

DEIXIS AND INFORMATION STRUCTURE IN MON

The multifunctional particle *kòh*

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WHAT ARE DEMONSTRATIVES? (Diessel 1999)

- **SYNTACTIC:** adnominal, pronominal, adverbial
- **PRAGMATIC:** focus hearer's attention on referent/location;
organise information flow in ongoing discourse
- **SEMANTIC:** two or more distinctions based on distance from
centre of interest (deictically contrastive)

EXOPHORIC: proximal vs. distal (+ medial, etc.)

ENDOPHORIC: anaphoric, cataphoric, discourse deictic, recognitional

Himmelmann (1996)

Element in paradigmatic relation with other elements locating the entity referred to on a distance scale.

I. Demonstratives in Old Mon (11th century)

Form	Exophoric use	Discourse function
woʔ	proximal	cataphoric
goḥ	?	anaphoric

Table 1: Demonstratives in Old Mon

EXOPHORIC/PROXIMAL: *woʔ*

(1) Ananda plaques, Pagán (with picture showing two deities)

woʔ brumha ku ʔin.

this Brahma COM Indra

‘These are Brahma and Indra.’

ANAPHORIC <goḥ>, CATAPHORIC <woʔ>; EXOPHORIC/PROXIMAL <woʔ>:

(2) Shweizigon inscription, Pagán

tarley ʔānan [...] smāñ row woʔ:

master:1s Ananada ask manner this

“ma tirla pa k<ir>ʔim woʔ ci mu het yoʔ”

REL master do <NML>smile this EMPH what cause Q

row goḥ tarley ʔānan smāñ da.

manner that master:1s Ananda ask FOC

‘Lord Ananda asked like this: “What is the reason that you smiled?”

Like that the Lord Ananda asked.’

II. Demonstratives in Middle Mon (15th century)

Form	Exophoric use	Discourse function
?ano?	'here'	?
wwo?	proximal	cataphoric
gah	?	anaphoric
te?	distal	?

Table 2: Demonstratives in Middle Mon

Note:

no? and *te?* not in Old Mon corpus, but in closely related Nyah Kur, therefore probably present in Old Mon (uncertain function).

III. Demonstratives in Spoken Mon

Form	Exophoric use	Discourse function
nɔʔ	proximal	anaphoric, cataphoric
kəh	medial (distance from speaker)	anaphoric (cataphoric)
ɬɬʔ	distal	anaphoric

Table 3: Demonstratives in Spoken Mon

Exophoric use

(3) *ket lɔc nɔʔ.* (4) *ket lɔc kəh.* (5) *ket lɔc ɬɬʔ.*

take text PROX

take text MEDL

take text DIST

‘Take this book.’

‘Take that book.’

‘Take that book over there.’

CHARACTERISTICS OF DEMONSTRATIVES IN SPOKEN MON

Inclusiveness/uniqueness: *nɔʔ, tɻʔ* (not *kəh*)

Singularising effect: *nɔʔ, tɻʔ* (not *kəh*)

Always stressed: *nɔʔ, tɻʔ* (not *kəh*)

- (6) a. *klɔ* ‘the/a dog, (the) dogs’
klɔ tɔʔ ‘(the) dogs’
klɔ nɔʔ/tɻʔ ‘this/that dog’ (*‘these/those dogs’)
klɔ tənɔʔ/tətɻʔ ‘these/those dogs’
**klɔ ləŋɻ nɔʔ/tɻʔ* ‘some dogs’
- b. *klɔ kəh* ‘that dog, those dogs’
klɔ tɔʔ kəh ‘those dogs’
klɔ ləŋɻ kəh ‘some dogs’

DERIVATE FORMS OF THE DEMONSTRATIVES

Basic form	Pronominal	Locative	Adverbial	Temporal	Plural
ṅṅ?	ṅiṅṅ? / ṅṅ?	ṅṅṅ?	ḥṅṅ?	<i>(ḥamùh)</i>	tṅṅ?
kḍh	ṅiṅkḍh / cḍh	ṅṅkḍh	ḥṅkḍh	lṅkḍh	<i>(tṅ? kḍh)</i>
ṭṣ?	ṅiṅṭṣ? / cṣ?	ṅṅṭṣ?	<i>(sac ṭṣ?)</i>	<i>(la? ṭṣ?)</i>	tṅṭṣ?

