

A Syntactic Analysis of Prenominal and Postnominal Adjectival Modification in Burmese

X I N Y I Y U

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1 INTRODUCTION

Burmese (Myanmar), a Sino-Tibetan language, is typically described as an analytic, verb-final language. Burmese is often classified as a Noun-Adjective language by typologists, such as [Greenberg \(1963\)](#). From this perspective, adjectives are expected to follow the noun they modify, forming a simple postnominal sequence.

[Greenberg \(1963\)](#) observed 30 languages, including Burmese, and posited many universals across different languages. In his research, the adjective phrase (AP) in Burmese is simply classified as a postnominal structure. The same classification was also employed by [Cinque \(2005\)](#), who developed new explanations of Universal 20 and provided a structural analysis of word order within the determiner phrase (DP). While traditional typologists primarily classify Burmese as a Noun-Adjective language, their analysis is largely constrained by the language's most minimal adjectival structures.

However, both postnominal and prenominal structures are common in everyday usage, as shown in (1a) & (1b).

- (1) a. *gaung té lu*
 good-A *té* person-N
 ‘good person’
- b. *lu gaung*
 person-N good-A
 ‘good person’

The coexistence of these two patterns raises several theoretical questions. Are prenominal and postnominal adjectives in Burmese derived from a single underlying structure, or do they reflect two distinct syntactic configurations? This paper investigates the two primary structures of adnominal APs in Burmese: the prenominal particle-mediated construction, [Adj. + *té* + N], and the postnominal construction with no particle *té*, [N + Adj.].

Drawing on data from descriptive grammars ([Jenny & Hnin Tun 2016](#), [Okell 1969](#), [Soe 1999](#)) and native speaker judgments, adopting [Abney's \(1987\)](#) DP Hypothesis and [Cinque's \(2010\)](#) typology of adjectives, the paper argues that Burmese exhibits

a dual system: [Adj.+ N] within the DP, and the adjective functions as the adjunct; whereas in the [N + Adj.] pattern, the adjective is integrated with the noun at the noun phrase (NP) level to form a compound. The analysis of two different AP structures contributes to broader discussions on the syntactic analysis of Sino-Tibetan languages.

2 BASIC DISTRIBUTION

By treating the [N + Adj.] form as the default, such classifications overlook the frequent and systematic coexistence of both prenominal [Adj. + *té* + N] and postnominal [N + Adj.] constructions in daily usage. My data address this empirical gap by demonstrating that these two patterns are not merely stylistic variants but reflect fundamentally different syntactic layers. Specifically, evidence from recursion and internal adverbial modification—which are permissible in the prenominal *té* construction but resisted by postnominal adjectives—suggests that Burmese operates under a dual system. This paper argues that the prenominal structure functions as an adjunct within the DP, while the postnominal structure forms a tight, often non-compositional unit at the NP level.

2.1 Burmese Data

In Burmese, it is normal to see prenominal adjectives and postnominal adjectives. The prenominal structure allows adjectives to modify nouns and obligatorily attaches *té* between the adjective and the noun. Monosyllabic adjectives¹ can be directly placed after nouns to serve as postposed modifiers, thereby modifying the main noun.

- (2) *gaung té lu*
 good-A *té* person-N
 ‘good person’
- (3) a. *lu gaung*
 person-N good-A
 ‘good person’
- b. **lu té gaung*
 person-N *té* good-A
 ‘good person’
- c. **lu gaung té*
 person-N good-A *té*
 ‘good person’

¹ In Burmese, some multisyllabic adjectives and monosyllabic words often convey the same meaning, but the latter tend to be more formal (Jenny & Hnin Tun 2016). Some multisyllabic adjectives that do not have a monosyllabic expression can also be directly attached after the noun.

té only appears in the prenominal structure like (2), but is unacceptable in postnominal structures like (3b) and (3c). *té* is not a freely occurring adjective marker. In the above structure, is *té* merely a pure adjective marker or something else? If it is, why cannot the adjectives with *té* be placed at the end?

Although (2) and (3a) express the same meaning, they present different structures. The two structures behave differently with respect to recursion and adverbial modification.

(4) *Dawdaw gaung té lu*
 Very-ADV good-A *té* person-N
 ‘very good person’

(5) **Lu dawdaw gaung*
 Person-N very-ADV good-A
 ‘very good person’

The adverb precedes the adjective and scopes over it in a straightforward way as expected if the adjective is part of a larger structure, such as a reduced relative clause (Cinque 2010). In (4) and (5), the degree adverb *dawdaw* ‘very’ can modify the adjective when it is prenominal, but is unacceptable in the postnominal construction.

