

That *tsuk<sup>L</sup>-lau<sup>L</sup>te<sup>ʔF</sup> ʔălap<sup>H</sup>* ‘all the noblemen’, marked with *-TAyaŋ<sup>F</sup>* in (18), is really A is confirmed by the presence of an auxiliary *-ko<sup>H</sup>* indicating the plurality of subject.

- (18) [tsuk<sup>L</sup>-lau<sup>L</sup>te<sup>ʔF</sup> ʔălap<sup>H</sup>]-TAyaŋ<sup>F</sup> chuk<sup>H</sup>tso<sup>L</sup>-nau<sup>H</sup>-re<sup>F</sup>  
 noble-adult all-INS orphan-young-ACC  
 šö<sup>L</sup>chit<sup>H</sup> tam<sup>F</sup>-TA-pyit<sup>L</sup>-TA-ke<sup>ʔH</sup>-ko<sup>H</sup>-TA-ka<sup>H</sup>.  
 deer again-&-give-&-put.in-PLS-RLS-HS  
 ‘All the noblemen returned the deer to the orphan.’  
 <Noble youth and orphan youth: 06/04>

As seen in (19), even if *-TAyaŋ<sup>F</sup>* is omitted from (18), the sentence is still grammatical and conveys the same proposition.

- (19) [tsuk<sup>L</sup>-lau<sup>L</sup>te<sup>ʔF</sup> ʔălap<sup>H</sup>](*-fia<sup>F</sup>*) chuk<sup>H</sup>tso<sup>L</sup>-nau<sup>H</sup>-re<sup>F</sup> šö<sup>L</sup>chit<sup>H</sup>  
 noble-adult all (-TOP) orphan-young-ACC deer  
 tam<sup>F</sup>-TA-pyit<sup>L</sup>-TA-ke<sup>ʔH</sup>-ko<sup>H</sup>-TA-ka<sup>H</sup>.  
 again-&-give-&-put.in-PLS-RLS-HS  
 ‘All the noblemen returned the deer to the orphan.’

However, (18) and (19) differ in topicality. In (19), ‘all the noblemen’ is the topic of the sentence, but in (18) it is not. In fact, a more appropriate English translation of (18) would be, ‘The orphan got the deer back from all the noblemen.’

A verb which takes A marked with *-TAyaŋ<sup>F</sup>* usually takes also a human or animate P. The P may appear overtly in the same clause as A in (18), or may not appear in the same clause as in (20).

- (20) [pa<sup>F</sup> voŋ<sup>F</sup>-TA-lo<sup>H</sup>-TA-TA] ʔau<sup>L</sup>-re<sup>F</sup> [chuk<sup>H</sup>tso<sup>L</sup>-nau<sup>H</sup>-fie<sup>ʔH</sup>  
 sun enter-&-go<sub>H</sub>-RLS-ATTR time-ACC orphan -young-COORD  
 moŋ<sup>L</sup>pyo<sup>ʔL</sup> lau<sup>L</sup>te<sup>ʔF</sup>-ye<sup>F</sup>-TA phaun<sup>F</sup>-khyo<sup>F</sup> ye<sup>L</sup>-TA-lo<sup>H</sup>-TA]-re<sup>F</sup>  
 PN adult-PL-ATTR group-ALL go-&-go<sub>H</sub>-RLS-ACC  
 [tsuk<sup>L</sup>-nau<sup>H</sup>-TA thoŋ<sup>F</sup>-meŋ<sup>H</sup> lau<sup>L</sup>te<sup>ʔH</sup>-ye<sup>ʔF</sup>]-TAyaŋ<sup>F</sup> ... -ŋ<sup>L</sup>  
 noble-young-ATTR behind-LOC adult-PL-INST -QUOT  
 lam<sup>F</sup>-TA-nak<sup>H</sup>-yo<sup>L</sup>-ko<sup>H</sup>-TA-ka<sup>H</sup>.  
 from.afar-&-heart-angry-PLS-RLS-HS  
 ‘When sun went down, the poor youth and Mong Pyot went to the group of adults, the adults standing for the noble youth scolded (them), saying ...’ <Noble youth and orphan youth: 06/01>