Table 4: Basic demonstratives and derivate forms

ṅiṅ-, *ṅṅ-* : Nominalising prefixes

ḥṅ-: General prefix, here < *sac* ‘type, kind’

lṅ-: Prefixed form of *la?* ‘when’ (< Pali *kāla* ‘time’)

USE OF *kəh*

1. Frequency

86 tokens of *kəh* (with derivate forms) in one page (2 *naʔ* and 2 *trʔ*)

မင်သိုတ်တံကး ဂွတ်ကုပုံ ဂွတ်ကလင် ။

ကွာတေသင် နွဲမင်ကောန်နွဲမိနွဲ ခေ့လွီလဝ်ကွါမ္မဲ ခေ့လွီလဝ်ကွါမ္မဲတေ ခေ့ဂွဲနင်နွဲမ္မဲတေ ခေ့လွီစောလဝ် ခေ့လွီလဝ်ပူပလင် လွီလဝ်ပူပလင်တေ ကောန်နွဲကွါမ္မဲတေ နွဲမင်နွဲပူပလင် နွဲမင်နွဲတေ တွဲတေခေ့လွီကွါ ခေ့လွီကွါသိုတ်အာ ခေ့လွီကွါသိုတ်အာတေ ညးခါကွါမ္မဲ ကွါမ္မဲကွါမင်လွါခေ့ မိဟ်သိုတ်သိုတ်တေ နွဲတေကွါမင်နွဲပလင် တေကွါမင်နွဲပလင်တေ တွဲယးကောန်နွဲပူပလင်တေ ရင်ပလင်နွဲမ္မဲတေ နွဲကွဲအာ နွဲကွဲအာတေ ကွါမ္မဲ ကောန်နွဲကွါမ္မဲ ဂွဲပူပနီင်ခေ့ ဂွဲကောန်နွဲကွါမ္မဲတေ ကွါမ္မဲ လဝ်ကောန်နွဲပလင် လဝ်ကောန်နွဲပလင်တေ ပွဲကွါမတေကွါမ္မဲ မတေကွါမ္မဲပွဲပွဲ မတေကွါမ္မဲပွဲပွဲတေ ကောန်နွဲ ကညာင်ကောန်မင် မိဟ်မင် ကွါမ္မဲကောန်မင် တေပလင်ပွဲပွဲ တိုန်အာလွါမတင် တိုန်အာလွါမတင်ဒတုန်ကွါ ဒတုန်ကွါ ပလင်ဒကးအာ ပလင်ဒကးအာတေ ကောန်နွဲ ဂြိုင်စွဲကွါမင်ကောန်ကွါ မိုက်ကောန်ကွါမ္မဲ ကညာင်ကောန် ကညာင်ကွဲမင်နွဲတေ မိင်ဟုံမိင်ရမ္မာင်နွဲ ဟုံမိင်ရမ္မာင်နွဲတေ ညာတ်သိုတ်သိုတ်တေ သဲပွဲမင်မင်အကြာကွါ သဲပွဲမင်မင်အကြာကွါတေ ကောန်နွဲ ညာတ်မတေသိုတ်တေ လဝ်ကောန်အာ ကညာင်ကောန် မေလဝ်အာ မေလဝ်အာတေ ကွါကွါမတေမုဟ်မုဟ် နွဲထောတ်တေသိုတ်ကွါ တေသိုတ်နွဲရောဟုံသေင် ကွါမ္မဲတေ ခေ့ဂွဲကောန်မင်ပွဲကွါမသိုတ်ဒတုန် ဗတုန်ဆု ရင်ဒတုန်ဆုတေ ခေ့ကွါ မေ့ကွါသိုတ်ဒတုန် ဒတုန်စွဲကွါ သိုတ်ဒတုန်စွဲကွါ ကောန်နွဲ တိုန်အာလွါတုန်ဆုဂွဲနွဲ ညာတ်ပထောင့်တုန် ဂွဲကောန်ကွါမင် ကစဲကလောတ်တေကွါ ကစဲကလောတ်တေကွါ ကောန်နွဲ ကောန်နွဲဒတုန်စွဲကွါ ကွါမ္မဲနွဲ သဲပွဲမင် ဂြိုင် ဂြိုင်တေ ကစဲကလောတ် ... ကောန်နွဲပွဲနွဲ ကစဲကလောတ်ပွဲမင်တေ ဂြိုင်တိုန်လွါတုန် ဂြိုင်အာတိုန်အာလွါတုန်တေ ရင်ဒကွါဆု ရင်ဒကွါဆုတေ ယေုဒကွါဆု နွဲမင်ကွါဆုရောဟုံသေင် နွဲမင်ဟုံသေင်တေ နွဲမင်ဂြိုင်တုန် နွဲမင်ဂြိုင်တုန် တုန်တိုန်ကွါမင်တေ ကောန်နွဲကွါမင်အာလွါဂြိုင်တုန် ကင်အာလွါဂြိုင်တုန်တေ တုန်တိုန်လဝ်ကွါ တုန်တိုန်ဂြိုင် တုန်တိုန်ဂြိုင် ကွါမ္မဲလဝ်ပလင်ဂြိုင်အာ ကွါမ္မဲပလင်ဂြိုင်အာတေ ဒတုန်စွဲအာပွဲမီ ပွဲလဝ်စောန်ခေ့ကွါ ဒတုန်စွဲအာသိုတ်ကွါသိုတ်ကောန်နွဲ ဒတုန်စွဲအာညးလွါအဲ တဲလွါညး ကွါမ္မဲမိင်သိုတ်ဟုံလဝ်တေ ကွါမ္မဲတိုန်မင်မင်လွါကွါမင်ကောန်နွဲ ကွါမ္မဲတိုန်မင်မင်လွါကွါမင်ကောန်နွဲတေ ကောန်နွဲကွါမင်ဒတုန်ဆု မေ့ဒတုန်ဆုမ္မဲ ဆိုဒတုန်ဆုမ္မဲတေ ကောန်နွဲဟုံ ပကွါကွါ လွညာန် လွညာန် အာ ... မရမ္မာင်ဟုံတေ ခေ့ဂွဲတိုန်အာလွါဒတုန်ဆု ရဲစွဲအာမ္မဲတေ ဂွဲညာတ်နွဲခါ ညာတ်နွဲခါတေ မ္မဲသေ့ကောန်နွဲကွါ တေကွါမင်သုန်တရ တေကွါမင်ကရင် ဆိုယု ဆိုယု ဟုံတေ ဂွဲအာကောန်နွဲကောန်နွဲ ပွဲကောန်နွဲကွါမင် ဂွဲဆိုတေ စအာ စအာတေ ပွဲကောန်နွဲတေ ဒတုန်စွဲမင်လွါဒတုန်ဆု မ အဲခါ ကိုကောန်နွဲ ခေ့အာ စအာ ... ။

