

VERB CONCATENATION IN KACHIN

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For
LaRaw Maran

Duwa

Partner and Friend

Foreword

During the summer of 1963, after my first year as a graduate student in the Berkeley linguistics department, it was my good fortune to work for several months with LaRaw Maran, then a graduate student in anthropology at the University of Arizona, on a grammatical analysis of the Kachin language (now usually called Jinghpaw or Jingpho), which is his native tongue. LaRaw, now a professor of linguistics at the University of Indiana, was, technically speaking, my "informant", as I attempted to put into practice for the first time the principles of field linguistics I was absorbing from my teachers. Needless to say, LaRaw was no passive purveyor of information, but rather a fully active partner and co-worker in our joint enterprise of exploring his language. We spent endless happy hours together doing things like translating Y.R. Chao's Mandarin Primer into Kachin. LaRaw's casual intellectual brilliance and cheerful physical stamina hooked me for life on Southeast Asian linguistics and indeed on field linguistics in general.

Fate decreed that I could not do fieldwork on Kachin in Burma, and I settled for Lahu in Thailand. But the work LaRaw and I had done together on Kachin turned out to be excellent preparation for my encounter with the grammars of other Tibeto-Burman languages. In particular, the study of Kachin first brought me face to face with a phenomenon which was to preoccupy me later: verb concatenation (serial verbs, verbs in series). This paper was written sometime during the academic year 1963-64, and formed the basis for a talk I presented in March 1964 to the Western Branch of the American Oriental Society. Otherwise, it has languished half-forgotten in a file-folder ever since.

The analysis here is naturally not pushed anywhere near as far as it is in "Verb concatenation in Lahu: the syntax and semantics of 'simple' juxtaposition" [Acta Linguistica Hafniensia 12.1, 1969] or in The Grammar of Lahu, pp. 199-265. In particular, I did not try to deal with "multiversatile concatenations" involving more than one non-head verb (except for a little in the section on "hyperversatile verbs of motion", 2.27 below). I was still groping for terminology to discuss these matters. Anyway, not much has been written on Kachin grammar in the past ten years¹, and I have left the manuscript substantially as it originally was, transcription and all.²

Serial verbs are attracting wider attention nowadays, both in Southeast Asian studies and in general linguistics. There was a panel on verbs in series at the Sixth Sino-Tibetan Conference (San Diego, 1973) at which papers were presented by Nguyen Dinh Hoa (Vietnamese), John Hou (Chinese), Rosa Needleman (Thai) and W. Warutamasintop (Thai). Li and Thompson (1973) have produced an interesting article on serial verbs in Mandarin. Trần Trọng Hải (Cornell) and Chris Smeall (Berkeley) are carrying on research into Vietnamese and Burmese verb concatenation, respectively.

Eventually it will be fascinating to compare serial verb constructions of the East Asian type with those to be found elsewhere in the world (like Africa). For now, however, let me just lay this modest offering on the altar of concatenatory scholarship.

Transcription of Kachin phonemes.

- (a) tones: mid (unmarked) /ban/ ; high (´) /bán/ ; low (`) /bàn/ ; falling (˘) /bân/ ; high-stopped (´ + -p, -t, -k, -q) /bát, báq/ ; low-stopped (` + -p, -t, -k, -q) /bàp, bàt/ .
- (b) glottal stop: written "q"; occurs finally /náq/, initially before vowel /ɬelɔ/, and in combination with initial resonants /qràt, qyép, qwâ/.
- (c) syllabic nasal: written m- before labials, and n- otherwise, though the different positions of articulation are non-distinctive. Syllabic nasals are fully tonal in Kachin: /ńtā , mbun, ñgyen/.
- (d) aspirated stops: written "hp, ht, hk" instead of "ph, th, kh". This is just traditional orthography, and does not imply any fancy kind of "pre-aspiration."
- (e) palatal consonants: the digraphs "sy, cy, zy" are used for the unit phonemes /š, tš, dž/, respectively. Kachin lacks a voiced palatal spirant, and has no aspirated palatal affricate.
- (f) shwa: the unstressed toneless vowel is written with /ə/, not with an a-breve (ă) as in Hanson.

1.0 Introduction: Kachin form-classes. Kachin morphemes may be grouped into three superclasses: heads, postpositives, and preformatives. Heads include nouns (N) and verbs (V). Postpositives include nominal particles (P_n), verbal particles (P_v), and clause markers (M_c). Preformatives include nominal bound prefixes (B_n) and verbal bound prefixes (B_v).

In a "minimal head-phrase", the head may be preceded by a preformative, or followed by a postpositive, or both, or neither.

We shall not undertake a comprehensive analysis of Kachin phrase-structure, but will merely outline the criteria for assigning a particular morpheme to one or another of the above seven classes, briefly mentioning some of the more interesting formal and semantic subclasses into which they may be further divided.

1.1 Nouns: diagnostic environments and subclasses. Nouns are defined as those morphemes which may be followed by a nominal particle. Thus the "diagnostic environment" for a Kachin noun is _____ P_n. Other environments (within a minimal NP) in which a noun may occur are: _____ N and N _____. That is, a noun may appear "in apposition with" another noun.^{3,4}

Subclasses.

Common nouns: masyà 'person', hpún 'tree', syərò 'tiger'.

Pronouns (N_{prop}) behave very much like common nouns : nai 'I', syi 'he, she, it', qán 'we two'.