In (20), P of the verb *nak<sup>H</sup>-yo<sup>L</sup>* ‘scold’ (=heart-angry), does not appear, but is interpreted to be co-referential with S of the verb *ye<sup>L</sup>-TA-lo<sup>H</sup>* ‘go’ (go-&-go<sub>H</sub>), that is, *chuk<sup>H</sup>tso<sup>L</sup>-nau<sup>H</sup>-fie<sup>ʔH</sup> moŋ<sup>L</sup>pyo<sup>ʔL</sup>* ‘the poor youth and Mong Pyot’. The topic throughout the sentence is regarded as ‘the poor youth and Mong Pyot’ and

it is the reason why *tsuk<sup>L</sup>-nau<sup>H</sup>-TA thoŋ<sup>F</sup>-meŋ<sup>H</sup> lau<sup>L</sup>teŋ<sup>H</sup>-ye<sup>F</sup>* ‘the adults standing for the noble youth’ is marked with *-TAyaŋ<sup>F</sup>*.

When a verb taking A marked with *-TAyaŋ<sup>F</sup>* also takes an inanimate P, it is usual that another human or animate topic NP is in the preceding clause(s), and its topicality is still maintained in the clause containing A marked with *-TAyaŋ<sup>F</sup>*.

- (21)<sup>[1]</sup> ʔäy<sup>F</sup>-muŋ<sup>L</sup>,      pyu<sup>F</sup>-cam<sup>F</sup>-fia<sup>F</sup>  
 that-CONS              man-PL-TOP
- [lähaun<sup>L</sup>läpoŋ<sup>L</sup>-nau<sup>H</sup>-toŋ<sup>F</sup>-hoŋ<sup>H</sup>-re<sup>F</sup>              pam<sup>F</sup>-khyo<sup>F</sup>  
 RACE.NAME-young-two.person-PL.RELATIVE-ACC      mountain-ALL
- cuy<sup>L</sup>-TA-toŋ<sup>F</sup>-lo<sup>H</sup>-muŋ<sup>L</sup>,      läsoŋ<sup>H</sup>-keŋ<sup>F</sup>-TAyaŋ<sup>F</sup>  
 lead-&-ascend-go<sub>H</sub>-CONS      PLANT.NAME-tree-INS
- thau<sup>F</sup>-TA-khyaŋ<sup>L</sup>-TA-peŋ<sup>F</sup>-TA-seŋ<sup>H</sup>-neŋ<sup>H</sup>]      søm<sup>H</sup>-ko<sup>H</sup>-TA-ka<sup>H</sup>.  
 cut.down-&-cut-&-hit-&-kill-IRL              try-PLS-RLS-HS  
 ‘So the people tried to take brothers of Lahaung-Lapong (an imaginary race who introduces confusion into the universe) to a mountain, cut a lasok tree and beat them to death.’
- <sup>[2]</sup>[lähaun<sup>L</sup>läpoŋ<sup>L</sup>-nau<sup>H</sup>-ye<sup>F</sup>      na<sup>F</sup>-TA-ra<sup>H</sup>-meŋ<sup>F</sup>      läsoŋ<sup>H</sup>-keŋ<sup>F</sup>  
 RACE.NAME-young-PL      stay-RLS-RA-LOC      PLANT.NAME-tree
- thau<sup>F</sup>-TA-khyaŋ<sup>L</sup>-TA-keŋ<sup>H</sup>-TA-re<sup>F</sup>],      lähaun<sup>L</sup>läpoŋ<sup>L</sup>-nau<sup>H</sup>-ye<sup>F</sup>-TAyaŋ<sup>F</sup>  
 cut.down-& -cut -&-put.in-RLS-ACC      RACE.NAME-young-PL-INS
- tshø<sup>H</sup>-tsa<sup>L</sup>      lam<sup>F</sup>-TA-voŋ<sup>F</sup>-TA-pyeŋ<sup>H</sup>-ko<sup>H</sup>-TA-ka<sup>H</sup>.  
 easy-only      from.afar-&-fold-&-throw.away-PLS-RLS-HS  
 ‘(They) cut a lasok tree where Lahaung-Lapong brothers are, but it was easily folded and thrown away by Lahaung-Lapong brothers.’
- <sup>[3]</sup> ʔäy<sup>F</sup>-meŋ<sup>H</sup> tä<sup>F</sup>-laŋ<sup>F</sup>      [ñam<sup>L</sup>-khyo<sup>F</sup> kyo<sup>H</sup>-lo<sup>H</sup>-muŋ<sup>L</sup>],  
 there-ABL      one-time      lowland-ALL descend-go<sub>H</sub>-CONS
- coŋ<sup>F</sup>-keŋ<sup>F</sup>-TAyaŋ<sup>F</sup>      tam<sup>F</sup>-TA-thau<sup>F</sup>-TA-peŋ<sup>F</sup>-TA-keŋ<sup>H</sup>-ko<sup>H</sup>-TA-ka<sup>H</sup>.  
 PLANT.NAME-tree-INS      again-&-cut.down-&-hit-&-put.in-PLS-RLS-HS  
 ‘Then they went down to the lowland, and cut a chong tree and beat.’
- <sup>[4]</sup> ʔäy<sup>L</sup>-ru<sup>F</sup>-re<sup>F</sup>      lähaun<sup>L</sup>läpoŋ<sup>L</sup>-nau<sup>H</sup>-cam<sup>F</sup>-TAyaŋ<sup>F</sup>      tshø<sup>H</sup>-tsa<sup>L</sup>  
 that-NMLZ-ACC      RACE.NAME-young-PL-INS      easy-only
- lam<sup>F</sup>-TA-voŋ<sup>F</sup>-TA-šäpyeŋ<sup>H</sup>-TA-keŋ<sup>H</sup>-ko<sup>H</sup>-TA-ka<sup>H</sup>.  
 from.afar-&-fold-&-throw.away-&-put.in-PLS-RLS-HS  
 ‘It was easily folded and thrown away by Lahaung-Lapong brothers.’  
 <Lahaung-Lapong: 03/03-06>

