GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS IN MON -

SYNTACTIC TESTS IN AN ISOLATING LANGUAGE

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Overview of the presentation

1. General information

2. Word order

3. Case marking

4. Causative

5. Directional verbs

6. Control

7. Reflexives

8. Conjunction reduction

9. Other constructions

1. General information

- Austroasiatic language

- Spoken in southern Myanmar and central Thailand

- ca. 800'000 speakers

- Literary language since the 6th century

- Language of education in some schools in Mon State

- Largely isolating, some derivational morphology

- Basic word order SV, AVP, AVGT; pragmatic word order changes

- Regular omission of known or retrievable arguments

- Increasing Burmese influence in vocabulary and syntax

2. Word order

SV	VS	V						
AVP	PAV,	APV	AV	PV	V			
AVGT	TAVG	TAV	GAV	ATV	AGV	TV	GV	V

(1)   *rɔ̀ə   krìp   ʔa.*
friend   run   go   **S=Agent**
'The friend ran away.'

(2)   *ʔuə   pɔk   lɔ̀   kərɛŋ.*
1SG   open   deposit   door
'I opened the door.'

(3)   *kərɛŋ   pɔk   mɔ̀ŋ.*
door   open   stay   **S=Patient**
'The door is open.'

Some cases of VS
based on information structure, not predicate semantics

(4) **nùm** *mɔ̀ŋ* *chaʔ* **pɤ̏ŋ**   *hwaʔ* *ʔɒt ʔa yaʔ.*
exist   stay   only   cooked.rice   curry   all go NSIT
'There's only rice, the curry is all gone.'

(5) **seh**   *mɔ̀ŋ*   *chaʔ*   **ʔuə.**
remain   stay   only   1SG
'Only I am left.'

(6) **pɤ̏ŋ**   **nùm** *mɔ̀ŋ*   *ɲìʔ*   *thɔ̀*   *raʔ.*
cooked.rice   exist   stay   little   only   FOC
'There's only a little bit rice.'

(7) **ʔuə**   **seh**   *mɔ̀ŋ*   *phɤh.*
1SG   remain   stay   still
'I'm still there.'

3. Case marking

No marker for S, A, P and T

G marked by oblique preposition *kɒ* or postverbal benefactive *kɒ*

Specific prepositions for non-arguments:

ɗɔə	'in, at'
nù	'from, since'
sɒm	'(together) with'
ʔərɛŋ	'for'

Use of verbs and relator nouns to express more concrete relations:

cɒp	'arrive > until, up to'
klɒʔ	'cross > across'
ʔətao	'top > on (top of)'
ʔəhmɔ	'lower part > under'

Some instances of emerging S/A marking in modern prose:

kəpac 'side' > marker of changed or contrastive S/A

(8)　　*mùə　kəpac　tɤʔ　　phɤŋ　ceh　　　ʔa　toə,*
　　　　one　side　　DIST　phone　descend　　go　finish

　　　　kəpac*　*mɔ̀nsak*　*lɛ*　　　*həlɛ̀h*　　*phyeh*　　　*phɤŋ*　　*sa-sa*　　　*raʔ.
　　　　SBJ　　　PN　　　ADD　　let.go　　put.down　　phone　　slow-RED　　FOC

　　　　'When on that one side the phone went silent, also Mon Sak put down the phone slowly.'

(9)　　*ʔiʔ-nɔʔ　　　kɔ̀h　　**kəpac**　wətɒə　hlɛʔ　　mɔ̀ŋ　　həkaoʔ　noŋ.*
　　　　NML-PROX　MEDL　SBJ　　　PN　　　soothe　stay　　　body　　ASRT
　　　　'Wati comforted herself like this.'

4. Causative constructions

Two types of causative constructions:

1. Inherited morphological causative (labial prefix or vocalic infix) hardly productive

    CAUSER CAUS.V CAUSEE

2. Periphrastic causative with preverbal *kɒ* 'give, let'

    CAUSER *kɒ* CAUSEE V (P), (T, G)

CAUSEE is S or A of underlying clause

Morphological causative

(10) *həkɔ̀ə* **tɛt** *nù* *klɔʔ.*
cat exit ABL garden
'The cat left the garden.'

(11) *ɗɛh* **pətɛt** *həkɔ̀ə* *nù* *klɔʔ.*
3 CAUS.exit cat ABL garden
'He chased the cat out of the garden.'

(12) *kon.ŋàc* **ciəʔ** *kwaɲ.*
child eat sweets
'The child eats sweets.'

(13) *ʔəmè* **pəciəʔ** **kɒ** *kon.ŋàc* *kwaɲ.*
mother CAUS.eat give child sweets
'The mother fed the child sweets.'