Interrogative nouns (N_{intg}) include words like kənìn ~ gənìn 'how?', gədə 'how much?', kədai 'who?'.

Introductory nouns (N_{intd}) may occur sentence-initially and followed by pause: syəloi 'then, thereupon', mòi 'long ago'.

Limited or post-verbal nouns (N_{lim}) may not occur phrase-initially, but must always appear after a verb: V _____. In this respect they are like verbal particles, but their nounhood is proved by the fact that they may be followed by a nominal particle. Thus the verb syá 'eat' may precede the N_{lim} yàn 'if' (syá yàn 'if one eats'). Adding the P_n gò 'topicalizer', we get: syá yàn gò 'in the case that one eats; as for the possibility of one's eating'.

Appositional nouns (N_{app}) characteristically occur before or after another noun. There are a large number of special subtypes of N_{app}:

(a) The two determiners (N_{det}): dai 'that (one)', ndai 'this (one)' [ndai syərò 'this tiger', dai masyà 'that person'].

(b) Numerals (N_{num}): syərò ləkhòŋ 'two tigers', masyà məsum 'three people'.

(c) Quantity-nouns (N_q): syərò nlan 'all tigers', masyà nkau 'some people'.

(d) Auxiliary numerals or counters (N_{aux})⁵: gà hkò mi 'a single word' [gà (N) 'word', hkò 'N_{aux} for words', mi (P_n) 'one'].

(e) Locational nouns (N_{loc}): syərò ntsa 'over the tiger', masyà mhpan 'at the foot of the person'.

(f) Adjectival nouns (N_{adj})⁶: ńtâ ñnan 'a new house', ńtâ ñsà 'an old house'.

1.2 Verbs: diagnostic environments and subclasses. Verbs occur in the diagnostic environments: _____P_v and B_v_____. The most important bound verbal prefix (B_v) is the negative morpheme, underlyingly ||ń-||. In addition, all verbs may occur before or after some other verb: _____V or V_____. Some verbs are concatenated in this manner more freely than others, and this phenomenon is the principal topic of the present paper [section 2, below].

Verbs may also begin a sentence, occurring in #_____. Such sentences lack overt noun-phrases, and may be termed "minor sentences."

Subclasses

Action verbs (V_{act}): lùq 'drink', hkui 'hunt', kabài 'throw'.

Quality verbs or adjectives (V_{adj}): yàk 'be difficult', kazyà 'be good', tsan 'be far'.

There is little reason for distinguishing V_{act} 's from V_{adj} 's, outside of certain relatively minor selectional properties. For example, V_{adj} 's are often concatenated with verbs of degree like grài 'be very' and nau 'be too'.

The copula (V_{cop}) rái 'be'. This verb is a study in itself. It has many selectional and distributional idiosyncrasies: e.g., it never occurs in _____V, but often occurs in _____# (that is, with no P_v following).

Versatile verbs (VV) are those which usually or characteristically occur before or after another verb. This other verb is the head of the VP. Two subtypes of VV's may be distinguished:

adverbial verbs (V_{adv}) are those which usually occur before the main verb; complementary verbs (V_{comp}) are those which usually occur after the main verb.⁷

1.3 Nominal particles (P_n) occur in only three environments: N_____, _____P_n, P_n_____; that is, after a noun, or before or after another nominal particle.

Several subtypes may be distinguished on a semantic basis: relational, locative, numerative, etc. A few examples: syarò gò
N P_n
 'as for the tiger' (topic), syarò hpéq 'the tiger' (object), syarò ni
 'tigers' (plural), syarò htéq 'with the tiger' (instrumental).

We cannot go into the interesting question of permissible sequences of two or more P_n 's within a single NP.

1.4 Verbal particles (P_v) occur in only three environments: V_____, _____P_v, P_v_____; that is, after a verb, or before or after another verbal particle.

P_v 's may be divided and cross-classified into subtypes on a semantic basis (aspectual, temporal, modal, etc.), or on formal grounds (in-

variant for all persons and numbers vs. paradigmatically variant; dependent vs. independent; occurrent with a genitivized subject vs. not so occurrent, etc.). All in all, the P_v 's present the most complicated and interesting problems in Kachin grammar.

1.5 Clause markers (M_c) are morphemes which occur at the end of a noun-phrase or verb-phrase.⁸ They may appear after members of any of the four classes described above: N ____, V ____, P_n ____, P_v ____.

Semantically, they color the meaning of the preceding phrase as a whole, contributing to it notions like 'interjectory', 'interrogative', or 'imperative.' Exs: naŋ kún 'You?' (naŋ [N_{pron}] 'you', kún 'interrogative');
 N M_c

naŋ hpéq kún 'To you?' (hpéq 'object'); naŋ rái kún 'Is it you?'; naŋ rái
 N P M_c N V_{cop} M_c V_{cop}

na kún 'Will it be you?' (na 'future').
 P_v M_c

1.6 Nominal bound prefixes (B_n) occur only in the environment ____ + N (where + means 'close juncture'). A B_n may be atonal with shwa vocalism, or else fully tonal with a normal stressed vowel, or else a fully tonal syllabic nasal.

Most B_n 's of the shape $Cə-$ have no definite or consistent meaning in particular cases (mətù 'end, point', mətsát 'eight', məyùq 'the throat'). The same may be said of the syllabic-nasal prefix $n-$ ~ $\tilde{n}-$ ~ $\acute{n}-$ (nhtu 'sword', ñsám 'color', nhpyê 'haversack').