Moreover, [Adj.+ *té* + N] structure can have recursion, connecting more adjectives, but [N + Adj.] only allows one adjective.

(6) (?)*hla té gaung té lu*
 pretty-A *té* good-A *té* person-N
 ‘pretty and good person’

(7) *Gaung mon (thaw) hla ba thaw nei*
 good (thaw-PARTICLE.ADJ) beautiful thaw-PARTICLE.ADJ day
 ‘good and beautiful day’

(8) **lu gaung hla*
 person-N good-A pretty-A
 ‘pretty and good person’

When the two adjectives are put together, native speakers think the two *té* structure in (6) is a little bit strange, but is acceptable in colloquial conversations. But in writing Burmese like (7), multiple adjectives connected with *thaw* (the written form of *té*) are totally acceptable. If there are only two adjectives, the first *thaw*

can be omitted. The consecutive use of a series of adjectives indicates the adjunct function of the adjectives in the prenominal structure.

As shown in (8), only one postnominal adjective is allowed in the sentence. Multiple direct connections are not valid.

- (9) *le sa à ba thaw è the daw mia*
 respectful-A thaw-PARTICLE.ADJ guest-N good-A PL
 ‘respectful and important guests’

In (9)², the two structures can coexist in the same sentence. Prenominal adjectives, typically marked by *té* (colloquial) or *thaw* (written), display acceptable recursive modification and can be further modified by adverbs, indicating an adjunct-type structure within the DP. They are in line with Cinque’s (2010) conjecture that they are derived from reduced relative clauses and function as true attributive modifiers. In contrast, postnominal adjectives resist recursion and internal adverbial modification, but can appear with an NP, which can attach demonstratives and more adjectives as modifiers before the noun, and also become new APs to modify other nouns. The descriptive facts are summarized in Table 1.

Property	Prenominal [Adj. + <i>té</i> + N]	Postnominal [N + Adj.]
Recursion	Allowed	Blocked
Adverbial Modification	Possible	Impossible

Table 1 Property differences of prenominal and postnominal structures.

The above data trigger some puzzles:

- a. What are the syntactic structures underlying [Adj. + N] and [N + Adj.] sequences in Burmese?
- b. Are they derived from the same source, or do they represent distinct syntactic layers (DP-internal vs. clausal)?

2.2 Cross-linguistic Comparison

The structural dichotomy between prenominal and postnominal adjectives in Burmese bears a striking resemblance to the distinction between combination and cohesion structures in Chinese linguistics.

² This is the opening statement of standard diplomatic language in Burmese.

- (10) a. *mu tou fang zi* [Chinese (Zhu 1982)]
 wooden-A house-N
 ‘wooden house’
- b. *xiao xiao de fang zi*
 small-A de house-N
 ‘small house’

In (10a), the cohesive type of adjective structure is a format where adjectives directly serve as attributives without the word *de*. The combinative type, as shown in (10b), is a format where adjectives and *de* word structures act as attributives.

As analyzed in recent scholarship (Zhou & Chen 2024, Zhou 2022), the Chinese cohesion structure involves a direct, tight integration between the modifier and the head, often resulting in a specialized or lexicalized meaning. In contrast, the combination structure is viewed as a looser, phrasal configuration that allows for greater productivity and recursion.

- (11) a. *lu nge* [Burmese]
 person-N small-A
 ‘kid’
- b. *ʃào ɲl* [Yi Xing Dialect (Hu & Perry 2018)]
 small-A person-N
 ‘kid’

This parallel is highly instructive for the Burmese data: the Burmese postnominal [N + Adj.] construction aligns with the cohesive type. Moreover, the Burmese postnominal structure, as shown in (11a), is very similar to the language phenomenon in the Yixing dialect of Chinese (11b), as characterized by its lack of a functional marker and its tendency toward non-compositional, compound-like semantics.

Conversely, the prenominal [Adj. + *té* + N] structure mirrors the combination type, where the particle *té*—much like the Chinese *de*—serves as a linker that facilitates a more complex, clausal relationship. By situating the Burmese data within this broader Sinitic typological framework, it becomes evident that the two adjectival positions are not merely word-order variations but represent two distinct levels of syntactic and semantic integration.

3 ANALYSIS

3.1 The Function of *té*

Burmese has a great number of markers and particles (Jenny & Hnin Tun 2016: 57). *té* in Burmese does not have lexical meaning, but serves grammatical functions.