2. Functions

A. Previous explanations

Duroiselle (1921)

That; also a sign of the accusative case before the verb; it is often emphatic, laying stress on the word or phrase which precedes it. [...]

As an emphatic particle = the Burmese ⟨kāḥ⟩ kà; very often it is simply indicative of the subject, and is equivalent to the nominative case.

Shorto (Old Mon, Middle Mon 1971, Spoken Mon 1962)

[OM] **goh**, **goh**, **gohh** /gɔh/ *ns. & n (ns.) deictic, that, and otherwise with nn. and n.phr. with mooted referent, esp. at head of sentence, the, then often serving to mark end of complex n.phr. [...]*

[MM] **gah**, rarely **gãh** *ns., n phr. marker, rarely deictic except in such fixed phr. as khā gah then, het gah ra therefore [...]*

[SM] *Particle marking nn. and nominal phr., esp. in initial prominence position, and occasionally complete sents. [...]* **kòh** *is occasionally deictic, esp. in phr. following doa* ['in, at'], **nù** ['from'], *where it stands as n.*

Bauer (1982): Marker of “Determination” (= definiteness?)

The most versatile clitic and, on some contexts, particle of the nominal phrase is kòh; in most environments, it translates into English ‘the’.

In no case can kòh function as overt marker of grammatical subject or object. [...] in a sequence of subject verb object where subject and object may be simple or compound nouns with any number of noun-clitics either noun (subject or object) may be followed by kòh.

Also: EMPHATIC particle (esp. with pers. names and pronouns; ‘as for...’)