In some cases, however, a fairly obvious meaning may be attached to a non-canonical B_n :⁹

lə- 'one', as in ləní 'one day', lənáq 'one night', lənái 'one';

lə- 'hand/arm', as in lətáq 'hand', ləhpàn 'palm', ləhkrá 'righthand';

mə- 'yester-, last', as in məniŋ 'last year', məní 'yesterday';

n- 'your (poss.)', as in n-woi 'your grandmother'.

Some B_n 's have a canonical phonological shape, but no determinable meaning: syiŋ- ~ syiŋ- ~ syiŋ-, as in syiŋri 'rope', syiŋnóq 'corner', syiŋlèt 'tongue', syiŋnìp 'shadow', syiŋná 'stick, cane'.

The largely meaningless "preformatives", both nominal and verbal, in which Kachin abounds, seem to function basically as devices to add phonological bulk or reduce homophony, always a problem in a language where morphemes are monosyllabic.

1.7 Verbal bound prefixes (B_v) occur in the environment ____ + V.

Many of the most important and meaningful B_v 's are non-canonical in their phonological shape:

|| $\acute{n}-$ || 'negative', as in ñ-syá 'not eat', ñ-nyen 'not lean', n-sa 'not go'; qə- 'iterative', as in qə-lô 'always have', qə-sa 'often go', qə-yák 'be always difficult'; syə- ~ zyə- 'causative'¹⁰, as in syəŋut 'cause to finish', zyəhkrùt 'frighten', syəpòl 'cause to float'; mə- 'generalizer', as in lù mə-lô 'all who have, whoever has', sa mə-sa 'all who go, whoever goes'.

On the other hand, hundreds of Kachin verbs begin with a prefix of the form Cə- to which it is not possible to assign any definite meaning. There is no way to predict which verb-root will be preceded by which of these B_v's.

Some B_v's are meaningless even though they are fully canonical in phonological shape, e.g. gùm- in verbs like gùmhpu̯k 'tap gently', gùmhtòn 'jump down', gùmlàu 'cause trouble'.

2.0 Verb concatenation. Verbs may be strung together in two ways. Sometimes the concatenation is "mediated" by an intervening verbal particle: $V_1 + P_v + V_2$.

nná : By far the most frequently used particle for this purpose is nná, a very general concatenative particle comparable in function to the Japanese "TE-form" or the Sanskrit gerund.¹¹ nná is often best translated simply as 'and'. Exs: məcyíq 'be sick', sí 'die', məcyíq nná sí 'be sick and die, die from illness'; gràu 'be more, exceed', yák 'be difficult', gràu nná yák 'be more difficult'. Most Kachin non-versatile verbs may be linked together by nná in this way, provided that the two verbal concepts involved are semantically congruent.

na : The P_v na 'future, hypothetical' is used to link verbs with V₂'s whose meanings are somehow oriented toward the future, like məlap 'forget', yó 'plan', gúi 'dare', mó 'intend', hpyí 'request' : syá na məlap 'forget to eat', mú na mó 'intend to see', sa-wà na gúi 'dare to go'. The most natural English translation of a $V_1 + na + V_2$ phrase usually involves a complementary infinitive, as in the above examples.

Certain other particles are used "idiomatically" before particular verbs. For example, hkrà, a P_v meaning roughly 'until', is used before sədiq 'be careful': dúm hkrà sədiq 'be careful to remember'.

Very often, however, verbs are concatenated by simple juxtaposition: $V_1 + V_2$. The remainder of this paper will be devoted to categorizing the various types of juxtapositional verb concatenation, and to listing several examples of verbs of each subtype.

It is perhaps well to stress at this point that we are here concerned only with versatile verbs that characteristically occur in juxtaposition with non-versatile verbs. We thus ignore instances of "nonce-juxtaposition"¹² such as mətáq syá 'eat by licking' (mətáq 'lick', syá 'eat'), since neither of these verbs occurs regularly in juxtaposition with anything but versatile verbs. A nonce-juxtaposition of this sort may be regarded as an elliptical version of $V_1 + nná + V_2$ (mətáq nná syá).

As we have seen, the chief syntactic dichotomy that can be applied to versatile verbs is the simple before-or-after one: "adverbial" VV's occur before the main verb, while "complementary" VV's occur after the main verb. In what follows, we have further subdivided these two large syntactic categories on a semantic basis. These semantic categorizations ('temporal', 'extensive', 'attitudinal', etc.) are intended merely as convenient labels, and are not necessarily mutually exclusive.¹³

- (10) lèq + V₁ ... lèq + V₂ 'the more V₁ ... the more V₂'
lèq zyəhtáu 'the more one screams'
lèq syá 'the more one eats'
 In lèq constructions, the main verb is usually followed by the V_v
məgan (#57 below), forming a string of three verbs:
lèq zyəhtáu məgan 'the more one
 V_v V_h V_v screams'

- (11) nàqcyín + V 'to be extremely V; to V exceedingly'
nàqcyín tsóqràq 'love exceedingly'
nàqcyín yák 'be awfully difficult'
nàqcyín is more intense than grài (#8 above).