For adjectives³, *té* can also be attached after them to form [Adj. + N] prenominal structures to modify nouns, like (1a).

Normally, *té* is the most regular and productive neutral way to form attributive expressions by adding *té* after verbs as a relative clause (Jenny & Hnin Tun 2016).

- (12) a. [Gyi naw **me nei-ga** sa-gè *té*] hin hma be
 Me yesterday-*ga*_{PAST} ate_{PAST} *té* dish-N order-v give
ba.
 PARTICLE.IMP
 ‘Please order the dish I ate yesterday.’
- b. [Gyi naw *sa-bi* *té*] hin hma be *ba*.
 Me eat-already_{PERF} *té* dish-N order-v give PARTICLE.IMP
 ‘Please order the dish that I have already finished eating.’

Unlike English, Burmese does not use a *wh*-word as the relative pronoun, such as ‘who’ and ‘which’, or a relativizer, such as ‘that’ (Jenny & Hnin Tun 2016: 261). *té* in Burmese is much similar to the Chinese *de*, which is an adjectival functional word that turns a phrase inside a larger NP into a modifier (Huang et al. 2011). In (12a), with the tense marker *ga*, *té* connects a tense phrase (TP) with a noun. In (12b), the aspect particle *bi* indicates that *té* can also connect an aspect phrase (AspP) with a noun. It is indicated from (12a) and (12b) that *té* can directly turn the TP and AspP into an adjective-like structure, which consequently serves not merely as a linking marker but as a syntactic mechanism.

³ In Burmese, the difference between verb and adjective is vague, and whether an adjective is a kind of verb is still debated (Maung Khin Min 2024). Many scholars (Okell 1969, Soe 1999) classify adjectives as a subcategory of ‘stative verbs’ or ‘attribute verbs’. However, the Burmese adjectives behave very similarly to the Chinese ones.

(i) Chinese (Huang, Li & Li 2011)

- (a) AB → ABAB
jiancha → *jianchajiancha* *jihua* → *jihuajihua*
 examine → do a check-up of plan → do some planning

- (b) AB → AABB
ganjing → *ganganjingjing* *jiandan* → *jianjiandandan*
 clean → rather clean simple → rather simple

(ii) Burmese

- (a) AB → ABAB
sice → *sice sice* *sinsa* → *sinsa sinsa*
 examine → do a check-up of think → think over

- (b) AB → AABB
thanxin → *thanthanxinxin* *hlaba* → *hlahlababa*
 clean → rather clean beautiful → rather beautiful

Huang et al. (2011) mention that the words in (ia) are established verbs and can only have the ABAB pattern, while adjectives in (ib) can have the AABB pattern. We can see familiar language phenomena in Burmese in (ii). So, based on the difference in syntactic function, this paper treats adjectives differently from verbs in Burmese.

3.2 Structure of Prenominal Adjectives

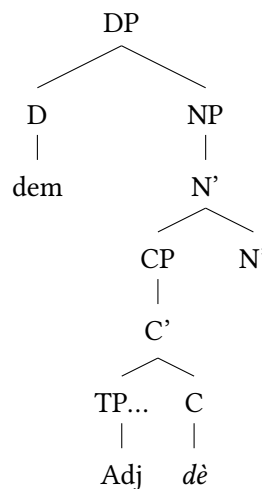
3.2.1 Hypothesis

In Burmese, the prenominal adjectival construction is characterized by the presence of a mediating particle *té* in colloquial speech or *thaw, ti* in formal written contexts. This section argues that the [Adj. + *té/thaw* + N] sequence is not a case of direct modification within the nominal spine, but rather a reduced relative clause (RRC) acting as an indirect modifier.

The particle *té* (or *thaw*) serves as the functional head of the modifying phrase. In Burmese morphosyntax, adjectives are often analyzed as a subclass of stative verbs (Okell 1969). Under the DP hypothesis, I propose that *té* occupies the Complementizer (C) head of a clausal constituent. This complementizer phrase (CP) layer serves to ‘package’ the adjectival predicate into an adnominal modifier, facilitating what Cinque (2010) terms ‘Indirect Modification’. Thus, the interior structure of the prenominal structure can be specified as follows:

(13) $[_{DP} [D \text{ dem}] [_{NP} [_{N'} [CP [C' [TP \dots \text{Adj}]] [C \text{ té}]]][N']]]]$ ⁴

(14)



⁴ In Burmese, complementizers are generally clause-final, as shown in (i) and (ii). The morpheme *th-lei* occurs at a position peripheral to the interrogative clause, as the complementizer of the *wh*-question.