The second and fourth sentences of (21) contain A marked with *-TAyaŋ<sup>F</sup>*; both are ‘Lahaung-Lapong brothers’. Both sentences lack an overt P, but it is obvious

from the context that P in the second sentence is *lǎso<sup>ʔH</sup>-keŋ<sup>F</sup>* ‘lasok tree’, and P in the fourth sentence is *coŋ<sup>F</sup>-keŋ<sup>F</sup>* ‘chong tree’. These As are marked with *-TAyaŋ<sup>F</sup>* because the topic throughout the paragraph is *pyu<sup>F</sup>-cam<sup>F</sup>* ‘the people’, not ‘Lahaung-Lapong brothers’.

Inanimate As marked with *-TAyaŋ<sup>F</sup>* are extremely rare, only used with personification.

- (22) [khyo<sup>F</sup>-meŋ<sup>F</sup> lo<sup>F</sup>-TA-TA] ʔau<sup>L</sup>-re<sup>F</sup> [šo<sup>L</sup>cam<sup>H</sup>-meŋ<sup>F</sup>  
road-LOC come<sub>H</sub>-RLS-ATTR time-ACC meat-LOC  
thoŋ<sup>F</sup>kyoŋ<sup>F</sup>-TAyaŋ<sup>F</sup> lam<sup>F</sup>-TA-loŋ<sup>L</sup>-loŋ<sup>H</sup>], šo<sup>L</sup> tǎ<sup>F</sup>-khyi<sup>H</sup>  
branch-INS from.afar-&-pull-TEMP meat one-place  
lay<sup>L</sup>-pyit<sup>L</sup>-cho<sup>ʔH</sup>-TA.  
slice-give-behind-RLS  
‘On the way back, when the meat was hooked into by a branch, a part of  
meat is sliced.’ (Literally, ‘... a branch pulled the meat from afar ...’)  
<Setting up antelope trap: 03/01-02>

#### 4. CONCLUSION

So far we considered the factors determining the distribution of *-re<sup>F</sup>* marking P and *-TAyaŋ<sup>F</sup>* marking A in Lhaovo. Here let us review the factors and consider their causes.