- (12) nàu + V 'to be too V; to V too much'
nàu lù 'have too much'
nàu yák 'be too difficult'

- (13) syìyóm + V 'to V less; to be less V'
syìyóm syəga 'talk less'
syìyóm yák 'be less difficult'
 As a main verb, syìyóm means 'to reduce, decrease'.

- (14) túp + V 'to be truly V; to V completely'
túp mai 'be completely proper'
túp hkrák 'be exactly right'
 As a main verb, túp means 'be equal, be whole, be complete; be just right'. It is very similar in meaning to hkrák (#9 above).

- (15) gənoi + V 'to be almost V; to nearly V'
gənoi hprin 'be almost full'
gənoi hkrá 'almost hit'

- (16) kəcyí + V 'to be somewhat V; to V a little'
kəcyí bún 'resemble slightly'
kəcyí syá 'eat a little'
kəcyí yák 'be somewhat difficult'

- (17) məren + V 'to be equally V; to be just as V; to V just as much as'
məren kəbà 'be equally large'
məren syá 'eat just as much as'

.13 Attitudinal.

- (18) dìnsa + V 'to V on purpose; be V on purpose'
dìnsa zyəhtáu 'scream on purpose'
dìnsa yák 'be difficult on purpose'
dìnsa also functions as a complementary verb, with a different meaning. See #73 below.

- (19) kam + V 'to be willing to V'

kam gəlo 'be willing to do'
kam cyím 'be willing to taste'

The complementary verb hkróq has a similar meaning. See #39 below.

- (20) hkàp + V 'to anticipate V'ing; to wait for and V'
hkàp mù 'catch sight of' (lit. 'wait for and see')

hkàp gəlo 'anticipate doing; wait for the chance of doing'

As a main verb, hkàp means 'to way-lay, intercept, catch on the way'. It is sometimes hard to find a neat English translation for a sequence of hkàp + V.

- (21) hkùm + V 'do not V!; it is forbidden to V!'

hkùm syəga 'don't talk!'

hkùm syá 'don't eat!'

As a main verb, hkùm means 'to prohibit, prevent, hinder.'

- (22) méq + V 'maybe V; could it be that V?'

méq n-hkrák 'maybe it's not all right?'

méq lù 'perhaps one has'

- (23) syèq + V 'do V!; V indeed; really V'

syèq syá 'do eat!'

syèq lù 'really has; has indeed'

When the complementary verb dinsa (#73 below) appears after syèq + main verb, the resultant 3-verb string may be translated 'so long as V':

syèq syá dinsa 'so long as one eats'
syèq lù dinsa 'as long as one has'
 V V_h V_v

- (24) tíq + V 'would that V!; I hope that V; may V!'

tíq syá 'may you eat!'

tíq sí 'I hope you die!'

[tíq + V] is often followed by the optative clause-marker lê:
tíq léq lê 'May it materialize!'
 V V_h M_c

2.14 A sociative.¹⁵

- (25) h-rài + V 'to V alone; to V by oneself'

hkrài syá 'eat by oneself'

hkrài sa-wà 'go alone'

hkrài is sometimes a nominal particle, meaning 'only N, just N, N alone.'

- (26) qyép ~ yép + V 'to V together; to V in company'

qyép sa-wà 'go together'

qyép syá 'eat together'

As a main verb, qyép means 'be close, adjacent, contiguous'.

- (27) ràu + V 'to V together; to V along with'

ràu dá 'keep sthg together'

ràu hkom 'walk along with'

- (28) zyóm + V 'to V together; to V unitedly; to join forces and V'

zyóm hpai 'carry together'

zyóm dip 'press (on sthg) in unison'

2.15 Potential.

- (29) dàn + V 'to be able to V; to have sufficient strength to V'
dàn syəga 'be able to speak'
dàn tsun 'be able to express
 (one's gratitude, etc.)'

As a main verb dàn means 'to conquer, win, overcome'.

- (30) hkām + V 'to bear to V; to suffer through V'ing; to withstand V'ing'
hkām hkom 'bear to walk'
hkām syā 'suffer through eating
 (something nauseating,
 etc.)'
- (31) kóq + V 'to succeed in V'ing; to manage to V'
kóq pru 'manage to get out'
kóq hpai 'succeed in carrying'
- (32) lau + V 'to be on the verge of V; to be just about to V'
lau dòq 'be on the verge of collapsing'
lau si 'be just about to die'

2.16 Manner.

- (33) kəzyòn ~ gəzyòn + V 'to V in fright; to V with a start'
kəzyòn ròt 'wake up with a start'
kəzyòn yu 'be startled to see'
- (34) ləgyím + V 'to V in secret'
ləgyím yu 'watch in secret; observe
 on the sly'
ləgyím sa-wà 'go stealthily; prowl
 about'
- (35) ləqnyàn ~ lənyàn + V 'to V slowly; to be slow in V'ing'
ləqnyàn hkom 'walk slowly'
ləqnyàn syā 'eat slowly'
- (36) məyùn + V 'to V in secret, to V on the sly'
məyùn yu 'spy upon, watch in secret'
məyùn syā 'eat in secret'

məyùn is very similar in meaning to ləgyím (#34 above).