(i) *Ba sa th-lei*
 what eat Q

‘What did (you) eat?’

(ii) **th-lei ba sa*
 Q what eat

3.2.2 Syntactic Diagnosis

3.2.2.1 Recursion

From the data in Section 2, we can observe some basic evidence of recursion in the prenominal structure, which I will elaborate on in this section.

- (15) a. *gaung té lu*
 good-A *té*-PARTICLE.ADJ person-N
 ‘good person’
- b. *hla té lu*
 pretty-A *té*-PARTICLE.ADJ person-N
 ‘pretty person’

In (15), we can see the basic prenominal AP structure of [Adj. + *té* + N]. If we put the two adjectives together to express that a person is good and beautiful, we can see (16).

- (16) a. *(?)hla té gaung té lu*
 pretty-A *té*-PARTICLE.ADJ good-A *té*-PARTICLE.ADJ person-N
 ‘pretty and good person’
- b. *Hla ba té gaung mon té lu*
 pretty-A *té*-PARTICLE.ADJ good-A *té*-PARTICLE.ADJ person-N
 ‘pretty and good person’
- c. *Gaung mon (thaw) hla ba thaw nei*
 good (thaw-PARTICLE.ADJ) beautiful thaw-PARTICLE.ADJ day
 ‘good and beautiful day’
- d. *Hla pì gaung té lu*
 pretty-A *pì*-PARTICLE.CON good-A *té*-PARTICLE.ADJ person-N
 ‘pretty and good person’

Judging from the tests to native Burmese speakers, it is a little bit strange to put the two adjectives with *té* together in (16a), but the grammar and the sentence are acceptable. However, in (16b), two monosyllabic adjectives turn into disyllabic adjectives, (the added morphemes do not change the meaning, but simply make the rhythm more harmonious and the tone more formal), forming a rhyming and harmonious Burmese four-syllable word; the sentence is totally acceptable and normally used by Burmese people, so it might be the prosody and phonology factor that gives (16a) some ‘strange feeling’ in speaking. The omission of the first *té* does not affect its syntactic function. In (16c), the written Burmese requires a formal style, which acquires the abbreviated monosyllabic words to be presented as complete

disyllabic words to be more formal. In that circumstance, two adjective particles *thaw*, or one will all be acceptable, and more adjectives successively connected with [Adj. + *thaw*] structure can enhance the literary quality of the article.

What is a more natural or authentic way of expressing two adjectives modifying a noun, is to attach one with the verb conjunction particle *pì* as shown in (16d). The particle *pì* in Burmese is a multifunctional marker that originates from a lexical verb meaning ‘to finish’ or ‘to be complete’ (Okell 1969). In complex predicate constructions, it often functions to connect two stative predicates (Jenny & Hnin Tun 2016). The two adjectives are connected by *pì*, forming a relative clause to be connected by *té* to modify the noun.

However, in English, when multiple adjectives are used to describe a noun, the order of the adjectives can vary depending on their nature. The Burmese word order for adjectives is random and focus-oriented. Prenominal adjectives exhibit high degrees of recursivity. Multiple *té*-marked phrases can be stacked to modify a single head noun without the rigid ordering restrictions typically associated with base-generated direct modifiers.

3.2.2.2 Adverbial Modification

The most robust diagnostic for the presence of a clausal layer in prenominal modification is the possibility of internal adverbial intensification and the formation of complex predicates. In Cinque’s (2010) framework, the distinction between indirect modification (reduced relative clauses) and direct modification is largely defined by the ‘structural room’ available to the modifier. Prenominal adjectives in Burmese readily accept degree adverbs such as *dawdaw* ‘very’.

- (17) a. *dawdaw gaung té lu*
 very-ADV good-A *té*-PARTICLE.ADJ person-N
 ‘very good person’
- b. **lu dawdaw gaung*
 person-N very-ADV good-A
 ‘very good person’

In (17a), the adverb *dawdaw* ‘very’ can modify the adjective *gaung* ‘good’ in prenominal structure. However, in the postnominal structure like (17b), the adverb cannot be used to describe the degree of ‘good’. Syntactically, degree adverbs like *dawdaw* ‘very’ are typically analyzed as specifiers of a degree phrase (DegP) or as adjuncts to a predicative head. According to Cinque (2010), only indirect modification, which originates as a predicate within a reduced relative clause (RRC), possesses the necessary functional projections (such as TP or DegP) to host such modifiers. The fact that *dawdaw* ‘very’ can precede the adjective within the *té*-phrase indicates that the adjective is not a base-generated head directly merged to the noun, but a phrasal predicate (AP). This aligns with the findings of Larson &

Marušič (2004), who argue that the presence of internal modification in adnominal phrases is a hallmark of clausal (relative clause) sources.