NOMINALISING device (with verbal expressions and clauses)

B. Data

- Ambiguous scope of marking

(7) *la? həməə pən həcət thə? rəə kwan poy kəh*
when Burmese shoot kill DISCARD group village 1p MEDL
'when the Burmese shot the people in our village'

[poy kəh]

[kwan poy kəh]

[rəə kwan poy kəh]

[la? həməə pən həcət thə? rəə kwan poy kəh]

- Co-occurring with other (exophoric or anaphoric) demonstrative

(8) *cèk ceh nù kəpac cèŋmày tɤ? kəh mùə kəpac,*
march go.down ABL part Chiangmai DIST MEDL one part

cèk ʔa nù kləŋ kyac.pəə? nɔ? kəh mùə kəpac.
march go ABL way Three.Pagoda.Pass PROX MEDL one part

‘[They] marched down from Chiangmai on one side, on the other side [they] marched from (here at) the Three Pagoda Pass.’

(9) *dɔə kə bɛ? tɤ hmoŋ.plày kəh kəh*
LOC OBL REFR hill prince MEDL MEDL

‘at the Prince Hill’

- Marking noun phrase with given referent (anaphoric)

(10) *la kòh thɔ? thɔ? həʔnt.*

donkey MEDL discard DISCARD all

‘They left all the donkeys there.’

- Marking complex noun phrase (with REL clause, anchored)

[only with presupposed proposition in relative clause]

(11) *kʔ? tɛh bɛ? kon ɲəə həkəo? klày kòh.*

get HIT REFR child frog body search MEDL

‘He found the young frog he was looking for.’

- **Marking constituent as referential (not predicative)**

(12)a. *mənìh klɔŋ ɕiəʔ pɔŋ*

man come eat rice

‘the people coming to eat’, ‘The people are coming to eat.’

b. *mənìh klɔŋ ɕiəʔ pɔŋ kòh*

man come eat rice MEDL

‘the people coming to eat’

c. *mənìh klɔŋ ɕiəʔ pɔŋ raʔ.*

man come eat rice FOC

‘The people are coming to eat.’

(13)a. *həm kəh lùə lòn, klɔn kəh wət plɔn.*
speak_{MEDL} easy exceed do _{MEDL} difficult again
'Easier said than done.' ('To speak is easy, to do is difficult.')

COMPARED WITH

b. *(kɔn.ɲàc kəh) həm lùə.*
(child _{MEDL}) speak easy
'(This child) is well behaved' ('easy to talk to/teach')

c. *(kəlon nɔ?) klɔn wət.*
(work this) do difficult
'(This work) is difficult to do.'

- **Marking complement clause (preposed, presupposed)**

- (14) *nèh hù? kɒ məkèh hù? kʏ? ʃiə? kəh, ʔuə tɛm mən̩ ra?*
person NEG give if NEG GET eat MEDL 1s know STAY FOC
'I know that I cannot eat anything if they don't give me [food].'

- **Marking adverbial expression (preposed, presupposed)**

- (15) *kla dɛh hù? tɛh ʔɔp kəh,*
before 3 NEG HIT surrender MEDL
dɛh priən lə senat.hələk kəh.
3 prepare DEPOSIT cannon MEDL
'Before they had to surrender, they prepared that cannon.'

- Marking clause as adverbial (presupposed proposition)

(16) *nèh kɔ kəpɑc toə kòh ʔuə ʔa ràn ɕiəʔ thɔʔ.*

person give part FINISH MEDL 1S go buy eat DISCARD

‘After he gave me half [of the money] I went to buy
[something] to eat.’

Preposed clause marked as IDENTIFIABLE INFORMATION (TOPIC)

⇒ setting the frame for subsequent discourse

⇒ causal, conditional, sequential reading possible

- Marking constituent as antitopic or topic

(17) *ʔuə hùʔ ket raʔ pùh, lòc kəh.*

1s NEG take FOC NEG text MEDL

‘I don’t want it anymore, that book.’

(18) *ppəʔ-kləm-ppəʔ kəh dɛh hùʔ cao nɛm pùh,*

three-hundred-three MEDL 3 NEG return yet NEG

bət dɛh kyaʔ kəh kyaʔ ʔa yaʔ (<ʔiʔ-ra).

just 3 lose MEDL lose GO NSIT (< PEF-FOC)

‘In 1303, they had not retreated yet, but (as for losing) they had already lost [the war].’

- Marking NP with new referent (identifiable by association)

(19) *tèh nì?mòn dɔə mèsəlì tʂ?, cao kɔ.pɔn bɔt tək pɔn nədì*
HIT invite LOC Mesali DIST return eat just beat four hour

kəriəŋ kəh kok “ʔɔ khənɔ, ʔɔ khənɔ” ɕiəʔ hənɔm.