2.2 Complementary Verbs [= Post-head versatile verbs].2.21 Attitudinal.

- (37) V + cyai 'to V for pleasure; to V for fun'
tsun cyai 'have a chat' (lit. 'talk
 for pleasure')
hkom cyai 'have a stroll' (lit.
 "walk for pleasure")
lùq cyai 'have a smoke (lit. "smoke
 for pleasure")
- (38) V + gúi 'to dare to V'
syā gúi 'dare to eat'

The future particle na may optionally intervene between the main verb and gúi. See above, 2.0.

- (39) V + hkróq 'to be willing to V'

syá hkróq 'willing to eat'
hkra hkróq 'willing to touch'

The adverbial verb kam (#19 above) is similar in meaning.

- (40) V + lù 'to be able to V'

syəga lù 'be able to speak'
məri lù 'be able to buy'

lù is one of the most important, versatile, and frequently occurring verbs in the language. When used as a main verb, it means 'to possess, have'.

- (41) V + rà 'ought to V; need to V; desire to V'

sa rà 'should go, ought to go'
syá rà 'desire to eat'

rà implies more necessity than məyu (#47 below).

- (42) V + syút 'to V by mistake; to V mistakenly'

kām syút 'believe mistakenly'
syá syút 'eat by mistake'

As a main verb, syút means 'to offend, sin'.

- (43) V + wà 'to try to V'

kəwà wà 'try to bite'
sāt wà 'try to kill'

wà is doubtless related to the abstract complementary verb wà 'to become' (#76 below).

- (44) V + ya 'to V for someone's benefit; to favor someone by V'ing;
to V for someone'

syàp ya 'to lend'
syərin ya 'to teach'

ya is most often untranslatable by a simple English expression. It is very similar to Japanese benefactive verbs like kureru, ageru, varu.¹⁶ ya is often used as a kind of ironic ethical dative with a nuance like the English for you in "I'll bash your head in for you": lagú ya 'steal it for you', i.e., "honor you by stealing it from you".

The complementary verb lá (#86 below) sometimes carries an idea of benefaction that is the reverse of ya, as in syàp lá 'to borrow', syərin lá 'to learn'.

- (45) V + yu 'to try to V; to V and see; to have the experience of V'ing'

syəga yu 'try to speak'
cyim yu 'taste and see; test by
tasting; have a taste'
hkal yu 'have had the experience
of bearing young; have
given birth in one's
time (of animals)'

As a main verb, yu means simply 'to see'.

In the function of 'to V and see', V + yu is very like the Japanese -TE MIRU construction¹⁷.

- 46) V + məsùq 'to pretend to V; feign to V'
qyúp məsùq 'feign sleep'
n-cye məsùq 'pretend not to know;
 feign ignorance'
syá məsùq 'pretend to eat, make
 a pretense of eating'

As a main verb, məsùq means 'to tell a lie.'

- 47) V + məyu 'to want to V'
syá məyu 'want to eat'
ginsup məyu 'want to play'
məyu is the most general Kachin verb expressing volition.

22 Extensive or qualitative.

- 48) V + bùq 'to be damned V, to be deucedly V'
yàk bùq 'be damned difficult'
tsan bùq 'be bloody far'
 As a main verb, bùq means 'to have a fever; to be hot with rage'.
 49) V + dìk 'to be supremely V, to be most V'
tsòm dìk 'be perfectly beautiful'
kəzya dìk 'be supremely good'
dìk is more emotional than the superlative complementary verb
htùm (#51 below). When used as a main verb it means 'to be
 fulfilled, carried into effect.'

- 50) V + tsòm 'to be V and pretty; to be beautifully V'¹⁹
cyan tsòm 'be black and pretty'
kəbā tsòm 'be big and pretty'
 51) V + htùm 'to be most V; to be the V'est'
yàk htùm 'be the most difficult'
cyan htùm 'be the blackest'

As a main verb, htùm means 'be terminated; be exhausted, used up'.

- 52) V + káu 'to be very V; to V very much'
tsàn káu 'be very much afraid;
 worry very much'
kəbu káu 'be very happy'

káu is probably related to the homophonous complementary verb of
 completed action (#60 below).

- 53) V + lāq 'to be very V; to be too V; to V very much'
yàk lāq 1. 'be very difficult'
 2. 'be too difficult'
tsóqràq lāq 'to like very much'

lāq is similar in meaning to the adverbial extensive verb grài
 (#8 above), and in fact it is very common to encounter a three-
 verb string of the form: grài + V + lāq

(grài kəsyun lāq 'be very cold').
 V V_h V_v

- 54) V + mai 'should V; be proper to V; be good to V; may well V'
sa-wa mai 'should go; be fitting
 to go'
nhtan mai 'should return; ought'

syá mai 'be proper to eat; may
well eat'

An interesting variant of this construction involves adding the negative prefix to both the main verb and to mai:

n-syá m-mai 'must eat, had better
eat, ought to eat;'

literally this means "not eat not proper" or "if you don't eat it won't do".

This is exactly analogous to the Japanese V + nakereba naranai construction.

- (55) V + pyo byo 'to V pleasantly; be glad to V; V with pleasure'
gəlo pyo 'be glad to do'
mənam pyo 'smell good'
kətsi pyo 'be pleasantly cool'

- (56) V + zyàt 'to be V'er; to be more V; to V more'
gəlu zyàt 'be longer'
syá zyàt 'eat more'

As a main verb, zyàt means 'to add, increase, augment'.

- (57) V + məgan... V + məgan 'the more V₁... the more V₂'
'the V₁ 'er... the more V₂'
yàk məgan... 'the more difficult'
məron məgan... 'the more one
shouts'...