Periphrastic causative

(14)　　*ʔuə*　　**kwac**　*ʔa*　*phya.*
　　　　1SG　　walk　　go　market
　　　　'I walked to the marked.'

(15)　　*ɗɛh* **kɒ**　　*ʔuə*　　**kwac**　*ʔa*　*phya.*
　　　　3　give　　1SG　　walk　　go　market
　　　　'He let me walk to the marked.'

(16)　　*ʔuə*　　**khyu**　*lòc.*
　　　　1SG　　write　　text
　　　　'I wrote a letter.'

(17)　　*ɗɛh* **kɒ**　　*ʔuə*　　**khyu**　*lòc.*
　　　　3　give　　1SG　　write　　text
　　　　'He let me write a letter.'

Word order after *kɒ* 'give, let' always fixed: (S)V, (A)V(P)

Extraction of causee or P possible

5. Directionals

2 forms of directionals, BASIC and CAUSATIVE

ʔa	'go'	*na*	'make go'
klɤŋ	'come'	*nɛ̀ŋ*	'make come'
lùp	'enter'	*plop*	'take/put in'
tɛt	'exit'	*pətɛt*	'take/put out'
tɒn	'rise, ascend'	*pətɒn*	'raise'
ceh	'descend'	*phyeh*	'put/let down'

Basic form: **S or A moves; aspectual reading**

Causative form: **P or T moves (or is otherwise affected)**

(18)   *kon.ŋàc*   **kwac**   *ʔa* *phɛ̀ə.*
child   walk   go   monastery
'The child walked to school.'

(19)   *ʔəmè* **kəwac**   **na**   *kon.ŋàc.*
mother CAUS.walk   CAUS.go   child
'The mother took the child for a walk.'

(20)   *rɔ̀ə*   **cɒp**   **klɤŋ**   *hɒəʔ.*
friend   arrive   come   house
'The friend arrived back home.'

(21)   *ʔuə*   **həcɒp**   **nɛ̀ŋ**   *rɔ̀ə/hɒəʔ.*
1SG   CAUS:arrive   CAUS:come friend/house
'I brought the friend back home.'

Morphological causative:

Movement of causee triggers causative directional

(22)   *dɛh$_i$*   **klɒʔ**   Ø$_i$ *ʔa* *nɔm*   *sɔt*   *pì*   *kɔ̀h.*

        3   cross   go tree   fruit   bael   MEDL

        'It went ove to the bael tree.'

(23)   *Ø$_i$*   **krìp**   *Ø$_i$* **tɒn**   *Ø$_i$* **rɔ̀ŋ** *ʔa phɛ̀ə*   *kɔʔ.kyac*   *tɤʔ.*

        run   ascend   look   go monastery PN   DSTL

        '[We] ran up and looked over to the Kaw Kyaik monastery there.'

(24)   *Ø$_i$ kəpɔh həmoc$_j$ toə*   *ʔɒt, Ø$_i$* **klɔh**   *Ø$_i$* **thɒʔ**   ***na***   *Ø$_j$*   *raʔ.*

         gather trash   finish   all   throw   discard CAUS.go   FOC

        'When we finished gathering all the trash we threw it away.'

(25)   *ʔəmè* **kɒ**   *kon.ŋàc*   **kwac** *ʔa phɛ̀ə.*

        mother give   child   walk   go monastery

        'The mother lets the child walk to school.'

Periphrastic causative:

    Movement of causee does not trigger causative directional

6. Control

Controller always coreferential with controllee S or A

Controllee obligatorily omitted

Controller may or may not be overt

(26) $\emptyset_i$ *kəlɛŋ*   *cɔm*   *rɔ̀ŋ*   *khyɒt.khyɒt.plɒt.plɒt*   *toə*   *hmaʔ* $\emptyset_i$

              listen   try   look   certainly   finish   only

    məkɤ̀ʔ $\emptyset_i$ *həɲòc*   *dɒp*   *lɛ* $\emptyset_i$ *həɲòc,* $\emptyset_i$ *hùʔ*   *mòc* $\emptyset_i$ *həɲòc*   *lɛ...*

    want   nod   head   ADD   nod   NEG   want   nod   ADD

    'Listen carefully and then, if you want to nod, nod, if you don't want to nod, then ...'

(27)   *ʔuə*$_i$ *məkɤ̀ʔ* $\emptyset_i$ *tɛm*   *mɔ̀ŋ*   *nɛm.*

       1SG   want   know   stay   yet

       'I still want to know ... .'