Karen MEDL call eat noodles eat noodles eat noodles

‘We were invited to Mesali over there, and we went back to eat at about four o’clock, and the Karen called us “ʔɔ khənɔ, ʔɔ khənɔ”, [that means] ‘eat noodles’.’

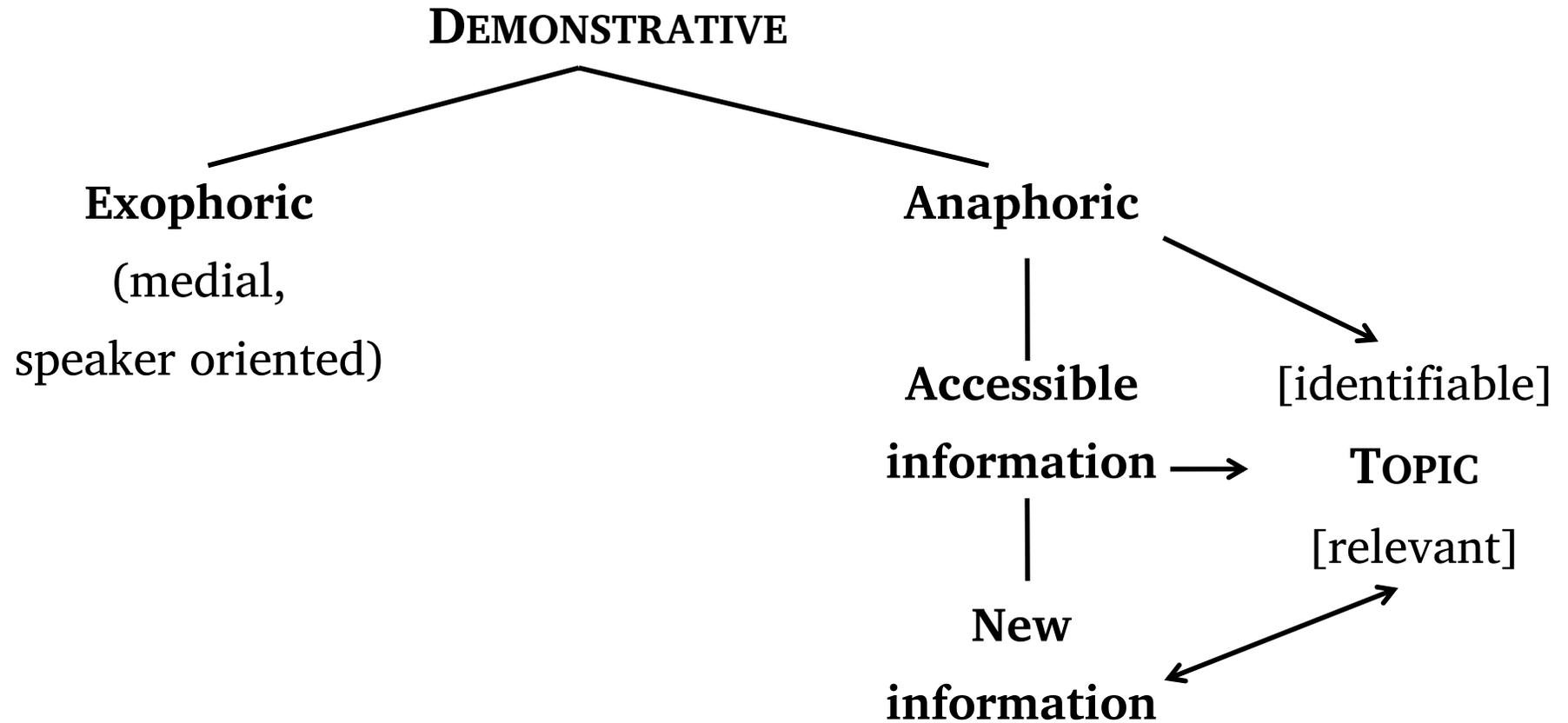
- **Marking NP with generic referent (referential)**

(20) *nèh pỳ k̀h t̀h nèh thiə.*
person hungry MEDL be person angry
'A hungry man is an angry man.'

- **Marking new referent (not identifiable, cataphoric relevance)**

(21) *kla tʌ? siəŋ, nùm m̀ŋ kon.ŋàc mùə k̀h ...*
before DIST be.so exist STAY child one MEDL
'Long time ago, right, there was a boy ...'

SUMMARY OF FUNCTIONS OF *kòh*



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