As mentioned in connection with lèq (#10 above), the three-verb string lèq + V + məgan is quite common.

When not used correlatively, məgan has a different, aspectual meaning. See #65 below.

2.23 Aspectual²⁰

- (58) V + hkyén 'to prepare to V; to make ready to V'
kəwá hkyén 'prepare to bite'
syá hkyén 'prepare to eat'
- (59) V + hpan 'to begin to V'
gəlo hpan 'begin to do; begin
to work'
hkráp hpan 'begin to weep'
- (60) V + káu 'to V and be done with it; to V utterly'
məlap káu 'clean forget'
bó káu 'pull up by the roots'
məgáp káu 'cover up completely'

No single formula can be given for the translation of a [V, káu] sequence. Often the best English rendering will include a complementary adverb like 'up, away, out', as in chew up, blow away, scour out, etc.

Káu as a main verb means 'to abandon, reject, do away with' or 'to miss, lose, err.'

As a complement, káu has much the same force as mət (#62 below).

V + máq 'to V completely; to V exhaustively'

si máq 'drop dead (lit. "die completely")'

syá máq 'eat up everything'

As a main verb, máq means 'to be finished, spent, exhausted, used up'.

V + màt 'to be V'ed completely; to V definitely or irretrievably'

qəhkəŋ màt 'get all tangled up'

hkrɪŋ màt 'come to a dead stop'

hpriŋ màt 'fill to the brim'

As a main verb, màt means 'be lost, disappear'.

As a complement it is quite similar in function to káu (#60 above).

The difference seems to be that káu stresses the act of fulfillment while màt stresses the result or new situation obtaining due to that fulfillment. Both káu and màt are characteristically followed by the verbal particle sai, which indicates 'completion of action' or 'new state due to a completed action'.²¹

Occasionally both màt and máq occur in sequence after a main verb, giving a phrase with extra emphatic force:

syá màt máq 'to eat up every
V_h V_v V_v crumb'

V + nàn 'to continue V'ing; to keep on V'ing'

gəlo nàn 'keep on doing'

syá nàn 'keep on eating'

As a main verb, nàn means 'to be unchanged, to remain.'

nàn is characteristically followed by the continuative verbal particle nà.

V + nút 'to finish V'ing'

syəga nút 'finish speaking'

syá nút 'finish eating'

nút is weak or neutral in force compared to káu, máq, or màt.

V + məgaŋ 'to be at the point of V'ing; be just about to V'

dù məgaŋ 'be about to arrive'

syəga məgaŋ 'be about to speak'

məgaŋ has somewhat less of a nuance of impending doom than lau (#32 above). We have seen a special correlative use of this verb above (#57). Still another use of məgaŋ is described below, #78.

4 Interactive or associative.

V + hkát 'to V one another; to V each other'

gəp hkát 'shoot at each other'

gɪnsup hkát 'play with each other'

hkát always implies mutual hostility or, at least, competitive conflict.

V + lóm 'to V along with; to be included in V'ing'

yoŋ lóm 'be swept along with
(the current)'

sa lóm 'go along with'

V + syəlóm 'to V (something) as well; to V (something) along with'

zèn syəlóm 'to cut along with'

(to a - nicking one's finger

syá syəlóm 'eat (sthg) along with
e.g., have a pickle
along with one's cur

syəlóm is the causative of lóm. The former is used after transitive verbs and the latter before intransitives, as the above examples indicate.

- [illegible]

As a main verb, syənún means 'to send'.²²

- (70) V + syəzyàn 'to V respectively; to V severally; to V each in one's own way'

syá syəzyàn 'to eat each in one's own way (or own house
syəgá syəzyàn 'to call from all directions' (each from his own direction)

gəlo syəzyàn 'to do respectively'

Syæzyān has another, more "abstract" meaning - see below, #79.

2.25 Abstract state.

- [illegible]

As a main verb, cye means simply 'to know'.

- (72) V + da:m 'to unfortunately be the case that V; to be forced to V, alas
syá dam 'be obliged, unhappily,
to eat'
na dam 'have to exist, unfortunately'

- (73) V + dĩnsa 'so long as V; as long as V is the case'
- qə-yák dĩnsa 'so long as it is
difficult'
- qə-mû dĩnsa 'so long as one sees'

When dĩnsa occurs before the main verb it means 'on purpose' (see #18 above). When dĩnsa appears as a complement, it is usual to have the main verb preceded by the iterative bound morpheme ge-, and to have this in turn preceded by the adverbial verb syèq (#23 above):

syèq qə-hkrun dɪŋsa 'as long as
_v _v _v _v I live'

- (74) V + hkrùp 'to happen to V; chance to V; unexpectedly V'
mù hkrùp 'see by chance'.
hkrum hkrùp 'happen to meet'
cyan hkrùp 'chance to be black'

- (75) V + mót 'to seem to V, appear to V'
- rái mót 'appear to be'
htuq mót 'seem to fall (of rain)'

- (76) V + wà 'to become V; to get to V; to get to be V'
mù wà 'to get to see (have opportunity of seeing)'
kəzya wà 'to become good; to improve'
qyúp məyu wà 'be getting to want to sleep (i.e. become sleepy)'
V_h V_v V_v
- (77) V + zyàn 'to actually V; to V in spite of all odds'
gəlo zyàn 'actually do'
lú zyàn 'actually be able'
- (78) V + məgan 'to V anyway; to go ahead and V; to have V'ed already'
sa məgan 'go on ahead (without waiting for others)'
gəlo məgan 'go ahead and do'
htuq məgan 'to have already fallen (of rain)'

See #57 and 65 for other functions of this workhorse verb.