If controllee (S/A) is not coreferential with the controller,

(dummy) causative *kɒ* 'give, let' must be used

Controller and controllee (S/A) may or may not be overt

(28)

b. *ʔuə*   *məkɤ̀ʔ* *ʔa.*
   1SG   want   go
   'I want to go.'

b. *ʔuə*   *məkɤ̀ʔ*   **kɒ**   *(pèh)* *ʔa.*
   1SG   want   give   2   go
   'I want you to go'

(29)

a. *ɗɛh hùʔ*   **mòc**   *ciəʔ*   *hənɔm.*
   3 NEG   want   eat   noodles
   'He doesn't want to eat noodles.'

b. *ɗɛh hùʔ*   **mòc**   **kɒ**   *ciəʔ*   *hənɔm.*
   3 NEG   want   give   eat   noodles
   'He doesn't want (me, you, etc.) to eat noodles.'

Word order after *kɒ* 'give; let' always fixed: (S)V, (A)V(P)

Extraction of controllee or P possible

7. Reflexives

Antecedent of reflexive *həkaoʔ* 'body, self':
S or A of preceding or following clause, overt or covert, not necessarily adjacent

Function of reflexive in its clause not restricted (S, A, P, T, G or non-argument)

(30) *mənìh plèt   hma   kɔ̀h   **həkaoʔ** hùʔ   siəŋ   pùh.*
human wrong err   MEDL self   NEG   be.so   NEG
'[She knew that] she wasn't the one who did something wrong.'

(31) ***həkaoʔ*_{i, *j} *kəpɔʔ   ɲàt kɤ̀ʔ ciəʔ kwaŋ   kwì   kɔ̀h   cəphɔn kɔ̀h*
self   dream see get eat sweets wrap   MEDL   while   MEDL

Ø_i *lèə həɓah kɒ   kəlaʔ.hɒəʔ*_j *həkaoʔ*_i *raʔ.*
tell show   OBL   husband   self   FOC

'She told her husband that she had dreamed that she ate wrapped sweets.'

8. Conjunction reduction

Coreference of omitted arguments in conjoined clauses is determined by semantic and pragmatic factors with no apparent syntactic restrictions.

(32)

*ʔiʔ-kɔ̀h   toə,   **S$_i$** cao   hɒəʔ   toə   **A$_i$** ʔat   pəchan ʔəmè plɔn.*
NML-MEDL finish   return house finish   ask.for money mother again
Then [I] went back home and asked my mother for money again.'

(33)

A$_i$ *kəpɔh həmoc$_j$ toə   ʔɒt, **A$_i$** klɔh   **A$_i$** thɒʔ   na   **P$_j$** raʔ.*
    gather trash   finish all   throw   discard CAUS.go   FOC
'When we finished gathering all the trash we threw it away.'

(34)

A_i	hù?	kʋ	həlah	ʔəkhoŋ	G_j	pùh	teh,
	NEG	give	allow	permission		NEG	TOP

S_j	chɛk	pɛ̀k	mɔ̀ŋ	ʔəwao		sɔrì	dɛh	kɔ̀h	ra?	ha.
	continue	follow	stay	older.brother		PN	3	MEDL	FOC	Q

'If [he] doesn't give [you] permission, will [you] keep following your brother Sawri?'

(35)

ʔiʔ-kɔ̀h	toə,	S_i	kəliəŋ	ʔa	plɔn,	S_i	ʔa	toə	A_i	pɤ̀	P_j	həyɛ̀h,
NML-MEDL	finish		return	go	again		go	finish		watch		sing

A_i	həyɛ̀h	kwɛk	toə	$dɛh_K$	hù?	kʋ	P/A_i	həyɛ̀h	ra?.
	sing	song	finish	3	NEG	give		sing	FOC

'Then [we] went back, [we] went and [we] watched [them] sing, [we wanted to] sing some songs, but [they] wouldn't let [us] sing anymore.'

9. Other constructions

Marginally relevant to the definition of GRs in Mon:

Passive   **P → S   (never T or G → S)**
                                                     A → OBL

(36)   *ʔuə*   ***tɛ̀h.tɤ̀ŋ***   ***lɛ̀k***   *kɒ*   *rɔ̀ə.*
        1SG   undergo   scold   OBL   friend
        'I was scolded by my friend.'

                                      restricted to formal style

Apparently irrelevant to the definition of GRs in Mon are

Agreement   Not available

Relative clauses   Available for S, A, P, T and G (and adjuncts)

Quantifyer floating   Available for S, A, P, T and G

Conclusions

'Subject' in Mon {S, A}

No split S; S neutralizes semantic roles agent and patient

Preverbal position in basic clauses S/A

Contrastive marking *kəpac* available only for S/A

S/A → P in morphological causative constructions

Controller coreferential only with S/A controllee

Movement of S/A triggers basic directional

S/A antecedent of (long distance) reflexive

'Object' in Mon {P, T}

Movement of P or T triggers causative form of directional

Only G (and oblique arguments/adjuncts) receives marker *kɒ*

In passive constructions only P → S (never T → S, G → S)