The factors of the *-re<sup>F</sup>* marking of P are summarized as (23).

- (23) i. P non-adjacent to V: intervention by A (2.1.1)  
ii. P non-adjacent to V: intervention by other NP(s) than A/subordinate clause(s) (2.1.1)  
iii. Human P (2.1.2)  
iv. Specific and Discourse-old P (2.1.3)  
v. Complex/Long P (2.1.4)  
vi. Contrasted/Emphasized P (2.1.5)

The factors are classified into two groups according to their strength: (i) to (iii) and (iv) to (vi).

The fact that both A and P can be marked with *-∅* in Lhaovo suggests that the case-marking of core arguments is essentially to disambiguate an animate NP from another animate NP, rather than to mark the role of NP. In Lhaovo, it is obvious that As occur without overt case-marking more often than Ps. A is typically human. If P is also human, it is marked with *-re<sup>F</sup>* for the purpose of disambiguation. See factor (iii) in (23).

If P is not human and therefore disambiguated from A by the difference in semantic feature, it is not always the case that P is marked with *-∅*. Word order is also counted as one of the factors governing case-marking of P. Agent, which is the most typical semantic role of A, has control over the instigation of an action by definition. In most cases A triggers an action. In discourse, sentences with old

information A occur more often than those with an old information P. Taking these facts into consideration, the word order A - P is considered to be more natural than P - A. When a P deviates from the natural word order, the P is marked with  $-re^F$ . See factor (i) in (23).

It is still unclear what the cause is of factor (ii). When a hearer hears a sentence where a  $-\emptyset$  marked P occurs after a  $-\emptyset$  marked A, and P is not adjacent to its head verb, the hearer might temporarily misinterpret the  $-\emptyset$  marked P as a new subject in the course of parsing. It is possible that  $-re^F$  is attached to the P to avoid such a misinterpretation.

The effects of factors (i)–(iii) are sometimes cancelled by other resources which enable disambiguation of A and P. The resource might be a specific speech-act type of sentence; for example, it is evident that the subject of an imperative sentence, except when the imperative is a quotation, is the hearer. Or the resource may be the lexical content of the verb or the context. In fact, the effect of factors (i) and (ii) are not easily cancelled even in the presence of such resources. The effect of (iii) is cancelled more easily.

On the other hand, factors which cause  $-re^F$  to mark inanimate Ps adjacent to its head verb have nothing to do with disambiguation of A and P.

The function of  $-re^F$ , which marks a Discourse-old P, is to indicate that the P is related to its co-referential element in the preceding clause (see factor iv.), though it is not the case that such a P is always marked with  $-re^F$ .

The function of  $-re^F$  can be to mark a P contrasted with other element(s)—usually another P. It indicates that the marked P is somehow related to its non-coreferential element in another clause. Sometimes  $-re^F$  simply indicates that the speaker puts emphasis on P (see factor vi.). The marker  $-re^F$  also marks the end of a long/complex P (see factor v.). These functions of  $-re^F$  are more subjective than others.

Compared with  $-re^F$  marking P, little can be said about  $-TAya\eta^F$  marking A. It can be said that A marked with  $-TAya\eta^F$  cannot be the topic of the sentence. In general, A (and also S) are considered as the strongest candidate for topics. As it were,  $-TAya\eta^F$  marks As which failed to be the topic because of the retention of the topic from a previous context.

In this paper I have tried to describe the factors determining the distribution of the optional case-marking for P and A. Their optionality suggests that they are not of a purely semantic nature, but we could say that they still stay within the class of case markers, as far as they show a selectional restriction on the semantic role of the NPs to which they are attached. There are still many problems that must be clarified. A better characterization of  $-TAya\eta^F$  marking A needs to be developed. I've presented two factors of linear ordering for  $-re^F$  marking P. Further investigation is necessary on the relation of linear ordering to information structure and influence of stress on the change of linear ordering.

## ABBREVIATIONS

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

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