- (79) V + syəzyàn 'to actually V; to V in spite of all odds'
 This is formally the causative of zyàn (#77 above), and appears to be identical in meaning with it. But strangely enough, zyàn seems to be used only in sentences with singular subjects, while syəzyàn is used only in sentences with plural subjects.
 The "distributive" syəzyàn (#70 above) is quite distinct, and has nothing to do with zyàn.)

2.26 Contact or displacement.

- (80) V + ban 'to V into (something)'
rú ban 'pour into'
syón ban 'put in, insert'
dihkràt ban 'fall into'

As a main verb, ban means 'to put, place, locate'.

- (81) V + dá 'to V something so it stays; to V something for good; to V something so it remains in a certain state'
nói dá 'hang (sthg) up'
kum dá 'wall off (sthg)'
dəgam dá 'take an oath'
gəran dá 'sharpen up'
- dá occurs after hundreds of verbs, always adding the nuance of stability, constancy, permanence, "for good-ness". It is often best translated by an English complementary adverb like 'up, out, off, away'. As a main verb dá means 'to put, place'. dá performs a function very similar to that of dāt (#82) and to the Japanese verb oku.
- (82) V + dāt 'to V something thoroughly, to V something for good, to V sthg so it stays'.

kəbài dāt 'throw away (for good)'
zyónq dāt 'give out, distribute'
mú dāt 'catch sight of' (lit. "see thoroughly")

As a main verb dàt means 'to put, place, fasten.' syənún dàt 'to send (someone) off'

- (83) V + gàq 'to V open; to V something so it breaks open'
kəhtəm gàq 'slash open'
gəlùn gàq 'pierce open'
zən gàq 'cut open'
kro̯k gàq 'dig open'
hkyən gàq 'hack open'

- (84) V + hkrá 'to V and hit; to V and touch'
qəzyóq hkrá 'to graze sthg' (lit. "glance-touch")
məsòp hkrá 'to stroke sthg' (lit. "stroke-touch")
qəhtù hkrá 'to collide with sthg' (lit. "collide-touch")
qədòt hkrá 'to drive into sthg' (lit. "pound-touch")

- (85) V + hpòq 'to V something open'
htòn hpòq 'to kick open'
məhkyít hpòq 'to scratch open'
hpòq implies somewhat less violence than gàq.

- (86) V + lá 'to take something and V; to V something out or away'
syòq lá 'to fish out (sthg from the water)'
hpaí lá 'to take and carry (sthg)'
hkyé lá 'to rescue (someone)' (lit. "take and save")
syəgá lá 'to summon (someone) forth' (lit. "take & call")
lù lá 'to get hold of (sthg)' (lit. "take and have")
qəhkyèq lá 'to jerk (sthg) out'
pon lá 'to take (sthg) up in one's arms'
kəròt lá 'to drag (sthg) away' (lit. "take and drag")

lá is one of the most frequently used complementary verbs.

- (87) V + sət 'to kill by V'ing; to V to death'
gəp sət 'shoot to death'
syənən sət 'kill by poison'
mənət sət 'strangle'
kəmyət sət 'crush to death'

- (88) V + tòn (+ dá) 'to V sthg so it stays, to V sthg permanently, etc.'
 As a main verb, tòn means 'to put, place' (cf. #'s 81 and 82 above). But the very frequent sequence tòn dá (see #81 above) acts as a unit and itself follows innumerable main verbs, thus forming three-verb strings:

hkái tòn dá 'to plant (sthg)'
hau tòn dá 'to bring up (someone)'

- (89) V + gədon ~ kədon 'to V over; to V down; to displace from verticality
to horizontality by V'ing'
hton gədon 'kick over'
dərug gədon 'butt over (with horns)'
htui gədon 'punch over'
qəsyun gədon 'shake down'
- (90) V + syəròt 'to V up; to displace from horizontality to verticality
by V'ing'
hton syəròt 'kick up'
madiq syəròt 'prop up'

2.27 Motion.

Kachin verbs of motion make an interesting study in themselves. They may be divided into three categories:

- (a) restricted -- motion-verbs that occur in series only before versatile motion-verbs;
- (b) versatile -- motion-verbs that may occur after any restricted motion-verb;
- (c) hyper-versatile -- the single verb (wà) that may occur not only after any restricted motion-verb, but also after a sequence of restricted motion-verb plus versatile motion-verb.