3.2.3 A Summary of Prenominal Adjectives

Drawing on Cinque's (2010) typology, I model the prenominal adjective as a Reduced Relative Clause (RRC). Similar to Chinese, an AP modifier may in fact be a relative clause, which in turn is 'adjectivized' by *té*. The adjective originates as a predicate within a TP, which is then selected by the functional head *té*. The proposed structure is in (18):

$$(18) \quad [\text{DP} [\text{D dem}] [\text{NP} [\text{N}' [\text{CP} [\text{C}' [\text{TP} \dots \text{Adj}] [\text{C } té]]][\text{N}']]]]$$

This clausal origin explains why prenominal adjectives function as true attributive modifiers. They provide descriptive, often non-restrictive qualities to the noun by virtue of their status as external adjuncts to the core NP head.

3.3 Structure of Postnominal Adjectives

While prenominal adjectives are analyzed as clausal adjuncts (Reduced Relative Clauses), the postnominal [N + Adj.] construction in Burmese exhibits a fundamentally different syntactic behavior. In this configuration, the adjective follows the noun directly without the mediation of the particle *té*. This absence of a relativizing marker is not merely a stylistic omission but a structural indicator that the adjective is merged at a lower, non-clausal level within the nominal spine.

3.3.1 Hypothesis

The postnominal [N + Adj.] sequence behaves as a single syntactic constituent, specifically, a complex Noun Head. As noted in the provided data, this [N + Adj.] unit can undergo further syntactic operations as if it were a simple noun. It can be modified by a prenominal reduced relative clause (e.g., [Adj. + *té*] and [N + Adj.]), and it can take its own set of demonstratives and classifiers. However, unlike the prenominal *té*-modifiers, the postnominal structure cannot be modified by adverbs and also refuses recursion. I propose that the postnominal adjective is merged directly with the noun at the lexical-syntactic interface, resulting in a noun-internal integrated modifier that forms a complex Noun Head with the noun. The proposed structure is as follows:

$$(19) \quad [\text{N}^0 [\text{N}] [\text{A}]]$$

$$(20) \quad \begin{array}{c} \text{N}^0 \\ \wedge \\ \text{N} \quad \text{A} \end{array}$$

In this configuration, the Noun and Adj. form a tight thematic and structural bond. Because there is no CP layer to ‘shield’ the adjective, it remains part of the core NP. This explains why the postnominal construction is often associated with inherent, stage-level, or restrictive readings, as opposed to the more descriptive, appositive nature of the prenominal *té*-clauses.

3.3.2 Syntactic Diagnosis

3.3.2.1 Resistance to Internal Complexity and Recursion

The most striking empirical evidence for the distinct status of postnominal adjectives is their resistance to adverbial modification and recursion. Unlike the prenominal *té*-construction, the postnominal adjective cannot be modified by degree adverbs such as *dawdaw* ‘very’ (as shown in (17b)). Following Cinque’s (2010) framework, this restriction suggests that the postnominal position lacks the clausal/CP layer necessary to host degree modifiers. Furthermore, the [N + Adj.] structure typically resists recursion seen in prenominal positions.

- (21) a. **lu gaung hla*
 person-N good-A pretty-A
 ‘pretty and good person’
- b. *le sa à ba thaw è the daw mia*
 respectful-A thaw-PARTICLE.ADJ guest-N good-A PL
 ‘respectful and important guests’

In (21a), multiple adjectives cannot be directly attaching behind the noun. However, in (21b), where the structure of [Adj. + *thaw*] is modified prenominally, the [N + Adj.] structure (*è the daw* ‘important guests’) can be modified by the prenominal adjective, which suggests that the postnominal structure can be treated as a whole NP to enter the syntactic operation.

If multiple adjectives are to modify a noun postnominally, they often form a fixed compound-like unit or are restricted by rigid ordering, suggesting they are Direct Modification sources base-generated in the specifiers of functional projections close to the NP, or part of a Small Clause (SC) structure.