In the restricted category we put the following verbs (among many others): gāt 'run', gùmhtòn 'leap', tso 'go high', hpron 'flee', nèm 'go low', nh̄tan 'go back', pyàu 'float', pyen 'fly', ráp 'cross', kəŋáq 'stagger', kəyín 'turn around', syəcyút 'chase' etc.²⁴

We proceed to give examples of versatile and hyperversatile verbs of motion:

- (91) V + hkom 'to V on foot; to V walking'
ráp hkom 'cross on foot'
nhtan hkom 'return on foot'
- (92) V + lài 'to V across; to V through; to V crossing'
ráp lài 'cross over'
gumhton lài 'leap across'
- (93) V + lun 'to V up; to V climbing'
pyau lun 'float up'
gat lun 'run up; climb up running'
- (94) V + pru 'to V out; to V coming out'
kenaq pru 'stagger out'
pyen pru 'fly out'
- (95) V + qyúq ~ yúq 'to V down; to V descending'
gat qyúq 'run down'
gumhton qyúq 'leap down'
- (96) V + sa 'move V'ing; go/come V'ing'
pyen sa 'go flying; come flying'
gat sa 'go running; come running'

sa also occurs as an adverbial verb (= pre-head versatile verb); in these cases, the following main verb need not be a verb of motion. The meaning of sa + V_h is 'go and V', i.e. 'move into position to be able to perform the verbal action': sa tam 'go and look for', sa sa 'go and see off'.²⁵

(97) V + syàn 'to V into; to V entering'

pyen syàn 'fly into'
nhtan syàn 'go back into'

(98) V + gəwàn ~ kəwàn 'to V around; to V in circles'

syəcyút kəwàn 'chase around'
gət gəwàn 'run around'

The above motion-verbs (91-98) are all "post-head versatile"-- i.e., they may follow any restricted verb of motion, modifying it as attribute to head. On the other hand, any versatile verb may itself function as the main verb in a VP. When one of the motion verbs in this group is playing the role of main verb in its VP, it may be followed by a second member of the group. This second verb is then the versatile attribute modifying the first verb. Consider these examples:

hkom qyúq 'descent on foot' ("walk descendingly"), hkom lài 'walk
V_h V_v V_h V_v

through', lài syàn 'cross into', hkom lùn 'climb up on foot', hkom pru 'walk out', hkom syàn 'walk into', hkom gəwàn 'walk around'.

The verbs lùn 'go up', qyúq 'go down', pru 'go out', and syàn 'go in', correspond semantically and syntactically to the Mandarin verbs shàng 上, shìah 下, chu 出, and jinn 进, respectively.

The verb wà enjoys special concatenative freedom. Its meaning is very general, something like 'to V while moving'. Like the other versatile verbs of motion, it may occur after restricted motion-verbs (kənáq wà 'move staggering, stagger along', gət wà 'run, go running, come running, move by running'). Again like the other versatile motion-verbs, wà may modify a preceding versatile motion-verb (#'s 91-98) which then functions as the main verb of the VP: syàn wà 'come in, go in, move in', pru wà 'come/go/move out', lùn wà 'come/go/move up', qyúq wà 'come/go/move down', sa wà 'go, come, move'.²⁶

In addition, wà has the special property of occurring after 2-verb sequences of restricted motion-verb plus versatile motion-verb: pyen syàn wà 'fly in, come flying in, go flying in',
V_h V_v V_v

gət pru wà 'run out, come running out, go running out', kənáq lùn wà 'stagger up, come staggering up, go staggering up', syəcyút qyúq wà 'chase down, come chasing down, go chasing down'. Three-verb concatenations of this sort are strikingly similar to Mandarin "directional complement" phrases like fei shìah lai 'come flying down' ("fly-descend-come") or fei shang chih 'go flying up' ("fly-ascend-go"). The difference is that the Kachin wà is indeterminate with respect to direction of motion, unlike Mandarin lai 'cisative motion' and chih 'transitive motion'. To specify such directionality, Kachin requires an additional morpheme, usually a verb-particle.

³ One further disclaimer: in what follows (except in the section on verbs of motion [2.27]) we confine ourselves mostly to sequences of one

versatile and one main verb. Yet it is frequent to find 2, 3, 4, or even 5 VV's strung together in a single VP. To investigate the relative order of occurrence of the verbs in such "multiversatile" verb phrases would be extremely interesting.

¹⁴ In this and the following glosses, "V" stands for any main verb.

¹⁵ By this category we mean "verbs which specify the solitude or jointness of the subject of the main verb".

*¹⁶ See the discussion of Lahu benefaction in GL 4.611-4.614.

*¹⁷ Or the Lahu $V_h + \underline{ni}$. See index to GL, p. 657.

*¹⁸ In Lahu the desiderative morpheme gâ is a P_v , not a V_v . See GL 4.311, 4.63(2).

*¹⁹ Cf. Thai dii 'be good' in VP's like sǔaj dii 'nice and pretty', ʔarɔɔj dii 'nice and tasty', etc.

²⁰ Under this vague heading we wish to include all complementary verbs relating to the state of an action's progress -- its completion or incompleteness, beginning or fulfillment.

*²¹ Cf. Mandarin le (了) or Lahu ò (GL 4.64).

*²² For a discussion of some issues raised by Kachin causatives, see Maran 1971.

*²³ I would now guess that dam is a P_v rather than a V_v , since I doubt that it can be negated.

²⁴ Exceptions: nèm and tso may occur before pyen (nèm pyen 'fly low', tso pyen 'fly high').

*²⁵ Compare the Lahu $V_v \underline{ca}$ (GL index, p. 652).

²⁶ sa wà is the most frequent and general two-verb motion-phrase in Kachin. Like tòn dá (#88 above) it behaves as a versatile unit in longer verb-strings: $\frac{hkom}{V_h} \frac{sa}{V_v} \frac{wà}{V_v}$ or $\frac{hkom}{V_h} \frac{sa-wà}{V_v}$ 'go/come/move on foot'.

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