3.3.2.2 Compositionality

Semantically, the [N + Adj] structure in (21b) (*è the daw*) is not the simple composition word with the meaning ‘guest + good’. The adjective *daw* in this word has a slightly different meaning of ‘important’ and ‘respectful’. For the structure [Adj. + *té* (*thaw*)] mentioned in section 3.2, the meaning of the whole compound is compositional. The [N + Adj.] structure can form non-compositional compounds (henceforth NCC), which are a class of compounds whose meaning may be quite removed from the compositional meaning of their components (Hu & Perry 2018: 710).

- (22) a. *daw té nian an*
 good-A té country-N
 ‘good country’
- b. *nian an daw*
 country-N good-A
 ‘motherland’
- (23) a. *gyi té gaungzang*
 old-A té leader-N
 ‘elder leader (referring specifically to the fact that the leader is elderly)’
- b. *gaungzang gyi*
 leader-N big-A
 ‘senior leader (Refers specifically to high positions)’

In (22a), the adjective *daw* ‘good’ simply modifies the ‘nian an (country)’, with compositional meaning of ‘good country’; however, the postnominal structure (22b) suggests a totally different meaning, which is non-compositional, meaning ‘motherland’. In (23a), the adjective *gyi*’s original meaning is ‘big’. When it comes to modifying the personal noun *gaungzang* ‘leader’, the meaning of ‘old’ is picked from its extended meaning. Nevertheless, in the postnominal structure (23b), the compound acquires a non-compositional meaning as a senior leader. The meaning difference suggests that the two structures have different semantic generation mechanisms. The postnominal structure of [N + Adj.] forms a tightly integrated constituent, comparable to a compound or classificatory nominal structure, which should be treated as a whole.

3.3.2.3 Forming New Adjectives

A compelling piece of evidence for the syntactic status of the postnominal [N + Adj.] construction is its ability to function as a single, cohesive unit in higher-level syntactic operations. As hypothesized, the [N + Adj.] sequence behaves as a complex NP or a re-analyzed N-head. The whole compound can form a new adjective attach *té*, to modify the nouns.

- (24) a. *Inji ni té lu*
 cloth-N red-A té-PARTICLE.ADJ person-N
 ‘(a) person who wears red cloth’

the postnominal adjective in Burmese represents a direct, non-clausal modification that is restricted to the inner core of the nominal phrase.

4 CONCLUSION

This study has investigated the syntactic nature of adnominal modification in Burmese, challenging the simplified classification of the language as a purely noun-adjective [N + Adj.] system by typologists such as Greenberg (1963). While these traditional accounts focus on the minimal, unmarked structures of the language, they overlook the systematic and frequent use of prenominal particle-mediated constructions in daily discourse.

The core finding of this work is that Burmese employs a dual system for adjectival modification, where the position of the adjective reflects fundamentally different syntactic layers. The prenominal [Adj. + *té* + N] construction functions as an indirect modifier derived from a reduced relative clause. As a DP-internal adjunct, it allows for high productivity, free recursion, and complex adverbial modification. The internal structure is:

(25) [DP [D dem] [NP [N' [CP [C' [TP ... Adj] [C *té*]] [N']]]]]

The postnominal [N + Adj.] construction functions as a direct modifier integrated at the NP level, forming a compound. It is syntactically 'closed', resisting recursion and adverbial modification, and frequently results in non-compositional compounds. The structure is [N⁰ [N A]].

By drawing a parallel with the 'combination' vs. 'cohesion' distinction in Sinitic languages, this study provides a more nuanced typological picture of Burmese. It demonstrates that adjectival placement is not a matter of word-order variation, but a reflection of syntactic depth and semantic integration. These findings contribute to a broader understanding of Tibeto-Burman nominal structures and suggest that typological classifications must look beyond surface word order to account for the functional complexity of everyday language.

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ABBREVIATIONS

-A/ADJ/Adj.	Adjective	A	Adjective head
-ADV	Adverb	AP	Adjective phrase
AspP	Aspect phrase	C	Complementizer head
CON	Connective particle	CP	Complementizer phrase
D	Determiner head	dem	Demonstrative
DegP	Degree phrase	DP	Determiner phrase
IMP	Imperative particle	-N/N	Noun
N ⁰	Noun head	N'	Intermediate projection of N
NP	Noun phrase	PAST	Past tense
PERF	Perfect tense	PL	Plural
Q	Question particle	RRC	Reduced relative clause
TP	Tense phrase	V	Verb

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